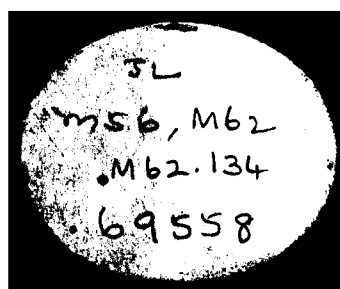


THE
CONTEMPORARY
REVIEW

VOLUME CXXXIV.

JULY—DECEMBER, 1928.

LONDON :
THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW COMPANY LIMITED,
19-19a CURSITOR STREET, E.C.4
1928



CONTENTS OF VOL. CXXXIV.

JULY, 1928.

	PAGE
Amalgamations in Finance and Industry. By the Rt. Hon. Philip Snowden, M.P.	1
The Spectacle of America. By S. K. Ratcliffe	12
Japan's Dealings with China. By Lady Hosie	20
The Illusion of Race. By the Right Hon. J. M. Robertson.	28
South Tyrol as an International Problem. By G. E. R. Gedyce	34
Surface Impressions of India. By Evelyn M. Bunting	39
The New Balkan States. By Robert Dunlop	48
What is a Good Novel? By the Rev. the Hon. Edward Lyttelton, D.D.	59
The German General Election, 1928. By John H. Humphreys	67
Holman Hunt and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement. By the Rev. Dr. Percy Dearmer	74
The Teaching of Christianity in the Public Schools. By F. K. R.	82
Cyprus, Past and Present. By Miss Fedden Tindall	88
The Effect of Civics, Actual and Possible. By Miss E. M. White	95
Foreign Affairs. By George Glasgow	101
Literary Supplement :—	
Reviews of Books	117

AUGUST, 1928.

The Problem of the Rates. By the Right Hon. T. J. Macnamara	137
Herbert C. Hoover. By F. W. Hirst	147
The Relations between Church and State. By the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Manchester, D.D., D.Litt.	154
Impressions of South Africa. By Sir Valentine Chirol	161
Lord Curzon in India. By S. K. Ratcliffe	168
Mr. A. L. Smith. By Sir Charles Mallet	176
Factors and Forces in Modern Civilisation. By the Rev. Dr. R. H. Murray	182
Relativity in Treaties of Peace. By N. V. Tcharykow	191
A Visit to Nansen. By J. Howard Whitehouse, F.R.G.S., F.R.S.A.	195
Spain under her Dictator. By W. Horsfall Carter	201
Immigration a Source of Industrial Wealth. By Sophia Sturge	209
John Scattergood : East India Merchant. By Bernard P. Scattergood, F.S.A.	216
Sunlight in Industrial England. By L. V. Dodds	223
The English in French Folklore. By W. Branch Johnson	230
Foreign Affairs. By George Glasgow	237
Literary Supplement :—	
Reviews of Books	253

SEPTEMBER, 1928.

Patriotism and Peace. By the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Samuel, G.C.B., G.B.E.	273
Egypt To-day. By Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.	282
Counsels of Despair : A Review of Some Recent Industrial Proposals. By F. Kingsley Griffith, M.C., M.P.	289
Syria—Yesterday and To-day. By H. Charles Woods	295
Fresh Light on Serbia and the War. By M. E. Durham.	304
The Right of Resistance to the State. By Don Luigi Sturzo	312
Leo Tolstoy. By Aylmer Maude	321
George the Third and His Ministers. By J. L. Hammond	329
Indian Village Uplift : A Visit to Gurgaon. By Lady Hartog	337
Albrecht Dürer and the Gothic Tradition. By Hannah Priebsch	345
Imperial History in the United States. By Reginald G. Trotter	351
Trans-Atlantic Migration. By T. A. Coward	357
The International Relief Union. By Mrs. Byrne	365
Foreign Affairs. By George Glasgow	373
Literary Supplement :—	
Reviews of Books	389

INDEX.

OCTOBER, 1928.

	PAGE
Critics at Geneva. By H. Wilson Harris	409
The Return of Venizelos. By Dr. William Miller	417
Lord Haldane. By G. P. Gooch, D.Litt., F.B.A.	424
The United States and Europe. By Sir George Paish	433
The Threatened New Entente. By William Harbutt Dawson	437
Reminiscences of Nicholas II. By N. V. Tcharykow	445
The European Problem in Africa. By the Right Hon. Lord Olivier, K.C.M.G., C.B.	454
Vilna and Kovno: A Contrast. By Major R. W. Polson Newman	461
The Laws of Howel the Good. By Edward Jenks, D.C.L.	467
Max Weber: Scholar and Politician. By Erich Hula	478
Proust Revisited. By Professor Marcel A. Ruff	484
What We Know about Mars. By Dr. Hector MacPherson, F.R.S.E., F.R.A.S.	494
The <i>Téméraire's</i> Captain: A Trafalgar Memory. By Percy Cross Standing	503
Foreign Affairs. By George Glasgow	509
Literary Supplement:—	
Reviews of Books	525

NOVEMBER, 1928.

The Battle for Free Trade. By the Right Hon. J. M. Robertson	545
Church and State. By the Right Rev. the Bishop of Oxford	553
The Present Situation of the Indian Princes. By Major-General His Highness the Maharaja Dhiraj of Patiala, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., A.D.C.	561
Mr. Bernard Shaw's Theory of Socialism and Capitalism. By Francis W. Hirst	568
Poland: The Resurrection of a Nation. By F. S. Marvin	576
The Revolt of Asia: A Clash of Civilisations. By Prince A. Lobanov-Rostovsky	586
Canada's New International Responsibilities. By Professor F. H. Soward	594
Mayor Thompson and the American Revolution. By Professor Dixon R. Fox	600
Franz Schubert (Jan. 31, 1797—Nov. 19, 1828). By F. D. Wiseman	608
Georgia under Russian Domination. By Dr. Constantine Gvarjaladze	617
Richard Jefferies. By Lorna Keeling Collard	622
Amazing Death Valley. By Harold J. Shepstone	633
Misfortunes of the Lord Mayors of London. By Charles Pendrill	640
Foreign Affairs. By George Glasgow	645
Literary Supplement:—	
Reviews of Books	661

DECEMBER, 1928.

Independence and Peace. By the Right Hon. Sir Charles Hobhouse	681
The Triumph of Herbert Hoover. By S. K. Ratcliffe	689
The Bishops and the Law. By Sir Charles Mallet	698
The Problem of Italian Over-population. By Professor Gaetano Salvemini	708
Chinese Labour and Western Responsibilities. By Count Sforza	716
The Fascist Factor in Austrian Politics. By G. E. R. Gedye	723
The New Method of Theism. By the Rev. Dr. J. Scott Lidgett	729
Salving the "Outcasts of the War." By John H. Harris	739
Bilean a' Cheò. By Seton Gordon	746
Black and White Workers in South Africa. By G. M. Godden	753
Nature in Art. By Laurence Collier	761
The Grown-up Child in Cowper. By the Rev. Henry W. Clark, D.D.	768
Burma's Position in the Indian Empire. By Theophilus	774
Foreign Affairs. By George Glasgow	777
Literary Supplement:—	
Reviews of Books	793

AMALGAMATIONS IN FINANCE AND INDUSTRY.

THE startling rapidity with which the movement towards huge combinations in industry and finance is advancing is receiving the increasing attention of economists and social students, and the practical consideration of financiers and men of business. The general public are less clearly aware of this great revolution which is silently at work, though the announcements of these developments which appear almost daily in the Press should arouse interest and excite anxiety. This tendency in modern industry and finance is new only in its magnitude, and not in its nature. Ever since the beginning of joint stock companies there has been a movement towards the aggregation of capital, and every such combination has, in the nature of things, made larger aggregations necessary.

The United States is the classic land of trusts, but until a generation ago British economists, traders and politicians, so far as they took any interest in this matter, regarded the development in America as being the outcome of the system of High Protection, and held the complacent belief that our Free Trade policy rendered this country immune from such a development. But all the while the movement was making slow, but continuous, progress in Great Britain, and by the beginning of this century it had attained considerable dimensions. It grew still more rapidly during the first twenty years of this century, and at the end of the war the movement was so conspicuous that the Government of the day appointed a Committee to make an exhaustive inquiry into the whole subject. This Committee, which issued its Report in 1919, showed that by far the greater number of the trade associations and combinations then in existence in the United Kingdom had come into being since the end of the nineteenth century. The war, for some reason which does not appear very obvious, seemed to have accelerated the movement. But war or no war, the formation of trade associations and combines would have continued without interruption, for this is a natural and inevitable outcome of the competitive system. Trade competition tends to reduce profits to a minimum. It leads to reckless, unregulated, and unprofitable production, and involves enormous expenditure on methods to secure trade.

Before dealing with the economics of competition and monopoly, I will give a few facts to show the extent to which production and distribution of commodities are controlled by Trade Associations and Trade Combinations. The merging of concerns is now proceeding at such a rapid rate that it is difficult or impossible

to keep up to date with the record. Vast consolidations have taken place in the iron and steel trades, the latest being the amalgamation of the two great firms of Vickers and Armstrongs, each of which was previously largely composite. Before the recent combine in the chemical industry, with its combined capital of over £60,000,000, the production of chemicals in this country was almost wholly in the hands of two great consolidations. In soap, tobacco, wallpapers, salt, cement, textiles, copper, coal, glass, fertilisers, shoes, cocoa, margarine, thread, matches, whiskey, beer, oil, linoleum, insurance, banking, railways, building materials, newspapers, and, in fact, in practically every industry, the trade is controlled in respect of output and prices by Associations, Combinations and Trusts.

This movement is by no means confined to the productive side of trade. Great progress has been made in recent years in the amalgamation of concerns in the distributive trades. The leading London stores are swallowing up smaller firms in London and are extending their operations into the provinces. The multiple shops, supplying groceries, boots, clothing, tobacco, drugs, and other specialised trades, now monopolise the best shopping streets in all our towns. A few days ago information was published of a great combine of cinemas and music halls. The same tendency has been actively operating in finance. The old private banks have disappeared, the commercial banking business of the country is now controlled by six great joint stock banks. Other vast financial mergers have recently been announced, the most interesting and significant of which is that with which Sir Alfred Mond is associated. This is not the first of such financial combinations, of a similar nature, formed in recent years. About three years ago the Industrial Finance and Investment Corporation was launched, and included among its shareholders about a dozen great international banking and finance companies, among which was the American and Continental Corporation, controlled by the great finance houses of Dillon Read, Kulm, Loeb, of New York, Schroeders of London and the international house of Speyers. These firms have interests in innumerable concerns—financial, mercantile, transport, mining, chemical—in many countries. The latest of similar combinations—the Finance Company of Great Britain and America—is an association of the Imperial Chemicals with the Chase National Bank, behind which is the New York financial house of Blair and Co., the competitors of the House of Morgans. This latest “merger” is reported to have the command of unlimited financial resources. A statement in a recent number of *European Finance* put the funds at the immediate disposal of this Combine at £200,000,000. So much, as a very scanty

AMALGAMATIONS IN FINANCE AND INDUSTRY 3

indication of the extent to which combinations exist and control finance and industry to-day.

There are various forms of trade combinations, from the simple form where traders associate together for the purpose of discussing and arranging prices, to the close combination where the businesses are completely amalgamated, the capitals combined, and the managements consolidated. Between these two are many more or less loosely organised associations usually known as federations. These federations retain their separate identity, but arrange among themselves what the total output of the commodity shall be, and assign to each firm its respective share. The most complete type of combination is that known as the trust. The separate firms engaged in one line of business enter into an arrangement by which the businesses are merged into one combine with a consolidated capital. In many cases a combine has close relations with other firms in the same line of business, which still retain their separate identity, the trust having considerable holdings in the outside firms. The movement towards association for the regulation of prices and output is the outcome of unrestricted competition. Associations for the regulation of prices and output usually develop into closer combinations, finally reaching the form of the complete trust. This movement should not be thoughtlessly denounced, because anything which tends to lessen the waste of competition and to increase the efficiency of production is in itself all to the good. It is folly to attempt to arrest this natural development of industry. The wise course is for the community to appropriate the advantages, and to prevent the abuse of monopoly for private profit.

I will now try to enumerate some of the disadvantages of competition, tacitly admitted by the fact of combination, and also some of the advantages of production upon an extensive scale. I am not concerned in this argument with the question whether competition is essential as an incentive for Capitalists and workmen to put forward their best efforts. Whether competition in industry be good or bad is becoming less of a practical issue, because it is being rapidly and irrevocably eliminated by the form which industrial operations are assuming. That there are certain advantages in competition nobody will deny, but it is clearly the view of those who are trustifying industry that the competitive system involves disadvantages which outweigh the blessings.

The progress of invention and science makes the use of expensive machinery necessary for economical production. The cost of such machinery, and the expense of replacing it when worn out or when improved machines or processes come on the market, require the employment of a larger unit of capital than was formerly

the case. The acquisition of the necessary amount of capital to take advantage of the most economical forms of production and distribution is in most trades so large as to be beyond the resources of a single individual. It was this fact which gave rise to the joint stock system. The man with the command of small capital suffers from other serious disadvantages. He is unable to buy raw materials on the most advantageous terms, and he cannot afford to pay for the services of the most capable managerial help. He is compelled to reduce his overhead charges to the lowest point, with very often a consequent loss of efficiency. He cannot afford to compete with rivals commanding greater resources for advertising and marketing goods.

The community has suffered from the multiplicity of business concerns and competitors engaged in producing and selling identical articles through the aggregate of the necessary working expenses. For instance, very often we find in the same street half a dozen boot shops each of which may be working on a small margin of net profit. But to maintain half a dozen shops when one might meet the needs of the district involves the maintenance of half a dozen establishments with the expense of rents, rates, salesmen, clerks, and innumerable other costs which must be added to the price of the boots before a net profit can be made. The same set of facts apply to rival concerns engaged in the manufacture of any commodity. It does not follow, therefore, because the net profits of an individual business may be comparatively reasonable that the public are not paying far more than would be necessary if the innumerable expenses involved in competition were eliminated.

The object of a trust is to concentrate production so that the greatest efficiency can be secured and all possible waste eliminated. The economic advantages which are secured by a soundly-financed and well-managed trust are many, some of which I will briefly enumerate. A sound trust has the command of a large amount of capital which enables it to take advantage of everything which can contribute to economy in buying raw materials, in the use of machinery, and in the organisation of selling and distribution. The wealthy trust can afford to spend great sums upon research and experiments. It can afford to buy the services of the best scientific and business brains in the market.

There are tremendous dangers in industrial monopoly to both the public and the workpeople employed by the trusts. In view of the great economies which a sound and well-managed trust is able to effect it should be able to sell its product at a lower price than manufacturers can do, who have not these advantages. It cannot be said definitely whether under normal conditions the effect of the trusts has been, on the whole, to raise or lower prices. It is true

that associations, as distinct from trusts, do invariably raise prices, and indeed almost the sole reason for the formation of associations is to raise and keep up prices. There is no secret about this. It is admitted by the promoters of associations that their object is to prevent price-cutting and cut-throat competition. In the matter of prices there is a difference between the results of the working of associations and trusts. A trust may or may not raise prices. It aims only at the maximum amount of profit, and it fixes prices at what the market will bear, which may mean either an increase or a reduction of prices. There is a restraint upon associations and trusts raising prices, and that is, if prices are raised to an extravagant figure, competition may be developed by independent firms; though the risk of independent competition is getting less as the trusts get a monopoly of the sources of supply of raw materials, and owing to their refusal to deal with distributors who stock the goods of rival firms.

There are other influences which restrain a trust of a national character from raising its prices beyond a certain point, the chief of which is foreign competition. The imposition of tariffs certainly encourages the formation of trusts, and enables them to obtain higher prices in the home market. Many British and foreign manufacturers had before the war arrangements, particularly in the steel trades, with foreign manufacturers by which prices were regulated and markets delimited. Some associations and trusts have endeavoured to defy foreign competition by an arrangement with the wholesalers and distributors whereby the latter would not import any foreign goods of the kind manufactured by the Association, the wholesalers and distributors being guaranteed a larger profit than was previously current in the trade. But there are limits under Free Trade to which this practice can be carried, because if profits were extortionate and prices high, independent competition would be encouraged. The resentment of the distributors at the tyranny of some trusts was strongly expressed before the Committee on Trusts. One distributing agency, referring to a combine of an important character, said: "This is one of the most complete monopolies in the United Kingdom. In our opinion such a combine as this is inimical to the public interest and the initiative which follows from competition. It starves its distributors, its huge profits are a toll on the wages of the poor, and the public necessity becomes their opportunity."

We have seen that one of the results of trade combinations is, by the elimination of competition and waste, to produce a unit of output by the employment of less labour. Clerks, salesmen, travellers, advertising agents are reduced in number. Opinions differ as to the effect the trusts have had upon the general conditions of

labour. There is no inherent reason why a trust should treat its workpeople less generously than a smaller capitalist. On the contrary, there are many reasons why the conditions of employment and wages should be better under a wealthy trust than under an impecunious employer. The directors of a trust are usually keen-witted business men who appreciate the importance of the economy of high wages and good conditions. Just as they have realised the importance of the economy of efficient machinery, so they should recognise the importance of efficient workmen; and workmen to be efficient must be well paid and well treated. Many of the trusts have initiated schemes for the welfare of their workpeople, schemes which could not be afforded by small capitalists.

On the other hand, it is complained that the human relations maintained by the smaller employer, who personally knew his workmen, have been destroyed by the coming of the trust, with its capital owned by absentee shareholders and the business managed by salaried officials. It is true there is less freedom for the workman to choose his employer as the trust advances towards a monopoly of employment in a whole industry. The power of a trust, which is a virtual monopoly, to reduce wages and impose irksome conditions, if it desired to do so, is undoubtedly greater than that of a smaller employer, and where there is a wide choice of employers. Complaints are sometimes made by workmen that there is a system of blacklisting workmen by the members of employers' associations which prevents them from getting work under any of the associated employers. A representative of the Ministry of Munitions told the Committee on Trusts that "in recent industrial troubles it was generally the large firms which experienced the most trouble. The tendency of these large aggregates is bound to become impersonal and to make the worker feel that he is dealing with a vast machinery not amenable to ordinary persuasive influences against which his only weapon is to strike." On the other hand, a trade union official who gave evidence before the Committee expressed the opposite opinion, and said: "It is easier to get fairly good conditions for workpeople employed by a powerful trust than it is from bodies and associations which are denied the advantages of monopoly and the power to exploit the consumer." The last phrase is particularly interesting as it indicates a serious menace to the public, namely a still further combination, of the trusts and the workpeople employed by them, to exploit the public—capital and labour sharing the plunder between them. It is common knowledge that some employers' associations have brought great pressure to bear on the trade unions to get their support for tariffs by the promise of higher wages, which, however, never matures.

Attention should be called to another aspect of this question of trusts. It is only those trusts which have been promoted by honest methods on sound principles which can enjoy the economic advantages described. Very often trusts are formed for the purpose of loading the public with over-capitalised or worn-out concerns. Prices far beyond their intrinsic value are often paid to induce even prosperous firms to enter the combination. Recently the public have been entertained by the competition of two Press magnates bidding against each other for the acquisition of a newspaper company in the North of Scotland. The same thing happened a few weeks ago in connection with a Canadian company.

Weighing up the advantages and disadvantages of trusts, we are driven to the conclusion that great as are their economic advantages there is a danger that, if they are left uncontrolled, they may be a serious menace to the interests of the consumers and the workers. If these trusts are left free, and care to use their tremendous power over the community in a despotic manner, they can exercise an intolerable tyranny.

The increasing attention which is being given to the trust movement is encouraging. It is particularly gratifying that the trade unions are beginning to take a wider view of their possible functions in industry. The growth of the trust is bound to have very important repercussions on the organisation of the workers. It must lead to corresponding closer organisation of the workers, to the amalgamation of trade unions, and possibly in the future to some form of compulsory trade unionism. The problem, as I have pointed out, is to safeguard the consumers or public interests against the possibility of exploitation by a combination of sectional capital and labour. Perhaps we shall find that the greatest safeguard against this will be the vast distributive co-operative movement, which has now grown so large that it embraces in its membership nearly half the population of Great Britain.

The internationalism of the trusts is perhaps the most significant and potential of all their features. This aspect of the question was discussed at the International Economic Conference last year, and valuable papers on the subject were contributed by eminent British, French, German, and Swedish economists. Two of these papers, in particular, present a striking contrast in the method of treating this problem of international trade agreements. Professor MacGregor, of Oxford, takes the line, supported by most present-day British economists, that the idea of regulating output by concerted arrangements between producers is not opposed to economic theory or public policy. Accepting the theory that this tendency towards the regulation or elimination of competition

in national and international trade is a natural and inevitable development, the problem becomes one of controlling the movement in the public interest. That was the aspect of the question to which Professor MacGregor addressed himself in the paper he submitted to the International Economic Conference. He elaborated the argument before the Economic Section of the British Association last autumn.

Professor Cassel, on the other hand, takes the old, and formerly orthodox, view that any interference with the free movement of labour and of capital is to be strongly deprecated. He is specially severe on what he calls the "monopolism of labour," by which, he asserts, certain classes of labour, which happen to be in a sheltered or privileged position, are able to exact wages which upset a natural equilibrium. Professor Cassel's case against trade agreements and monopolies is founded on Adam Smith's fundamental principle of the division of labour, which in his opinion has been strengthened, not weakened, by the subsequent progress in technique and organisation, as also by transport and the exploitation of distant parts of the world. One of the chief evils he detects in "monopolism" is that it reduces or eliminates world competition which tends to centre production in those countries naturally, or through superior technique and organisation, able to produce most economically. This argument lacks appreciation of the very motive which is prompting international cartels. Just as the national trust closes factories which are not advantageously placed, so the international trust or cartel aims at concentrating production where it can be most profitably conducted. It does not, of course, always work out like that. There may be reasons for keeping alive, for a time at least, enterprises which could not be maintained in the face of free international competition. That will operate in a cartel, but not for long in the complete trust. If the effect of cartels were to keep alive these uneconomical concerns permanently, Professor Cassel's argument and objection would undoubtedly be very strong. If there is a disparity between countries working under a cartel arrangement, which fixes international prices, the price will be that at which the least efficient concerns in the cartel can make a profit.

Competition having been eliminated, the most efficient concerns, selling at the agreed international price, will get a higher price than would be the case if they were free to compete against other competitors. But that is by no means the whole problem. This question must be considered from the point of view of the evils which trade agreements and cartels and combines aim at eliminating. Such international agreements are always promoted when competition has made production unremunerative. The world

price of a manufactured article may not at that time be a natural price. It may be quite out of relation to the general level of prices. The first outcome of an international agreement of the nature of a cartel, in such circumstances, will be an increase of prices. Experience seems to point to the conclusion that when there is a tendency to falling prices these cartels keep them up, but when there is an upward tendency they exercise an influence in the opposite direction. In other words, they have a stabilising influence on prices, and from every point of view that is desirable. But that conclusion is subject to many conditions and modifications. When concentration is applied progressively and continuously to reducing costs, it ought to, and in fact usually does, bring a reduction in sale prices.

The movement towards international agreements is being encouraged by the failure of national organisations to determine prices in the face of the competition of foreign producers. A country with a free trade or low tariff policy is protected against the full power of a national trade association which tries to maintain prices unduly in the home market. National trusts, by incursion into the international field, may greatly strengthen their monopoly power, but even then their power is subject to many limiting and restricting influences. The control of international cartels over conditions and prices is determined by the extent to which the cartel can meet world demand. There is at the present time no case of a complete world monopoly in the control of raw materials or manufactured goods. The biggest combines are all subject to some outside competition. If the total productive capacity of the cartels and the outside firms is in excess of the demands of the world market, the outside concerns will employ the weapon of undercutting against each other and against the cartel. If, on the other hand, the production of the cartels is necessary to cover the demand, the outside firms will be able to keep their prices up to those fixed by the cartel.

The growth of international cartels is likely to have an important influence on national tariff politics. These international trade agreements seek to attain the same object as Customs tariffs. The purpose of a tariff, though the purpose is never achieved, is to get a monopoly of the home market, and to strengthen the nation's competitive power in foreign markets. The cartel arrangement aims at the monopoly of the home market and a certain guaranteed export trade. If these objects can be secured by the cartel, then the reason for a Customs tariff largely disappears. It would manifestly be foolish to make the cost of the cartel's goods dearer by a tariff, if international competition had been eliminated. But that conclusion assumes a cartel so inclusive as to have eliminated all

competition, and to have allotted spheres of monopoly to the various members of it. Until that state of things comes about, the cartel movement will exercise only a limited influence on international tariff policy.

The cartels cover only a few articles of international trade. States impose tariffs not only for trade protection but for revenue purposes, and so long as the States are blind to the hampering and pernicious effects of tariffs it is not likely that the influence of cartels on tariff policy will extend beyond a reduction of duties on the commodities they produce, while revenue considerations may lead to an increase of duties on other imports. The fate of certain cartels which were formed before the war in the steel trades shows that the arrangement may break down from many causes. The agreements which govern the policy of an international cartel are open to periodical review, and tariffs may be maintained in order to give the concerns in the country with high tariffs a greater bargaining power.

There is one other practice sometimes resorted to by both national and international trusts and trade associations which should be noted. It is a practice which has been much employed by the American trusts. It was used by one of the first of the large British trusts with effect. It is the practice of meeting independent competition by selling the productions of the trust below cost price, until the independent firms are obliged to go out of business, or agree to come into the trust on terms the trust is able to dictate.

State efforts to hinder the formation of trusts and to control their actions have not hitherto been very successful. In the United States, the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914 makes arrangements or combinations which have the effect of substantially reducing competition or which tend to create monopolies, illegal. In addition to the Federal Anti-Trust laws most of the American States have special legislation aimed at regulating or preventing trade associations or combines. The practical effect of this legislation is negligible. Combinations and trusts have flourished in spite of legislative attempts to curb their activities. The explanation of this failure is very obvious. No legislation can be effective against a natural development. The Committee on Trusts, to which reference has been made, came to a very futile conclusion, which was practically an admission of the impossibility of any effective State regulation of the operations of trusts. A Minority Report, signed by four members of the Committee, made two proposals, one for immediate adoption, and the other for a permanent solution of the problem. They recommended that as an effective safeguard against excessive profits by these combinations, the

practice which was in use during the war might be adopted, namely of fixing maximum prices for particular articles which could be standardised by the full and precise "costing" of every part of a commodity.

Professor MacGregor, in the paper to which reference has been made, hopes that the solution of the trust problem may be found in the development amongst those who control these vast combinations of a spirit of public service which will eliminate the purely profit-making motive. The ultimate justification of these combines will be the extent to which they prove they are serving public and not private interests. It has been suggested that the States may require that international trade associations, which have secured the power to represent the nation in international trade arrangements, should include on their governing bodies representatives of consumers, workpeople and the State. It may be that the Economic Section of the League of Nations will develop into an instrument for the future regulation of international trade arrangements.

PHILIP SNOWDEN.

ERRATUM.

In an article entitled "Evangelical and Sacramental," by the Rev. Dr. Frederic Platt in last month's issue, the footnote on page 739 should read: "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 *London Quarterly Review*, July, 1923."

THE SPECTACLE OF AMERICA.

A FEW months ago in Washington I was discussing with one of America's most eminent citizens the points of a provocative article that had just appeared in a New York weekly. It was written by an able and dashing young English professor of political science, and it restated against America's civilisation the familiar charges of materialism, superficiality, crushing uniformity, and consequent spiritual inanition. I maintained that the continual repetition of such accusations was not only irritating to all Americans, including those who were self-critical, but had become tiresome to those English people who have any considerable knowledge of the United States to-day. Attacks of this kind, I suggested, are mainly to be accounted for on two grounds: first, that the ordinary traveller in America still sees only a small part of the country; and secondly, that the European, and especially the English, visitor finds it almost impossible to avoid judging the greatest country of the western hemisphere from a rooted conviction that the ways of life in Europe are of necessity superior and must always provide the fixed standard. It can hardly be possible, I added, for a fair-minded person to travel nowadays through the United States, noting especially what is going on in civic enterprise, in education, in public health and social service, without realising that an astonishing creative spirit is at work through the country. The American nation is shaping new forms of the social life, and it is absurd to dismiss so vast and varied a movement as merely material and mechanical. My distinguished friend, an American of the very finest, was disposed to deny my contention altogether. He affirmed that the attack we were debating was essentially just and he brushed aside my argument with the remark that I was talking like a Rotarian.

Well, in making an attempt to bring together in small compass some of the salient features of the Spectacle of America, and it is the spectacle alone that is my present concern, I am conscious that a sympathetic English observer can hardly avoid reflecting the Rotarian style and atmosphere, or speaking like the man who knows Babbitt. The simplest description of what the American people have done and are doing, particularly in their city life, will usually sound rather like a pæan; and this, I imagine, must be noticeable most of all if, as is almost inevitable for the European, he approaches the spectacle through the unique metropolitan port of entry.

One is expected to feel a thrill as one looks for the first time upon the skyline of New York—and quite right too. For myself the thrill is there at the thousandth glimpse; and the same is true

of Fifth Avenue, which for half a century has been one of the great streets of the world. Both are in process of perpetual change. In the brief space of fifteen years I have seen New York transformed. It is now a city which the homestaying European cannot envisage, so colossal is the difference between our scale and the scale of this newest America. New York, we are always being reminded, is not America. That, of course, is so, if we are thinking of the contrasts between the life of the vast metropolitan centre and that of the immense scattered population living in small towns. But none the less it is true that New York, like Chicago, like Detroit and Los Angeles, is American and nothing else. Mr. H. G. Wells, observing the city as it was on the eve of the great contemporary changes, said that it was inhabited by the only remaining race of unbroken men. In certain ways, we may say, they have been effectually broken in; but unquestionably the sight of New York's millions, in large part recently from Europe, moving unconcernedly against a background so overwhelming, makes a profound impression upon the foreigner.

The scene to-day is more moving, more clangorous, more terrible than ever. When I first saw it, in the winter before the war, the skyline of high buildings consisted of an unequal group at the lower end of Manhattan Island, as it juts into the splendid harbour. They form now an enormous growth, the highest still clustered at the point of the island, but with hundreds more spread over the great area. Ten years ago the limit of the high buildings in their march up town was the line of Forty-Second Street and the Grand Central railway terminus. From a window, say, on any fifteenth floor, as one looked north towards Central Park, the streets and avenues were seen to be of a modest European height; the skyscraper towers above Madison Square being very few in number. To-day, from any similar point, it matters little which way one looks: the avenues are lined with blocks of high buildings—offices, hotels, and apartment houses. Formerly they rose only along a few of the more important avenues, and, roughly speaking, there were no skyscrapers on the cross streets. They are now leaping ahead along one avenue after another, taking in even the most despised of the parallel thoroughfares, while the cross streets are being rapidly remodelled in similar fashion, the receding gradations of the higher storeys, made necessary by the zoning law, adding a striking effect to the picture. Fifth Avenue retained, until a short time ago, many of its earlier characteristics, especially the groups and rows of family houses, with their dignified fronts of brown stone. The Vanderbilts and many older residents were still there. Their palaces have nearly all gone. It is less than two years since the last of the Vanderbilt palaces, a step from Central

Park, was demolished, to make way for the inevitable mass of masonry.

It is stated that within the past three years some 400 great erections have been planted within a small district round the Grand Central. Almost every month you may see going up the framework of a new steel and concrete building which, when occupied, will add, on a very small site, some 2,000 or 3,000 to the population of the most congested city on earth. Every new building tends to be more or less a self-contained community. The crowds of people who pour into it every morning need not emerge for any purpose during the working hours. They are shot up and down in silent elevators; within the walls there are restaurants, bookshops, barbers, beauty-specialists, stationers, doctors, dentists, tailors; there may be a roof-garden, with probably a self-contained private house neatly placed aloft. Everything needed for a carefully organised city life is there; and the only difficulty, apart from the merciless scale of rents, is that of making one's way twice daily through the pitched battle for places in the subway or the elevated railway. Every journey one makes into an unfamiliar quarter of New York reveals the development of some new district, for manufacture, commerce, or residence. The passenger subways cannot catch up with the demand; avenues are torn up for twelve months or two years while a new one is dug. It is finished only in time to emphasise the congestion, which is symbolised throughout the day by the automatic signal lights that regulate the traffic along all the rectangular thoroughfares. The task of organising transport for the spreading suburbs is unmanageable, and New York's city-planners are projecting schemes of development for the metropolitan region designed to meet the needs of a population half as large as that of England. The city's latest avenue of relief is the Holland Tunnel, under the Hudson River, connecting lower New York with the suburbs on the New Jersey side: a magnificent piece of engineering: a roadway of several miles in length, marvelously laid down, smoothed, and lighted, with four lines of express motor traffic, policemen being fixed at frequent points to make certain that every car is kept up to the minimum speed of thirty miles an hour.

Until yesterday upper Fifth Avenue was the street of American riches and display in private living. To-day that particular glory has passed from Fifth to the parallel Park Avenue, a continuous rampart of apartment houses, representing land and rent values on an inconceivable scale, the last word in fineness of building, plumbing, woodwork, domestic arrangements; the greatest aggregate of financial power ever gathered together in a residential quarter. And what Fifth and Park Avenues and Riverside Drive

have become, other avenues are hastening to imitate. Lines of new and fine apartments stretch mile after mile along the new boulevards into the suburbs and the still open country. For an English equivalent, if any such were possible, we should have to imagine blocks of the new Americanised Park Lane extending along all the roads to Tring and St. Albans, to Windsor and High Wycombe, to Woking and Sevenoaks. And the present-day standard of American domestic convenience and luxury is aimed at everywhere. All this, the European exclaims, represents only an outrageous megalomania, a scheme of concentration that can have nothing to do with civilisation. It must be an intolerable mode of living. That may be true; it almost certainly is. But in touching here upon what an American would call some high points of the picture I am calling attention only to the fact of the American scale, to the evidence of a new and exciting form of city-making.

Such development as the foregoing examples imply was, until recently, looked upon as characteristic only of New York, of Chicago, and certain ambitious cities of the West. We have latterly been furnished with abundant evidence that the same spirit of enterprise has seized upon certain of the older cities which Americans have been in the habit of regarding as old-fashioned. Philadelphia, for example, is building upwards along the lines of streets that were planned by William Penn, whose relative foresight must have seemed extravagant 200 years ago. The central quarters of Boston are being speedily remade, and within a few yards of Boston Common, in the midst of a new business quarter, there is to arise the most massive commercial building in the world; while here also, as in Chicago and every other great centre, the new hotels are springing up, with their 1,500 or 3,000 rooms and, as an American journalist ironically remarks, by a curious coincidence 1,500 or 3,000 baths, the telephone and wireless outfit being installed for every client.

The pace of expansion and reconstruction is amazing, but also it is oddly uncertain in its course. During many years together, for example, one may have visited a city of wealth and bustle and swiftly growing importance, and have marvelled at its apparently contented tolerance of a miserable central quarter with paltry public buildings, poor hotels, a squalid railway station. In a moment the tolerance seems to vanish; the community is aroused, and the civic spirit is furiously at work. In the course of a year or two the transformation is effected: the town creates a fresh centre; its visitors are welcomed in shining hotels, after arriving at a new union station splendidly planned; and civic buildings surpassing the wildest dreams of Liverpool or Glasgow come magically into being. A city such as Cleveland or Los Angeles, for instance, will

make shift for years with a free public library, wretchedly housed on several floors of a commercial building. "Anon, out of the earth a fabric huge" will rise like an exhalation—simple and spacious in design, perfectly thought out in relation to its purpose, the last word in special equipment, with rooms for students in every department, library service of the best, a staff of trained women keeping the catalogue up to the day. Civic ambition in this field was formerly confined as a rule to the city hall, the library and the school. To-day it is reaching out into the arts. The record of many American cities in music far excels that of our most energetic northern centres (we have nothing to set beside the symphony orchestras of Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago); while Cleveland, which at the moment seems to be setting the pace of civic advance in some departments, is not alone in providing itself with a choice collection in a museum of fine arts, with which the schools of the city are brought into direct and cordial relations.

The manifold development of civic and social enterprise of which I speak is most particularly associated with a wonderful renaissance of architecture. For something like a quarter of a century, I believe, we in Europe have been ready to acknowledge that in the making of commercial buildings, of structures such as railway stations demanded by the neo-technic age, the American genius has known its triumphs. Later achievements in the same field have been astounding. They are being multiplied continually; and if I mention the Telephone Building in New York, the offices of the *Chicago Tribune* and *Daily News*, the union stations of Chicago and Cleveland, the city hall of Los Angeles, I am citing only a few conspicuous examples of a stupendous movement. It is now showing equal vitality and adventure in civic design, and is carrying the higher kinds of American domestic architecture over the entire country. The raw and sprawling American town is condemned by the foreign traveller as, on the whole, worse than the worst in Europe. But it is America itself that is creating the new standards of seemliness and quality by which the old town with its indescribably ragged edges is finally judged: for in the new suburban expansion of one city after another—Philadelphia, Toledo, Louisville, Seattle, and a hundred more, with their admirable park systems—one may see the promise, and not seldom the fulfilment, of a standard of civilised living which, within the next ten or twenty years, should enable the American people to claim that they have attained a practical combination of town and country for a majority of the population.

We find ourselves in a province of the freshest social experiment when we turn from these more obvious features of the American scene to such examples of social enterprise as are exhibited by the

more advanced communities in the organisation of public health, the surprising success of the clinics, municipal and voluntary, for the treatment of juvenile deficiency and maladjustment, the increasing effectiveness of the national effort to reach higher levels of public service and of the communal understanding of its problems and claims. And we enter a region that is impressively and uniquely American when we approach the sphere of public education and consider it in its relations with American wealth.

The spectacle of activity and beneficence in the manifold institutions of higher education and research is the most astounding phenomenon of the kind in the world. To no other people, as we know, has a similar opportunity been given, and it is certain that no other people would have been so quick to take advantage of it. Here again, as we should expect, the scale is colossal, since in the United States the acknowledged principle is that a college course should be within reach of every lad and girl who can "make it." The vast universities of Chicago and of Columbia in New York may each find room for 20,000 or 30,000 students, and the largest of the State universities in the Middle West may not be many thousands behind—mass production, as we should say, in the academic sphere. The European takes for granted that this is all wrong, and he may not be mistaken. But who can refuse to admit the significance of the fact that America has found ways of laying hands upon private wealth for all the purposes of education, research, and functional training? It is rare in these days for the traveller to enter any State of the Union without being furnished with evidence of the extent to which the men of wealth have been rounded up. I select, as heretofore, a few illustrations.

Along the Cambridge bank of the canalised Charles Basin, opposite Boston, are ranged the new halls and student houses of Harvard University. They enhance the beauty of one of the noblest pieces of city-planning in the world. At New Haven the superb new buildings of Yale—the gift, I believe, of two donors—are being completed by the addition of an unequalled university library, in charge of a quiet librarian captured many years ago on Tyneside. The latest feature of the comparatively small Dartmouth College, among the hills of New Hampshire, is a spacious library building, admirably designed for its purpose in the style which the fathers of New England took over from Sir Christopher Wren and found beautifully adapted to American wood-construction. In the State of North Carolina, counted until recently among the backward regions of the South, a tobacco baron bequeathed some sixteen millions sterling in order that a meagre Methodist College may be expanded to the scale of Princeton or Harvard, with equivalent projects for research and a plan of campaign which

effects the capture of Dr. William McDougall, once of Oxford and later of Harvard, as the first eminent member of the faculty. The maker of the Kodak, George Eastman, bestows upon Rochester, the town that his business has helped to enrich, first a school of music that is visited and admired by composers and teachers from Europe, and next a school of medicine which it is his ambition to see, within his own lifetime, reach the front rank. And in one State after another are groups of eager men and women, devotees of one form or another of adventure in education, who are able to call upon the enlightened owners of wealth, not only for endowment but for cordial personal encouragement.

You do not need to remind the English observer who may show signs of being unduly impressed by this aspect of the spectacle of America that buildings and equipment are even less than secondary, that learning and science are most nobly served amid the simplest surroundings, usually penurious in the extreme, and that the cultural and spiritual condition of a people is never to be measured by the quantitative or material standard. We all know it. At all events, save for a few brilliant exceptions in European history, science and learning have experienced the utmost virtue of the Franciscan marriage with poverty. But there are manifest features in the contemporary development of America which we must recognise as having no parallel in history. Let it be granted that in the United States school and college practices are in many ways poor or perverse; that the belief in buildings and equipment is pathetic; that the dollar measure is general and depressing; that in the immense expansion of business colleges and technological institutes a William James would find overwhelming evidence of the continuing national worship of "the bitch-goddess, Success." These things cannot be disputed. But I, for one, do not believe that the traveller who goes through America with his eyes open can resist the demonstration that certain things of value are being discovered and applied; that a lesson of high moment is being nationally learned.

The realisation that ferro-concrete is not wealth, and that costly equipment is no substitute for freedom of mind, will come without much delay; of that we need have no doubt. In the meantime America has attained one great good that is still a long way out of our reach: namely, a conception of the social uses of great wealth, a technique for the education of the millionaire. The proof of this as found in the social services at home is remarkable. It is even more so in such impressive agencies of international welfare as the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations, which are seeking everywhere for men and women of gifts, and are organising over the world for the elimination of the still unconquered plagues

of mankind—malaria, hookworm, yellow fever, sleeping sickness, bubonic plague. This is an original contribution of America to humanity. There is a case to be made out against all these powerful foundations, and Professor H. J. Laski has lately stated it.* It is contended that centralised endowment trusts, wielded by boards that stand for the most powerful vested interests, must tend to impose an intolerable rigidity upon institutes of research and to fasten the chains upon all who enlist in the service of the foundations or belong to institutions dependent upon their grants. The dangers are real, but the fears are exaggerated. In an alliance of money and science, it is science that is the predominant partner, for its power is fluid and infinite.

Similarly, I am not greatly disturbed over the spiritual dangers incident to the expenditure of great fortunes upon colleges and libraries, laboratories and museums. Such wealth is being used for opening the treasures of the mind to the multitude. The victory of knowledge is finally assured; and as a matter of demonstrable fact, it is not as a rule in the endowed institutions of America that freedom of teaching or of study is denied.

As I come to the end of my space I see that not a word has been said in direct reply to the judgment quoted in the opening paragraph or in correction of the prevailing European notion that American society and ideas are mere materialism. Hence I am driven to throw into a few sentences of plain assertion and contradiction some points of the answer that ought to be made. The nation which for a century has been condemned as the people of the dollar clings more lightly to money than any in Europe. Americans hold that money is to be spent, not hoarded. It is not a bad but a good thing that wealth should be laid out for the establishment of a high minimum of the communal life. It cannot be a bad thing, it must be a good thing, that a whole people should aim at being well-dressed, well-fed, and able to keep clean without a struggle. It is not "materialism" to bring light and power into the house, and so release civilised womankind from a deadly servitude to stoves and dustholes. And if the ideal of cities without slums is materialist, the best of England would not have been devoted to that very ideal, as we know it to have been ever since the arousal of the modern conscience.

S. K. RATCLIFFE.

* *Harper's Magazine*, May, 1928.

JAPAN'S DEALINGS WITH CHINA.

ONE would like to set it down as an axiom that those who venture to have dealings with foreign nations—whether merchants, missionaries or officials—should first take a simple course in psychology. Then they might be more inclined to understand the perplexities and mistakes of the members of the human family set in other geographical areas than themselves. Another effective way to give them some real appreciation of the mentality of other nations is to introduce them to it in the impressionable years, while, as a Proctor said lately at Oxford, the unforgivable sin in their eyes is still “hardness of heart.”

Undoubtedly there is a psychology of the nation as well as of the individual—however indiscreet it may be to lay down generalities about national propensities without vast reservations. Yet when one considers what must be the present condition of the Chinese mind, it is evident that after these years of turmoil and misery, one should be very patient, very gentle, even tender, with Chinese susceptibilities. The man lying by the way, wounded by robbers, no doubt started and trembled at every footfall. China has passed through so much suffering that she has come to expect the worst as her inevitable fate. A few optimists may point to themselves as triumphant exceptions; but they will admit that they expect more tribulation before the Day of Peace arrives, however certain one may be of its ultimate advent. “Dawn is far off,” wrote a Chinese friend to me this month. And then he went on to utter mistrust of Japan, as a rider to the rest of China’s distresses.

To a certain degree, the relations between Japan and China may be compared with those between Britain and France. Just as the British and the French have fought and looked down on each other, sent expeditionary forces to plunder or seize each other’s coasts, and ended with a growing respect for each other’s qualities, so have China and Japan behaved, with alternating wars and peaceful penetrations—but mostly wars. Similarly, as William the Conqueror introduced us to other Latin elegancies besides chain-armour, so the Chinese, often but not always repelled by force of arms, conquered and tamed the wildness of Early Japan through the gentler insinuations of culture. During those centuries when the Renaissance was opening up the world of the mind for our gallant but uncouth forefathers here on this western side of the great continental mass which we have arbitrarily divided into Europe and Asia, there, on its eastern margin, the surge of the Chinese mind was laving and quickening the Young Japan of those days. Japan has no shame or hesitancy in avowing her debt to China in the matter of literature and art, of raiment and manners. The com-

parison cannot be pressed: yet it exists. We called the French “Froggies”: the Chinese called the Japanese “dwarfs”: and in this matter of rudeness also, very pleasant to the natural man, there is not a pin to choose between any of the four nations!

The nineteenth century, however, has complicated things both for ourselves and the Orient. Japanese thought has looked to the West, rather than to China, for guidance in major matters. Moreover Japan has performed the miracle of keeping the old culture while adding the new to it. China, with her less versatile spirit, has at last changed too violently, and of late has looked so much to western ways that she is by way of jettisoning the old, and adopting only the newest of the new. Youngest China despises all ancient things, western as well as eastern, and scorns Plato equally with Confucius.

In the Middle Ages it troubled the East not a whit how often or how much France and Britain fought each other. To-day their alliance in the Great War—praise be, the term World War is not accurate, though truly the whole world felt the effects of it—has had a stupendous repercussion throughout the East, China and Japan not excepted. One simple fact will illustrate this. In old days, the minimum Chinese coin was a cash, a round copper coin with a square hole. A Chinese housewife bought one radish, one leek, for her stews, for two or three cash: her daughter with one cash bought one thread of red silk to embroider her small shoe. During the war, the canny Japanese merchant bought up all the copper cash on the Yangtze and sent it to Japan to be made into munitions. The smallest coin is now a *tung-tze*, equal to ten cash. Thus by ten times it is impossible for China to be as economical as of old! Conversely we realise to-day that it matters very much to us how Chinese and Japanese nowadays deal with each other. From the former unimportant bickerings of unheard-of outsiders, these affrays have become family affairs of our own. Our economic comfort is at stake: our body politic is involved.

Japan of the nineteenth century was a very different country from that of the Middle Ages. Japan of 1928 is different from the Japan which fought Russia in 1904; nay, even of 1914 and 1920. Those years of the war taught us many lessons: Japan learned lessons also. Edith Cavell put into unforgettable words the truth that illumined our hearts from the first moment we heard that Belgium had flung her little strength, trying to stem the flooding tide of Germany. “Patriotism is not enough”; the cry echoed our deep revulsion from the selfish idea that any country is great because it is rich, or mighty, or acquisitive—from jingoism, in short. The test of a country’s greatness is its service to the world and only that. Here is our national lesson. What did the East

learn? A Chinese said once to me passionately that military preparedness was the lesson of the war; that Germany ought to have seen to it that she was just a little stronger, and she would have beaten us. Another, however, said that China knew that we fought for a principle, and that was the virtue they envied us: to be willing to fight . . . for a principle. And that, to their mind, bolsters up Sun Yat-sen's appalling assertion that China's first step to progress must be by way of militarism! It is this idea which, to the Nationalists, sanctions and urges them to their recurrent appeal to arms, and their present aggressive warfare.

What did Japan learn? It depends on that as to how she will treat China in the next decade. The Japanese have shown great restraint in the last five or six years. At Hankow they suffered more than we British did, being in much greater numbers. We turned the other cheek to the unstudied violence of the irresponsible mob and to the considered insults of their responsible leaders. It was difficult: we did it, and have felt pleasantly and deservedly virtuous ever since. Terrible things happened to the Japanese, worse than to the British, or even to the Americans at Nanking, perpetrated by the scum of which the better Nationalists are deadly ashamed but whom they have not had the sense to disown or the power to disarm. The Japanese turned the other cheek also—till Tsinanfu. What shall be said of their self-restraint? They are newly come out of traditions of the chivalry of the sword. They are in infinitely greater numbers in China than ourselves, so that our dispute about extra-territoriality is but a wrangle compared with what theirs will be when they, too, discuss the question.* Their economic life is wrapped and bound up in China's. And their naturally tidy and cataloguing spirits must revolt at China's present disorderliness. Alone of the nations, they could by force of arms take, and keep China, and put her straight. Only in that case it would be the orderliness of a strait-jacket, the method Japan adopted in Korea—which she is slowly repenting of, for strangely enough, it does not promote loyalty or affection. Japan's problems abroad are not unlike our own. What exactly constitutes the Imperialism which she learned so easily from Western models? Is it to be on British, German or Italian lines? Some of her sons are asking themselves this question. There is no easy answer. Difficulties bestrew her way with regard to China, who is more than her neighbour, for she is the source of many of her raw materials, the iron and coal Japan needs for her factories; and at the same time, she is her best customer. Old Japan would have had no doubts. It would have been the short sharp fight between the sword-fish and the whale. China misdoubts whether there is not

* See Professor Soothill's latest book, *China and England*. Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d.

a great deal of the Old Adam in New Japan still. "Japan is very, very ambitious," said a Chinese lately to me uneasily. He had lived in Japan and had many Japanese friends. Yet if the present crisis had taken place in 1916, Japan would not have turned the other cheek as at Hankow, and as one hopes she will do again, after due consideration of the safety of her nationals, in Shantung. And this as much for the sake of her own soul, as for China's sake.

But why and whence has come this uneasiness about Japan on the part of so many multitudes of the more reasonable Chinese, and which has been showing itself in boycotts and anti-Japanese strikes these twenty years? Are the Japanese guilty of the "superiority complex" which is the alleged sin of the Briton in the East, fraying the war-sick nerves of China into the violence of irrepressible exasperation?

Perhaps it was that terrible slap of the American Exclusion Act which first made surprised Japan halt on her conquering course after she had defeated China in 1894, taken Formosa, re-christened Korea as "Further Japan" after absorbing that country also, and routed Russia from supremacy in Manchuria. That Exclusion Act aroused an overwhelming anger in Japan, which is not yet burnt out. Japan realised that the outside world classed her as Asiatic: and suddenly she felt herself akin to China, and she turned her face towards China rather than across to the new lands of the Pacific. The Chinese were no longer her prey, but her kinsfolk, and there was even talk that she would head Pan-Asia against a rude world. But the years have gone by, and she is conscious of her intrinsic right to stand an equal beside any nation, to show the West that the East can be as generous to a stricken foe as the West. Although that attitude has not been attained in a year, it has taken her a very short space of years. Has she learnt that other lesson of international relationship we have been slowly setting our faces to learn—"I am amongst you as he that serveth"?

The Chinese do not need to have very long memories to remember Japan's dealings with them. The whole world knows how, in 1916, Japan almost forced China into a vassal State with the Twenty-One Demands; how China feared that she would lose Shantung to Japan after the war: and that is the fear again in her heart to-day. She knows she deserves retribution after the outrages committed on the Japanese civilians in Tsinanfu, although she thinks Japan deserves to suffer a little, in any case. Japanese, in this country, will also frankly say that their nation "deserves to suffer" after their "wrong-doings" to China. (A trifle hard, this, on the innocent victims who were mainly small shopkeepers and their wives; harmless little folk.) The military party in Japan is not so much in the ascendant to-day as it was: but only in 1920 was it the dominating force in Japan. The other day a Japanese

student said to me: "You were in Japan in 1920? Ah! I fear you would be unhappy then in my country." He was right: we were distressed. Not only had Old Japan gone, as far as outward appearances, but the unsophisticated wistful Japan, with a willing heart to learn, had gone also. Japan felt sure of herself—fatal in individual or nation, as we have all discovered in our own private way. Japanese gentlemen no longer wore soft Turkish towels round their neck, stiff collars being so detestably imprisoning. They had taken to stiff collars, and excessively stiff ones. Hardness and sophistication were the order of the day. The cherry-blossoms still shed their pink and white showers, but no longer on smiling dainty little Japanese ladies, open-hearted polite gentlemen, cheerful peasant-farmers taking a day's ease. The overworked mill-girl and the ubiquitous army officer, wearing every day and all day his full Teutonic regalia of sword and epaulettes and cocked hat, were more in evidence than anybody else. On Labour Day, the cherry-trees in the parks shed their sweetness and light on ten thousand workmen holding mass meetings, urging their indisputable rights: but in such forceful tones as invited bâton charges by the rather too forceful police. Small wonder that something of the Fascist spirit woke amongst Japan's leaders, especially in a Japan which had looked to Germany mainly as a model for discipline.

Few English people realise the extent of the impression Germany—and Prussian Germany at that—has had on Japan. Military prowess and shining armour appeal to all who can respond to the qualities of courage and of submission to discipline for a purpose, and not least to the nation of the gallant Samurai. True, long ago, Japan called Britain to help with her navy; and no Briton can see those sturdy, short, cheery, helpful Japanese navy men without a tender contraction of the heart that she thought us fit folk to teach them the courtesy of the seas. But similarly I have seen a couple of the German Legation Guards Officers in Peking stand at the edge of the forlorn, empty, dusty plain of the *glacis*, which, since Boxer days, isolates the Legation Quarter from possible attack. They were approving the convolutions of the Japanese Legation Guard at drill—a drill which they, alone of the Legation Guards, repeat and repeat as if to get perfect to the point of sub-consciousness. And this drill was, and is to-day, founded on German army methods—down to the very goose-step of their formal parades. Astonishing to see all those stiff legs lift and fall like chopsticks!

In education German influence is very strong. Conscription, of course, is the Japanese method of army recruiting: and its psychology is seen everywhere. The little boys go to school in cadet caps, every school has its uniform—as if preparatory for another, a soldier's uniform. It is natural for Japanese students to-day

to repair to Germany for their post-graduate studies. Moreover, geographically, Germany is their nearest study-ground, since America ceased to welcome them. Science teaching in Japan looks to Germany and the bookshops sell many German scientific works. Yet also do they sell Karl Marx and his disciples, which would seem an anomaly, if one did not keep in mind the fact that Marxism, and Communism in general, postulate as iron a discipline as militarism. There is something in the German aptitude for orderliness, for conformity, which strikes a similar note in the genius of Japan.

Yet once again the comparison cannot be pressed: for indeed there is often a certain jolly independence in the Japanese not found amongst sober Germans, a readiness to see jokes which bespeaks a mind capable of a quick return to balance. On the other hand, the report that the populace of Tokyo had shouted acclamations and cheered when they read of the bombardment of Tsinanfu—however necessary it might have been—brought back inevitably, and with a chill to the spirit, that crowd in front of the Schloss in Berlin in 1914 shouting for war. Britain regretted that she had had to answer back when Yang Sen attacked us, four hundred to sixteen, at Wanhhsien: America is not sorry that she shelled Nanking, but is sorry for the cause. But China believes that Japan is rejoicing at an excuse to swarm into Shantung. Time alone will tell. China's mentality at the present is not normal after her distresses. But the temptation cannot but be great to Japan: and there would be for her nothing really in the nature of a great war as we have known it and loathe it, as devastating to the conqueror as the conquered. Be it remembered that Japan came fairly easily through her wars with China and Russia.

Japan is thinking hard. Her uneasiness and perplexity are shown by the numerous changes in her government. We showed our perplexity too in the same way after the War. One Japanese Cabinet is liberal-minded: the next is reactionary to the point of imprisoning all who have "dangerous thoughts." As usual, such means often defeat themselves. The most desperate thinkers escape: those whose very mild radicalism would be invaluable to Japan's progress are apt to be incarcerated. Yet Japan has had enough experiences lately to bewilder any nation, apart from the Great War. Her stupendous industrialisation, her transformation from the parochial self-sufficiency of an agricultural race to one dependent on the whims and health, or ill-health, of a neighbour like China, and with a huge population coming into being and slowly rousing to rebellion against the harshness of the new industrial discipline—these are sufficiently disturbing in themselves. Japan sees well that, once discipline gives there, it may give elsewhere. The melancholy spectacle of Russia appals her rulers,

at the same time that a realisation that all is not well attracts the discontented to Bolshevism. Then there has been the Earthquake : a spiritual and mental shock, as well as physical and financial. The Japan whom people feared as a menace to the peace of the Pacific, was suddenly transfigured into Rachel weeping for her children : and the world wept with her—except perhaps China, deep in her own sorrows and feeling too recently the wound Japan inflicted on her in 1916 with those regrettable Twenty-One Demands which began all the recent anti-foreign feeling in China. China bestowed the rice of compassion—but not the tears of friendship. There is a difference.

What had gone to China's heart in 1916 was that Japan profited by her misrule ; and she suspected, rightly or wrongly, Japan of pushing her still further into her slough during the years of the Great War, when Europe was engaged elsewhere. For, say the Chinese, she took advantage of the venality of China's officials and the vices of Chinese people to bind them hand and foot with their own sins. They accuse the Japanese of having bought over the warlords, so that they pawned to Japan China's railways, mines, and as much as they could of the Salt revenues, the proceeds of which the warlords put into their own pockets. Ostensibly these loans were to disband the armies, whose pay was invariably six months in arrear : but seeing that the uniforms, the instructors and the paraphernalia of war came from Japan, the Chinese said bitterly, even in 1920, that it paid Japan to keep China's army mobilised, however much China needed peace. Again, the only opium legally imported into China, since India stopped sending opium, was imported through the Japanese-run ports of Dairen and Tsingtao. Moreover, an enormous illicit importation of morphine passes through these ports, and this plunges daggers into the hearts of thinking Chinese, who know their country's weakness. The very Shantung rickshaw coolie who buys a cheap hypodermic syringe made in Japan and Japanese morphine to fill it, growls at the tempter while he yields to the temptation.

It is this long memory of China's that makes her still so fearful of Japan. She has the idea that she has been saved so far, since 1916, only by the cleverness of the verbal smoke-screen which her diplomats put up at Paris, Washington and Peking, and not because of any innate change of heart on the part of Japan. Yet, I can testify to certain specific acts of Japanese benevolence I have seen myself. The Japanese settlers in Manchuria live in peace and amity with not only their Chinese but their Russian neighbours. I have seen small Japanese tradesmen go out of their way to give a coin to an old Russian begging woman. There is a huge hospital in Moukden run by Japanese under the South Manchuria Railway, half of it for Japanese sick, the other half for other people—which

means mostly Chinese and a sprinkling of Russians. The cynics say that it is for propaganda purposes that this hospital is thus run. In which case, the more of that kind of propaganda the better for the world. Still, it may be that Japanese doctors had to deal with Chinese patients before they felt the bond of common humanity. However it has come, the fact remains that the Japanese doctors, and the Japanese nurses, who tend those hospitals, deal very gently and humanely with Chinese patients. This hospital is one of the first charges on the profits of the South Manchuria Railway which is owned by Japan—not a bad way of using railway dividends ! I went round the children's wards with the children's specialist—a tired-looking clever Japanese doctor, whose wards were always too full. Indeed, even with the many Chinese young doctors being trained there, who were to go out to their own towns later after an inexpensive training such as they could afford, the hospital doctors were overworked. Room after room he inspected, with that keen eye of the true medical enthusiast. The children were four to a room, and their mothers lived in the rooms with them. "A good idea," I said, for I was remembering how difficult it was to persuade a mother in China to leave her baby in a hospital without her. "It is very bad!" he replied abruptly, "and you know it is. Why do you say anything else? The mothers give the children most injudicious foods—but what can we do? But it will come some day—the system you have abroad. We shall win them yet, give us time!"

I was greatly touched at his tone and his words. He had a herculean task ahead. He knew he could but begin it in his short life—this fight against the dirt, disease and ignorance, not only of his own people but those others, the millions of Chinese around him and the despairing Russians. Yet he had flung himself into the fight. The spirit of service had caught him. He would rather die serving than live apart from it all. A paid official of the Japanese Railways, he was helping not only Japan but China—in the manner of civil servants whom we too know so well, of our own race and kin. There have always been Japanese who have served their own people : their passionate loyalty and self-effacement for the benefit of Japan have become by-words amongst the nations. But now it is being required of them, as it has long been of us, that they learn to serve other nations besides their own.

How many are there in Japan like that Japanese children's specialist in Manchuria? It all depends on the answer to that question whether China's fears are groundless or not. And so near is the East to us here in the West to-day that, as we watch and wait for the results of Japan's thinking, we know that it matters almost as much to us as it does to China—or Japan.

DOROTHEA HOSIE.

THE ILLUSION OF RACE.

THE appearance of an English translation of Friedrich Hertz's *Race and Civilisation* (Kegan Paul) is a welcome testimony to its influence in educating opinion on a long mis-handled problem. It was a good book when it first appeared in 1904 under the title *Moderne Rassentheorien: Kritische Essays*; in its second edition, under its present title, *Rasse und Kultur* (1915), it was reshaped and expanded into a treatise which, issued at that date, constituted a new promise of sanity in international affairs, and gave signal proof of its author's moral courage; in its third edition, it supplies a guide through the whole mass of modern scientific and pseudo-scientific literature which has bearing on its problem.

Apart from the little-known posthumous work of William Dalton Babington, *Fallacies of Race Theories as applied to National Characteristics* (1895), which, by reason of its fragmentary form, had aroused little discussion, Dr. Hertz's *Moderne Rassentheorien* was almost the first serious treatise on that important theme. Superficial and unscientific generalisations on race characters were then and later so fully in possession of the field that even good ethnologists heedlessly manufactured and exploited them, standard historians having led the way. As early as 1852, an able and independent ethnologist, Dr. R. G. Latham, had laid a powerful logical demurrer to the whole procedure; but his challenge took no effect on either historians or ethnologists in general. Huxley, in 1870, made an explicit protest against the sciolism of common political talk on the subject, weightily declaring that "the arguments about the difference between Anglo-Saxons and Celts are a mere sham and a delusion." Still those arguments continued to be the stock-in-trade of politicians, journalists, and ethnologists. Mill had long before made a no less emphatic protest in his *Political Economy*; but Mill by his own abortive theorem of "Ethology" clouded the problem anew; and the belief that Teutons and Celts, Slavs and Latins, had collectively specific characters, physiologically formed in the womb of pre-history, remained the simple creed of most writers who had occasion to deal with the matter.

The hold of the notion everywhere on general opinion was proved by the vogue of such a book as the late Mr. Houston Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, against which Dr. Hertz addressed his battery at the outset. That it is still necessary to combat such a tissue of self-confuting declamation, such a compilation of naked prejudice, false history and sham science, is a revelation of the strength of the proclivity to which it ministered. It had its admirers in England, up to the point of its author's

decision to renounce his nationality. But it is one of the hopeful signs of latter-day German thought that the exposure of the gospel of Teutonic racial primacy is already so far recognised as to entitle Dr. Hertz to omit from his new edition "above a hundred proofs and cases" which he had cited in the second, in correction of the delusions of race-patriotism. The ex-Kaiser's iteration on "the glory of Teutonism" has helped to put it out of fashion.

In its present re-arranged form Dr. Hertz's book treats methodically of every aspect of his subject. At the outset we realise that, though race pride is as old as history, and the notion of ruling stocks ante-dated the French Revolution, the pseudo-scientific doctrine of race-characters, as distinct from that of climatic types, is of modern literary manufacture. The dogma of unchangeable mental differences in races was rejected alike by Herder and Alexander von Humboldt, Darwin and Huxley, Buckle and Spencer, De Tocqueville and Quatrefages, Waitz and Ratzel, Virchow and Réclus. It is the *littérateurs* and the flag-historians, from Gobineau to Lamprecht, who have built up the pseudo-scientific creed. The clearing of the ground is begun by noting the real data of anatomy, craniology, and ethnology, and setting scientific psychology against the literary variety.

But the process of enlightenment, for most readers, will lie in the study of the sifted historic facts, alike as to inferred race formation and recorded race history. Under that scrutiny the old assumptions disappear, and new problems arise, calling for critical solution. In place of homogeneous Aryans, Semites, Teutons and Celts, there emerge for us endlessly varying amalgamations of stocks. It is as if the study of the divergences of species since the concept of creation has been replaced by that of evolution: the real problem is at once far more complex and far more hopeful than the false problem had been. Always the lesson is, so far forth, that mental and moral characteristics vary indefinitely within every aggregate, large or small, and that there are no absolutely permanent physical characters.

One of the provocations to the study has been the secondary thesis that "purity of race" is the secret of national successes; and that decay of nations has been the fruit of race-mixtures. Biology offers the hint, taken up by many researchers, that the truth is in large part the reverse of that proposition, though there are conflicting sequences; supposedly unmixed races being found to have been mixed, and much-mixed races being found to be under different circumstances progressive and regressive. But the solution is always found to lie on the line of mind, in the totality of the reactions of circumstance and polity, never in a fixed race character or in mere mixture apart from mental determinants.

Dr. Hertz is necessarily occupied, as was Babington before him, with the confutation of the crude and contradictory dogmas of the race-theorists. Babington had a very sane outlook on the whole problem; and the notation of his criticism would have barred twenty years of empty declamation had it been attended to. But the complete answer to racialism involves a constructive as well as a critical process. It does not suffice to show that the formulas of moral "decay" of the Roman empire and moral "regeneration" by invading barbarism are alike mere concreted falsifications. It is necessary to show the real causation of the decline and the real conditions of regeneration, in terms first of economico-political and then of cultural factors; and here Babington's work was incomplete. The end of the conflict lies in sociology; and a truly historical sociology was in the nature of the case the last thing to be reached.

Men of science were much less unready to accept the principle of evolution as regards physical and animal nature than were men in general to accept it as regards the evolution either of their ideas or of their characters, their States or their institutions. The man of science had but to overcome the sway of a few inherited beliefs: the political man had to surmount his passional attitude to his whole world, his pride, his prejudice, his proclivities, his whole habit of reaching large conclusions from a handful of particulars. In science, the personal equation is expressly recognised as the special source of error: in the rudimentary stage of sociology, the personal equation is the ruling principle. It has taken a generation of critical debate, after a half-century ruled by hasty hypotheses, to bring out the main facts and the real issues. Before Babington, Hellwald had pointed out to Germans the falsity of their conventional estimate of their racial history. The multitude paid no heed, and were ripe for Mr. Houston Chamberlain. In England, Freeman had laid down flatly self-contradictory doctrines; in one place negating the whole gospel of race characters on moral and religious grounds, in another putting such a doctrine as a generalisation of historical science.

Recognition of the historical facts and comprehension of the total process in terms of evolution go hand-in-hand. The contradiction between the facts and the theories was visible even a century ago, when Frenchmen were anticipating Germans in predicating Teutonism and noting facts which undermined it. Patient study and patient thinking alone could reduce the problem to order. It is chastening to note that no scholars have more fully confuted the vulgar errors of their own countrymen than the really learned historians of Germany; and that it was an Englishman who coached their masses with vainglorious delusion. Perhaps the special detachment possible to an Austrian helped Dr. Hertz to grasp the

issue historically and scientifically; perhaps also his attitude as a "possibilist" Socialist naturally raised him above racial animosities; but whatever his preparation, he has turned it to admirable account. His is in all its aspects a scientific treatise, taking account of all orders of evidence, indicating all the sources of knowledge, reasoning on all with unclouded judgment, while preserving the moral inspiration with which he set out.

Yet there remains points where the critical analysis may usefully be carried further. For Dr. Hertz, who has eloquently protested against special imputation of "war guilt" to Austria, and against the financial penalisation of Germany, there is "madness" as well as "sadness" in the production of Belgian and French school-books in which "the Germans, taken as a whole," are represented as an agglomerate of all evil qualities. But is the retort of "madness" the right answer, the scientific confutation? If Dr. Hertz were to place himself in imagination, as he is so well qualified to do, at the standpoint of a Belgian who had endured the German domination, he would first recognise the general truth that action and reaction are equal and opposite, that "the" German who had preached German moral supremacy has as such no good answer to the Belgian who affirms the flat contrary; and he would further admit that the Belgian had rather more of a *prima facie* case for his negative than the other had for his affirmative. And from those admissions he might proceed to the sociological answer which is implicit in his treatise, but is not here explicit.

The answer to the Belgian and French schoolbook-writers, surely, is that war-guilt is indeed a very great guilt; but that it is the kind of guilt accruing to all political evolution under certain conditions; and that Belgians and French have collectively exhibited in the past just about as much capacity for cruelty and iniquity as any other modern people. Just-minded Belgians and Frenchmen have testified against Congo atrocities and Algerian atrocities, as just-minded Englishmen and Americans have testified against atrocities in the Philippines and in Ireland. Such men prove the presence of rectitude in sinning peoples. But the spirit of moral loathing aroused in suffering peoples is not to be confuted, and is still less to be exorcised, by talking as if brutal aggression and cruel oppression were not in themselves loathsome. The spirit of vengeance is to be exorcised only by the perception that it is physiologically akin to that which provoked it, and that the only way out in practice is the way out in thought—the recognition that collective like individual character is an outcome of alterable factors.

Hitherto these lessons have been learned in the fortuitous way of political praxis. Three hundred and fifty years ago, Scots hated English as intensely as any Belgian can hate Germans. Within a generation Scots and English were sulkily getting on under one

king. At this moment, Belgians and Germans, whatever they say of each other in their schoolbooks, are trading with each other very much as they did before the war. It is the old story of "selfish, huckering trade" carrying the practices of peace across the ditches and dykes of hate. It needs that the praxis should be secured by science, grounding on all the sombre history of the intellectually lawless past. When the work of Dr. Hertz is generally assimilated by the schoolmasters, as well as by the sociologists, the schoolbooks will be re-written.

The process, probably, will not be rapid, because we all tend to carry racialism in our nerves even when we have banned it from our minds, as was said in a past age concerning the fear of ghosts. Dr. Hertz himself, now and then, reveals in a fashion the prepotency of the habit. On p. 53 he accepts "*character and cultural differences and political antagonisms among people who, racially, are almost at one, e.g., Swedes and Norwegians, Swiss and Tyrolese, Czechs and Slovaks, Servians and Croatians.*" Then he asks: "Why have *the English and the Northern Germans*, both being to a large extent of almost the same racial stock, developed widely divergent philosophies of politics and ethics?" "Differences in character and fundamental views," he adds, "played a great part" in the political separateness of Norwegians and Swedes, Flemish Belgians and Dutch. Here there seems to be a formal divagation from the main doctrine of the book.

It comes of inaccuracy in terms. "The English" and "the North Germans" did not develop widely divergent philosophies of politics and ethics under the flags of which they collectively arrayed themselves. The "representative" philosophers, so-called, of each country had adherents in the other. Germans were not all either Kantians or Hegelians, Englishmen were for and against Bentham and Spencer. They had many camps, at philosophic war. Many Englishmen, and many Frenchmen, adopted one "Scottish philosophy" which was a negation of another Scottish philosophy. And if there be differences of "character and fundamental views" between Swedes and Norwegians, as aggregates, wherein do they consist? Here we come to the unstated problem underlying the false solutions embodied in racial theories.

The differences between the jarring nationalities are not properly to be described as differences of character and fundamental views. They are differences of political habit, cultural association, gregariousness in terms of language, literature, and historic memory. All this is part of the disproof of the race-doctrine; but it in turn is not to be raised into a formula of differences of character, which is one of the facets of the race theory. As Dr. Hertz remarks on p. 58, "contradictions [of character] lie within each racial or national unit, even within each individual." Then there are no aggregate differences of character and fundamental view: there are

but aggregates of preference for territorial association, among individuals widely differing in character, and for institutions which satisfy given majorities. As Dr. Hertz remarks (p. 68), "a certain aversion to all that is *foreign* appears to exist in human and even in animal nature."

As is observed on p. 70, the common savage law of hospitality to strangers who ask for protection "contradicts the supposition that race hatred is inborn." Plainly it is a cultural concomitant of the tribal life, pliable to laws shaped by reflection, as the animal aversion to the foreign is pliable to experience, cat and dog becoming friends. Nothing can well seem more fundamental than the savage's conviction of his right to blood vengeance; but the subjection of that to the principle of pecuniary compensation, set up by the sense of tribal expediency, is one of the first steps out of barbarism. It only remains to turn this pliability of "instinct" systematically to good ends, to eliminate all of barbarism that remains in civilisation.

All this is implicit or explicit in Dr. Hertz's exposition, which misses no aspect of the far-reaching issue to which he has given such vigilant attention. Thanks to his work we may venture to believe that Europe has outlived the creed of Mr. Houston Chamberlain, as it has outlived the more straightforward creed of Gumpłowicz, who so grimly co-ordinated the feverish force-worship of Nietzsche. Those indeed were not racialists; though they ministered, on an ostensibly intellectual plane, to the mood for which racialism is the most facile rallying cry. But so long as nascent social service is mixed up with the creed of some inherent superiority of so-called "Nordics," substituting that cheap order of generalisation for the dispassionate scrutiny of all the elements of national life, we are not visibly out of the wood of unscientific science; and the circulation of this treatise of Dr. Hertz's is incumbent on those who appreciate the importance of the question.

By division into a multitude of sub-sections with headings it has been made readily assimilable by all readers of fair intelligence; and it is packed with concrete detail. Nothing could be more "un-German," in terms of either the old imputation to German thought of an overwhelming bias to abstract analysis, or of the old reproach of cumbrousness of expression. Dr. Hertz has learned from Nietzsche one of the best things he had to teach—the importance of the sentence; and if his translators have not always risen to his level of distinction in style they have remained faithful and lucid. In its first form, the book had no table of contents. In this, its third edition, it is still without an index. Perhaps its modest author can be made to realise that it really deserves one.

J. M. ROBERTSON.

SOUTH TYROL AS AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM.

ONLY a small proportion of the thousands of visitors who enter the Hofkirche at Innsbruck every year, to see the famous tomb of the Emperor Maximilian with its twenty-eight guardian knights in bronze, ever notices the tombs of Andreas Hofer and Joseph Speckbacher just inside the door. Few of those who admire the glorious gothic craftsmanship of the guardian figures of King Arthur of England and Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, give a thought to the tablet which in 1919 was let into the wall beside the tombs of Hofer and Speckbacher. Yet to the Tyrolese, the simple resting-place of Hofer means more than the ornate and empty tomb of the great Maximilian, for within it lies the body of the man who gave his life to free this little country of 600,000 inhabitants from the tyranny of Napoleon. The simple tablet beside Hofer's tomb means more than all the statues of real and mythical ancestors of Maximilian, for it commemorates for the Tyrolese the destruction in 1919 of a nation—their own. It is the corresponding tablet for Tyrol to that which in the Invalides kept the French from ever forgetting the tragedy of Alsace-Lorraine; it holds green in their memories (could any one of them ever forget it?) the cutting in two of their nation by the Treaty of St. Germain. Visitors might well spare it a glance, for it will mean more to Europe in years to come than will ever the beautiful tomb of the Emperor Maximilian, whose body has for centuries lain far away, at Wiener Neustadt.

Innsbruck has not an open Place de la Concorde with statues representing the lost half-province, though a whole group of streets near the Maria Theresa Arch—Brixenerstrasse, Meranerstrasse, Salurnerstrasse—deliberately fix the time-honoured names of those places for which Italy has invented Southern equivalents during the last five years. But the tourists, who all day and every day may be seen examining the grotesques and the gilded roof of Ferdinand With The Empty Pocket's famous "Goldne Dachl," have but to step into the adjoining Landhaus to see in the hall of the Tyrolese Diet the exact equivalent of those once-tragic Paris statues—the pictures in their setting of baroque stucco-work of the lost cities of South Tyrol, draped in black "until such day as they are restored to us," as the Tyrolese say with impressive calm and perfect simplicity.

The tragedy of South Tyrol is primarily a purely Tyrol family affair. The Tyrolese have always been more loyal to Austria than she to them. Did not the Emperor Francis II discourage the determination of Hofer and the Tyrolese not to be torn from their

allegiance to the Hapsburgs? Did he not give his daughter in marriage to Napoleon at the very time when the gallant Hofer was being court-martialled and shot by a French firing party outside the gates of Mantua? The "servile Press of Vienna," writes Fyffe in his *History of Modern Europe*, found no space to mention this dastardly execution of a gallant enemy, so absorbed was it in chronicling the wedding splendours of the very Napoleon who had just forced their capital to its knees. Little more support can the Tyrolese expect from the Vienna Government, little more space from the Vienna Press, in their struggle against a fresh tyranny to-day. It was the Tyrolese deputies in the Vienna Chamber who forced Dr. Seipel, the Chancellor, against his own judgment, to afford time for a debate on the sufferings of the South Tyrolese, and it was not Dr. Seipel, but an exiled priest from South Tyrol, the Deputy Dr. Kolb, who quietly catalogued in the Chamber the more astounding of the cruelly oppressive enactments of the Fascist régime there. It is Tyrol alone which is fighting on now, determined that though there can at present be no question of re-uniting with their fellow-Germans south of the Brenner, at least their worst sufferings must be modified, even if to effect this it prove necessary to drive Vienna, Berlin or Munich (where help comes from is no matter to them, provided only that it come, and quickly) to invoke the intervention of the League.

What, in a nutshell, are the Tyrolese grievances? M. Ludovic Raudeau, in the *Paris Illustration*, recently added fresh evidence to that which already established beyond question the purely Germanic character of the population in the lost territory down to The Gorge of Salurn. He reproduced an Italian pre-war racial map of the *Instituto Geographico* which depicts all this country as purely German, and has recalled the fact that Hofer himself was born in the heart of German South Tyrol, now under Italy, close to Meran. The Fascisti, by the way, have found an ingenious way of getting over this, as over so many other obstacles to establishing their "moral right" to the territory. They have re-christened Andreas "Andre" Hofer, and have discovered that he was the first great Italian patriot of this area. For did he not fight, not merely the French, but the Bavarians, who were then Napoleon's vassals, and must he not therefore have been a notable "anti-German"? To demonstrate their thesis, they have set a guard over the Hofer statue in Meran, to prevent "the German-Tyrolese minority" from blowing up this memorial to their great national hero!

The Tyrolese are wise enough to realise that until a more liberal régime is born in Italy, until a more reasonable spirit animates Europe than has ever yet moved it, there is no hope, short of a

general conflagration, of re-union with the half of their nation placed under Italian rule. What they are fighting for now is observance by Italy of the solemn promises given by her and confirmed by the Allies at the time of the tearing apart of Tyrol in 1918-19. These have been admirably set forth in Dr. Herford's book, *The Case of German South Tyrol Against Italy* (George Allen & Unwin, 3s. 6d.). Briefly, they are literal guarantees to South Tyrol (1) "that their language and cultural institutions will be respected and their administrative officials enjoy all the privileges of our liberal and democratic legislation . . . no police government" (Tittioni, Italy's representative at the St. Germain Peace Conference, in the Roman Chamber, September 27th, 1919); (2) of "the free enjoyment of their autonomous institutions . . . they must feel free and undisturbed in the exercise of their cultural and religious needs" (Luzzatti, Reporter in the Roman Chamber); (3) "The Government must pay particular regard to the autonomous institutions in these domains" (Prince Colonna, Reporter in the Roman Senate); (4) "The most scrupulous respect for local self-governing institutions and customs" (the King of Italy, December 1st, 1919). There are more Italian promises, but these will suffice to make out the Tyrolese case that proper treatment of their fellow-subjects was specifically guaranteed by Italy.

I have just spent some time in South Tyrol, and the things which I have seen there are such as might well arouse a cry of protest from even a semi-civilised people which had received no guarantees of any sort. In only five towns, and there in only two upper classes of the schools, will the German language be permitted until the beginning of the next school year, after which it will be abolished entirely. Names of streets, towns, villages, have been Italianised and the use of the original German forms forbidden; the very name of South Tyrol is banned, and where it still appears, even on picture postcards, it has to be blotted out under heavy penalties. Not only hotel menus, but even plate and linen must bear only Italian inscriptions (until next autumn both languages are tolerated in the five towns referred to above only). A hotel-keeper was recently fined 80 lire because a boiler in the scullery bore the inscription "*Heisses Wasser*." Italian has been made the language of the courts, and of all official documents and of personal applications from individual Germans to the Italian authorities. In the Unterland, the southernmost part of German South Tyrol, the priests, as I have seen, have received written instructions to teach the catechism in Italian only, "with no translating into German"; those who disobey, and many of them do because the children cannot understand Italian, are shut out of the schools. A beginning has been

made with the compulsory Italianisation of surnames, following on the Italianising of Christian names.

As for the promise to respect cultural institutions and local self-government, the native Burgermeister has everywhere been replaced by the Podesta, either an Italian or one of the few renegade South Tyrolese. The native teachers, all the native railwaymen, and all the native officials have been removed. Police government of the worst kind has been set up; a reign of terror results from the system of denunciations, violation of the mails, and general espionage. It is correct, and quite unimportant, that as Signor Mussolini says, only two South Tyrolese have actually been "banished" to the dreaded islands; but hundreds have been driven into exile, fined and imprisoned for alleged non-compliance with the measures of Italianisation. A general attack on the priesthood is in preparation. Of the accuracy of this picture I have satisfied myself by the most scrupulous investigation.

Side by side with these measures marches a campaign of economic expropriation and colonisation by imported Italians. It has been suggested that Signor Mussolini's self-laudatory remarks in the Roman Chamber concerning the treatment by Italy of the Tyrolese war-widows and orphans are worthy of special attention. Why, it is difficult to see. These people were taken by force from the Austrian State, which would gladly have fulfilled its duty of caring for them. Italy could hardly expect all the advantages and none of the liabilities of this Austrian territory to accrue to her. If Italy did not preserve the war-victims in South Tyrol from want, who else could possibly do so? These unfortunates have, in point of fact, had to fight for eight years for equality of treatment, which even now they have not in every respect secured.

The recent appearance of South Tyrol in the news telegrams was anything but a flash in the pan. It was the forerunner of a determined fight to secure decent treatment for its inhabitants, the first move in which may be an appeal by the clergy and secular leaders to the Vatican. But in particular, the Tyrolese are resolved, if Italy does not make amends, to bring their case before the League of Nations. In this connection they rely upon the Note of the Allied Powers of September 2nd, 1919, to disprove Signor Mussolini's contention that the treatment of South Tyrol is a purely private matter for Italy to handle as she pleases.

When in 1919 the Austrians were informed that the annexation of South Tyrol had been agreed upon, they addressed to the Allied Powers a Note stating that the Armistice had been accepted on the basis of the Fourteen Points, especially of the Ninth Point, which was never modified. According to this Ninth Point, the frontiers of Italy should have been fixed in accordance with the clearly recog-

fields, men tending goats, or solitary motionless figures sitting on platforms made of branches and twigs watching their crops, even from early dawn. With the exception of certain desert areas such as Sind, and of real jungle far from the line of travel, there would seem to be people everywhere. On a solitary country walk, or a drive, groups sitting talking in a dry ditch or under a tree suddenly come into view, their eyes watching one's every movement. At any small incident dark faces spring up from anywhere—to see what is doing. The Indians have a strong bump of curiosity.

At first sight one would say there is no privacy in India. The people live and sleep and eat and wash in public. But there is a kind of privacy, a withdrawal from the world, when a man takes his noonday rest with his shawl or blanket closely wrapped round his head and body. One would think there was nothing there but a cloak or a piece of sacking. Sometimes close wrapping gives the effect of a mummy stretched out. Or among the packages on a dimly lighted station platform, far from the crowd, a silent motionless figure in shape rather like a top will turn out to be a woman sitting with her sari drawn over her head and face, unnoticed and apparently unnoticing. Is she asleep? What is she thinking about? Another kind of privacy is that of the Mahomedan woman inside the big overall garment which suggests a loose cover in white dimity made for a piece of furniture. She has two small slits in it for eyeholes. Who can tell what news of the world she gets through them? She goes about with her husband visiting museums, shopping, travelling, but no one can see who she is or what she is like, is she beautiful, is she happy? Private shopping such as the Maharanis in a certain native State do must be rather amusing. At the rumour of their coming the whole shop is cleared of men, proprietor and servant alike disappear. The ladies alight from their carriage, walk round and take what they want. After they have gone the shopkeeper returns, sees what has been taken and sends the bill to the palace.

There is a deal of washing. Wherever there is water Hindus congregate, and if they can get into it, go in they must, be it sea or river, canal, fountain, ornamental water in the park, stagnant pond or insalubrious ditch. No view of water in India is complete without its figures standing immersed, waist or even shoulder high, and washing their clothes. Quite apart from the laundry work of the professional *dhobi* every Hindu reckons to wash his clothes every day. Would the Taj Mahal at Agra be quite the wonder it is of beauty and serenity were it not for the human touch of the native gardener in a side walk wringing out garments? Just off a busy corner in Bombay several barbers may be seen at the side

of the road squatting on their heels shaving the faces or cutting the hair of their customers, and the work is well and neatly done too. At a standpipe in a side street of Calcutta a man with his hands full of soap lather gives his blessing, a proper "laying on of hands," to his friend who is washing his head under the tap.

Down in Madras the people seem full of zest, laughing and enjoying life, walking along with elastic step, or rushing headlong in open motor buses. This refers to the men, and the distinction needs emphasising because so many of them have long hair rolled up in a nob at the back of their heads or flowing loose over their shoulders, and the eye has to accustom itself to know them from women. The women, too, are freely walking about in that city, but they do not show so much *joie de vivre*. On the contrary, many of them give the impression of being burdened and worn. Students, women students, of course, are different. And the vast concourse of women attending the Women's Day of the National Congress was a fine and inspiring sight. Seated in a wide circle, row behind row, on straw mats on the ground they listened with great attention to the speeches, sometimes in English sometimes in Tamil. One little girl wore bracelets, anklets, necklets, earrings and ornaments in her hair and through her nose (many women wear toe rings as well). Their faces provided an interesting study in types, from the intelligent student and the highly-educated lady to the woman who looked as if she knew more about work than politics. They passed all the resolutions put to them, but one felt that some of the nostrums were straight from England, from the Labour Party or the Women's League, and seemed hardly to have the appeal of others such as child marriage in India, the purdah system and the nurture of children.

Indeed, one is tempted to harbour a strong suspicion that there is too much imposition of English ideas in the absence, or at least slow evolving, of native thought. The Indian peoples are prone to imitate and have great ease in acquiring book knowledge and theory, which seem to sit only too easily on a foundation of inexperience and unpracticality. The results are perhaps being realised now as far as educational institutions are concerned. The Christian College for Women is training the pupils by sending them to villages of an evening, accompanied by one of their professors, to attend to sore eyes and do such other small services as they are capable of, in order to develop practical ability, some knowledge of their fellow beings and the spirit of public service. In politics, theory unsupported by practice is a still more dangerous thing.

This brings one to Mr. Gandhi's Khadi movement, which is derided by the wise as an effort to set the clock back, a feeble fight put up against all the conditions of modern machine production,

doomed to inevitable failure in the market where a cheap supply of cotton is the only possible way of meeting the needs of so many millions of very poor people. From the point of view of big business the effort to keep alive or revive hand-spinning and hand-weaving may look absurd. But considering that nearly 90 per cent. of the population of India live in villages far away from mills and that three-quarters of them depend solely on agriculture for a living, the problem of raising the standard of life and of keeping down famine is serious. "Agriculture, owing among other reasons to excessive fragmentation of holdings, yields but a scanty living and does not fully occupy the agriculturist all through the year.* In some thickly populated parts, holdings are stated to average less than half an acre. The cultivator works fairly hard when he ploughs his land, puts down his crops and again when he harvests them, but for most of the year he has little or nothing to do. The hand-spinning movement is designed for the villager. The equipment is cheap, the material is close at hand, for cotton grows in all parts; the art can be easily learned, "even children and old men can practise it," indeed many know all about it by family tradition. Sales can be effected either through the centres established for the purpose or direct, as everyone requires clothing, and garments are simple. It can be carried on at any time and there is no controversy about it. When people are very poor and have no means whatever of earning anything extra, to make 4d. a day at hand-spinning, as some are able to do, is a considerable addition to the family income, and even 1d. a day is not to be despised in some circles. A big organisation for the sale or distribution of khadi has grown up. There are 166 production centres each covering a number of villages, and 245 sale depots. It is estimated that 31,86,731 rupees (roughly £245,133) worth of cloth was sold last year through the depots. In addition, dyeing and printing are being developed and there is a considerable branch of business in manufacturing the *charka* or spinning wheel, the hand-loom, the spindles, reels, hand gins, carding bows, etc. Altogether 747 workers, educated young men of the middle classes, are engaged in the general organisation of the All India Spinners' Association, not counting all the private undertakings. Mr. Gandhi, in opening the recent exhibition in Madras, stated that the Khadi movement had given food to 75,000 spinners scattered in 2,000 villages, and that also 6,000 weavers lived by weaving khadi cloth. Hand-spinning and the weaving of hand-spun and self-woven cloth are prescribed as "measures of discipline and self-sacrifice for every man, woman, and child." Posters have been made to advocate the wear :

* *Khadi Guide*. 1927.

(a) A picture of two ladies, one in a fine sari, one in khadi.

1st. Lady : " It does not sit well on your *body*."

2nd. Lady : " But it sits well on my *conscience*."

(b) A picture of a boy in a suit, entitled " Dressing for dress's sake," opposite a khadi-dressed man looking in a mirror. " Dress and charity combined." A table of occupations in India is drawn up as follows :

" All the cotton mills give work to ...	3	lakhs of people.
All the jute mills give work to ...	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	" " "
All railway workshops give work to ...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	" " "
Total industrial workers of all kinds	14	" " "
Hand loom workers ...	20	" " "
Numbers depending on agriculture	2,240	" " "
i.e., 160 times the total number employed in all kinds of organised industries. These 22 crores need a supplementary occupation."		

Another poster consists of a quotation from Mr. Gandhi in large letters :

" My faith is unshakable. I know they (the English educated) will come to the Charka.* Their hearts are sound—therefore the conviction is bound to come, if not to-day, tomorrow.

MAHATMAJI."

At Ikkadu, a typical South Indian Village, where the missionaries endeavoured to raise the life of the people over thirty years ago by starting lace work, there is now a village industry which has been recognised by the Government of Madras for the teaching of spinning, weaving, embroidery, cloth printing and lace work.

" Day by day an attempt is being made at Ikkadu to solve, in a very small corner, India's great problem of poverty. In our Industrial school people of all classes are learning to work happily together. There are Brahmins, non-Brahmins, Mahomedans, Christians and Adi-Dravidas (or 'Untouchables' or 'Pariahs') a hundred and twenty in all, men, women, boys and girls. Teachers are trained to pass Government tests, humble workers are able to earn their daily bread, and cottage industries are being organised."†

A Hindu lawyer, who is also a landowner in Sind, taking a business view, argued that the best way to help rural India was to start mills near the railway stations and collect workers from the country round. An Indian cultivator lives in a portable hut and can easily take it down and put it up where his work is. This has been done at a country station in Sind and there is now quite a settlement there. The answer to that is that immense irrigation schemes are on foot to enable the fertile soil of that part of India to be cultivated and provide work and food and cotton for

* Spinning wheel.

† Wesleyan Mission Village Industry report.

India's immense population. Who is going to cultivate if the people are drawn into mills?

One of the finest and most practical examples of what can be done for rural India is the experiment at Gurgaon near Delhi where a school has been started to teach men and women, husbands and wives, improved methods for country life, practical agriculture, domestic knowledge, the use of tools and machinery in the field and in the home.

It would seem that there is a bigger opportunity than ever opening out for ordinary Englishwomen in Indian stations and that they have in their hands the chance—not merely to build bridges across a gulf but to lay firm foundations for a united advance of the Indian nation. While official husbands are distraught with the manœuvres of Swaraj, and the criticism of Nationalists makes every Englishman's job an arduous one, the women can make friends and promote understanding on an entirely different plane. A study of our Women's Institute movement at home would be fruitful from several points of view. It has helped to promote the revival of handicrafts in our villages. It has been the means of bringing in new education, new ideas, new life. All classes of women have come to know one another in a friendship based on the common interest of the community. This seems to be suggestive for India at the present moment. And it would be lovely if Englishwomen on leave could look into this movement as they spend their summer in the English countryside, and bring themselves up to date with their sisters at home and with the new spirit in modern England.

In trying to form some impression of the position of women missionaries in India, the great cleavage which appears to exist between the missionary and the ordinary Englishman and woman in so many places and especially in large cities would seem to be lessening in response to some of the new social movements. The missionary who has established contact with native women and girls and has worked in the very spirit which is now needed in these new directions, is surely coming into his, and especially her, own. It seems hard that she should be any longer ignored—as if she were scarcely English and a fellow citizen, or as if acquaintance with her might prove disadvantageous and a reproach. Recently women's societies for the promotion of women's education in India have been forming in the larger cities. On these societies missionary schools and colleges are necessarily represented. The leaders are the best of India's women aided by the best of the English. Twenty-five of the native States now have such societies, or at least circles, working in them and the whole was focussed recently in an All-India Women's Education Conference. Schools and colleges for girls are an expert business run on established

lines; they have to have qualified teachers and they earn a Government grant. But the vast need of the village women awaits every possible effort, whether amateur or professional.

The Infant Welfare movement in India and the Children's Aid Societies are engaging the activities of a wide and varied circle of women, Indian and English working closely together. Neither politics nor religion is involved. There would seem to be plenty of scope for the "voluntary" and the "half-timer." Where mothers forgather and knowledge of their language can be acquired, mutual confidences on the nurture of the baby and the training of little children can be exchanged, not to mention the problems of young girlhood and marriage, which inevitably interest all women. These may touch on controverted points, but changes can only come through the women of the country and they must be helped to think.

One of the things that strikes visitors with something of a shock is the way servants are spoken to and spoken of. They must, of course, need a lot of telling, their idea of life is so primitive. But are they not expected—without education or training—to enter into the most complicated trains of reasoning of their highly educated foreign masters at the very briefest words of command? Such service simply cannot be got in England and it seems time we recognised this new order of things coming in in all the countries and that our minds adjusted themselves a little to the newer feeling among the people in India. The same lady who says in the sweetest voice to her child of five, "Betty, would you mind" doing so and so, calls imperatively to her Indian servant, who is little more than a child himself, "Boy, get my book at once, do you hear," muttering to herself "lazy dog." And at table wants are apt to be snapped out: "Boy, tea—" until the unseasoned visitor asks herself: "Is thy servant a dog?" Apparently there are no words for "please" and "thank you" in Hindustani. This is not to suggest that servants are unfairly treated in India. They do not appear to be, though they are expected to be on hand for inordinately long hours. Also they are quite free to leave and go elsewhere. But the attitude has come down surely from the Moghul times. It is *not English*. How one longs that all English should feel and act towards the Indian people with the sense of responsibility of a great and good nation, setting an example worthy to be followed. Instead of that we are just ourselves and we evidently afford considerable exercise of mind to our Indian friends in trying to puzzle us out. What they appear to need in studying us is a genial sense of humour. The parents of a little English boy in an up-country station were somewhat criticised by their neighbours for allowing their child to play with a little Indian boy—"You never

know what they'll pick up." One of these same neighbours passing one day called Kenneth to her. "Kenneth, does that little boy speak English?" "No, he doesn't," was the reply, "except a few bad words—and those are what I taught him."

The English in India would appear to have acquired certain Indian characteristics. The caste system among the English is very marked. Here, in London, there are so many of us that if anyone has "no use" for us we may be quite unaware of the position. In an Indian city where there are few English in proportion to the vast population of natives, it seems strange that two women belonging to the same town and educated at the same High School in England cannot meet out there because one is the wife of an Indian civil servant, and the other is only a teacher. Naturally enough the atmosphere of the country is infectious.

Love of display also is an Indian quality, which from of old has taken possession of the British. Government Houses are apt to look almost too imposing for a country which is being trained for democracy. Gleaming white marble Victoria memorials and statues of great generals seem to "rub in" the idea of conquest and domination. And as for the new Delhi, one supposes that the idea of making an entirely new city was borne in upon our rulers in order to keep up the old tradition of India. It is enormously costly. While rural India is crying out for help! The habit of the ancient emperors and kings is still upon us.

India is greatly loved by many English people. The Swarajists are apt to say that it is money-making that binds Englishmen to India. But there is a great deal more interest and attachment than that. One lady, wife of an official, who has her share of trying to be in two places at once, with her husband in India and her children at school in England, says: "I love India. I have lived here all my married life and whenever I come back from England I feel I am coming home." A missionary's wife, due to retire, says: "I can't bear the idea of leaving and of having to live in England. India is fascinatingly interesting." A chorus of agreement from the younger women was, "Yes, more interesting every year." From time to time one hears of sons and daughters of English officials in India diligently preparing themselves to go out to posts, the girls becoming nurses, social workers, or missionaries.*

A subject of burning interest, which, although mentioned last, is of the first importance, is religion. The Indian peoples are very religious, both Hindus and Mahomedans. In the matter of observance they have much to show. The wide handsome streets of Jeypore city are full of attractive business. Men and women are

* The word English or British has been used, but what has been said may well stand for a large number of American missionaries and social workers who pour into India and often make India their home.

practising their arts and crafts in front of their shops, blue and red shoes are being embroidered with gold; here is a man beating out a pattern on a brass plate, there silver is being set with gems or fine coloured enamels. Groups are busy dyeing materials of brilliant hues, which they afterwards stretch out in great lengths from hand to hand, walking up and down with them to dry them in the sun. The people are wearing a wonderful variety of scarves and turbans round their heads, pink, red, blue. The women are dressed in orange saris with big red borders, or red saris with yellow printed pattern; merchants are wearing their quilted silk coats of deep red, pink, purple. Down the centre of the street go cattle, goats, country carts, motors, an occasional elephant. In the midst of all the chaffering a man's voice is suddenly heard calling out with fervour: "All-ah!" There he is kneeling on his carpet with his forehead now bowed to the earth, dressed only in a loin cloth, praying to God, unconscious of the people round him and they hardly turning to observe him, the sight is so familiar. Praise has a foremost place among the Mahomedans. At the burial places of their great ones, under the handsome domes built for commemoration, the actual tomb is inscribed, not with the names and dates of the dead man or woman, but with the ninety-nine names of God inlaid in marble and precious stones.

In Calcutta the Hindus were observing a festival of *Parvati*, a day when tools are especially celebrated, including the pen. Images are made from the clay of the river which, being part of the Ganges, is sacred. Dressed in tinsel and jewellery and coloured paper, the goddess is carried about in procession preceded by a banner. Passing by the river about 6 p.m. a man might be seen entering the water with one of these figures held high until he was waist deep in, when to the beating of gongs and drums on the shore he would plunge it under the water. At sundown the spirit has departed from the goddess and so the clay can be returned to the river. Later, at least thirty little processions were met carrying their images down. The Hindu religion, of course, goes much deeper than such observances as one sees. But the impact of Christianity has driven both Hindus and Mahomedans to develop missionary societies.

Some travellers are apt to say that as the people have their own religious systems and are happy under them, to interfere is a great mistake, it only introduces unnecessary trouble. But the religion of Jesus Christ has opened up great questions of ethics, of humanitarianism, of self-sacrifice in the service of man, which every country developing nationally must face. "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." That must be made known.

EVELYN M. BUNTING.

THE NEW BALKAN STATES.

ALLES Erdreich ist Frankreich untertan. Austria is gone. To-day it is France that dominates Europe. In her search for security she has Balkanised the whole of Eastern Europe—whether to the benefit of Europe remains to be seen. But her influence is felt everywhere—in Greece, Yugo-Slavia, Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia. She has wrested the Pact of Locarno from Britain. She is on the point of drawing the United States into her service.* Two great Powers only stand outside the sphere of her influence—Germany and Italy. We will not stay to inquire whether, as some writers argue, the mentality of Germany has undergone a radical change. For the present at any rate Germany is quiescent. She has an enormous debt to bear; she is disarmed and must perforce do as she is told. Apparently her only concern is to recover her industrial supremacy. Peace for the time being is as necessary for her as it is for France and England. Only Italy is free to move and Italy, in her efforts to find an outlet for her surplus population, is restless. She, of all the Allies, gained little by the war. True she has extended her frontier as far as the Brenner on the one side and on the other to Fiume. But this extension of territory has brought her little advantage. At best it has only strengthened her strategical position as against Austria and Yugo-Slavia, and to-day Austria is out of the running. The possession of Fiume and Zara is a thorn in the flesh to Yugo-Slavia: the occupation of South Tyrol has raised a storm of protest, which has found an echo in the League of Nations. But Italy will not surrender the one or the other. They are too valuable as objects of barter when the time to barter comes. Italy knows that she owes little to France. The differences between them are fundamental and are not to be settled by any platonic expressions of friendship on the part of M. Briand and Signor Mussolini. And Italy is not without her friends. She is on terms of amicable relations, notwithstanding South Tyrol, with Germany, and with Russia despite the differences, more apparent than real, between Bolshevism and Corporativism, if we may be allowed the word. She has got a footing more or less secure in Albania; she has extended the right hand of fellowship to Hungary. At present she is trying hard to win Bulgaria over to her side in the hope of breaking down the Slav barrier that France has erected. The difficulties in her way are enormous, but already Yugo-Slavia is beginning to feel the pressure of her *Einkreisungs Politik*.

It is an interesting picture of the state of affairs in eastern Europe that Signor Zingarelli has unfolded in his recent book *Der Grosse*

* We refer to the overtures in this direction made by France in June last.

Balkan, under which title he included not only the old Balkan lands, but also Austria, Hungary and Rumania. Signor Zingarelli writes with an Italian bias, but his book is in German and published in Vienna (Amalthea Verlag, 1927). For one thing it displays, except as regards Bulgaria, a personal and intimate knowledge of the countries he describes and of the politicians (it is hard to call them all statesmen) who rule the roost in each of them respectively. Especially interesting is his account of "red" Vienna under the rule of Herr Breitner. In the first instance he makes short work of the notion prevalent in England and elsewhere that Austria owes much thanks to the League of Nations. On the contrary, he holds that the misdirected efforts of the League to restore Austria have only intensified her misery. "Then, not gold was it that the tormented little State needed, but a healthy organism. Instead of using the banks, which with the guarantees already given could have managed that business for themselves, as intermediaries, the League of Nations should have concentrated its attention on the inner structure of the State, on its constitution and administration. Unfortunately, whenever it had to deal with Austria, it neglected to take into account the fact that all real power lay in the hands of the wire-pullers behind the screen—the Socialists, who rule Vienna from the Rathhaus and who, by their fiscal policy, have succeeded in making the financial capacity of Austria appear to the world far other than it really is." But the policy of robbing Peter to pay Paul, or in other words of fleecing industry for the benefit of the proletariat, has its limits, and with all his ingenuity in taxing manufacturers, hotel-proprietors, coffee-houses, theatres, cinemas and other places of amusement, Herr Breitner is beginning to find that the goose that lays the golden egg is growing thinner to the point of exhaustion.

And geese the Viennese are, as Signor Zingarelli has little hesitation in calling them, to stand it so long. In Paris or Berlin such a system as that pursued by Herr Breitner would long ago have been answered by the barricades. But what are the Viennese to do? Vienna is not Austria—fortunately for Austria as the general strike last summer proved. Austria, though every third man in Austria is a Viennese, will have nothing to do with Vienna. With the best will in the world to follow in the footsteps of Lenin, the Socialists of Vienna have nothing to offer to the peasant. The peasant of Austria, thanks to the wise unwisdom of the Emperor Joseph, has long been a free man. No one can turn him out of house and home: no one can take his land from him. And the peasant is a Catholic and conservative to the backbone. Yesterday Austria was part of a great empire: to-day she is a small republic. But for the peasant the change has little meaning. Empires may come and

go, but the earth remains and the peasant is more interested in his crops and cattle than in politics. For the rest has he not his church and the village inn? Outside Vienna and the larger towns like Graz and Linz the Socialists have no hold on the country. And in Vienna and the large towns they owe their influence to a mere accident.

Politics in Austria may be summed up in one word—*Mieterschutz*, or as we should call it the Tenants' Protection Act. The Act in Austria, as in other countries, was called into existence by the war and the necessity there was of finding house-room to meet the increase of population, swollen by the disbanded armies. But whereas in other countries the Tenants' Protection Act has long ceased to be operative, it still survives in Austria. The *Mietergeretz* is the trump-card in the hand of the Socialists. Without it they would soon be in a minority. Thousands of Austrians vote "red," not because they are Socialists, but because they are living practically rent free. Of course in its present-day working the Act is merely legalised robbery. But this does not concern those who profit by it, and the Socialists have a ready answer to the complaints of the house-proprietor: "If the *rentier* has suffered by the collapse of the Empire and the savings of his lifetime have disappeared, why shouldn't you? In any case your house remains yours. It may one day prove a valuable asset and meanwhile you have a roof over your head."

According to Signor Zingarelli it was a great mistake on the part of the Chancellor, Monsignor Seipel, that he did not in the hour of his triumph, after saving Austria from disruption, dissolve Parliament. Perhaps; but who knows? Vienna is beyond Seipel's control. It is an *imperium in imperio*—a law to itself. The burning of the Palace of Justice last year was only the visible sign of an inner contempt of all law and order. Is it not a remarkable symptom of the disease from which Vienna is suffering that in the new workmen's houses, immense barrack-like buildings, each capable of containing 1,800 families, there are only two doors, so that its inhabitants may be more easily mobilised and their conduct controlled whenever the call is issued for a demonstration? Is it any wonder that in the circumstances Vienna is beginning to lose caste? Apart from the fact that living there is becoming too dear for any but the very wealthy, her whole character is changing. Outwardly she remains the city beautiful. She is even tidier in some respects. For, whereas formerly you were merely requested to place your used tram-ticket in the box placed at the end of the car for that purpose; now you are punished if you do not do so. Perhaps it is only one of Herr Breitner's revenue-raising tricks. But inwardly what a change! How seldom does one meet with that

politesse which was once the distinguishing feature of the Viennese? To-day Jack is as good as or even better than his master, and the street-sweeper the equal in his own opinion of the university professor. There are no Grafs, or Barons, or Vons. Titles have been abolished. Everybody is plain Herr or Frau, though curiously enough the *Holrat*, in great numbers, still survive. Jazz everywhere, even within the sacred portals of the opera. True, Beethoven and Schubert and Mozart are still names to conjure with, but their value is mainly reckoned in shillings. The British collection of loan pictures last year proved a great attraction for thousands, but it was chiefly curiosity that drew them. Art of a sort still exists. The *nouveau riche* wants his portrait and those of his ancestors painted; but the artist, like the musician, is starving. The great days of Pettenhofer, Waldmüller and Makart have gone for ever. There is no court to patronise the painter, and of the Lobmeyers, Wilceks and Liechtensteins who used to delight in fostering native talent, how few are left? The universities are more crowded than ever they were, but admitting that the republic employs more superfluous officials for administrative purposes than did the empire, what prospect have the majority of these students of ever making a living in their own country? Even the newspapers, never at any time very independent, are feeling the pressure that is exercised from above—not indeed directly as the Press in Italy is doing, but indirectly by reason of the horrid tax of from 10 to 35 per cent. on advertisements, which goes to swell the city coffer controlled by Herr Breitner. The consequence is that, in order to live, the papers are compelled to reduce their size and fill their columns with the veriest sensational trash.

It is a sad picture, and we are almost constrained to agree with Signor Zingarelli that it would have been better for Vienna if she had undergone a dose of real Bolshevism as Hungary underwent, than to be subjected to this deadly creeping cancer that is sucking the life-blood out of her body. In regard to the often suggested remedy for the ills from which Austria is suffering, namely, union with Germany, Signor Zingarelli shows himself very sceptical. As he says it is very doubtful if any real desire for a union exists either in Germany or Austria; but it is evidently to Germany's interest to persuade the world that there is a strong pan-Germanic feeling in Austria, in the hope that one day the situation may prove such that, by yielding the point, she may secure some political or economic advantage or some substantial concession either in Asia or elsewhere. Except perhaps for Tyrol the whole thing is a chimera; but it is a chimera that is proving very useful to the Little Entente in bolstering up its pretensions to be a main factor in preserving the *status quo* in central Europe and in distracting

public attention from its own egoistical policy. Perhaps the only State that has any real interest in promoting the union is Yugo-Slavia, for then it might be possible, by giving its consent to it, to get possession of Carinthia as a valuable *quid pro quo*. Be that as it may, it is clearly not in this direction that the recuperation of Austria is to be looked for, but rather in the breaking down of those economic barriers behind which the Little Entente has entrenched itself. That the days of the Little Entente are numbered Signor Zingarelli firmly believes, though it may still be to the interest of Dr. Benesh to make believe that the danger of a reaction in Hungary renders its maintenance a political necessity. Perhaps Signor Zingarelli is going too far. The alliance between Hungary and Italy has aroused a strong feeling of distrust in Yugo-Slavia, which renders its interests for the time being identical with those of Czecho-Slovakia, and it is quite possible that Dr. Benesh may succeed in adroitly using the opposing interests of France and Italy to his own benefit, though not perhaps to the same extent as he did the conflicting interests of France and Germany, now happily no more existent. Besides, we are not sure that Hungary is so helpless as Signor Zingarelli seems to suppose. The demand for a revision of the Treaty of Trianon has found strong support in England and is causing much heart-burning among the members of the Little Entente.

Hungary, it must be admitted, was hard hit by the Treaty. Vast stretches of land, with their Hungarian inhabitants, have been torn from her. Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, and Yugo-Slavia have alike participated in her dismemberment and none of them are showing a due regard for the rights of the minorities they have absorbed. Hungary has lived through a red and white terror and she has felt the hoof of invading armies. But Hungary is still alive. She is true to herself and her traditions. Notwithstanding the futile efforts of the late ex-King Charles to recover the throne of his ancestors, she is loyal to the House of Habsburg. Under the wise and strong guidance of Stefan Bethlen she has recovered much of her former dignity and importance. Her finances are in order, recent statistics show a great improvement in her economic condition, and the so-called *Numerus Clausus*, which blackened her reputation, is on the point of being abolished. But what of the three and a half million Hungarians living outside her boundaries under foreign dominion? It is here where the shoe pinches. It is this crying injustice that lies at the bottom of the demand for a revision of the Treaty of Trianon. But with her avowed or unavowed determination to adhere to historical continuity, how is this to be accomplished? No one, as Signor Zingarelli observes, can understand Hungary who fails to take into account that she is a kingdom

without a king, or, as the legitimists would say, a kingdom whose fifteen year-old king lives in exile and with smiling face awaits the hour of his restoration. No one in Hungary, when he speaks of Zita, speaks of an ex-queen. Zita is the crowned queen of Hungary. Otto is the king living in exile who will one day return. Everywhere in the public offices one sees a copy on the wall of the portrait of the late King Charles IV, painted by Arpad Busch in 1917. The National Assembly has purchased the original and placed it in its hall facing the portrait of the late King Francis Joseph. No one in Hungary speaks openly of a republic, or, if he does, he is liable to punishment by the law. A curious state of affairs though perfectly intelligible to every Hungarian.

Whether indeed the choice of the nation will ultimately fall on Otto is however uncertain. He has a strong rival in the person of the Archduke Albert, the son of the Archduke Frederick, Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian army in the war. Albert's mother, Isabella, is a princess Croy, tracing her descent back to the House of Arpad, and it is said that if he is elected king, he will found a new non-Habsburg dynasty under the name of Béla V and formally renounce all claim on Austria. This makes him a favourite with the extreme Nationalists and at the same time an agreeable candidate with politicians anxious to avoid complications, while his immense wealth, pleasing exterior, winning manners and excellent knowledge of Hungarian render him extremely popular with the rising generation of both sexes. As yet the time for a decision has not arrived and meanwhile Admiral Horthy rules the land as Regent in the name of the nation.

One cannot help admiring the courage of the Hungarians, but the situation being such as it is Dr. Benesh has an easy task in showing that Hungary is the *enfant terrible* of Europe. But after all what right has Dr. Benesh or the Little Entente to dictate terms to Hungary? Hungary has as much right to be a kingdom as Czecho-Slovakia has to be a republic. Of all the absurd ideas current surely the absurdest is that Hungary will one day absorb Austria. For Austria, and especially for "red" Vienna, Hungary has no love whatever. Of Bolshevism she has had more than enough. No Socialist is allowed to sit in the Hungarian Parliament. What the future may have in store for Austria and Hungary who shall say? But if Russia succeeds in recovering her equilibrium, as every Slav in Europe hopes and believes she will do, it is more than likely that they will be absorbed by Yugo-Slavia and Czecho-Slovakia. At present Hungary's chief and only aim, apart from her anxiety for a revision of the Treaty of Trianon in the interests of her exiled millions, is to find an outlet for her products. For the hindrances placed in her way she owes, like

Austria, small thanks to the Little Entente. If Czecho-Slovakia were as intent on promoting peace in Europe as she professes to be, she would pursue a different economical policy towards her weaker neighbours. But it is not in the interest of Czecho-Slovakia and Yugo-Slavia to allow Austria and Hungary to recover their balance. Dr. Benesh, whatever he may say, is only marking time. Once, owing to her natural resources and her intelligent German population, Bohemia formed the backbone of a great empire. She profited by the connection, just as Ireland profited by her connection with Great Britain. Now, in the over-swollen pride of her own self-sufficiency she has erected a tariff barrier which, without being of much benefit to herself, has ruined Austria and is crippling Hungary. By the Treaty of Trianon Hungary secured the right to an outlet for her products on the Adriatic. She has recently obtained a concession from Italy to use Fiume. The concession is as much to the advantage of Italy as it is to that of Hungary. Hungary made Fiume. In 1913 Fiume exported goods chiefly from Hungary to the amount of 1,173,883 tons; in 1925 her exports had sunk to 307,411 tons. To-day the harbour of Fiume lies practically deserted, while the miserable little port of Sušak is overcrowded with vessels. But of what advantage is the concession to use Fiume to Hungary when Yugo-Slavia either refuses the use of her railways or insists on diverting the Hungarian traffic from Fiume to Spalato? That the alternative possesses no real value for Hungary is evident from the fact that, owing to the bad railway connection between Belgrade and Spalato, Italy, though herself importing grain from Yugo-Slavia, is able to sell meal cheaper in Dalmatia than can Belgrade.

As for Yugo-Slavia she is hardly we think as yet the well consolidated State Signor Zingarelli describes her to be, though thanks to the prudent conduct of King Alexander* she is rapidly becoming such. Quite apart from the disturbed condition of Macedonia, which is causing great anxiety, Croatia is not altogether satisfied with her position in the united kingdom. Serbia, she insists, is treating her too much like a colony. To an outsider it may seem that Serbia has a good claim to tax herself more lightly than Croatia, considering how she was skinned to the bone during the war. But that time has either passed or is passing and there seems no justification, when economy has to be practised, in throwing the main burden on Croatia. Probably a readjustment of taxation will take place shortly. But it must never be forgotten that there is a radical difference between Croats and Serbs, not merely in their character but also in religion and civilisation, and that while

* The name *Tonislava* just conferred on the last-born member of the royal house, recalling the memory of her first king, has given infinite satisfaction in Croatia.

Zagreb looks to the west Belgrade is still a half-oriental town. The one bond that unites them and in which all differences are sunk is their common hatred of Italy.

That the relations between Yugo-Slavia and Italy are very strained is evident in both countries; but with the forces working for peace in Europe it is hard to believe that they will result in war. But who can say? It is to be regretted that Signor Zingarelli has no information to give regarding the state of affairs in Albania. Information of a reliable sort is indeed difficult to come at. We know what is said in Yugo-Slavia and we know that the statements are denied by Italy. But every southern Slav is convinced that Italy is only waiting her opportunity to commence hostilities. The time to do so has apparently not yet come owing to the uncertain attitude of Bulgaria; but before Yugo-Slavia is fully prepared Italy will strike. The situation, it is said, precisely resembles that on the eve of the Great War, only this time it is Italy and not Austria that is playing the part of aggressor. To one who knows something of the horrors of war the light-hearted way in which the matter is discussed in Yugo-Slavia is appalling. But the Slavs are on the march. They are a young people. They have no fear of the future and they will not rest till they have attained their object of Slavicising the whole of eastern Europe from Danzig to Fiume. With the support of France and the military assistance of Czecho-Slovakia, with or without the consent of Austria, it is needless to say that Yugo-Slavia looks forward with confidence to a war with Italy. Her army on a war footing of 1,200,000 men is said to be, next to that of France, the best drilled in Europe, though it is badly equipped and her marine is still in the making. But every man in Yugo-Slavia is a born soldier. He has no fear of death and there are no deserters.

At present her chief anxiety, next to Albania, is Macedonia. Macedonia belongs partly to Greece, partly to Yugo-Slavia; but whereas Greek Macedonia, thanks to the million and a half refugees from Asia Minor, who, after their expulsion by the Turks, have found a new home there, is to 90 per cent. thoroughly Hellenised, Serbian Macedonia is a conglomerate of different nationalities. Of its 1,600,000 inhabitants 650,000 are Albanians, 390,000 Serbs, the rest chiefly Bulgarians. Under the stimulus supplied by President Wilson's programme, Macedonia put forward a claim to be recognised as an independent State. The claim was not allowed, and the complete Hellenisation of Greek Macedonia has since compelled the irredentists to confine their activity to that part of Macedonia which fell to Serbia. Though too weak to achieve their independence by force, the Macedonians are strong enough to keep the country in a state of uproar, and there is little doubt that should the plan attributed to Italy prove correct, she will find strong

support among them. Macedonia is the bridge that leads to Bulgaria and Bulgaria is the key to the situation. At present Bulgaria hesitates between Rome and Belgrade. She is too isolated, too overburdened with debt and too much occupied in putting her house in order to take any decisive step. Her interests point to friendship with Yugo-Slavia, but till recently, in consequence of Italy's treaty with Albania, her overtures in this direction have been coolly received in Belgrade. Her pretensions to Salonika, not to mention her slumbering claim to the Timok Valley, clash with those of Yugo-Slavia, just as her pretensions to the Dobrudscha are a hindrance to a good understanding with Rumania. But should, under pressure of what is happening in Albania, the apparently improbable come to pass and Bulgaria consent to throw in her lot with Yugo-Slavia, then the whole situation in the Balkans would undergo such a radical change as to become a matter of international importance comparable only to what would follow from a union between Austria and Germany. At present, however, as Signor Zingarelli says, there is small prospect that Bulgaria will renounce her historic claim to Macedonia.

Meanwhile Yugo-Slavia is trying with all her might to stamp out the agitation there. The country has been declared in a state of war. It swarms with soldiers and police. Nearly two-thirds, it is said, of the army are concentrated there. The police live in barracks surrounded by wire-entanglements. No one is allowed out at night. The schools have long been closed, and the bishoprics of Skoplje, Bitolj, Veles and Ohrid have been suspended. The Albanians of Mohammedan profession are being rapidly expropriated and compelled to emigrate under pain of being shot at sight. Whenever a district is proclaimed the inhabitants are compelled to pay all the costs connected with its pacification and the process is costing millions of dinars yearly. All the same the work of Serbianising Macedonia proceeds slowly. Enjoying the sympathy and secret support of the population, little bands of Macedonians prowl about the country and are sometimes strong enough to inflict considerable damage on the garrisons. The worst of it is no practical remedy can be found for the evil. It is not that there is any want of sympathy for the Macedonians, but to yield to their demand for independence would lead to complications, not only with Yugo-Slavia and Bulgaria but with Greece, and the last state would be worse than the first.

The mischief, as Signor Zingarelli says, was that in applying the doctrine of little nations to the Balkan States no thought was given to the effects which that doctrine would have on peoples impregnated with the Mohammedan tradition of the right of the conqueror to enforce submission with the sword.

Coming from another world with a new evangel Wilson knew nothing of these traditions, nothing of the actual state of affairs in Europe and, unfortunately, there was no one at hand who had an interest to teach him better. We entirely agree with Signor Zingarelli that "while no doubt the Danube monarchy was imperialist to a disquieting degree, it was a mistake to destroy it without taking thought of the consequences which would follow from the sudden disappearance of an organism which operated in the Balkan lands (and how well did Austria-Hungary know those lands) as policeman and teacher, as engineer and doctor. It was a mistake suddenly to reverse the situation and to allow a free rein to those elements that still required restraint. . . . Despite all that has happened south-east Europe remains Asiatic and Turkish. Vienna that did so much to raise it in the scale of civilisation is no more. But let no one imagine that the death of Vienna is a victory for western Europe. Quite the contrary. It is the revenge that the East has taken on the West." *Cum grano* we are also inclined to agree with him as to the mischievous effects of Wilson's intervention. At the same time we think it is attributing too much importance to Wilson to regard him as the principal factor in the disruption of Austria and the rise of the new States. Francis Joseph was not the feckless idiot it is now the fashion to regard him as being. Had he been left to himself there would have been no war. Peace was his one great desire: his one great need. "Anyone," he is reported to have said, "who meddles with my empire in any corner of it will bring it to pieces." It was the saying of a clear-sighted statesman. Austria, to which Europe owes more thanks for acting as a barrier against the East than she is willing to recognise, was not, as is commonly stated, suffering from dry-rot. On the contrary, she was seething with energy; but in the course of time she had absorbed more of the East than was good for her. Her Slav populations were tearing the entrails out of her, and it was the knowledge of this fact that led the Archduke Ferdinand Este to formulate his plan for a reconstruction of the Empire on a federal basis, in which the German element should play the leading rôle.

Before the war pan-Germanism and pan-Slavism were the chief factors in European politics. The mischief of the situation was that in her terror of Germany France was obliged to turn to Russia for support. The blame rests with Germany. Had Germany, after her great victory in 1871, been content with a reasonable indemnity and not have insisted on annexing Alsace and Lorraine, she might have come to a friendly understanding with France. Instead of that and instead of behaving with modesty, she conducted herself like a furious madman. She never lost an opportunity of insulting France and damaging her where she could.

Europe was too small for her. It was to be *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles* all the world over. The war came and she was humbled to the dust. Pan-Germanism was smashed; but with the rise of Soviet Russia pan-Slavism fell into the background. Union with Russia ceased to have any attraction for European Slavs and was succeeded by a desire to shake themselves free of all control. The Wilsonian propaganda, coming just at this moment, answered their wishes and so the new States of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Yugo-Slavia came into being. But the feeling of estrangement from Russia was only temporary and this is where we venture to differ from Signor Zingarelli. According to Signor Zingarelli pan-Slavism is dead; the new States are satisfied with their position and the independence they have won. From our own knowledge we do not believe that this is so. Pan-Slavism, though it is not wise to speak of it at present, is as much alive as ever. Soviet Russia, it is said, will not last for ever. Its days are numbered. It is too large, too unwieldy. It will split up into a number of States, representing its different nationalities. It will become a confederation after the style of the United States and in this confederacy Yugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland will find a resting place. This, we believe, is the truth of the matter. A dream perhaps. But if it is ever realised, what will become of Western civilisation? We do not believe that France has any real love for the Slavs. Her highest interests are identical with those of Germany, Italy and England; but she has helped to create a situation which is fraught with danger. Her search for security has broken down the barrier between East and West.

ROBERT DUNLOP.

WHAT IS A GOOD NOVEL?

THERE is probably no subject of discussion in ordinary society so popular and so inconclusive as that which deals with the merits and demerits of recently published novels. The topic enlivens many a social hour more effectively than any other as it is concerned with types of our fellow-men, their idiosyncracies, their faults, their good points, without degenerating into gossip, as the people talked about are, or are supposed to be, non-existent; and yet resemble in many characteristics—especially the unamiable ones—men and women with whom we are personally acquainted. Fiction in short provides us with a theme of universal interest which in conversation may be stripped of certain undesirable elements inseparable from casual discussion of our existing neighbours and friends.

But the matter does not end here. If this were all, we might fairly estimate a novel by a very simple test. Does it stir interest without demanding effort? Has it given us a few hours' distraction from the burden of domestic and professional cares? Has it provided innocent refreshment for tired brains or helped us against the tedium of mental vacuity? If it has done this it is a good book? And if our discussions are strangely inconclusive—not to say meaningless—what then? Are we all to be truth-seekers digging daily into our convictions to see if they are sound? If we were all philosophers or serious-minded persons—let us be frank—would this world be a habitable place?

A little reflection however will make us suspect this view of the novel. In the first place no novelists of repute would accept it for a moment. They know that their work is something more than a drug for opinions threatened with disturbance; an anodyne for overworked lecturers; a pastime for shop girls on their journeying in the Underground. They know that there is such a thing as artistic beauty; and to write a good novel is to achieve the production of a work of art which may be of such high merit as to be appreciated only by a few select minds. Indeed, the greatest novels, like the greatest pictures, appeal to a small minority; and there is no test so likely to be fallacious as that of immediate popularity. Of course, such instances as the *Waverley Novels* and some lesser works might be brought forward on the other side; and a very interesting question is suggested as to how the popularity of some books is assured from the first while other work of great merit falls flat. I must however pass this by. We are in search of an unflinching test of a good novel; and no one will pretend that the passing favour of the populace can be so described.

Nor do I propose to analyse what we mean by artistic merit.

We all know that a good novel is likely to be compact in form, easily written, humorous, imaginative, vivid, and so forth. Without these and other such qualities it cannot be good even if it satisfies the graver and more searching requirement which I will try to state. Once grant that a story well-told is a work of art, and we ought to be quit of the fancy that there need be no effort in the reading. The truth is that without effort nothing is gained whatever from any activity, mental or physical. As passivity becomes activity, effort begins. For most of us the perception of beauty—even the higher types of physical beauty—shows that the mind is growing; and no growth is quite independent of the effort which belongs to exercise. Many of us in our earlier days passed through a stage when cheap flashy tunes pleased us more than Handel or Mozart. Then later we discovered that Bach, Beethoven and Brahms demanded an expansion of mind, a venture of faith, the reward of which was not immediate. So it must be with all books which open out to the reader any fresh conception of men and things. A thoroughly indolent reader will fail of the reward; for the constant unreflective reading of light literature works a sterilising effect on the mind. Any theory therefore postulating that the whole duty of a novelist is to tell stories which heedless shallow-pated readers can enjoy without trouble or reflection, not only ignores the dignity and greatness of the craft but flouts a deep law of man's nature.

There is, however, a fact to be taken into account which, whether we like it or not, lifts this question into a higher region than that of æsthetics, and forbids all cheap and easy valuation. It is that the subject with which novelists are primarily concerned is essentially sacred and as such requires a certain measure of reverence and awe in the treatment of it: and where reverence and awe are wholly wanting the writer lays himself open to the charge of profanity or desecration. Further, that to profane a subject is to present it in an untrue light: and to no subject are such strong words more appropriate than that with which novels are generally concerned; that is, Human Character.

First, then, the question must be faced whether we are sufficiently sure of our diagnosis to use it as a premise for further argument. When we think of George Eliot, Meredith, Thackeray and many others we recognise that character, as shaped by experience, is undoubtedly the writer's main theme. We are less confident about Scott and some of Dickens', and when we pass to the modern detective story, which is too popular to be ignored, we find ourselves in another region of interest altogether. The character-theme may come into a detective story but it is not essential to it. The writer's merit is not truthfulness in regard to any deep facts of life but simply ingenuity in constructing a puzzle.

Leaving, then, detective-stories out of account, I would shelter myself under the authority of the eminent novelist, Bourget, who, in discussing the prevalence of the love-passion in novels, gives as a reason for it that character being the main theme of fiction, love is introduced as the most powerful and frequent stimulus to character-development. No experience which befalls men and women in ordinary life reveals so clearly the stuff of which they are made, as falling in love. M. Bourget, it will be noticed, treats the delineation of character-development axiomatically as the novelist's principal task: and, indeed, though we recognise that a writer like Scott shows his greatness in presenting other aspects of human life, yet it is plain that character tested by circumstances is so far essential to the story that without it the plot would be almost meaningless.

Now character is a word hardly to be defined. Let it suffice that we note here two broad aspects or qualities of the thing so named. (1) Character is in a sense sacred. (2) It is always either expanding or shrinking: it cannot be truly represented as stationary. These two statements require some elucidation.

(1) Character by its derivation from the Greek would seem to be an external manifestation of a mysterious something in every human being which we call the soul. The proof of this statement need not here be set forth theologically, as if it could only be estimated by those who enjoy what is called a mystical faculty. Guidance is given by an universal experience. In ordinary society how stern is the demand made on each one of us, that we refrain from commenting adversely on a neighbour's character. It is true that malice in speech is leniently criticised if it is seasoned with wit, defined by Aristotle as *ὑβρις περαιδευμένη*. But the *ὑβρις* belonging to witty caustic sayings about others must be severely controlled or it fails to amuse; the more undisguised it is the more it repels. Why should this be? Why should we not dilate freely not only on the foibles but on the meannesses, the self-deception of our fellow-men? Social converse is the poorer for the general reserve in this matter. Yet the brilliant and suggestive writer, J. B. Mozley, referring to the faculty for seeing the faults of character in others as a divine gift, adds, as if it were axiomatic, that we should refrain from speaking of them. Can there be any reason for this hesitation and delicacy of feeling except that we all recognise the sacredness of character; and are aware that those who needlessly expose its inner secrets are playing with fire?

It may be further affirmed that the profound but almost universal dislike of egotistic talk is due to the same instinctive reverence for *ψυχή*: the recognition of the "numinous" element in the human personality. Hence a paradox. *Prima facie* one would say

that in conversation it is advisable for each one of us to discourse on that which he knows most about. Is not that his own character? and is he not the one person able to make this theme interesting to others? Yet in plain fact the egotist has much ado to prevent his talk from being not only dull but actively nauseating. This must be because there is a profaneness in any random or morbid handling of a topic which is essentially sacred. Thus we cannot help ratifying the demand made upon novelists by all thoughtful readers: viz., that they should so interpret this very mysterious element in our experience as to guide and inform our minds in our quest for the higher life. The presentation of the theme in fiction should be true: that life will involve reverence of tone. As a lesser requirement it must be artistically attractive.

But at once a difficulty arises. If a novelist is to do this, or even to attempt to do it, he there and then becomes didactic: and as soon as he is found out in being didactic his influence dies. He cannot persuade if he repels; and nothing repels more than admonition clumsily disguised under the form of recreation. Novel-readers are, for the most part, seeking the latter and shunning the former: that is, they desire an escape from the haunting sense of responsibility in regard to wasting time and the ever-present suspicion that we often ought to be doing something which we are not doing and hope never to do. With a strange persistency in face of unvarying evidence we imagine true recreation to be effortless. Hence, whatever be the motive of a didactic novelist, it is not likely that he will get many readers; and to write books that are not read can hardly be an ideal way of spending time.

This objection to the main argument of this paper may be granted. But what does it amount to? I maintain that it leaves the question: What is a good novel? exactly where it was before. It emphasises the difficulty of conforming to the canon which has been laid down but it does not suggest that the canon is untrue. The canon postulates that every novel that deals with human character should deal with it reverently. The objector insists that any treatment of the theme must be attractive: and implies that to satisfy the double claim is practically impossible. If a writer is reverent he is sure to be dull.

There is undoubtedly a double claim and to satisfy it perfectly would be an achievement of the very highest possible order of merit. Has it ever been perfectly satisfied? Only once in the history of the world: that is in the group of parables in the Christian Gospel. In those pictures of the sublimest and most awful facts of life—man's deliberate choice of either the highest good or of evil which also wears the appearance of infinity—we note the consummate art, the rhetorical finish, the precision of touch, the com-

pactness, the piercing phraseology, which have distinguished to a lower degree some few imperishable utterances of human genius. But we are apt to forget that all the supreme artistic merits of these stories sink into insignificance alongside of the perfect truthfulness with which the august theme of moral character is invariably handled. Indeed, in comparison with that quality of truth it savours of profanation to dwell on the others: it involves the danger that we content ourselves with the husk instead of the kernel: that we regale ourselves with the picture's colouring but ignore its meaning. For the artistic merits we may treat as secular: the truthfulness of the stories will always stir in us, not only admiration, but awe, and what stirs to awe is the impact on the spirit of the unfathomable and the eternal.

Hence novel-writers undertake a task of the utmost importance and dignity. They cannot, however eagerly they may try, shirk responsibility: for they are not entitled to give their readers pictures of human character which are disproportionate or untrue. Anything false in the presentation of a mystery so intimate yet so elusive, so profound yet so familiar, so fraught with the utmost issues of weal or woe, cannot fail to be baneful in its teaching. This conclusion which theoretically stated will hardly be disputed, leads us to the second of the two aspects of character noted above: namely, that it is not only essentially sacred but is always either expanding or shrinking. It is, in short, never stationary.

(2) The assertion will not be accepted without some demur, and an adequate elucidation would not only require more space than is available but would also involve the reader in some murky psychological obscurities. It is interesting, however, to note that what philosophy tells about the connection between life and motion bears upon the point. Character in the sense attached to the word in this paper is only predicted of the living; and we can hardly conceive of life as absolutely and permanently stationary. Yet as Bergson tells us, our intellects are incapable of apprehending life; they can only analyse it by positing it as stationary, which it never is. Now we live in an analytical age and it is obvious that novelists are strongly disposed to analyse character by laying bare motives, impulses, responses to experience, etc., and that, difficult though that task is, it is easier and demands less insight and imagination than the delineation of a character in motion, rising or falling, deteriorating or improving. If the philosophers are right it may be argued that there is here a temptation to serious error which any thoughtful modern novel-writer must find it hard to resist.*

As a corroboration, however, of the dictum that character is

* Writers worth attending to warn us against this fashion of analysis. E.g., Westcott says it prevents us from "seeing the whole." Professor Whitehead agrees with Charlotte Mason that it works mischief in education.

never stationary, the above reasoning will be objected to as being too abstract. Let us therefore consider whether ordinary experience does not provide a surer warrant.

It will generally be conceded that a double set of influences tells upon human character, tending either to lift it up or to wear it down. These influences are felt in our ordinary experiences but often the process is so stealthy and gradual that years must glide by before it is perceived. We think then of our characters as being marred according as they are stiffened against good influences and conformed to the bad. Contrariwise, they are conformed to the good in proportion as they resist the corruption. It is not possible that any choice between good and evil can be made without the character being thereby raised or lowered. Every experience leaves its mark; and that is only another way of saying that character cannot remain stationary. No doubt there is often an appearance of stagnation, but in physical growth or decay how imperceptible is the change which yet we know to be continuous! And is not proof often given? The boy finds one day that he can exert muscular strength which has been denied him hitherto. So moralists have pointed out how in countless lives events happen which suddenly bring to light the issue of a previous process; of a stealthy unnoticed change; a long preparation unknown even to the subject himself, till he contemplates either in elation or dismay the fact of a silent transformation.

We may, however, easily over-labour this point. Even if it is thought the law of hidden preparation for a revealing crisis is not without its exceptions, it will be admitted that the gradual uplifting or enfeebling of character is a fact of human nature. It occurs: and therefore a novelist who cannot avoid the theme has to choose between the one development or the other if he is not to disown the real greatness of the task to which he has engaged himself. From diffidence or blindness he may shrink from the attempt to portray character in motion and fall back on the delineation of the stagnant; and so skilfully has the portrait often been limned, that the reader fancies he is nourishing his mind on living truth when all the time it is a husk: the food is unreal: the story is at best the account of a machine. The machine may be analysed but it cannot be quickened, for it never was alive; and the artist has really turned a deaf ear to the lofty demand made upon him that he should build a narrative of development and has fallen back into an analysis of the non-existent or the dead.

Meantime how great is the difference between the two themes we are discussing: the theme of personality in process of growth or in shrinkage, deterioration, decline. For let us take note. Whatever suc-

cess writers have achieved in describing a character in motion, either rising or falling, is, generally speaking, when the motion has been downwards, beginning in tentative disloyalty to the good and passing through defilement to collapse, and through collapse to ruin. Decay we understand; but recovery, quickening, growth and rejuvenation of the will, the dawning of hope and cleansing of desire; these mysteries are beyond us and yet we know they happen. Every fresh instance of decay arrested, of a heart stirred to the renewal of striving, and to the passing from out the night of the valley into the growing light of morning and the sunlit slopes of the everlasting hills: this forms a theme which can hardly be divided into chapters or set out in print. It may be essayed now and again by one who is impelled to tell his fellow-men in what direction the way upward seems to point, how each one who sets his footsteps thereon enters into a great joy. Moreover, to do this effectively calls for rich and rare powers in the writer of a work of fiction. He should have, of course, literary style, easy and ever-lucid, knowledge lightly handled and the sympathy with ordinary minds which can show him for what they are mutely hungering; and he must have an all-pervading humour. But beyond all these he will need a soaring imagination, and a spiritual kinship with all that is good and genuine and hopeful in the most dissimilar groups of his fellow-men. With all these and other endowments of mind, he will fail to compose a first-class story unless he can see and set forth how, in human affairs, the great unending miracle is wrought. Personality encompassed about with depraving influences, poisonous suggestion, and bewildering complex demands, amid failing energies and benumbing disappointments, again and again rises to a heroism, undreamt of while all the conditions seemed smooth and favourable, but achieved in and through stress and conflict in the power of a mighty hope.

Now if this view of human life has any truth in it whatever, let us face the situation. Society in all races has passed through stages when the collective mind has fashioned legends telling of primitive passion, of combat, love, adversity, and elementary strife, working for weal or woe among families, tribes, or larger groups of men. As civilisation has grown our forefathers have turned their thoughts inwards. Some few on whom gifts of insight, sympathy and literary expression have been bestowed have specialised in portraiture of the fashioning of character by experience: their task becoming more analytical as time goes on. From the days of Menander* till our time the romance of love between man and woman has been the most unfailing theme of the drama and of stories. It has been handled in manifold fashion indeed; and much

* See an interesting article by Professor L. A. Post in the *Quarterly*, June, 1927.

of the work done has been marred by crude want of insight, coarseness and a poor pessimistic estimate of human endeavour. But from time to time writers have given evidence of a faculty far greater than clever analysis or scene-painting: that is, a poetic gift of creation. They have been constrained to deal with the characters of individual men and women, having witnessed again and again the drama of single souls either yielding to wholesome influences lifting them up above themselves to unlooked-for strength and serenity or being drawn downwards in the grip of egoism into the region of shrinking ideas: the realm of sensation, disillusionment and despair.

SUMMARY.

As has been already hinted, the purpose of this article has been to concentrate attention on the central paramount claim made on each novel-writer and arising out of the fact that he is dealing with human character. All readers make on him the claim that his character-pictures shall be true to life: that is, they should constantly hint at the mystery in which the subject is wrapped. Next, that they should take account of the effect of daily experience, which means that no character is, strictly speaking, stationary, but as the river of time flows on every individual character may be discerned as a thing in motion and, as it responds to experience, either improving or declining. It is not disputed that of the two motions, the upward or the downward, the writer is naturally tempted to portray the latter; feeling that so he will be more intelligible to his readers, since in deterioration there is much that we can analyse, but in growth there is a large essential element that escapes us. Moreover the story of corruption appeals to a morbid appetite for excitement which is rampant among us to-day, whereas growth attracts little attention; so quiet is it and unexciting though always passing wonderful. Again, even more wonderful, more miraculous, than growth is recovery. If it is a fact that in spite of psychological laws which seem so relentless the downward lapse is sometimes arrested and the personality made to shine with a new light, the novelist must do his best to remind his readers of it: for it is by far too wonderful a truth to be passed by as if it were an insignificant commonplace or an idle fancy. It is a mystery indeed, but rich and revivifying for all who catch a glimpse of the vision to which it gives birth. It is the charge committed to a novelist that he should first discern the Power that makes for Righteousness, Beauty, and Truth, and then show his less gifted fellow-men the purpose of the existence of each one of us in this interesting but perplexing world.

EDWARD LYTTETON.

THE GERMAN GENERAL ELECTION,
1928.

THE fourth general election in Germany under the Weimar Constitution took place on Sunday, May 20th. In Berlin it rained incessantly; nevertheless, in the small polling place, a café-beerhouse, in which I watched the voting, votes were recorded at the average rate of 120 per hour during the eight polling hours, from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. The proceedings were orderly and without incident. As soon as the poll was closed, the votes were counted in the polling place in the presence of any who desired to attend. The parcels of ballot papers, with the completed returns, were taken by the presiding officer to the chief returning officer for the whole constituency, who ascertained and announced the aggregate totals. Partial results from different towns were displayed in the streets before midnight; the general results for the country were known on Monday afternoon; on Wednesday, official figures were published in the Gazette.

The figures for the six chief parties (ranged from Right to Left) were:

Party.	Votes.	Seats obtained.	Seats in proportion to votes.
National People's Party (Conservative) ...	4,380,412	73	73
People's Party (Liberal-Conservative) ...	2,677,683	45	45
Centre Party (Catholic) ...	3,709,887	62	62
Democrat (Liberal) ...	1,501,636	25	25
Socialist (Labour) ...	9,144,151	152	152
Communist ...	3,259,643	54	54

The table makes it clear that the proportional system under which the election was held was effective; each party secured representation in proportion to its strength in the country. Moreover, the leaders of all the parties were elected. The Chancellor, Dr. Marx, of the Centre Party; the Foreign Minister, Dr. Stresemann, of the People's Party, a world figure; Hermann Müller, the former Socialist Chancellor, are all members of the new Reichstag.

The German proportional system differs materially from that used in English-speaking countries. (The ballot paper, of which a portion is reproduced below, will help the reader to understand its nature.)

Reichstagswahl		Wahlkreis Potsdam II	
<u>Stimmzettel für Frauen</u>			
1	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands Künzler — Dr. Löwenstein — Heintz — Kunert	1	☐
2	Deutschnationale Volkspartei Graf von Westarp — Lehmann — Ohler — Dr. Haselacher	2	☐
3	Zentrum Schönborn — Dr. Sonnenstein — Hufung — Dr. Wlax	3	☐
4	Deutsche Volkspartei von Kardorff — Wende — Specht — Siebert	4	☐
5	Kommunistische Partei Ewert — Dahlem — Beutling — Glaser	5	☐
6	Deutsche Demokratische Partei Weyer — Lüders — Emmelath — Vogt	6	☐
6a	Volksrechtspartei (Reichspartei für Volksrecht und Aufwertung — Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft —) Hilberg — Steinborn — Dr. Eng — Schulz	6a	☐
8	Sinke Kommunisten Urbahn — Grelwitz — Druschmann — Röglar	8	☐
9	Reichspartei des deutschen Mittelstandes (Wirtschaftspartei) Eckloff — Scholz — Barnack — Pöhlke	9	☐
10	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (Hitler-Bewegung) Dr. Goebbels — Holz — Rube — Engel	10	☐
12	Polnisch-Nationaler Block Grund-	12	☐

The parties nominate lists of candidates and each list bears a number. The elector votes for a party by putting a cross in the circle opposite the name of the party he supports. This is all an elector can do; he cannot vary the lists. Each party receives a seat for every 60,000 votes polled. The successful candidates are those whose names appear at the head of the list. If a party wins two seats the first two candidates upon the list are elected, and so on. On the ballot paper the first four names on the list are printed underneath the name of the party. The names of the candidates are discussed in the local branches of the party. These branches are represented on the Central Committee for the constituency. The Central Committee draws up a list of candidates and presents them in the order which it recommends to a nominating convention of the party representing all the local branches. The list, as drawn up, is usually accepted but can be amended. In addition to these constituency lists, each party through its national Committee nominates a national list. The national list prevents wastage of votes. In a constituency a party may poll less than 60,000 votes, or it may poll votes in excess of a multiple of 60,000. The unused votes for the whole country are added together for each party, and one candidate is elected from the party's national list in respect of every 60,000 votes not used in the election of constituency

representatives. Nine of the twenty-five Democrats were chosen from the party's national list; Dr. Stresemann was elected at the head of the national list of the People's Party.

In the course of many conversations which I had with public men and officials, I found that, whilst there were some criticisms of the system adopted, there was a consensus of opinion that the principle of proportional representation had come to stay. Dr. Wirth, the former Chancellor, pointed out that, whilst the new electoral law of Baden (his own State) provided for smaller constituencies, the proportional principle had been strictly preserved. There were three criticisms. The first is of minor importance. A number of insignificant parties had nominated candidates, and votes given for them had been lost. The electors did not vote in sufficient numbers for these small parties to entitle them to seats. The number of votes lost, a little over 4 per cent., is trifling compared with the number of votes that have no value in any general election in Great Britain. There was a complaint as to the size of the constituencies, many of which contain more than a million voters. But the criticism most commonly made was directed to the method of voting. "We have to vote for a list number," said one journal, "and not for a candidate." There is an active demand for some opportunity of voting for candidates and not merely for a party.

The criticisms can be met without any injury to the principle of proportional representation. In Ireland, the constituencies are much smaller and elect fewer members. Moreover, in Ireland, and wherever the single transferable vote has been adopted, candidates are nominated as individuals, and the elector votes for the candidates as individuals by putting against their names the figures 1, 2, 3, etc., in the order of his choice. The electors usually express their preferences along party lines, but they are not limited to voting for members of one party. German experience would seem to show that a system of proportional representation must, as in the Irish Free State law, meet the desire of the elector for wider freedom of choice.

Amendment of the German law is not immediately expected, but were amendments made they would leave the proportional principle intact. The proportional principle has made good in the largest self-governing country in Europe. This is a fact of importance in the development of representative institutions. Not only so, but the neighbouring countries, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, have also adopted the proportional principle, and have, nearly all, established it by constitutional enactments.

The recent election in France suggests a comparison of the

effects of a proportional and a non-proportional system. France uses the "majority" system in single-member areas with the second ballot. In France there was a confusion of ill-defined parties. In some Paris constituencies there were ten or eleven candidates for one seat, the average per constituency for the whole of France being six. In two-thirds of the constituencies no candidate obtained an absolute majority at the first ballot, and in these, a week later, a second ballot was held. In most cases the candidates with little chance of success withdrew, usually indicating the candidate in whose favour they stood down.

Precise official figures for the whole of France, such as those published in Germany three days after the election, are not available. But the figures are known with sufficient accuracy to enable us to say that the result is not, as in Germany, a proportionate result. In Germany, the majority voted for the Centre and Left and the majority in the Reichstag is Centre and Left; in France the majority seems also to have voted for Centre and Left but in the Chamber of Deputies the majority is Centre and Right. The figures for two of the parties, the Socialists and Communists, show how unproportional the results under the French system can be. The figures were:

Party.	Votes.	Seats.
Socialist	1,700,000	101
Communist	1,060,000	14

The French Communists polled 1,060,000 out of about 9,200,000 votes, roughly one-ninth; they secured 14 out of 612 seats. In Germany, the Communists also polled about one-ninth, 3,260,000 out of 30,700,000 votes; they secured one-ninth of the seats, 54 out of the 490 members of the new Reichstag.

The fact that the French method of election has, for the time being, deprived the Communists of their due share of representation, may appear to some to commend it. This view is somewhat superficial. The French Communists were, it is true, unable to elect their own men, but in the single-member areas other parties were often at their mercy. Thus, the Socialist candidate for a constituency in Alès explains that his defeat was due to the action of a thousand Communists who, at the second ballot, voted Conservative. The Socialists were, indeed, placed in a most difficult position. They not only lost M. Blum and other leaders, but to save their party had to accept the aid of Liberals at the second ballots. Of the 101 Socialist members returned, only 15 were elected by Socialist votes alone. The remaining 86 were elected at the second ballots with the assistance of other parties. In Germany, the Socialists were completely independent; the Communists elected their full share of the Deputies and they elected

their own leaders; but they could not interfere with the electoral fortunes of the Socialists or of any other party. It is not remarkable that French Socialists are again demanding the adoption of a proportional system, a system which France so far has not employed.

No less than two-thirds of the French Deputies have been elected at the second ballots. In most cases, victory was due to a coalition of two or more groups. The position of Deputies so elected is very difficult. M. Georges Lachapelle, who has made a special study of French elections, states that many Deputies "ne sauront pas où aller ni comment voter." Mr. Sisley Huddleston, in the last number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, said: "French politics. . . consists in confusing the issues."

So far we have considered the effect of the electoral system in respect of the voter and the elected representative. A question which is for many of no less importance, is its effect upon the government of the country. Germany adopted a proportional system after the war. During the nine years which have elapsed, Germany has not been entirely free from foreign control. On different occasions it has been found necessary to form a new ministry which would accept the responsibility of complying with conditions imposed from without. P.R. has therefore functioned in a period of exceptional difficulty. Nevertheless, it is possible to indicate some of the broad results which have followed from its use. Full responsible parliamentary government commenced in Germany with a multi-party system that dates back to 1871. What P.R. has done has been to indicate accurately the strength of opinion behind these parties, and it has thereby enabled the inherent steadiness of the German nation to find due expression. Under P.R., the main body of public opinion has been the governing force in Germany; it has exercised a constant and effective influence.

Take one illustration. The establishment of a Republic was, for Germany, a revolutionary change; for the world its maintenance was of vital consequence. In the early days of the Republic there was some uncertainty as to its future. But as in each successive election the main body of opinion has been in favour of maintaining the Republic, every government, however formed, has been careful to announce its allegiance to the new régime. Parties favourable to the monarchical idea had to accept the Republic on joining a government. Thus, in 1920, many members of the People's Party were favourable to the monarchical idea, and when this party joined the Government of Count Fehrenbach, some doubts were entertained as to the influence which would be exerted upon the policy of the government. But the Chancellor, in his declaration to the Reichstag, made it clear that the Government accepted as a basic

principle "the Republican form of State." The German Nationalists were monarchist and opposed to the Locarno policy. When this party joined the Government in 1927 the Government's declaration made it clear that in joining the Government the Nationalists accepted both the Republic and the Treaty of Locarno. Suppose that, instead of P.R., the British single-member system had been in force, and suppose that the representation of the Right parties, either in 1920 or in 1924, had, in consequence, been 50 per cent. more than their strength in the country, who can tell what reactions such misrepresentation might have produced?

Each of the post-war governments has consisted of a combination of parties, and it is often assumed that such governments can be formed only by some bargain in which the parties forming the government secure recognition for their special planks. The foregoing paragraph makes it clear that this is not the case. Whatever party is entrusted with the formation of a government can accept the co-operation of others only on condition that effect is given to the main body of opinion, to the greatest common measure of the programmes of the co-operating parties. This principle has received a new illustration since the recent elections. At the time of writing, negotiations are proceeding for the formation in Germany of a "greater Coalition" Government, stretching from the People's Party, with Dr. Stresemann as Foreign Minister, to the Socialists, with Hermann Müller as Chancellor. In Prussia, where public opinion and representation are a little more to the Left than in Germany, the Government consists of Socialists, Democrats, and Centre, known as a "Weimar coalition." It is reported that the People's Party sought to bargain, making participation in the Government of Germany dependent upon admission to the Government of Prussia. But Dr. Braun, the Prussian Socialist Prime Minister, interpreting the election results in Prussia as expressing approval of the policies of the existing Government, declared publicly that if any other party "concurs heartily in that popularly approved line of policy and guarantees faithful support to it, the Government will consider the method of accepting its direct collaboration in the Ministry." Co-operation was to be based, not upon a bargain, but upon acceptance of the national verdict. Open diplomacy prevails in the negotiations between parties, the public being able to follow the reasons leading to the formation of a particular government. A Socialist, entering a coalition government, does not give up his principles; he still adheres to the Heidelberg programme, but he is ready to give effect to what is immediately practicable.

It is not contended that there are not, or that there will not continue to be, difficulties in such inter-party negotiations; parties

will doubtless often desire to get a larger share of advantage than the situation warrants. But the important thing is that there is in process of development an intelligible principle governing the formation of a government when no one party has a majority in parliament. Whatever difficulties attend the application of this principle, we can predict that under the proportional system the steadiness of the German people will continue to find full expression, and that this steadiness will be associated with progress, stimulated by the activities of competing parties assured not only of just representation, but, what is equally important, of independence in developing and presenting their programmes.

I found that little was known in Germany, even in the Berlin School of Politics, of the method of proportional representation used in Ireland, which affords, in an especial degree, that freedom for electors which many Germans were seeking. The time has assuredly come when more attention might be given in universities and in schools of political science to the comparative study of methods of election, including their influence upon the political history which nations are making to-day and their influence on the problem of forming and sustaining a government, when, as is the case in nearly every country, public opinion finds expression through more than two organised parties.

JOHN H. HUMPHREYS.

HOLMAN HUNT AND THE PRE-RAPHAELITE MOVEMENT.

HOLMAN HUNT was born a hundred years ago last year. The centenary of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's birth falls in 1928, and that of Millais' birth next year. These three were in reality the Pre-Raphaelite movement, and Holman Hunt was the leader. He was one of those great Victorians who gave to the last half of the nineteenth century that extraordinary force with the results of which the world is working to-day in science, invention, and in the recovered vitality of art. He was typical of the unrelenting, pioneering energy of these men; he was typical also of the high seriousness and unflinching moral purpose which gave to the Victorian era a solidity in enduring contrast alike with its precursor, the Age of the Dandies, and its successor, the Age of the Decadents.

There are two sides, or more than two, to every era; and the nineteenth century had its base and destructive side. It was an age of commercialism as well as of literature and science, a triumphant search after riches that was both cruel and vulgar: it found the world beautiful; it left the world ugly. Thus the finer spirits of the age were rebels against the besetting evil of greedy materialism. This was the case not only in science, religion, and social reform, but also in art. Art was struggling for its life.

The background for both art and literature was the cold classicism of the eighteenth century, the infatuate pedantry summed up in Louis David. In poetry the revolt came early, and persisted through the century. In the fundamental arts of life, in architecture, in costume and the crafts, there was a collapse from which we are only now recovering. In painting, Constable and Turner, with splendid English independence, had quietly returned to nature and to colour; and the other foundation of modern art, realism, had been laid by the Spaniard Goya. But the results of these revolutionaries were slow in becoming established; and, meanwhile, during the first half of the nineteenth century there was in France a fierce onset against the classicalists which was made by the romanticists and the independent Delacroix, all influenced by Constable and the English. In England there was no struggle; but painting had settled down into an indescribable condition of dull incompetence. Ruskin had lashed out as a young man against the prevalent blindness; he had discovered Turner, he had also discovered Giotto and the Italian Pre-Raphaelites, and he had discovered Tintoret—with what result may be gauged by the fact that in 1852 he arranged to buy Tintoret's great picture of "The Marriage Feast at Cana" in the Salute for £5,000, and the magni-

ficent San Cassiano, "Crucifixion," for £7,000, and when he offered this opportunity to the National Gallery it was refused. England was still congratulating itself upon the Great Exhibition of 1851. Men were blind to the values then, as they never had been before since art grew up in the palæolithic era; and a cruel and criminal ugliness was triumphant and complacent in architecture, furniture, costume, sculpture, and in painting. The destruction of Europe's old buildings under the guise of restoration had begun, and the new buildings were growing worse and worse. Men were everywhere levelling down the civilisation of their ancestors; and the mean streets of Manchester were expressing the new commercialism, as Venice and Antwerp had typified the old.

Then three boys got their powder together and made an explosion. They called themselves by the odd, provocative title of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood; and the initials "P.R.B.," when their meaning was discovered in 1850, aroused a fury which we can only understand when we remember that Raphael was then regarded as the almost divine beginner of painting. Holman Hunt was the oldest of the three lads, and this is important to remember, for a year is an age among the adolescent; and the relative ages of Hunt, Rossetti, and Millais were those of a third-year man, a second-year man, and a freshman at the University. To be precise, in 1848, when the P.R.B. was founded, Hunt was 21, Rossetti was 20, and Millais 19 years of age. Some of Rossetti's friends have ignored the fact of Hunt's leadership; but we may accept the evidence in Hunt's autobiography that he took Rossetti into his youthful studio and taught him to improve his drawing; and it seems to be clear that Hunt's influence in the inauguration of the movement was predominant, as certainly his immense steadiness of character was the power that kept it together for five years. Five years is a long life for an explosion.

How these three lads had the knowledge, the intuition, and the technical ability to challenge the whole established art of the mid-nineteenth century, and to put in its place something so original and so accomplished, is one of the marvels of the age. The revolt could not have been accomplished without Hunt's heroic qualities of self-sacrifice and courage. He nearly starved during the struggle. The other two fell away—and we can ignore the remainder of the Brotherhood altogether—but he worked on into the twentieth century, unmoved and unchanged.

Until the meaning of the initials P.R.B. was betrayed, all went well; Hunt had exhibited in the Academy as early as 1846, when he was 19, and his "Rienzi" was well received in 1849. Then came the memorable year, 1850, and the secret was made known: a storm of abuse and ridicule burst upon the fine pictures which the

young men exhibited—Hunt's "Christians and Druids," Millais' "Carpenter's Shop," at the Academy, and in another exhibition Rossetti's "Ecce Ancilla Domini." The storm was unabated next year, when Hunt exhibited his "Valentine and Sylvia" and Millais his "Woodman's Daughter," "Mariana," and the "Return of the Dove"—all these youthful and amazing pictures are still famous. Ruskin arose to the rescue in *The Times* with characteristic generosity and exalted praise. Other young painters came into the movement, and the older Maddox Brown was inspired by it with a new purpose. A slightly later generation followed, Burne-Jones, who gilded our younger days with grace and romance, and William Morris, who began to make England beautiful again. But this is not the occasion for an account of the whole Pre-Raphaelite movement, nor has the time yet come when we can fairly criticise and appraise it from the connoisseur's point of view. A visit to the Tate Gallery (where, by the way, Holman Hunt is not yet adequately represented) will show two things: first what a large number of the best pictures in that gallery are by men who belong to the Pre-Raphaelite school or to its lineage; and, secondly, how much the other schools owe what is best in them to the effects of the explosion of 1850.

That remarkable triumvirate of five years had the "beauté de la jeunesse"; the first glory was not continued to a further stage, and could not be recaptured. What it was can be understood in the Tate Gallery by a study of Millais' "Carpenter's Shop"; and with this can be compared Hunt's "Claudio and Isabella" and the earlier Rossettis. The three needed one another; Hunt supplied the purpose, the weight, and the science, Rossetti the imaginative genius, and Millais his own marvellous inventiveness and technical skill. Had these qualities been combined in one man, or had they been able to keep together in their boyish brotherhood, the early works might have been excelled, and an English tradition formed comparable to that of the Italian Cinquecento; but it could not be; Rossetti was an individualist at heart and played for his own hand, Millais was drawn by success into paths where his own wonderful facility had full scope; Hunt had supplied the solid intellectual foundation, but he perhaps also suffered when the more subtle and agile elements were withdrawn. It has been sometimes said that none of the three produced such good work when they had ceased to work together. Yet it was thirty-seven years later, in 1887, that Holman Hunt painted what Ruskin called "the greatest religious picture of our time," the "Triumph of the Innocents." With characteristic sturdy thoroughness he spent much of his middle life in hardship and danger, painting such religious pictures as the famous "Scapegoat" amid the native scenery of Palestine.

They liked noble subjects, these Pre-Raphaelites; and Hunt felt that he had a religious mission to paint Bible scenes. Therefore he worked in Palestine that he might represent these scenes as they might actually have occurred. For Pre-Raphaelitism was realism—the representing of things as they are, of nature as it is. Constable had his share in this, as in the French revolt. Although the Pre-Raphaelites often chose mediæval subjects, nothing is further from the truth than to regard them as the devotees of sham romance. The cry "before Raphael" meant a desire for directness and sincerity—the simplicity of Giotto and the Cinquecentists instead of the eclecticism of the Carracci and other Post-Raphaelite painters. "There was," wrote Hunt, "a constant negation of mediævalism in every point of our work." He regarded the so-called Gothic Revival as "a deadly blight," causing "the destruction of edifices of vital beauty" and "paralysing the inventive genius" of artists. Sham Gothic was to him "the danger at the time," and the P.R.B. tried to check both this and the following of Overbeck by "a child-like submission to nature." The desire to paint historic subjects correctly was part of this desire to be natural; and that was why Hunt set the example of historical truth by long years of work in the East. The figures in his mediæval and Shakespearian pictures, like those of Millais at the time, are completely natural also, and indeed mid-Victorian in their *allure*. When the reaction of the last thirty years is over, it is probable that English painting will return to this tradition of painting nature as it is, and contemporary people as they are, even in Biblical or other historical pictures. Mr. Stanley Spencer owes some of his great success last year to this recovery of the Pre-Raphaelite spirit; and he is not alone.

They thought much of their subjects, these Pre-Raphaelites, and had never heard the word "illustrator" employed as a term of abuse. They discussed their "Rienzi" or their "Mariana" for months, they pondered and explored, they thought out other subjects for the future; they tried to make their subject vivid and interesting; they were actually popularisers of poetry—a shocking thing to the "plastic emotion" prophets of to-day. But they were clearly right; and the reaction against nobility of subject is condemned by all the great masters, and indeed by the whole history of art; for artists have in fact been in the habit of nobly expressing noble subjects. It is true, of course, that a fine subject does not turn a bad picture into a good one; true that a good painter can make a fine picture out of a common or a base subject—out of a carcase in a butcher's shop or a London slum, for instance—and true, therefore, that the excellence of a picture lies not in its subject but in the painting of it. Yet, is the subject of a picture

nothing to the painter, or to us? Would Michelangelo's ceiling be quite the same if—instead of Adam and the Sybils—it was covered with African Ju-jus or with washerwomen yawning? Degas could paint a washerwoman magnificently, when he tore himself away from his pathetic ballet-dancers; but would he not have been a finer artist still if he had been more interested in other things? And would it not be better for us all? There is a place for ugliness in art—even perhaps on occasion for the uglification of things naturally fair—just as there is a place in nature for the wart-hog; but I like Giorgione the better for having tried to make his women and men as beautiful as he could; I would not change Titian's divinities for dowdies or for apaches; and I am glad that El Greco did not devote his life to painting plates of apples. Teniers and Brouwer were probably right to paint drunken peasants, because probably they could not paint anything else so well; and perhaps some of our modern artists have a similar justification. But, other things being equal, it is better to paint a good subject, as indeed it is more difficult; and the fact that in this way many people come to like pictures who are not naturally endowed with what I believe I ought to call the true æsthetic reaction—this fact is surely all to the good. We want as many people as possible to like pictures, to get what they can out of them, and to learn to appreciate them better. There are few things about Holman Hunt and his Pre-Raphaelite followers more striking than the way in which reproductions of their pictures came to fill the rooms of cultivated people; quite ordinary cultivated people, without any sense of "tactile values,"—Philistines, in fact, mere literary men and university dons, displayed these reproductions because they liked to have about them fine subjects and the stuff of poetry eloquently expressed. The whole educated world became interested in painting; and I cannot help thinking that this was a great achievement: for I would rather painting was enjoyed by all, even if not for all the best reasons, than confined to a tiny faction barking about their plastic sensibilities or melting in ecstasy before the volume and mass of the rotund abdomen of an African fetish.

Holman Hunt—and I am here speaking of him primarily as a man—was intensely devoted to high moral ideals; these ideals he endeavoured to convey to others; and here again we are still in the trough of a reaction. "Art cannot be didactic," we are told. But is not the statement the expression of a rather flimsy philosophy? A poet or a painter, or any other artist, is a person who tries to convey the ideas he has grasped and the emotion he feels to others. In so far as he succeeds, and has anything worth conveying, he educates. In fact the net result of art upon the world is education, of the best kind. All the most valuable spiritual possessions of

civilised man are the results of the efforts of poets and other artists. A mere didactic person is a person who is a bad artist, and does not educate anybody. If a good artist has fine ideas, he will educate, but he will not be merely didactic; if his emotions are noble and profound, they will colour his art and will express themselves through it; if he is a man with high moral purpose, that purpose will be apparent in his art, as it was in the art of Holman Hunt, and his art will thus help to spread morality—shocking as the thought may be to those critics who so hate Ruskin and so fail to emulate his art of glorious English prose. In fact, a man cannot escape his human responsibilities by saying that he is an artist. He may behave like a beast, and yet have great artistic gifts; but so much the worse for him if he so behave, and so much the worse—exactly so much the worse—for his art. He may become famous as Benvenuto Cellini became famous; he will not become famous in the way of Michelangelo. For his morals are part of a man; and it is the whole man that expresses himself in his art. He may suppress the exhibition of his vices, but that very act of suppression will give a weakness to his art. The supreme values come ultimately to one, and you cannot wound truth or goodness without bruising beauty also. The converse also is true; and the life of Holman Hunt is a noble protest against that slackness of fibre, which has spoilt so many artists who have made their art an excuse for not facing life as a whole.

Holman Hunt's name raises another question. He was intensely English, and he believed firmly in the importance of nationality in art. Here again I believe that the history of all art is on his side—that he was right, and that the reaction is wrong. It is very difficult to escape the illusion that the opinion of the moment is the final truth—that curious human illusion which overlooks the one certain fact that the opinion of the moment will be discarded in twenty years' time. Final verdicts are slowly formed, growing from age to age as the common sense of the world gradually sifts out the gold grains of specialist opinion from the mud. But in the matter of nationality the reaction against reaction has begun, and the attempt to Gallicise English thought will, I think, be found to have Oscar Wilde and Mr. Chesterton (in some of his moods) as its boundaries. There is much to be learnt from the French; but among men who are not of the calibre of the two I have mentioned there has been much danger of what Mr. John Freeman has called with pardonable vigour "The suburban discontent of mean minds, for whom nothing native is tolerable, and what is most vile and most stupid is welcome if it come from abroad."

Modern French painting is deservedly admired, and we have much to learn from it; but when English painters become mere

imitators of the French, they lose whatever special value they might have possessed. When people want French painting, they want the real thing, and they will never care for copies of it. That is why the present adulation of even inferior French work, and the depreciation of our English painters, is bad for art as a whole and is fatal to art in this country. If it continues, we shall become a nation of shadows. Our forefathers tried the experiment for centuries, and thought that a painter must be a foreigner: so we remained without one, till that very English and very didactic painter, Hogarth, arose, and won his place even in French histories of art. In the same way, the fellow-countrymen of Shakespeare became convinced that only the French could write plays; and "for a century," as William Archer said, "the drama sinks into abject dependence on France," producing nothing of the least value. In music, England was among the three foremost nations of Europe from the fifteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century. Then in the court of Charles II arose the idea that French songs were much better than English; then it was the Germans—Handel in the eighteenth century; and the domination continued through the nineteenth. We thought ourselves an unmusical people, and the Germans spoke of "Das Land ohne Musik." During the present century we have discovered our own traditional music, composers are now working in their native idiom, and England is foremost in music again.

So I think that Holman Hunt was right in this principle also. He showed the right way to success. Flemish painting became great when it was Flemish, and withered up when it became Italianate; so did German, so did Dutch, so did Spanish art remain fine when it was native, and fail when it became imitative. So will it be with us. For an artist succeeds by virtue of having something to express; and though he may, and should, learn from other nations, he cannot express their peculiar genius. Nor can he change his own soul: he can only lose it. Ours is a great age of æsthetic criticism, made possible by modern facilities of travel and of printing, and by photography. That criticism is nowadays scientific and comprehensive as it never was before. Like so much of modern painting it is original, sincere, and full of vitality. But it is still in its pioneer stage, and other generations will have to correct the inevitable exaggerations and defects and oversights of this most difficult business. I would not trust the ablest of contemporary critics—still less would I trust myself—to give an opinion on an artist who died only eighteen years ago. The opinion of any generation on the work of the preceding half-century is very precarious, on that of the later years of such a period is almost always wrong. Therefore I have not attempted the presumption of any

verdict on the painting of Holman Hunt, but have spoken rather of his influence and of the philosophy which seems to underlie his conception of the painter's art. His influence has been very great; few pictures are better known than his, and the titles of some of them are household words. Every day hundreds of ordinary people look upon his pictures in galleries all over the country, understand them, and remember them. He intended those works of his to convey to his fellow-countrymen the great ideals and lofty aspirations which possessed him. That was surely a fine aim; and remains a precious achievement. It is, I think, the English way. Those critics who do not think his æsthetic powers were equal to his high intentions, should beware of undervaluing those intentions because they have different (and perhaps better) æsthetic standards. To Holman Hunt a painter was a man who should belong to the school of the prophets, as Michelangelo did, and Rembrandt and Blake. And is it not true that every painter is a prophet not of beauty only, but of that truth and goodness also which are of the very nature of things, and the ultimate values of life, and that every painter expresses these values in the varying degrees and proportions that belong to his character?

Greek art is great because it expresses in terms of plastic beauty the whole Greek idea of life, the philosophy, religion, poetry, and ethics of a noble and gifted people; and this is true of every other great art. To miss this truth amid the jargon of the studios is to fall into that parochialism and sectarianism of art, which is one of our dangers to-day. Because we are so much interested in technical discoveries and the probing of the æsthetic sensibility, do not let us forget that painting is one of the arts, as poetry and music are, and that the object of all art is to express those supreme realities, which, because they are so subtle and so fine, can be expressed in no other way; and that the art which is of most value to the world is that which can be appreciated, not by a few only, but by all those who care for beauty in any form, and which can be ultimately loved, however simply, by the whole people.

Such, after all, has been the lot of all great art in the past. It has been winning its way to universality; and the verdict in the end is pronounced by time, the most democratic of all juries. Those eminent Victorians with whom we are so little at ease to-day had a high conception of their work in the world, and Holman Hunt was one of them. They gave the world a harvest of prose and of poetry and of scientific discovery which will mark out their age forever in history. I believe it will be in their tradition of sound endeavour that the painting also of this country will excel.

PERCY DEARMER.

THE TEACHING OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

WHY is it that most of the educated people of this country call themselves Christians, and live lives in no way distinguishable from those of cultured Pagans? Some of them are honest enough to say outright that they are opposed to the teaching of Christ, as being impracticable and incompatible with the laws of Nature. But the great majority refuse to recognise Him as a power in their lives, because conventional Religion has stripped Him of all the qualities that a self-respecting man admires. Inheriting, or painting for themselves, the picture of an emasculated and anæmic dreamer, they think of Him or try to worship Him in the manner demanded by social respectability on Sundays; for the rest of the week He is as much a part of their lives as the pictures in their servants' bedrooms.

What lies at the root of this perilous error? For perilous it is, if the verdict of the wisest and most far-sighted men of to-day is correct, namely, that Western Civilisation must choose during the next generation between a wholehearted acceptance of Christ's teaching as the guiding principle in domestic and in world politics, or a racial catastrophe on a scale unparalleled in the history of mankind.

In his recent inspiring novel, *The God Within Him*, Mr. Robert Hichens notes the fact that whenever Jesus Christ is mentioned, "five people out of every six think of long fair hair, white robes, white hands, slow movements, conventional gestures of blessing, emaciation, vegetarianism, and beards." And this is the travesty with which even thinking men are often content. It is an idea fostered by slow negative teaching both in the home and in the school. Some of this teaching is well meant but mistaken; much of it is the result of sheer laziness and unwillingness to think on the part of both teachers and taught. The truth is that most people do not wish to recognise the real Christ in their lives, because the following of His teaching would mean adopting a new standard of values, and this might involve curtailment of pleasure and a revised estimate of the significance of money. Only the parent can remedy this in the home. But surely, in these days when Education has become a science, and Psychology has proved beyond question the tremendous importance of Thought—instinctive and deliberate—the schools should concentrate their energies on shattering this fallacy. At all events at the Public Schools, where the masters are supposedly Christian in deed as well as word, and where there are definite periods allotted to the study of the New Testament, the attack might be launched.

What is the position at the Public Schools with regard to this question? There is probably no hour looked forward to more apprehensively by many a master, and endured with greater weariness by the boy, than the New Testament lesson. On the other hand the normal boy will always respond to intelligent enthusiasm, even in school. And the solution of this problem seems to depend on two changes in the usual manner of taking these lessons: *first*, a change of attitude in the man who is teaching—in some, an increased interest in ethical and spiritual life; in others, nothing short of a *metanoia*; *second*, the introduction of new and more vigorous methods, and a wider choice of books.

Before considering these two points in detail, it will not be irrelevant to think a little about the other religious influences that are brought to bear on the boy at a Public School, and how he responds to them. Enough has been said to suggest that little positive help or encouragement comes from a vast number of modern homes. Even conscientious parents are often so nervous and tentative in their religion that the boy comes to school suspicious of anything unorthodox or unconventional in religious teaching. As soon as he gets to school, regular compulsory chapel services become a habit. As a corporate institution these services are excellent; but with regard to the individual soul of the average boy their influence, if any, is very slight. The liturgy of the Church of England, magnificent as it is from a literary point of view, rapidly becomes monotonous to him, and is more likely to send him to sleep than to infuse life into him. Hymn-singing is a hearty safety-valve for animal spirits, but is without trace of real spirituality. The same might be said, incidentally, about many of the hymns themselves. Chapel services are of value as united gatherings of the whole school with a definite purpose, and as an official recognition of the existence of God; but the stereotyped and recurring prayers, confessions, and responses tend rather to destroy than preserve the spirit of true worship. Only the sermons may be of lasting value; and this depends entirely on the preacher. If he happens to be a Christ-like man as well as a Christian, his words or his personality may make an abiding impression on a few boys here and there. On most of them "a good sermon" has the same stimulating but evanescent effect as a good song or a good dinner. The emotion thus engendered is dissipated immediately in an unnecessarily loud rendering of the last hymn.

Once a year the Confirmation comes round, and to those who seriously intend to make it a spiritual experience it may bring real inspiration. Preparation services and classes taken by the clerical staff or by the headmaster may have a lasting effect and give a boy mental and spiritual balance at a time when he is most

susceptible to influence and needs experienced help badly. The value of preparation by housemasters, unless they are exceptional men, is exceedingly questionable. For those boys who have been confirmed there are voluntary early Communion services, at which the attendance varies according to environment. It would be surprising to hear that the average number present ever exceeds 15 per cent. of the eligible boys (except on festivals), and it must frequently sink to 5 per cent. or less.

Interest in religious theory or practice, outside regulation channels, is regarded by the boys as the province of the "Pi," by the lay members of the staff as the exuberance of their clerical colleagues. The united contributions of these various streams of influence cannot truthfully be said to affect the Public Schools, as an institution, enough to make the outlook of the rising generation different from that of their parents. Can this state of affairs be mended by a wider and less specialised interpretation of Christianity than has up to the present been achieved? On the basis of the previous suggestions, this should not be impossible.

First—and this is indispensable—there must be a new spirit in the men who teach. Whatever the *content* of thought passed on to the boy, it must come through a mind that already intuitively believes, or actively yearns to believe, its truth. Enthusiasm for a cause often wins half the battle before a word has been uttered. This applies more to the concerns of the spirit than to any other branch of experience, for there is in every human heart, boy's or man's, a *longing for spiritual truth and knowledge*, though this sometimes lies unrevealed for many years, sometimes for a lifetime. This is the seed of the Kingdom of God which is in every man. And it is the function of Education to till the ground so that the plant may grow to its full height. The best gardener is not only the man who is keenest on gardens; he must also be rich in experience. The truth is that the average schoolmaster is not rich enough in spiritual experience to cultivate his plants with that sureness of knowledge and intuition which such delicate work demands. Need this be so?

There are a large number of books to-day, easily obtainable, written by men whose lives have taken them further afield than the ordinary schoolmaster is able to travel—further afield in practical and spiritual experience. These books are of absorbing and stimulating interest to any man who has deliberately chosen one of the few altruistic professions. For they show, in the sum of their conclusions rather than in any one book, a picture of the twentieth-century world, its unprecedented problems, individual, moral, religious, industrial, social, national, imperial, and international. They show, too, by implication rather than by definite

precept, the type of man for the lack of whom the world is now disintegrating into chaos. Is it asking too much that the schoolmaster should consider putting himself in the way of such knowledge? "Il faut faire renaître l'idée de Dieu"; it is essential too that the idea of Christ, God's revelation of Himself to Man, should be reborn. If it is to be reborn in the schools of this country, the regeneration must take place first in the hearts of the schoolmasters. To bring this about, they must be prepared to read more widely, think more systematically and more constructively, and finally to meditate continually on the vision they are endeavouring to interpret.

Here is a list of those books which the writer has found of untold help in the task of self-realisation, the necessary preliminary to translating one's experience. The catalogue could easily be supplemented; these books are mentioned and recommended as being likely to find favour with the average schoolmaster.

Books dealing chiefly with the *personal* aspect of Religion:

- Speculum Animæ.* By W. R. Inge. (Longmans.)
- Personal Religion and the Life of Devotion.* By W. R. Inge. (Longmans.)
- The Conquest of Fear.* By Basil King. (George Allen & Unwin.)
- The Ethics of Jesus.* By H. C. King. (The Macmillan Company, New York.)
- The Necessity of Christ.* By W. E. Orchard. (Dent.)
- Psychology and the Christian Life.* By T. W. Pym. (Student Christian Movement.)
- Everyday Religion.* By E. S. Woods. (Student Christian Movement.)
- Jesus in the Records.* By H. B. Sharman. (Association Press, New York.)
- The New Psychology and the Preacher.* By H. Crichton Miller. (Jarrolds.)
- Christ's Message of the Kingdom.* By A. G. Hogg. (T. & T. Clark.)
- The Power of Thought* (and other publications). By H. T. Hamblin. (Science of Thought Institute, Chichester.)
- Practical Mysticism.* By Evelyn Underhill. (J. M. Dent & Son, Ltd.)
- The Life of Jesus.* By J. Middleton Murry. (Jonathan Cape.)

These books, though many extracts from them might well be read aloud in school, are not wholly fitted for use as class books. Any one of them will supply the master with a fund of thought on which he will constantly wish to draw. But there is no lack of literature similar in its basic belief in Christianity as the key to world peace. Among many others the following come most readily to mind:

- Christianity and the Race Problem.* By J. H. Oldham. (Student Christian Movement.)
- The Clash of Colour.* By Basil Mathews. (Edinburgh House Press.)

War, its Nature, Cause, and Cure. By G. Lowes Dickinson. (George Allen & Unwin.)

The Word and the Work. By G. A. Studdert Kennedy. (Longmans.)

Across the Bridges. By Alexander Paterson. (Edward Arnold.)

The Making of a Man. By Sir Oliver Lodge. (Hodder & Stoughton.)

The Christ of the Indian Road. By E. Stanley Jones. (Hodder & Stoughton.)

The Meaning of Prayer. By H. E. Fosdick. (S.C.M.)

But before Christianity can be applied to the needs of a community, it must have been loved and practised by the individual. And this can be attained only by a study of the life of Christ. A great help to understanding the New Testament can be derived from a modern translation (Moffat's or Weymouth's). But for boys of fifteen and upwards the book *par excellence* is the anonymous *Life of Christ*, By an Unknown Disciple (Hodder & Stoughton). I have read this book two or three times with boys of fifteen to seventeen years old, and have found invariably that it both holds their attention at the time, and makes an impression altogether more vivid and more lasting than the Authorised or Revised Versions. Partly owing to the antiquity of the language, partly because it is read more or less mechanically in Chapel, Sunday after Sunday, the Authorised Version has acquired a familiarity in the boy's mind which breeds, if not contempt, an automatic inattention. The pleasant modern flavour of this story comes as a delightful shock. Christ is, as it were, raised from the dead again. The boy feels Him as a man, alive and akin to him, which is the first step to the higher conception which may come more naturally later.

There is one other approach to understanding something of the character of Christ: that is, through poetry. There is probably no poet who appeals so directly to the modern boy as John Masefield. I have tried more than once to arrive by this roundabout route at the ultimate goal. Without necessarily mentioning Christ, it is possible by judicious selection to get the boy to recognise and inwardly applaud ethical standards of which his own whole life is a negation. I have started with the splendid epics, *Reynard the Fox* and *Right Royal*, which in themselves have little enough to do with Christianity, but will win the boy's heart to a love of the poet and a willingness to follow him into deeper and more difficult waters. Just as the transition from interest in mere incident for its own sake, to a dawning of interest in the men and women who shape and are shaped by the incidents, marks the first advance of the boy towards literary appreciation, so, reading Masefield, he moves by degrees, and without knowing it, on to a higher plane of thought. From narrative and description he can pass on to a poem like *The Hounds of Hell*, which has a definite moral permeating the story—

the conquest of Fear. It would be safe then to take one of the longer tragic pieces, for example, *The Daffodil Fields*, omitting passages if necessary, but passing over no aspect of the tragedy itself. It is a cowardly and unwise policy to shrink from presenting the spectacle of noble men and women in tumult and darkness of mind, on the ground that young boys should be kept in ignorance of the tragic side of life. To emphasise it would be both bad and pointless. But it is absurd nowadays to proceed on the assumption that modern boys are ignorant of life's seamy side, when they are allowed to devour the garbage of the Sunday Press. It is of infinitely greater moment to reveal by illustration the difference between the poet's handling and interpretation of tragedy, and the sordid touch of the sensation-monger. The boy will shift his attention, probably for the first time, on to the *cause*, and dwell less on the comparatively unimportant *effect*. The poet, by his genius and intuitive love and understanding of humanity, lightens our darkness, and searching like Christ for the motive behind action and the inherent nobility in man, lifts us with the men and women of his creation to spiritual heights, so that we are for the time almost at one with him, seeing Sin and Evil, as one hopes God sees them, as *a falling short of the divine ideal* rather than as positive, malignant forces. *Dauber* is a beautiful revelation of the triumph of spirit over flesh, the heroic quest of a sensitive soul after its ideal, the unconquerable urge of the creative impulse in man, even when working through the frailest of vessels. In *The Everlasting Mercy* the boy may catch a glimpse of the redeeming power and love of Christ. It is easy, if the poem is read aloud to him, to omit the over-lurid passages; its simplicity and directness, culminating in the opening up of a new vision of life to the fear-haunted and desperate Saul Kane, must appeal to something higher in the listener than mere animal emotion. Even when the poet takes as his theme the trial of Jesus, in *Good Friday*, I cannot remember an occasion when a single boy's attention has wandered; he is held not only by the historic realism of the drama, but also by the inspired prophetic ecstasy of the blind "Madman," ironically so-called because his eyes have been opened by Christ to the Truth.

In his *Consecration* Masefield says of himself, summing up his mission as a poet:

"Not of the princes and prelates with periwigged charioteers
Riding triumphantly laurelled to lap the fat of the years—
Rather the scorned—the rejected—the men hemmed in with the
spears.

Of these shall my songs be fashioned, my tales be told."

In the love, knowledge, and understanding of these songs, if anywhere in Poetry, a boy should find "the spirit that was in Christ Jesus."

F. K. ROBERTSON.

CYPRUS, PAST AND PRESENT.

THIS year brings the Jubilee of the British occupation of Cyprus, that classic island of so many blended nationalities, which from its position has been of strategic importance to would-be world conquerors of all ages, and which, owing to its chequered history, is a veritable storehouse of romance and archæological treasures. Its latest rulers are attempting to restore ancient prosperity and to bring peace and happiness to this "Mediterranean Garden"; but the task presents many difficulties, for it is a land of anachronisms. Veiled Moslem women, grave-faced Turks, Greek villagers in native dress, Western officials, all pass each other in the streets. The narrow bazaars stand much as they did three hundred years ago, yet Western shop-fronts adorn the newer quarters. Primitive ploughs have changed little since the days of Abraham; yet in the island where they are used wireless licences are issued. Camels and donkeys act as beasts of burden; but motors tear along the roads.

"Pass over to Chittim," cries Isaiah, pronouncing the doom of Tyre and Sidon, "there also shalt thou have no rest." The prophecy was literally fulfilled during the Babylonian supremacy, when many refugees sought safety in Cyprus, identified with the Biblical Chittim. The great antiquity of civilisation in this island is proved by coins, by monuments, and by the strange silent witness of a dead language akin to Lycian, found in ancient inscriptions. The actual facts of its earliest history are matters of conjecture. An Aryan migration, the "sons of Javan" of Genesis x, probably found aboriginal inhabitants. Of them we know nothing.

The first historical fact is the conquest of Cyprus by Thothmes III of Egypt. Little colonies of Greeks in various parts early fused with the Cypriots to whom they were akin. Phœnicians, attracted by the plentiful timber and the rich copper mines, came to trade and settled on the coast. Numerous little states flourished and maintained practical independence until their subjection to Assyria. It is on record that Sargon gave audience to ambassadors from Cyprus, who brought costly offerings—gold and silver vases and logs of ebony. In return he presented a mighty statue of himself, which in modern times was unearthed and found its way to a museum in Berlin. First Egypt and then Persia obtained mastery in this island, which was a convenient jumping-off ground for military expeditions. During the Persian domination, Hellenic sympathisers were the under-dogs, art and commerce declined, and every effort was directed to the increase of the Phœnician population. A native champion arose in Evagorus, who made himself

King of Salamis by force of arms, and ruled wisely, restoring prosperity and giving an impetus to culture.

When Alexander flashed upon the world, the Cypriot princes were eager to make their submission to a Hellenic super-man, and they took a fleet of 120 ships to the siege of Tyre. He left these loyal adherents undisturbed in their little kingdoms and they sunned themselves in his favour, Nicocreon of Salamis and Pasocrates of Soli taking a prominent part in the rejoicings at the conqueror's return to Phœnicia from Egypt. Tragedy darkened the island of tragedies once again when after the death of Alexander the generals were parcelling out his vast possessions. In the true Greek spirit were the deaths of Nicocles of Paphos and all his house. Falsely accused of plotting for a rival claimant, the King committed suicide, whereupon his Queen murdered her two daughters and persuaded the wives of the King's brothers to die with her rather than fall into the hands of Ptolemy.

During eighteen years of struggle the little kingdoms were finally abolished and prosperity faded under stern military rule; but fat years followed the lean, and under Ptolemy Soter the island once again flourished exceedingly. Nothing ever seemed to bear even the faintest semblance of permanence in harassed Cyprus. Next she fell under the sway of all-subduing Rome, and temples and palaces were stripped of their treasures, gold and silver vessels, wondrous jewels and costly furniture, to be converted into 7,000 talents of silver, packed in cases, each furnished with a long cord to serve as a buoy in case of shipwreck, and so carried over the water to Rome. Magistrates, priests and people flocked down to the river; the reception of Cato, the deputy, was made a triumph, and Rome gasped at the magnitude of the booty. The Senate would have heaped its highest honours upon Cato, but he declined them all, only asking the freedom of one of Ptolemy's officers and keeping a single statue out of all the treasure in his power.

In 52 B.C. Cicero was proconsul and beloved of all Cypriots for his justice and attempts to "repair the evils inflicted." Even after he had left the island he continued to plead its cause, writing to C. Sextius: "I recommend to you all the Cypriots in general, and the Paphiotes in particular, and I shall feel deeply grateful for all that you can do for them." But Cyprus was shorn of her glory, her people were crushed and spiritless. Ere long another conquering force swept over Cyprus, a force which won sway by no deeds of arms, but by the eloquence of one of her own sons, Jesus, surnamed Barnabas. That new conquering force was Christianity. During the persecution which followed the death of Stephen, converts fled to Cyprus, bringing the seeds of their new faith to Jews on the island. Later, after the foundation of the Church at Antioch,

where they were "first called Christians," Paul and Barnabas sailed to Salamis and preached in the synagogues. Travelling from place to place, they came to Paphos, and Sergius Paulus, the Proconsul, was converted. Barnabas came on a second visit, accompanied by John Mark, and according to tradition he was stoned to death in his native city. A pillar is still in existence to which St. Paul is supposed to have been bound to be scourged, and a huge fourth-century church can be seen at Salamis, near the marble forum and the thermæ.

At the beginning of the fourth century Cyprus was almost depopulated owing to seventeen years of drought. It was visited by the Empress Helena on her way from the Holy Land, and legend declares that a heavy fall of rain answered her fervent prayers as soon as she set foot on the island. Many churches and monasteries were memorials of her visit, and she persuaded the Emperor to exempt from taxation all exiled Cypriots who returned to their native shores. As one of the earliest Gentile lands to accept Christianity, Cyprus has always enjoyed special ecclesiastical independence; but in the fifth century its Bishops were struggling against subjection to the Patriarch of Antioch. A shepherd of Salamis is said to have discovered the body of St. Barnabas, secretly buried beneath a carob tree on the Plain of Salamis, and, lying on his breast, a copy of the Gospel of St. Matthew in the Cyprian saint's own handwriting. In gratitude for this wonderful find the Emperor Leno confirmed the absolute independence of the Church, still known as the Autocephalous Church of Cyprus, and bestowed peculiar honours upon its head, including the title of Beatitude. He might wear purple silken robes, carry a sceptre instead of a pastoral staff, and sign his name in red ink, the privilege of Emperors.

The chequered fate of Cyprus continued down the centuries. It was like a ball tossed between the Byzantine Empire and the Arabs, constantly changing hands, never long at rest. For 150 years, the darkest in its history, it groaned under Moslem oppression, then for a period it was re-united to Constantinople and conditions were ameliorated. The strangest twist in its fortunes occurred in the twelfth century, when for a brief period it was conquered by the country destined to acquire it yet again in the nineteenth century. Isaac Comnenus had discarded allegiance to the Empire and proclaimed himself Emperor of Cyprus. In May, 1191, Richard Cœur de Lion was on his way to the Holy Land. On another vessel in his little fleet journeyed Berengère of Navarre, his fiancée. A storm separated the ships, and three were cast ashore and their crews taken prisoners by Comnenus. Berengère herself was forced to shelter in the roadstead of Limasol, and Isaac sent presents, en-

treating her to land. Counselling by her officers, she refused to walk into a trap, but requested permission to send ashore for water. This was denied, and an attempt was made to surround her ship. The commander hurriedly put out to sea, where they met Richard, who was naturally enraged at this unchivalrous treatment of his fiancée. He landed troops, and Comnenus fled to the mountains. Negotiations were begun, but further treachery exasperated the English King, who disembarked his cavalry, attacked, and utterly routed the pseudo-Emperor. Isaac's Imperial Standard was captured, and dedicated to the memory of St. Edmund, on whose Suffolk tomb it eventually rested.

On May 12th Richard's wedding was celebrated with great pomp at Limasol, the Archbishop of York crowning Berengère Queen of England. Geoffrey de Vinsant, the chronicler of the Crusades, depicts Richard as "glorious on this happy occasion and cheerful to all, and showed himself very jocose and affable." A well-preserved mediæval chapel within the Gothic fortress is an object of interest to-day as the supposed scene of the royal wedding. Guy de Lusignan joined Richard, and between them they soon subdued the whole island and captured Isaac. By June 5th they re-embarked, leaving only a small garrison to hold Cyprus. Richard, ardent Crusader, had no wish to retain his conquest. At first he sold it to the Knights Templar; but after a serious insurrection their ideas changed, and finally it was transferred to Guy de Lusignan, Richard remitting the balance of the purchase-money.

A new era opened for Cyprus, in the main an era of great prosperity, though it was under foreign overlords of a different Church. Wonderful Gothic buildings marked this period, and many of the eighteen Lusignan monarchs ruled with wisdom and liberality. But Cyprus never enjoyed undisturbed peace for very long. Famagusta was conquered by the Genoese in the fourteenth century and remained attached to the republic for nearly a hundred years. In the reign of Janus, the island was overrun by the Sultan of Egypt's troops, fortresses were destroyed and palaces burned. Freedom was only obtained at last by payment of a large yearly tribute. Yet another foreign power took a hand in the game, when the Republic of Venice schemed for a marriage between King Jacques and Catherine Cornaro, daughter of a wealthy burgher. On the death of Jacques, a Venetian fleet was dispatched to establish Catherine on the throne; but she was only a pawn in the game and soon abdicated in favour of the republic.

Then, in the sixteenth century, came the Turks. Selim II is reputed to have been so much enamoured of the Cyprus wine that he cast greedy eyes towards the island. He dispatched a fleet and transports, and while Venice talked, schemed, and negotiated for

help from abroad, his troops burned and pillaged and subdued most of Cyprus. Nicosia was taken by assault and over 14,000 persons are said to have perished in the terrible butchery which followed. The town which held out longest was Famagusta, under the command of the brave General Bragadino. After long delays a fleet set out to the rescue; but news of the fall of Nicosia caused the Spanish Admiral to declare the expedition fruitless. The Venetian and Papal Admirals debated his decision, but finally slunk away with him, leaving Cyprus to its fate. During thirteen months' weary struggle the only assistance reaching Famagusta was supplied by twelve galleys with 1,700 men and some stores and gunpowder, which managed to get through the blockade. After a heroic and almost superhuman resistance the town was forced to surrender. Provisions were exhausted, only seven barrels of gunpowder remained, and the garrison was reduced to a few hundreds. By the terms of capitulation, lives, property and religion were to be respected; but many treacherous murders took place, and the noble Bragadino was tortured and flayed alive. It is easy to condemn the Turkish Government wholesale; but it must be conceded that in the main Cyprus was perhaps the best administered of its provinces. This is not saying much; for bribery and corruption were general, the revenues filled the pockets of greedy officials, while all works of public utility were neglected, trade and agriculture declined to zero, and at one time the population was reduced to 80,000. The Sultan Mahmoud II introduced some necessary reforms, and a fair measure of religious toleration was permitted.

Then, just fifty years ago, the "Convention of Defensive Alliance" induced by the Russo-Turkish war led to the occupation and administration of Cyprus by Great Britain. On July 12th, 1878, Vice-Admiral Lord John Hay hoisted the British flag at Nicosia, and ten days later Sir Garnet Wolseley landed at Larnaca to be the first High Commissioner. On November 5th, 1914, Cyprus was formally annexed, and this annexation was recognised by Turkey under the Treaty of Lausanne. In 1925, Letters Patent gave the island the status and name of Colony, and a Governor in place of a High Commissioner.

And what of the country as it is to-day, this land of sunshine and flowers, of rocky coastline, high tableland and lofty mountains, of old-world towns and primitive villages? Naturally one asks the result of fifty years of British occupation. It suggests confidence on behalf of the people that, whereas under the annexation anyone of Ottoman nationality could retain his status, and absentees born in Cyprus could register as British subjects, not one elected to remain under Turkey, but over 11,000 applied for certificates of British nationality. The Phoenix is rising from her

ashes. Time must needs be the best ally of all who seek the welfare of the long-suffering island; for the neglect of centuries cannot be quickly repaired. Education, development, restoration must be gradual. No sensational changes or triumphs can be indicated; but a slow and patient attempt to revive the moribund industries, to awaken initiative in a people far behind the march of modern commercial activity, to supply up-to-date facilities without trying to impose western conditions on an oriental community.

Those magnificent forests, which first helped to attract the Phœnicians, had suffered from centuries of reckless felling and neglect and from the custom which allowed goats to find pasturage at the sweet will of their owners. Visitors in the seventies were horrified at the spectacle which the forests presented, and, like Palestine, which was denuded of her trees when Titus besieged Jerusalem, Cyprus suffered from a decreased rainfall. Since the British occupation keen attention has been paid to re-afforestation. During the war much timber and fuel was supplied for our armies in Egypt and Palestine. The goats cannot be eliminated, but a new system of licences for grazing is in force, which helps to keep down their depredations. The Cypriot is essentially an agriculturist, and does not take kindly to many other occupations. There are a few chiflics (large farms), but the majority of proprietors or tenants are farming their own lands on a small scale. Like all tillers of the soil, they are intensely conservative, and can only gradually be persuaded to adopt scientific methods and modern machinery. The increased circulation of the *Agricultural Journal*, published quarterly under government auspices in English, Greek and Turkish, indicates a growing desire for knowledge. Horse or ox-drawn ploughs are beginning to supersede the antiquated type, and the prevention of disease and insect pests to be given attention. Experts are ready to advise on every subject, and the will to learn seems to be developing. The wine which lured Selim is still famous, and the vines are flourishing under up-to-date treatment. Fruit follows in rich succession from loquots in May to white apricots, pomegranates and other delicious varieties all through the year. Jam plant has been introduced successfully. An interesting development in sericulture is the close association maintained with the newly-revived silk industry in Iraq.

One nightmare of modern civilisation is happily absent. There is no labour problem. Factories are few, and such a thing as a factory system is unknown. Conditions are oriental, in some respects almost patriarchal. Few of the country people possess clocks, and the generally accepted hours of work in the mines and other industries are from sunrise to sundown. Education is in the

hands of various religious bodies, under government supervision; but special grants are made for the teaching of English.

The disadvantages of alien rulers are obvious; yet Cyprus has been fated to bow before aliens all through her history, and, with the single exception of the reign of the native-born Evagoras, her greatest prosperity has come under foreign domination. Religion is the line of demarcation in this land of mixed races, with a population returned at 310,709 in the 1921 census, but now believed to be over 335,000. The bulk of the people are Orthodox Greeks, perhaps a fifth are Moslems, and there are also small Armenian and Latin communities. The local dialect is a corrupt form of modern Greek. The Moslems speak archaic Osmanli Turkish, free from Persian or Arabic words, but most of them know Greek also. French is usually understood by the more educated classes. Knowledge of English is spreading, and in all but the most remote districts each village boasts at least one person who can read and write the language of the rulers.

New roads have been made, new buildings erected, water supplies improved. Most important of all, the public health has not been neglected. The visit of a deputation of the British Social Hygiene Council in 1926 was a great event and meetings were largely attended, at which the cinema was utilised to illustrate the prevention of disease. A Child Welfare Society is doing fine work for the little ones. Not altogether an unworthy record! And we work "not careless of the future."

FEDDEN TINDALL.

THE EFFECTS OF CIVICS, ACTUAL AND POSSIBLE.

"MY belief is," says Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, "that the conditions of modern civilisation make it of increasing importance that an intelligent appreciation of civic and political issues should be spread through the community. . . . In a broad sense all education should aim at good citizenship. It should have for its principal object the inculcation of a sense of duty to others."*

In other directions also are indications of a sense that a fuller equipment is necessary in order to fulfil adequately the claims that to-day presses upon us—claims that yesterday did not present. In India, last year, the Principal of Islamia College, Lahore,† giving his presidential address to the Punjab Educational Conference, chose as his subject "Civics in Education and Practical Life." So the East joins the West in the desire for training in citizenship, a desire ever more insistent and more capable of rich fulfilment. The people of Sudbury who celebrated, with pride of place, Gainsborough's centenary, exemplified the fact that a citizen now is much more than he was in the past. A far greater proportion of life is spent in social contacts, and with civic responsibilities. Whereas the nineteenth century regarded him mainly as a voter and a ratepayer, the twentieth connects him also with the politics of schools and universities; it makes him responsible for the planning of his town and its buildings; it demands from him efficiency in the government of his nation, to take only three aspects—educational, æsthetic, political—that are greater than mere obedience to law.

Therefore, the subject has a wider content than in the last century, and expands with fields that were once tilled only by private enterprise. It does not now embrace merely the machinery of government to which the dull text-books of the previous generation limited it, wherein a reference to Apollo would have been incongruous. But civics can be—

"Not harsh or crabbed as dull fools suppose
But musical as is Apollo's lute,"

for the full life of a citizen now can express itself by providing art to his neighbours as did Mr. J. W. Usher‡ to Lincoln; or in gaining more daylight for millions as did William Willett§; or in actively pursuing ideals in education like the late Stewart Headlam on the

* *The Common Weal*. Clarendon Press, 1924.

† A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., M.A., LL.M. The address is printed in *The Punjab Educational Journal* for April, 1927.

‡ Who left all his fortune and a valuable collection of objects of art to his city. The Usher Art Gallery was opened by the Prince of Wales in May, 1927.

§ Petts Wood, near Chislehurst, was acquired, and opened to the public, in commemoration of him, in May, 1927.

L.C.C. All three were men with special interests but their merit lay in extending those interests to benefit others. That such merit should be multiplied will be acknowledged by all, and many will agree that it cannot be done by admonitions. It is here that civics finds its task, the enlarged and inspiring civics that would win approval from Aristotle, Dante, Milton, and Patrick Geddes alike. He who regarded man as a "social animal," and he who wrote a marvellous poem "to teach Florence purer politics," and he who thought that a complete and generous education is one that fits a man "to perform, justly and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war," and he who may be regarded as the father of modern civics, would all four consider it good that youth should hear about great citizens in all times and of all places.

Young minds approaching the responsibilities of manhood and womanhood would judge the more surely in industrial questions if they were acquainted with the conditions of workers and masters from the days of slavery, through serfdom, to the industrial revolution and on to trade unions, co-operative societies and the Labour Party in Parliament. They would approve of advance in education, did they realise what was done in the past by Greece and Rome, in the Middle Ages, and in the struggling times of elementary schools and women's colleges. They would find more interest in politics and newspaper reports if some knowledge of the growth of Parliament and its procedure, and of law and the judiciary, had been given them. They would be able to ponder intelligently on new ideas regarding credit and prices, like those of Major Douglas, if they had clear notions as to the meaning of real wealth. And they would take more active interest in religion, philosophy, art, science, literature, philanthropy, could they see how all these enriched the life of the community.

To such domains does modern civics direct itself. It depicts civilisation as represented in its institutions, and the citizen as expressing himself in a Boadicea group on Westminster Bridge, or in the historical frescoes of a public building, or in the poetry of a Rupert Brooke, as well as in the actions of a Lord Bryce or a Robert Applegarth. Sir Christopher Wren said:

"Architecture has its political Use; publick Buildings being the Ornament of a Country; it establishes a Nation, draws People and Commerce, makes the People love their native Country, which Passion is the Original of all great Actions in a Commonwealth."*

Such are the contents of civics, concrete, historical, inspiring. Theories will arise, but they must spring from actual facts, and

* Appendix to *Parentalia*, by Wren's son.

history must always be the basis. It is useless, for instance, to spend time on discussing the nature of freedom with students who have no knowledge of the struggles for freedom in the past made by nations, slaves, or individuals, or of the reasons for those struggles. And all theories must become practical in the sense of leading to developments, experiments, and progress. Has any training aimed at so much before? The greater complexity of modern civilisation makes a more complex preparation inevitable, but throughout the ages attempts have been made at training for life in a community.

The citizen is a being of widening sympathies. The intense civic pride of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and of the mediæval German and Italian cities, marked the climax of that form of feeling. Youths were then educated with the city before them as the object of their devotion. "We will transmit this city," swore the Athenian young men, "not less but greater, better, and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us." One of Aristotle's suggested remedies for *Stasis* (internal feud or party politics) was education, not for self-development but for citizenship, for the benefit of the State, as the only means whereby the individual can reach his full stature, an education which aimed at producing rhythm and order in the State by subordinating all citizens to the fulfilment of the "good life" of the State.* Aristotle was the concentrated wisdom of Greece, but all his ideas centre round the city. In fact, such was the feeling stirred in Greek youths, and fostered in the full citizen through his civic duties, that it could truly be said:

"It may be doubted whether any modern State has realised the force of these ties [of race, language, religion, history, land, law, customs] in the same degree as did the City States of ancient Greece and Italy."†

Nothing could be prouder than the Roman's "Civis Romanus sum," but his citizenship was of necessity different from that of the Athenian, for his government was not democratic but was delegated to the Senate. Though the ordinary Roman was not politically-minded yet he had a sense of duty to the State; but he left its management to those who were fitted by experience and knowledge to carry on the traditions of the Senate and to conduct the business of the great Empire. For this there was needed "not high intellectual gifts, but perseverance, industry, honesty, orderliness, and good sense. Probably no body of men has ever sat together for consultation so richly endowed with these unpretentious qualities. . . . To these men office meant work, and work meant distinction and honour; all had served the State from their

* *Politics*, book viii.

† W. Warde Fowler in *The City State of the Greeks and Romans*. VOL. CXXXIV

youth, and most of them had learnt how to serve it from their fathers."* The civics here was practical, and consisted mainly of the experience of a minority inspired by tradition. The ordinary citizens were content for centuries to leave the power in comparatively few hands.

During the Middle Ages the upheavals which resulted in the growth of the modern European nations gave little opportunity for civic feeling. Devotion was directed towards persons rather than districts. Feudal lords, kings, and leaders demanded loyalty to themselves, and regions were not yet sufficiently settled to evoke a general spirit of pride in a place, or a desire to serve it. And the conception of a God, not limited to a locality, accentuated the personal rather than the regional feeling, while the universal sway of the Roman Catholic Church retarded the patriotism due to nations. The serf was attached to the soil but his allegiance was given to his lord, and his devotion was centred on the church. So also was that of the Crusaders whose wandering life induced loyalty to a leader rather than to a land. Thus citizenship was not re-awakened in Europe until the rise of the mediæval towns and cities, when a deep, sturdy sense of devotion dwelt in the burghers' hearts, and embodied itself in monuments of stone like town halls and churches. In England also the local government exercised by the moots gave a training for the wider sense of nationhood that was to come; and one of the causes for the more advanced position of England in politics as compared with other countries, is the practice her people have had in governing themselves by means of local moots, and justices of the peace, and town guilds, before any but the few had a share in national government.

A typical schoolmaster of the fifteenth century, Vittorino da Feltre of Mantua, anticipated the English Milton and Locke, both of whom wished for a civic training for youth. Feltre made his aim the development of the complete citizen, and declared that "the community is directly interested in the virtuous upbringing of its future members, since good citizenship redounds to the profit of the State not less than to the advantage of the individual," and some centuries later the illustrious Turgot remarked that "the study of the duty of citizenship ought to be the foundation of all other studies."

We are awakening, in a spasmodic way, to the importance of this attitude towards education. The work of the International Moral Education Congress† urging the wider aspect of education and the importance of history teaching; the munificent endowment of a lectureship in citizenship at the Glasgow University by Sir D. M.

* *Ibid.*

† Sec. of Paris Congress (1930), M. Mossé, 27 rue de Chateau-Landon.

Stevenson; some attempts at the writing of civics text-books, many of them unnecessarily dull; the formation of citizenship classes at the L.C.C. Evening Institutes; the insertion of the subject in a few school time-tables; are signs in various places that England is concerned for the upbringing of her sons and daughters. But definite and general training for citizenship is not undertaken to the extent that it is in the United States, or Germany or France. And not only in educational spheres is there a tendency to recognise the value of civics but in other social activities signs are appearing: the remarkable success of the Women's Institute movement, which, since 1916, has established nearly 4,000 institutes performing valuable civic work among village women; in Cambridgeshire the recommendation made at a conference of representatives of local authorities to set up a Regional Town-planning Committee for the administrative county; the desire of the Folk-lore Society to collect a record of British Calendar Customs such as beating the bounds, etc.; the many historical pageants held to enhance the prestige and interest of places like Harrow, Warwick, and others; the celebration of famous citizens such as were carried out by Grantham in honour of the bi-centenary of Newton, or by Bolton at the Samuel Crompton centenary.

A few signs like these chosen at random prove that a self-conscious civic feeling is abroad which manifests itself as opportunity occurs. The adult citizen finds himself based on his family, his village or town, his country; he has had a certain educational and religious training; he is limited by laws, traditions and customs; and before him are many avenues of service. But he does not know the meaning of all this; he has not been educated for his inheritance and its responsibilities. Such an education might do much. Youth is so willing to learn from a competence that fears not questions, and presents facts and theories with impartiality. An ideal civics teacher would give a sympathetic view; he would see life whole and see it steadily and so be able to hold a balance. He would not limit himself to details of administration and book economics, but would be supremely interested in history, in the evolution of civilisation, the growth of institutions, the development of the spirit of man. He would deal with concrete illustrations before formulating theories, and would have insight into the significance of events and movements. He would have the love of nationality without narrowness. Like all real educators he would attract youth and be able to direct its energies.

Education in the atmosphere produced by study on the foregoing lines would engender an attitude and a devotion, and would establish standards and sanctions, nobler than those of Greece or Rome or the Middle Ages. The citizen is a being of widening

sympathies; and is thus in himself a proof of the progress of mankind. Functioning as an inhabitant of a village or city, and then of a country, and finally of the world of humanity, involves a great onward sweep of feeling which has implied an advance in morality and civic zest, and an enlargement of interests, and yet has not implied the loss of the lesser in the greater. If he realises he is a member of humanity and prides himself on his internationality, he will not forget that the nations themselves are, as Mazzini said, the citizens of humanity, but not less individual nor less to be prized for the special qualities that an adequate social knowledge would indicate. For history would prove the value of civic and national feeling, and the worth of the institutions fostered within the city and country. To pay respect to all the institutions of the past and to appreciate their influence at the time, is an attitude that arises when significances rather than events are studied, and such an attitude appraises all that civilisation has wrought, at its relative value to time, place, and circumstances; such an attitude will be carried into the present time and place, and it will consider policies and projects with regard to their ability to raise the general level of citizenship rather than with regard to immediate results. A capacity for judgment would be induced that would prevent the mind from being captured by newspaper "stunts," for the citizen must be concerned with present-day happenings—what might be called civics in progress—otherwise the very object of the study is frustrated; for it is in order to fulfil his duties that the citizen is trained.

The second effect—devotion—is here touched. The word most appropriate to citizenship is service; and that the student may be inspired to serve should be the continual aim. Growth in an atmosphere of social obligation is essential, for only among his fellow-men can man realise his greatest capacities. He is part of a social organism, and owes a duty to it, not to be given in a superior philanthropic sense but as a worker among others, doing his share. Instead of the sordid ideal of "getting on" would be that of helping on; for the urge to service would still remain were all poverty abolished. Religious sanctions, in the narrow sense, lack their former force on the spirit, and it may be that through the arousal of a sense of appreciation of the past, and responsibility for the future, each pointing to the duty of service to the present, civics will complement those sanctions which are inadequate for the national needs of our time, and will raise a standard of action as the third effect of its teaching. As Sadi, the thirteenth-century Persian poet, said: "Religion consists only in the service of the people."

E. M. WHITE.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

TEN YEARS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA is so much taken for granted that one is apt to forget how new a country it is and by what quick stages her present prosperity has been achieved. In the course of a conversation I had with him at Lany Castle at the beginning of June, President Masaryk reminded me of what the situation had been only ten years ago. "Ten years ago," he said, "when I came to Czechoslovakia as its first President, there was no bread to eat. . . . There was no railway time-table. . . . The postal service was disorganised and unsafe." The present condition of Czechoslovakia would be remarkable even without the comparative background thus recalled. To have reached a condition of hard-working, stable prosperity in spite of the nervous disorders which have distracted Central Europe since the war is a fine performance.

By the end of the present year the Republic will have completed its first ten years. I have just spent a few weeks in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia to see some of the results of those few years' work. Those people who are free from the Trianon complex or who in an unpeaceful world have a taste for something peaceful and constructive will find something to enjoy and perhaps to admire in what has been done. It is obvious why the restless spirits who want to knock something down in Central Europe have chosen Czechoslovakia as their objective. There is nothing much else in Central Europe to knock down. It is fortunate, however, that neither the recently exercised hospitality of the Hungarian "aristocrats" towards a certain English youth nor the propagandist campaign which preceded and in part excused it have had any lasting effect on Czechoslovak composure, although for their comfort those propagandists may congratulate themselves on having deeply disturbed the composure of the Magyars and the Germans of Slovakia.

It is no fun, or at best a strenuous kind of fun, to build a new country from its foundations, even with Mr. Masaryk as master builder. It is more strenuous when the work has to be started in the backwash of 1914-1918 and against the resentment of the German and Magyar *dépossédés*. Yet at the beginning of the Republic's tenth year the Magyars, Germans, and Slovaks in Slovakia, and the Germans and Czechs in Bohemia were well ahead in the consolidation of their interests and in the harmonisation of their feelings. Dr. Spina, a Bohemian-German and Dr. Mayr Harting, a former Austrian-German, deputies in the present Czechoslovak Parliament, have been members of the Government for the past

8056, M62
M62.134

two years. Dr. Spina, who before the revolution was professor of Czech language at Prague University, is an enthusiast for collaboration. Dr. Mayr Harting is more halting in his enthusiasms, but his continuance in office suggests that his position in the Cabinet continues to be congenial to him. None the less he has grievances which he does not conceal. In conversation he sways his head and says "Yes and No." Is collaboration going well? "Yes and No." Does he regret having joined the Government? "No rather than yes." "Collaboration," he said to me in Prague on June 2nd, "is the only way to peace in the State, but it is a hard way and difficult. It is a beginning, but we want more." What exactly more he wants he did not clearly specify except vaguely that the German language should be placed on a footing of equality with the Czech language. He has the objectivity to admit that the Czechs are more elastic than were the Austrians in the corresponding respect, but takes the view that a black and a grey do not make a white. Before the war the Austrian Government allowed Czech to be used officially only in those towns or districts where the Czechs were in an absolute majority. The Czech Government allows German to be used officially if the German population amounts to 20 per cent. The conception, however, of a bilingual state—such as Dr. Mayr Harting, although he did not commit himself, seems to favour—would be difficult to translate into practice.

In the law courts, for instance, there must clearly be one language. Imagine a Czech prosecuting counsel with a poor knowledge of German facing a witness for the defence who knew both languages and pretended only to know German. Obstructionist strategy would find endless avenues open to it. Dr. Mayr Harting, moreover, is an unconscious illustration of the difficulty of his own thesis. Before 1918 he could not speak Czech, although he has lived in Bohemia for twenty years. Conversely, why should a Czech learn German? If both Czech and German were to be allowed as official languages it would follow in practice that everybody would have to speak both. The case of Dr. Harting himself suggests that such a necessity would be unreasonable. And if there can only be one official language in one given country—a condition that will be conceded by practical people—why in Czechoslovakia should that language not be the native language, Czech? Such is the case, and there is no prospect of a change; but it seems odd that Dr. Mayr Harting, a member of the Czechoslovak Government, should find any difficulty about it.

English observers of a country such as Czechoslovakia have to adjust their focus a little if they want to obtain the true perspective. Values are different. Czechoslovakia is contiguously surrounded on all sides by foreign nations, some of them not well disposed.

There is no sea barrier. A thousand miles of frontier, made of low mountains, narrow rivers or open plains, touches Germany, Austria, and Hungary. The worst enemy that crosses the fragile frontiers is an exaggerated and persistent propaganda. The Magyar intellectuals who live on either side of the Danube within twenty miles of Bratislava, not content with exploiting the linguistic differences in Slovakia itself, are at pains to emphasise and to exaggerate the linguistic difference between Slovaks and Czechs. It is true that in Slovakia there are Slovaks, Magyars, and Germans who do not understand each other's speech, and the names of streets in Bratislava are printed in the three languages. Even the Slovaks like to call their language Slovak, not Czech. Yet the difference is slight. A native Slovak of Bratislava would converse with a native Czech of Prague or of Brno much more easily than a native of Manchester would converse with a Cockney. In Central Europe linguistic differences are to the propagandists what food is to a starving man. Few people in Manchester would find difficulty in their allegiance to the British Crown merely because their language was not the King's English. Yet one hears propaganda about a "Slovak problem" based precisely on a much less pronounced difference of dialect in Czechoslovakia. There is no such problem, except as diagnosed and as propagated from the outside by ill-disposed people. The only problem, not important except to observers who are looking for mischief, is that the Slovaks, especially since the separate administrative districts of Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia and Ruthenia were set up a year ago, have a regional sense of their distinctive qualities. It irritates them if Czech officials call them Czechs, just as it would irritate many Scotsmen to be regarded politically as Englishmen. But there is no greater constitutional issue between Slovakia and Bohemia than between Scotland and England. Dr. Hodža, the Slovak leader, Minister of Education in the Czechoslovak Parliament, deputy for a Slovak constituency, is as much at home in Prague as Mr. Bonar Law ever was in London. One possible difference is that whereas English life, political and literary, is largely dominated by Scotsmen, the Slovaks are less, not more, developed than the Czechs.

Is it surprising that the Slovaks are intellectually undeveloped? The Magyar aristocrats pursued the deliberate policy of not educating them. In 1918 there was not a single Slovak or Ruthenian School maintained by the Hungarian State. Illiteracy in Slovakia was a European scandal intentionally produced by the Magyar "aristocrats." One uses the word "aristocrats" to describe the small, phenomenal upper class in Hungary, whose simple point of view was that a nation, like Cæsar's Gaul, is divided into two parts.

Hungary was divided into those who did not work, few in number, and those who worked for them, many in number. The pre-war Hungarian "aristocrat" had many agricultural slaves, Magyar and Slovak, and it was a peasant's business not to read or write, but to till the vast estates of his lord and master. The Slovak Revolution of 1918 freed those slaves. Symbolically the statue of King Arpad, which stood on the peak of Devin, was blown up by the Slovak soldiers, the vast fragments crashing down the slope into the Danube below. Some of them remained and still remain on the top, some remained and still remain on the slopes of the hill. Since 1918 3,000 schools have been built in Slovakia, nearly 1,000 in Ruthenia. Even in the barracks the Slovak soldiers are being taught to read and write. Illiteracy will, in time, disappear.

One may hope, however, that the Slovak peasant will not be educated to the point where he will become an intellectual of the type who in discussing the present relations between Slovak and Magyar peasants exclaimed without self-consciousness: "The peasants! Oh, they get on all right. They always did. But the intellectuals, never!" Truly the intellect is a dangerous thing. Fortunately Dr. Hodža is already training the peasants of Central Europe in the ways of peaceful education. He has formed a Central European peasant entente. The Hungarian peasants have not yet joined it, but it is reasonable to hope that they will. There are those who regard this agrarian movement as potentially a big thing, likely some day to create an important new factor in Central European politics. It is clear also that the Czechoslovak land reform, which has cut up the large pre-war estates and divided them among half a million smallholding peasants, has established a new agrarian standard of life. The reactionary and dangerous system of pre-war Central Europe whereby the mass of workers on the land were the badly-paid and illiterate slaves of a few rich and idle landowners is already doomed elsewhere by the Czechoslovak example.

The new system, which is described by Dr. Hodža as a "combination of economic and social progress with constitutional conservatism," constitutes by its very appeal to the peasants an effective barrier against bolshevist discontent. The process of freeing the land from the oppressive system of large holdings and of giving to the peasant the new joy of ownership, responsibility, and personal enterprise has not been uniformly smooth or easy. It would be surprising if it had. The pre-war owner of large estates and of many slaves now finds that he has to work for his living. The transition is disagreeable to him, even though it may be held by those who retain an element of priggishness in their philosophy that the ultimate effect on the dispossessed landowners

themselves will be a happy one. The stories set about by the disgruntled ex-landlords are already fading away as the truth of the various transactions becomes known. The pre-war owner, for instance, of Lany Castle, now the country seat of the Czechoslovak President, has himself repudiated the propagandist lie which alleged that he had been dispossessed without fair compensation. On the contrary, he has stated, he was not only fairly compensated, but was paid the price he himself demanded as compensation.

"After the war," Dr. Hodža has stated to the present writer, "we should have directly provoked the agricultural masses if we had not passed our laws on land reform. We gave the masses a direct and real interest in private ownership. The reform was no confiscation. In accordance with our law the landed proprietors receive for their soil an equivalent in long-term State Bonds on the basis of the prices prevailing in 1913-1915, besides rebates for the capital levy and compensation for investments. That gives them not only 100 per cent., but 200 per cent. The objection has been raised that the current prices ought to be paid. This suggestion involves considerable difficulties, and might have extremely unpleasant results for the landed proprietors. The current prices would have to be reckoned on the basis of the land tax, which is assessed according to the net yield recorded in the 'cadastre' (the land register from Austria-Hungary). It is no secret that the morality of taxation is not always what it should be, and that the yield recorded in the cadastre was considerably lower than it actually amounted to. Consequently, the taxation was lower, and, therefore, the current prices would also be lower than we fixed them by law, according to the actual average between 1913-1915.

"There are, of course, bound to be cases of incidental injustice in the application of so large a reform. Such cases can be, and are, either adjusted privately, or submitted to our Supreme Court of Law. On the whole, the land reform, if it has meant hardship to some hundreds of landowners, has provided land for 450,000 people, and has fortified the present democracy, a pillar against Bolshevism, in Czechoslovakia and throughout Central Europe."

Those who have grown up in the political quiet of the British Isles would find it odd to be transplanted into the atmosphere of Central Europe. Foreign politics are something of an abstraction to the average Englishman, even at a distance of only ten years from the Great War. If Sir Austen Chamberlain goes abroad the fact is hardly noticed. It happens that Dr. Beneš, the corresponding figure in Czechoslovak life, has lately visited London, Berlin, and Paris. It is known that he was discussing the Kellogg Pact. I saw him in London and I saw him when he returned to Prague. His first business was to combat a rumour, which had clearly

originated south of the Danube, that his main mission abroad had been to canvas support for the formation of a Danubian federation with an anti-Italian bias. Such a rumour, totally divorced as it was from all actual fact, could not simply be dismissed as silly. Its subtlety lay in its relation to the concurrent Magyar agitation against the Treaty of Trianon, for the purposes of which agitation the off-chance of mobilising Signor Mussolini's support on the Slovak frontier was deemed to be worth taking, fantastic as it was.

Now Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, is in some degree Eastern in quality, although Prague is wholly Western. The Magyars, the Germans, and the Jews (especially the Jews), who live on the Slovak side of the frontier are in a state of political fever as a result of the Trianon propaganda. Their emotions are a more decisive force than their knowledge or their judgment. Prague is completely unperturbed on the merits of the agitation because, as a senior official of the Foreign Office put it to me, the League of Nations would, at any rate, be strong enough to prevent a forcible annexation of Slovak territory even if Hungary were strong enough militarily to carry out a coup; but Prague did not disguise its anxiety about the moral effect of Budapest on the Slovak population at a time when the great need of Slovakia, as of the rest of Europe, was for economic and psychological consolidation. It is only twelve months since the Slovak autonomists obtained what the subsequent municipal elections showed to be a satisfying concession, namely a decentralised autonomous administration. It was then that Czechoslovakia was divided into the four administrative areas, Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, and Carpathian Ruthenia. Bratislava is situated at the junction of the Slovak, Austrian and Hungarian frontiers. The Danube flows through Bratislava on its way from Vienna to Budapest. Vienna is only thirty miles distant and is connected by tram. The people of Vienna go to Bratislava on half-holidays to buy shoes, a certain enterprising Czech having developed a vast shoe business with branches throughout the Republic, supplying cheap good shoes and boots. By its position, therefore, Bratislava is subject to quick reactions under gossip and propaganda. It is at this point that the Magyar propaganda against the Treaty of Trianon has had its maximum effect.

The stories of Mr. Harmsworth's roseate progress through the Hungarian villages reached Bratislava not only through the newspapers but through the exaggerated channels of oral report. Nerves were jumpy at the beginning of June. When Dr. Seton-Watson (Scotus Viator, as he is still known to every Slovak peasant) arrived at Bratislava in the last week of May, he was driven through the town in a rose-decked car, and the whole town was bedecked with flags.

It was a counter-demonstration. Dr. Seton-Watson has a sense of humour, and the picture postcard photographs of the ceremonies did not suggest that he was enjoying himself, even though there might be some historic justification for honouring the historian who had played a leading part, even a decisive part, in the diplomacy which created Czechoslovakia. His paper, *The New Europe*, whose first article was signed by Dr. T. G. Masaryk, outlined in 1916 the very programme of Central European reconstruction which was embodied in the Treaties of Trianon, S. Germain, and Versailles. The point, however, is that the particular outburst in Dr. Seton-Watson's honour at the end of May was a symptom of the feeling aroused by Hungary's much more elaborate, much more comic, celebration of Mr. Harmsworth's progress.

The psychological disturbances of Bratislava had a curious way of reflecting themselves in Czechoslovak internal politics. Party play was made in Prague even of Magyar propaganda. Dr. Beneš is a non-party Foreign Minister, being virtually the President's choice. He is the general object of all criticism by any and every party when anything goes wrong in foreign policy. The complaints, which are mainly important as grist for party mills in Prague, none the less illustrate what may be called the Central European psychology. Why did Dr. Beneš allow Mr. Harmsworth to visit Hungary? Why did not Mr. Jan Masaryk, the son of his father and the Czechoslovak Minister in London, forbid the *Daily Mail* to be published any more? One heard such grotesque party thrusts in Prague.

It is fortunate for Czechoslovakia that what may be called her minority policy has left no handle for the greedy and alert propagandists on the other side of the frontier. It would be difficult for the Magyar aristocrats, who disbelieve in peasant education on its merits, to complain about any system of peasant education, but such difficulty would no doubt have failed to deter them, had it not been that the facts impose complete silence upon them. There are now in being both Magyar and German schools, schools, that is, in which the medium of instruction is Magyar and German, and the number of such schools is greater in proportion to the number of Magyar and German inhabitants than the number of Slovak and Czech schools is to the Slovak and Czech population. The cost of education, which has had to include the building of an enormous number of schools, is one of the chief burdens of the Czechoslovak budget. Lord Rothermere's countrymen may like to know that the English minority in Bohemia is served by an English Grammar School in Prague. The cult of minority education in Czechoslovakia is almost morbid in its thoroughness.

To travel through Czechoslovakia in its tenth year is to receive

an impression of intense expansion industrially, agriculturally, socially. The number of buildings in the Republic has been doubled in those ten years. Prague has a whole new suburb, and others are beginning to spring up. Bratislava is on the point of constructing, not only a complete new port, but a new building for its university a few miles outside of the town in a picturesque spot on the banks of the Danube. The Danube trade from Bratislava is an entirely new thing. Before 1918 there were no facilities for navigation at Bratislava. A cultural exhibition is now being held at Brno, the capital of Moravia, which illustrates what is now being done in art, in industry, in architecture, in education throughout the Republic. Some of the pavilions were incomplete when I went through the exhibition in May (are exhibitions ever complete?) but there was enough to constitute a remarkable monument of ten years' work.

As the Republic will celebrate its tenth anniversary this year I asked President Masaryk, when I saw him at Lány Castle, if he could give me in a snapshot the difference between what he found when he came to Prague in 1918 and what he has the satisfaction of seeing now. "Of course," he said, "you must remember that the Republic is a new State. In England by contrast you have a State with old traditions, with machinery that runs. Everything here is new. We have the machinery now, but all the time we have to mend it. We have to create our traditions. That was the task when I came. What it means is that we have to be more careful than an old State. We have to weigh consequences. When we came here after the war Bohemia and Moravia, being the richest countries in the whole of Austria, had been impoverished, exploited by the army. There was no bread when I came. The first work was to provide wheat from America, from Roumania, from other sources. Next, the war had upset the whole administration, including the postal service. The post was in such a state in 1918 and 1919 that we had to be careful in the sending of money-letters. Money was not safe in the post, and was often lost. At the railway stations there were no time-tables. If goods were sent by rail, for instance, eatables or clothing, they were in danger, for the people had been bereft of everything they possessed. Our new State began with a minus. Year by year I watched, got figures from my Ministers, and saw by and by how the post office, the railways, etc., could be reorganised. So now our machinery runs in good order. That was the work of the new State. In addition we had to create an army; not a big army, but an army. It has been created. It is in working order. And so on. One of the biggest things we have done has been done in Slovakia and in Ruthenia. There were no schools in those provinces. There are

now some 3,000 in Slovakia and nearly 1,000 in Ruthenia. It costs money, and has been a big financial operation. We also had to stabilise our money. We have succeeded, as you know. Our Budget balances. We have already paid our debts. We have made Economic Treaties with Germany, with Austria, with other countries. The Little Entente is our idea. We have two German Ministers in our Cabinet. All this has been accomplished in a short time. In the old Austrian days there was a continuous national fight. Now there is some progress, some hope. On the whole it is a good bit of work. I may say I am not satisfied. I am an old man, but I hope before dying I shall be satisfied."

SLOVAK AND RUTHENIAN EDUCATION.

The educational achievement to which President Masaryk referred in the statement given above deserves to be recorded in some detail. The only fair criticism that can be made on it is that educational achievements are the deadliest things to write about, but that in this case it is so remarkable that it cannot be avoided. Up to 1918 Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia contained a large number of illiterates. The few existing schools were totally Magyarised. There was not a single school in either Slovakia or in Ruthenia in which the medium of instruction was Slovak or Ruthenian. Komensky's principle that a child should use its own language when being educated was not a working Hungarian principle.

The Czechoslovak Government therefore was faced in 1918 with the problem of founding a whole new educational system. There were no qualified teachers available in those two provinces. Hundreds of Czech teachers at once volunteered their services, but the supply was still inadequate, and the Ministry of Education in Prague had to transfer large batches of teachers from Bohemia to Slovakia. The first step was to set up colleges in Slovakia for the training of teachers who could educate Slovak peasant children by the medium of the only language they knew. In 1918 there were 158 schools in Slovakia, maintained not by the Hungarian State but by the churches or villages or town communities, in which Slovak was used as the medium of instruction in certain classes. Every State school without exception had to use Magyar. By 1927 there were 2,692 elementary schools in Slovakia using what the Ministry of Education calls Czechoslovak, and what the Slovak officials call Slovak, as the medium of instruction. By that time the total number of elementary schools in Slovakia was 3,645. There were also 109 Czechoslovak high schools. There were 106 German elementary schools and 3 German high schools; 693 Magyar elementary schools, and 102 Ruthenian elementary schools. In

Berehovo, that is, in every single town in the frontier strip of Magyar territory. All these institutions are maintained at the expense of the Czechoslovak Government, although Magyar is the only language spoken in them. At Bratislava there is a Magyar training college for the provision of future Magyar teachers, attended at present by 118 students. He would be an insatiable champion of the rights of minorities who demanded more than the Czechoslovak Government has done for the Magyars. Not anything like the same consideration has been shown for those Slovaks who still remain within the Hungarian frontier: but there is no reason to assume that Budapest will not ultimately follow the example of Prague. It is the only way to decent relations in Central Europe. The exact delimitation of frontiers according to nationality is impossible. The wise alternative is to err on the side of generosity towards those national minorities whose inclusion within the bounds of a foreign state is unavoidable by any system of delimitation.

THE PEACE PACT.

The Kellogg pact has weathered the initial storms. The more closely the original reservations made by the French Government were examined, the less substantial they became. Dr. Beneš from the first moment announced that the pact was as good as operative, and wrote a memorandum to indicate the divergent paths by which the French and the British Governments would arrive at the same position, and the path whereby Mr. Kellogg would meet them. Some day Dr. Beneš's memoranda will be published. Their dates will show that diplomatic problems and diplomatic treatment are a simple matter, to a mind both well informed and well balanced. The famous three rules for the writing of good Greek prose—"Be clear; be clear; be clear"—apply to most other intellectual pursuits as to the writing of Greek prose. Dr. Beneš is useful, and so many other contemporary diplomatists are less useful, because he has the gift of seeing things clearly, and they have not. Dr. Beneš told me four weeks before the British answer to the Kellogg proposal was written what exactly would be in it.

The British answer was handed to the American Ambassador in London on May 19th. It began by promising the utmost support, and ended by suggesting that negotiations be started for drawing up the pact. The British Government committed itself to support Mr. Kellogg's attempt "to proclaim without restriction or qualification that war shall not be used as an instrument of policy," and stated that all the Dominions had agreed with that policy. The British answer had been awaited with some impatience in America, because it was recognised that the British attitude would be the decisive factor.

The Kellogg pact is something new in the history of diplomacy. It is the pacifist ideal enunciated direct, without the machinery of sanctions which distinguishes the corresponding Geneva ideal. There will no doubt arise, when the pact is negotiated, certain technical questions which may tend to invest the Kellogg treaty with some of the famous Protocol complexion—an event which was promptly and ironically foreseen by Dr. Beneš, the main author of the Protocol—but the approach will be different, and the real sanction, that of the public unequivocal commitment of the leading Powers of the world to peace, will be an instrument never before forged by diplomacy. It was attempted at Genoa, but American aloofness frustrated the attempt. As had been expected, the British Note of May 19th attempted to build a bridge between Mr. Kellogg and M. Briand. The building was done skilfully. There was a glorious sentence near the beginning of the British Note which ran thus: "After making a careful study of the text contained in your Excellency's note, and of the amended text suggested in the French note, His Majesty's Government feel convinced that there is no serious divergence between the effect of these two drafts. This impression is confirmed by a study of the text of the speech by the Secretary of State of the United States to which your Excellency drew my attention, and which he delivered before the American Society of International Law on April 28th. The aim of the United States Government, as I understand it, is to embody in a treaty a broad statement of principle, to proclaim without restriction or qualification that war shall not be used as an instrument of policy. With this aim His Majesty's Government are wholly in accord. The French proposals, equally imbued with the same purpose, have merely added an indication of certain exceptional circumstances in which the violation of that principle by one party may oblige the others to take action seeming at first sight to be inconsistent with the terms of the proposed pact. His Majesty's Government appreciate the scruples which have prompted these suggestions by the French Government. The exact fulfilment of treaty engagements is a matter which affects the national honour; precision as to the scope of such engagements is, therefore, of importance. Each of the suggestions made by the French Government has been carefully considered from this point of view."

It became clear that the international negotiations for the pact would have to concern themselves, at one point or another, with the French reservations, but the British Note showed how easily they could be disposed of. The French reservations were in effect: (1) That the proposed pact should not become operative until all the nations of the world had signed it, unless agreement were reached to exempt particular countries; (2) That the right to make

addition, to serve those districts where languages were inextricably mixed, there were 52 elementary schools and 9 high schools in which different languages were used in different classes. In one school there would be classes in which Czechoslovak was used, others in which Magyar was used, the subjects of instruction being thus duplicated. In other schools Ruthenian, German, Magyar and Czechoslovak would be concurrently used. The Prague official figures give the population of Slovakia (3,000,870) as distributed thus: Czechoslovaks, 2,013,784 (67 per cent.); Ruthenians, 85,642 (2.5 per cent.); Germans, 139,902 (4.5 per cent.); and Magyars, 637,173 (21 per cent.). It will be noticed that the provision of German and Magyar schools is greater in proportion to population than the corresponding provision of Slovak schools.

In Carpathian Ruthenia there is a similar but not identical story to tell. The total population amounts to 604,745. There are 372,503 Ruthenians (61.5 per cent.); 19,766 Czechoslovaks; 103,819 Magyars (17 per cent.); 79,722 Jews; and 10,337 Germans. In the case of Ruthenia the provision of foreign schools is not quite so liberal in proportion to foreign population as in the case of Slovakia. There are 398 Ruthenian elementary schools (65 per cent. of the total), and 7 Ruthenian high schools; 85 Czechoslovak elementary schools, and 1 high school; 96 Magyar elementary schools (15.5 per cent.); 11 German elementary schools; and 15 elementary schools with mixed media of instruction. There are in addition 2 elementary schools in which Rumanian is the language of instruction, and 5 elementary schools in which the language is Hebrew.

Concurrently with the building of schools certain educational reforms were soon introduced. In 1922 a law was passed to extend the compulsory period of attendance at school from six to eight years. Since 1925 there has been a system of optional ninth-year courses to provide specialised study for those who have completed their high-school education. Fifty such courses are now operative, two of them with German and three with Magyar as the medium of instruction. Classes have been reduced from eighty to sixty children. Curricula have been remodelled to provide technical and manual instruction for boys and household instruction for girls; physical training has been improved; textbooks, maps, and general equipment, including some excellent pictures for the teaching of history, geography, and natural history, have been provided in large quantities from Bohemia. Special provision is made for defective children.

One of the most difficult problems has been to provide education for the children of the remote villages. Under the Hungarian system such children were allowed to remain totally uneducated. Under the present system no fewer than 224 elementary schools and

5 high schools have been built in Slovakia and 82 elementary schools in Ruthenia specially to meet the needs of the villages; and attendance at school has been made compulsory. Every year since 1918 the education grant has been one of the biggest items, running into tens of millions of crowns, in the Budget. Bratislava used to be the educational frontier between East and West in Europe. It still is, but the demarcation is less clear. It is the object of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education to create a Western European standard of training in Slovakia and in Ruthenia.

Some illuminating facts emerge from the record of what has been done in the field of secondary education. It is the fact that in spite of the 1868 Hungarian law which prescribed the education of minorities in their native language, there was not up to 1918 a single secondary school or training college, maintained either by Church or State, in which the language of instruction was Slovak. It is an old controversy, which it would be unprofitable to emphasise, but there are few who controvert the general opinion that the secondary schools in Slovakia were used as the main Magyarising medium. The pupils of the secondary schools were forbidden even to speak Slovak in their private conversation within the school walls. The provision of secondary schools was therefore generous by contrast with the provision of elementary schools. In 1914 there were 59 secondary schools or training colleges in Slovakia and 6 in Carpathian Ruthenia. Many of them were boarding schools. After 1918 most of the Magyar teachers returned to Hungary, but their loss has not lessened the needs of the pure Magyars. In Slovakia there are now 66 higher educational institutions of various kinds, in 33 of which the language of instruction is Slovak, in three German, in nine Magyar, and in one Ruthenian. In Carpathian Ruthenia there are 11 high schools, the language being Czech in three of them, Magyar in one, and Ruthenian in seven. In the two provinces there are now 77 secondary schools compared with 65 before the revolution.

The Magyar population of Slovakia, consisting partly of farmers, partly of merchants, many of the latter being Jews, is concentrated in a long narrow strip of territory eastwards from Bratislava. It contains few towns. Particular care has been taken in this territory to obviate the chance of Magyar grievance. Magyar is freely spoken and written in the government offices and other institutions. The names of those offices and of shops are written in Magyar. There are 789 national schools for Magyar children, 693 in Slovakia and 96 in Ruthenia, and the number of Magyar children attending them was 74,372 at the end of the session 1927-1928. There are 17 Magyar high schools, and 33 commercial schools. There are 8 Magyar secondary schools, situated in Bratislava, Nové Zámky, Komárno, Šahy, Lučenec, Rimavská Sobota, Košice, and

preventing the parties to the Covenant of the League or to the Locarno Treaty from fulfilling their obligations."

The real importance of Mr. Kellogg's proposal lies in this, that the United States is now engaged with the other Powers in organising peace. So long as the United States held aloof constructive pacifism was impossible. It is now not only possible, but its success is inevitable.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

June 15th, 1928.

No. 322.

July, 1928

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAG
I. REVIEWS	11
OLIVES OF ENDLESS AGE; BENTHAM'S FIRST PERIOD; THE CALAS CASE; THE CORNISH MINER; MR. WALPOLE ON MR. TROLLOPE; UNKNOWN ITALY; TESTS FOR INTELLIGENCE; LIBRARIES OF LONDON; DAME ETHEL SMYTH ON WOMEN.	
2. SHORTER REVIEWS: "Reconsiderations: Literary Essays"; "The Church Plate of Oxfordshire"; "Faith and Reason"; "Cambridge County Hand- books"	13

OLIVES OF ENDLESS AGE.*

Mr. Brailsford's latest pronouncement is a work of exceptional interest and power, packed with knowledge, reflection and suggestion. Its sub-title, *A Study of This Distracted World and its Need of Unity*, indicates its dual task of criticism and reconstruction. The keynote is struck in the first chapter entitled, "From Anarchy to Organisation." The European anarchy was the cause of the World War, and it will be the cause of new conflicts unless we overcome it. Thus we need a new international order, not only to avert war, but for a hundred other reasons. "The Sovereign State, as history has known it, has become obsolete." The world is now rapidly unifying itself on the economic plane, but is only groping its way towards a new political structure. Every page of this eloquent and stimulating book cries aloud for "an organised world," and for ending the maladjustment of political nationalism and economic interdependence. "The world's need is for some supernational authority," dealing not only with international disputes when they become dangerous but with the causes from which they arise. Mr.

* *Olives of Endless Age*. By H. N. Brailsford. Harper. 10s. 6d.

war in self-defence be maintained; (3) That the violation of the pledge by one party should release the others from the pledge towards the defaulter; (4) That the League of Nations, Locarno, and other treaty commitments be not affected. Now Mr. Kellogg on April 28th had virtually conceded Nos. 2, 3, and 4 above, while rejecting No. 1. The British Note of May 19th agreed with Mr. Kellogg in rejecting the first French reservation, on the ground that it would not be necessary to hold up the plan pending universal signature, but suggested that certain European Powers should be embraced within the original pact.

It was an open secret that those "certain European Powers" were those Powers which had signed the Locarno Treaties but which had not been directly approached by Mr. Kellogg, namely, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and Poland. Indeed, it is understood that when Dr. Beneš saw Sir Austen Chamberlain in London at the beginning of May, Sir Austen gave a distinct undertaking that he would "insist" on the three small Powers signatory of the Locarno treaties being included among the original signatories of the Kellogg pact, although he made the proviso that if his insistence should jeopardise the continuance of the Kellogg negotiations he would have to abandon those small Powers.

The British Note to Mr. Kellogg fully supported the French contention that existing treaty obligations, which were a matter of national honour, should be scrupulously respected. The League of Nations and the Locarno Treaties were described in the British Note as "fundamental" to British policy. As Mr. Kellogg on April 28th had given it as his view that there need be no inconsistency between the two sets of instruments, no difficulty could be anticipated on that head. It was common ground among all the parties to these first exchanges that the right to "legitimate self-defence" should be upheld. The British Government in its Note accepted Mr. Kellogg's statement of April 28th about this point, but stipulated that the statement should be recorded in some diplomatic form, as relevant to the pact proposal. Finally, the British Note submitted that a quasi-Monroe principle should apply to Great Britain, as to the United States, for the exclusion of certain diplomatic fields from the operation of the pact. Egypt was not specifically mentioned.

An incidental passage of the British Note will command wide approval because some such statement as it contained deserves to be put on record. It is now ten years since the war ended. Immediately after the war there was a fine chance of taking advantage of the universal reaction against war. The League of Nations was the method chosen for that end. The failure of the United States to follow the lead of Mr. Wilson, the subsequent callousness of

American policy towards every decent movement initiated anywhere in the world's diplomacy, will in history constitute one of the seamiest pages which blacken the record of any nation. The United States came near to ruining the League of Nations by her abstention. That the League has been saved through ten years of American hostility is a measure of the sincerity and idealism of European diplomacy in this field. If Mr. Kellogg now makes a fine proposal for peace, let not one's perspective be lost. He thereby does something, does much, to save America's diplomatic bacon, but it would be a travesty of history to imagine that before Mr. Kellogg woke up everybody else had also been asleep. On the contrary, everybody else had been up and doing for ten years.

The passage of the British Note referred to ran thus: "The preservation of peace has been the chief concern of His Majesty's Government and the prime object of all their endeavours. It is the reason why they have given ungrudging support to the League of Nations, and why they have undertaken the burden of the guarantee embodied in the Locarno Treaty. The sole object of all these engagements is the elimination of war as an instrument of national policy, just as it is the purpose of the peace pact now proposed. It is because the object of both is the same that there is no real antagonism between the treaty engagements which His Majesty's Government have already accepted and the pact which is now proposed. The machinery of the Covenant and of the Treaty of Locarno, however, go somewhat further than a renunciation of war as a policy, in that they provide certain sanctions for a breach of their obligations. A clash might thus conceivably arise between the existing treaties and the proposed pact unless it is understood that the obligations of the new engagement will cease to operate in respect of a party which breaks its pledges and adopts hostile measures against one of its co-contractants. For the Government of this country respect for the obligations arising out of the Covenant of the League of Nations and out of the Locarno Treaties is fundamental. Our position in this regard is identical with that of the German Government as indicated in their Note of April 27th. His Majesty's Government could not agree to any new treaty which would weaken or undermine these engagements on which the peace of Europe rests. Indeed, public interest in this country in the scrupulous fulfilment of these engagements is so great that His Majesty's Government would for their part prefer to see some such provision as Article 4 of the French draft embodied in the text of the treaty. To this we understand there will be no objection. Mr. Kellogg has made it clear in the speech to which I have drawn attention that he had no intention by the terms of the new treaty of

Brailsford, as readers of his earlier books are aware, is deeply convinced of the importance of the economic factor in the production or prevention of war, and he urges, in the name not only of our convenience but of our safety, a large measure of international control of the distribution of raw materials, emigration and other matters which are in the highest degree political as well as economic.

After forcibly contrasting the growing unity of the world with its outworn political forms, the author proceeds to discuss the post-war endeavours to construct a new international fabric. The first attempt, embodied in the Treaty of Versailles, was logical but crazy. "The soldiers drew the map, and called in Mr. Wilson to sprinkle it with holy water." The domination of Europe by France continued unchecked till the failure of the Ruhr adventure revealed the bankruptcy of mere force, and allowed wiser methods to be tried. The chapter entitled "Geneva" offers an admirable analysis both of the weaknesses and the achievements of the League of Nations. Though cruelly handicapped at birth by its entanglement with short-sighted treaties and by the abstention of the United States, it has accomplished work of infinite value, not least in focussing our attention on the needs and the unity of mankind. A second and supplementary attempt to organise peace was made at Locarno, for which the business men of France and Germany prepared the way. But neither Geneva nor Locarno, nor both combined, can banish the spectre of war, and we are summoned to further and bolder efforts such as the Protocol, the pooling of military and naval force, and the abandonment of the practice of blockade except under the mandate of the League. For "Pan-Europa," and other regional groupings, the author has little use, on the ground that the interests of Continents or Empires are too widely distributed, and that Europe itself is too divided to form a working unit. One of the most arresting chapters, entitled "Moscow and Asiatic Unity," depicts the growing influence of Russia in Asia, not indeed as the evangelist of Marx but as the supposed champion of Asiatic independence against European Imperialism. The whole volume, however, is full of passages which provoke thought or challenge traditional ideas, and tempt the reviewer to extended quotation, not only for their wisdom and their passionate love of humanity but for the rare distinction of style in which they are expressed. Some readers may resent a criticism here or an argument there, but no one can close these pages without a feeling of stimulus and enrichment.

G. P. G.

BENTHAM'S FIRST PERIOD.*

Jeremy Bentham, a precocious lad of sixteen, of great ability, attended Blackstone's famous lectures on English law at Oxford and, though the student was already entered at Lincoln's Inn, yet as the Inns of Court provided no law-teaching, it may reasonably be asserted that his knowledge of law was based on those lectures and on his efforts to attack the legal system that Blackstone had revealed. In 1769 the Oxford youth had been called to the Bar with every prospect before him but, instead, he chose to devote his rapidly ripening powers to the task of writing a treatise on the *Elements of Critical Jurisprudence* and told his father, a solicitor, in 1772, that the work must take precedence of practice. He, however, became well acquainted with actual practice and saw from the inside the faults of procedure, at any rate in the Court of Chancery, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

A barrister friend, Lind, fostering the really unreasonable dislike that Bentham had taken to Blackstone at Oxford, drafted an attack on the introduction to the *Commentaries*. Bentham was dissatisfied with this and took up the task himself and finished his *Comment on the Commentaries* in 1775-6. Before it was finished, however, he developed an attack on Blackstone's doctrine of Sovereignty which proved to be out of proportion to the book and he published it separately and anonymously, the beginning of his fame as a juridical thinker, under the title *A Fragment on Government*.

But the main work, which was an attack on the introductory sections of the *Commentaries* dealing with "the Nature of Laws in General" and "the Laws of England," an extremely elaborate work—more than three hundred pages dealing with the fifty-four pages of Blackstone—was never until now published. It was, in fact, lost though M. Halévy suspected that parts of the work were among a certain section (94) of the Bentham MSS. at University College, London. Mr. Everett in a scientific examination and classification of these manuscripts—which are contained in 172 portfolios and wooden boxes, each containing about 300 loose sheets—for the purpose of a Life of the great jurist, found the manuscript in two parts, one in portfolio 28 and the rest in portfolio 96. They were easily connected by a reference to Blackstone's text and Mr. Everett has at last given to the world almost the first-fruits of Bentham's marvellous mind.

* *A Comment on the Commentaries: The Criticism of William Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England by Jeremy Bentham, now first printed from the Author's Manuscript with Introduction and Notes.* By Charles Warren Everett. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 15s. net.

Intensely and meticulously critical and monstrously insulting, yet it is a marvellous work for a young man of 27 to have written, since it involved a knowledge of law and legal principles on the same plane of deep thought and deep constructive method that Blackstone himself employed. How insulting Bentham could be may be shown by three sentences: "There is one thing *our* great man could do: that is read. There is another thing he could not do: that is, extract the spirit of what he read. It is with this Commentator as with so many Commentators: his appetite is better than his digestion." There are many passages of this type and that is probably the reason why Bentham never published this brilliant work. There is no reason for the publication to be delayed longer since, after all, in the perspective of time both of these great men have established their immortality and it is both instructive and amusing to see what the younger man thought of the elder. That Bentham had some idea of justice and decency will be realised when we read in the published *Fragment on Government* the declaration that Blackstone "first of all institutional writers has taught jurisprudence to speak the language of the scholar and the gentleman."

The real distinction between Blackstone and Bentham is far more fundamental than can be conveyed by any abuse. Bentham thought that Blackstone had an "antipathy to reformation," a totally untrue charge, but really based on the fact, quite unrealised by the youthful Bentham, that in law Blackstone was the first of the moderns and boldly adapted the new theories of heredity and environment to law. This Bentham confused with the idea of antipathy to reform. Bentham was all for reform and the only way in which he could visualise reform was to clean the legal slate and begin anew. The older and wiser man saw that it would be possible for great judges and legislators to reform a noble and ancient system of law. That was the issue and Blackstone was right; but he only became right without undue delay because his pupil Bentham, the reformer, educated the world and made a new orientation for the Common Law. It is amazing to think that Bentham prophesied in detail all the reforms that have adorned the century since his death. It is, perhaps, not less amazing to realise that Blackstone formulated the scientific nature of the legal system on to which these reforms were grafted. The text of the *Comment on the Commentaries* shows how Bentham began his campaign which was to result, a hundred and fifty years later, in the justification in a higher unity of the views of both of these mighty protagonists in the region of law.

J. E. G. DE M.

THE CALAS CASE.*

Famous law cases with an historical bias have a great attraction for both laymen and lawyers. Romance, horror, doubt, national or even international significance, and complex questions of law as well as fact, stimulate both the imagination and the mind. Even great lawyers take the most diverse views as to the problem of Mary Queen of Scots, and most Scots lawyers are on her side despite the fact that in a modern trial for treason her conviction would be certain. In his volume Sir Frederic Maugham discusses and solves, at any rate to the satisfaction of English lawyers, one of those vexed questions, the case of Jean Calas, a merchant of Toulouse, aged 63, who on March 9th, 1762, was convicted of the murder of his eldest son, Marc-Antoine, aged 29, and was duly and brutally executed on March 10th. Three years later, on March 9th, 1765, this decision of the Parlement de Toulouse was quashed by that branch of the Conseil de Roi which became later, and is still, known as the Cour de Cassation, the one court that survived the Revolution of 1789. The original decision was by a majority verdict, eight judges to six, the decree of cassation was unanimous and was necessarily founded on error in law, though there can be no doubt that it was based on error in fact.

The case, on the first blush, looks like a case of a vulgar and horrible murder, whoever was responsible for it. The interest of it for the historian is that the great Voltaire, in retreat at Geneva, so stimulated popular opinion (already locally shocked at the execution) that a re-trial became necessary, if only to allay the growing belief that a judicial murder had been committed to satisfy Catholic lust for Huguenot blood. The interest of it for the lawyer is the extraordinarily complex local criminal procedure of the Parlement de Toulouse, so admirably illustrated in this perfectly unbiased book. The interest for the ordinary layman lies in the bare facts of the case, which admit of some four solutions: murder by a relation, murder by an intruder into the house where the man was found dead, suicide, or accidental death. Modern French lawyers seem inclined to think that the father was justly convicted. Sir Frederic Maugham considers that the young man committed suicide, and some modern historians still take the view that the father was innocent and was judicially murdered. For instance, Professor F. C. Montague, writing in the pages of the *Cambridge Modern History* in 1904, declares that "under Louis XV the judicial murder of Calas showed that the spirit of St. Bartholomew's Day was not extinct," while Professor Trevelyan also refers, in his *History of England*, to "the judicial murder of the Protestant

* *The Case of Jean Calas*. By Frederic Herbert Maugham. William Heinemann. 6s. net.

Calas." It is well, in these circumstances, to glance once again, through the medium of the careful and judicial pages of Sir Frederic Maugham, at the facts of this grim case.

Jean Calas was a member of the Reformed Faith and, with his co-religionists, was for that reason not at all popular in Toulouse. One of his sons, to the intense sorrow of the father, had become a Roman Catholic. The violent death of the eldest son raised the suspicion that the father killed him in order that he should not follow his younger brother's example. There is no evidence that Marc-Antoine proposed to become a convert to the Roman obedience. All the evidence that could possibly be admissible in an English court goes the other way. The only evidence in favour of the view was entirely valueless gossip. But there was not, as there is not, any rule against hearsay in the French courts. Nor can it be said that the rumour had any effect on the trial. It is true that the Roman authorities assumed that the man had been murdered and therefore gave him burial in consecrated ground, and it is also true that the public notice or *monitoire* announcing the murder and calling for witnesses assumed that the man had not only been murdered but had been murdered to prevent him joining the Roman Communion and that this amounted to a general charge against the Protestants of Toulouse. But the actual trial and the preliminary investigation were solely confined to the facts that seemed to be patent to everyone.

These facts are simple, in so far as facts are ever simple. Indeed the apparent simplicity of facts is often the trouble of a case. On October 13th, 1761, at 7.0 p.m., those of the Calas family who were at home went to supper in an upper room above the ground-floor shop at No. 16 Grand Rue de Filetters in the city of Toulouse. The party consisted of Monsieur and Madame Calas, Marc-Antoine, the brother Pierre, aged 28, and a friend of Pierre's who was in the city for the night and had been casually asked in to supper by him. The only servant in the house was an old Roman Catholic maid, who would have known if Marc-Antoine had Catholic leanings. It was the habit of Marc-Antoine to spend his evenings in a café and he (apparently for this purpose) left the party after supper chatting upstairs. At 9.30 p.m. Pierre and his friend rushed into the moonlit street and announced that they had found in the shop the murdered body of Marc-Antoine. That they had found the dead body is the one certain fact. The family first declared that the young man had been murdered by intruders from the street, but they abandoned this story the next day, and it became clear that Marc-Antoine suffered death by hanging from a block of wood placed on the top of the folding doors opening on the passage from the shop. Whoever hanged him, it is certain that the family found

the body and placed it on the floor. The Capitoul of the city on duty and a guard of soldiers were fetched at once and the family were arrested, while just after midnight two surgeons examined the body and declared that the dead man "had been hanged whilst alive, by himself or by others." A post-mortem examination on October 15th showed that Marc-Antoine "had, in fact, supped with the family as they had all stated, and that digestion had been largely accomplished." Sir Frederic Maugham thinks that he went downstairs at half-past eight. In fact the death must be placed considerably later, since digestion of the meal at the time of death "had been largely accomplished." Three hours after the discovery at 9.30 p.m. the surgeons state that the body was "still a little warm." It is therefore likely that the deed happened after nine, but time must be allowed for the real discovery by the family and the arranged plan of action.

What had happened? The family lied. They knew that it was not a murder by a stranger. The guest joined in the lie. Did they lie (as they confessed) because a suicide's burial would have been a family disgrace—the naked body drawn on a hurdle, hanged and then buried? Or did they lie to disguise the father's murderous act? The Capitoul on duty, David de Beaudrigue—the magistrate with administrative police duties—who was on the spot immediately, had never any doubt that there had been a murder, and the admitted lie emphasised his opinion. Sir Frederic Maugham feels that it was the lie that settled the fate of Jean Calas, "the innocent victim of a judicial error, and the most terrible example known to criminal history of the dangers of a lie."

But how was it possible for Marc-Antoine Calas to have been murdered? There were no signs of a struggle. In the case of crimes of violence "injuries resulting from blows on the face are not uncommon, clothing is apt to be torn and buttons sometimes fly off: scratches and abrasions on the hands are inevitable. Yet the surgeons and David de Beaudrigue, who hunted for those things, found none of them." The evidence shows, moreover, that the victim could not have been strangled first and hanged afterwards. There were no *indicia* of murder. Two of the judges actually asked for a view of the scene in order to see whether Marc-Antoine could have hanged himself. But that course was not adopted. Sir Frederic reconstructs the moonlit scene, and it is clear that suicide was possible and accounts for all the facts. But the motive for suicide is thin—a dispute at supper with his younger brother and general discontent. It may be that this rather foolish young man, somewhat of a café-loafer, only meant to frighten his family and hanged himself by mistake. But it seems clear enough

that he did himself to death, and the lessons to be learned from the horrid story are that innocent people should not tell lies and learned historians should not accept easy solutions of highly technical legal problems.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

THE CORNISH MINER.*

Mr. Hamilton Jenkins was the right person to compile this book for he is a Cornishman born and bred, and is duly enthusiastic as to the great tin industry which from pre-historic times has played its part in the history of Cornwall and Britain and, indeed, of the world since it acted a fundamental part in the world-moving transition from the Stone to the Bronze Age. In Dr. Rice Holmes' famous volume on Ancient Britain it is made clear how very early—perhaps the ninth century before our era—there was a regular demand, possibly from King Midas himself, for the tin that was a necessary ingredient in the composition of bronze. Mr. Jenkins thinks that "the dwellers of the Mediterranean knew but little of the dim western sources from whence their supply of tin was drawn." But, at any rate, from the fourth century B.C. when the Massilians circumnavigated Britain and landed in Cornwall they knew quite well. Whether the tin was carried direct by sea from Cornwall or was borne on an overland route—on the British pilgrim ways nuggets of tin have been found far east—to Boulogne and thence south is not clear. But the ancient story ends with the coming of the Saxons. Mr. Jenkins writes:

The last we hear of Cornish tin in antiquity is about A.D. 600, when, in the life of John the Almsgiver, it is related that an Alexandrian seaman sailed to Britain with corn, relieved a famine, and returned with a cargo of tin, which was miraculously changed into silver on the way. So far, then, as literary evidence goes, the history of the Cornish tin trade in antiquity may be said to begin with the romance of the Cassiterides in Herodotus and to end with the legend of John the Almoner in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

After a gap of six centuries or so the documentary history of the modern Cornish tin industry begins with some twelfth-century references to output in the Pipe Rolls, while the earliest Charter of the Stannaries—the four jurisdictional areas of the tin-producing districts—is of the year 1201, and confirmed existing privileges. Mr. Jenkins describes the tanners under the Stannaries system. They had many privileges and were exempt from ordinary taxation for centuries. But there was a price to pay.

* *The Cornish Miner: An Account of His Life Above and Underground from Early Times*. By A. K. Hamilton Jenkins. George Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.

To each of the Stannaries was appointed from the earliest times a coinage town, whither all tin smelted in the district had to be carried, and a tax amounting to 4s. a cwt. paid before it could be sold. In ancient days Liskeard and Lostwithiel served as the coinage towns for the two eastern Stannaries, Truro and Helston for the western. In course of time, however, as the output of tin gradually fell off in the east whilst steadily increasing in the west part of Cornwall, Penzance was added as a fifth coinage town. To one of these towns all tin raised within the Stannaries had to be brought, and here twice (or, latterly, four times) in the year the Royal officers attended . . . the blocks, on leaving the scales, were taken in hand by the assay master, who chiselled a small piece from a corner of each and rapidly assayed it to make sure the metal was of proper quality. If satisfactory, the controller, with a blow of the hammer, struck upon the block the Duchy Arms, which, in England, at any rate, was a guarantee of its purity and of its having paid the coinage.

To what extent was tin ever mined in Devonshire? The Stannary jurisdiction apparently extended into Devonshire and there was—and indeed there still can be—a Stannary Parliament, an institution that has not met for nearly two centuries but which was preserved by the last Stannaries Act in 1896.

The coinage system was an evil one as the tinner—a small man—could only sell twice, and later four times, a year and therefore had recourse to borrowing on his winnings. Cromwell abolished the system, but it was revived at the Restoration and was only finally swept away in 1838. Mr. Jenkins, in a series of interesting chapters that show much research and close personal knowledge, describes the actual process of tin mining and the reader is told that underground tin mining only dates from the middle of the fifteenth century though lead mining in search of silver dates, at any rate, from the thirteenth century. The early miners were furnished with small iron picks and small iron wedges for cleaving the metalliferous rocks. The drifts in 1670 were, in some cases, seven feet high, but some of the levels were much smaller. Water was, and is, the trouble and many ingenious devices were used in the shallow mines to get rid of the water. As the mines grew deeper pumps were introduced, and the cost of production increased while the price of tin in the market was cheap. But the introduction of steam pumps of the efficient kind in 1778 opened a new era in Cornish mining though the actual conditions of mining were still primitive and dangerous.

But the Cornish tin masters were scarcely business people. They did not (and do not) work tin-wares in the Duchy, while throughout the eighteenth century the tin was all shipped to London for transshipment. The tanners from the opening of the fifteenth to the opening of the nineteenth centuries had varying fortunes, but the

impression left is that they were not very practical people, except in the actual mining of metal, and much distress by lack of organisation of production was quite common. In 1789 the over-production of copper induced workers to devote themselves to tin mining, with the result that the supply exceeded the demand and the price fell from £84 to £58 per ton. The French Wars completed the picture of misery. But the worst times pass, and with the restoration of economic values it was possible to re-open many closed mines and a period of great prosperity was ushered in which increased by leaps and bounds until, at any rate, 1870.

The introduction of steam and machinery vastly increased employment of an industrial population which financed itself and depended on its own skill and resourcefulness. Mr. Jenkins shows in technical detail the miner at work in these halcyon days and describes the town life, which was unhappily marred by bad housing conditions and a terrible infant death-rate. The children who survived were very healthy but they had, in the early days of the revival, but poor education, the life, despite the efforts of the Methodists, being very rough and drunken.

The Cornish mining industry depended for its mainstay on copper and the development of copper-getting in America and Spain once more drove, after 1860, some miners to the tin mines, and this was accompanied by a fall in the price of tin which fell by 1894 to £64 a ton. In 1898 it suddenly recovered and from then until 1914 it never averaged less than £118 per ton. Economic changes in the methods of working played their part in this revival. The war gave a new impetus to production and prices in 1920 were at £400 a ton. But by March, 1922, the price had fallen to £141, and as no subsidies were forthcoming many mines were closed. A year later the present revival began and this excellent and painstaking book shows that the Cornish mines and miners have a great future if they are wisely and generously supported by new capital. Surely, moreover, there is a place for a highly organised tin-plate industry in Cornwall itself.

* * *

MR. WALPOLE ON MR. TROLLOPE.*

The revival of interest in Anthony Trollope and his restoration in public estimation to his high place among the Victorian novelists are most gratifying to all Trollopians. The very interesting account of him, given by Mr. Hugh Walpole in the New Series of *English Men of Letters*, edited by Mr. J. C. Squire, is a fresh proof of this restoration. This new volume follows rapidly upon the

* *Anthony Trollope*. By Hugh Walpole. Macmillan. 5s. net.

heels of Mr. Michael Sadleir's recently published book. It has, however, a special value of its own because of Mr. Walpole's own distinction as a novelist and therefore of the sympathetic insight that he brings to his task. Full justice has never been done to Trollope's great achievement, partly because of his immense output, and partly because the account of his literary method given in his *Autobiography* created the impression that his work was largely mechanical in method and mercenary in motive. So he lives for the most part by the immortal Barchinensis series. Yet, as Mr. Walpole shows, by a careful examination of the entire range of his writings, were the Barchinensis series blotted out, it would be possible to establish Trollope's claim to genius by other groups of novels which have fallen into undue neglect. Some other Victorian novelists who eclipsed him in contemporary fame have now fallen into the background, and it is not an exaggeration to say that Trollope is likely to take his place as a third with Dickens and Thackeray for the greatness and range of his creations as well as for his vivid reflection of the prevailing types and interests of early Victorian life. If Trollope is so lacking in mysticism and philosophy as to come short of the universality of the greatest writers of fiction, yet, as Henry James said: "His inestimable merit was a complete appreciation of the usual." Or as the late Sir Walter Raleigh said, he made an epic of ordinary people. Every one of his characters lives, and he is either genuinely fond of them or genially tolerant of them. It is well that Mr. Walpole enables those who for long years have kept company with Mrs. Proudie, Archdeacon Grantley, Mr. Crawley, Lucy Robarts, Lily Dale, Johnny Eames, and the rest, to extend their interest to characters and situations portrayed in such other books as *The Political Novels*, *Orley Farm*, *The Vicar of Bullhampton*, and others of the immense list. In this pursuit Mr. Walpole's account and valuation will henceforth be almost indispensable.

J. S. L.

* * *

UNKNOWN ITALY.*

Mr. E. A. Reynolds-Ball has written a most instructive and withal an entertaining book on Piedmont, a part of Italy which, though it borders on Milan, is little known to the tourist; how long this comparative isolation may last is doubtful, when difficulties of travel are being overcome, and books such as this make the traveller desirous of acquaintance with a delightful country.

That Piedmont has preserved its language, its customs, superstitions and aloofness from its neighbours is greatly due to its

* *Unknown Italy, Piedmont and the Piedmontese*. By E. A. Reynolds-Ball. A. & C. Black Ltd., London. 10s. 6d. net.

situation, shut off as it is by the Cottian and Graian Alps from the rest of Western Europe: these hills boast of no vehicular passes, and possess the merest mule tracts which can only be used during a few months of the year. The language is another obstacle to intercourse since Piedmontese is the only language spoken in the country district. The French language is understood only in the country bordering on the French frontier, and Italian is not invariably understood. "In fact, till 1861, when Turin became the capital of Italy, Italian was a foreign language in that city. . . . After 1861 Italian became the language in vogue among the educated classes."

In character the Piedmontese resemble the Bretons. They are a purely agricultural people, thrifty, religious, superstitious, and bigoted. Their marriage customs are quaint and peculiar. The bridegroom provides the wedding dress and it is chosen by the respective mothers of the betrothed. The fiancé also chooses and pays for the jewellery. The bride is responsible for the house-linen, and her trousseau with the exception of the wedding dress. Marriage customs are long lived, and survive many changes, and greatly help to trace the ancestry of a race.

Ancient proverbs and weatherlore, folk songs and ballads persist, and of these Mr. Reynolds-Ball gives many examples. The chapter on the Piedmontese language is most interesting. It is a composite language based mostly on very corrupt Italian, with a large admixture of French and Provençal words. German and Arabic words are also to be found. "Piedmontese is almost as baffling to the philologist as the Basque language, which is certainly more isolated from other tongues of Europe than any continental dialect, though grammatically it has some slight resemblance to the language of Finland." But Basque is not an Indo-European tongue, while presumably Piedmontese is essentially a Romance tongue.

The industries of Piedmont include silkworm culture, which is a most popular home industry carried on by the women of the country. By immemorial custom, the proceeds of the sale of the cocoons are the wife's perquisite or pin-money. The success of the industry depends on the cultivation of the mulberry tree, upon the leaves of which the silkworm is fed. Mentha, from which the oil of peppermint is extracted, provides another industry. Mr. Reynolds-Ball fully describes the process; the harvesting of the wild herb takes place in August and September and the country where it grows in these months is transformed into "a perfumed paradise." Later in the year is the vintage, and the method, somewhat primitive, of wine-making is well explained. To the tourist desirous of exploring "unknown Italy" this book will be invaluable whether by car, or tramp-

ing. Summer tramps are suggested, and the best routes are mapped out. The Great and Little St. Bernard Passes, or Mont Genève—the first Roman road over the Alps was via Mont Genève—are suggested but most of the guide-books favour the two St. Bernard Passes. Passports are also touched on, and hints given which the traveller would be wise to act on. The chapter dealing with the "Adventures of a Motor Cyclist" blazes the way.

A good description is given of the national game, one may call it, of Piedmont. Pallone is essentially an Italian game, and affords opportunity for betting and is, in consequence, extremely popular, but the betting, as Mr. Reynolds-Ball explains, is not on the game, but on the individual player who makes the most points. It is played on Sundays and Festas. Another interesting feature of this book is the description of the Waldensian Valleys "unsurpassed in these Alps for the richness and grandeur" of their scenery. Historically, they are also of extreme interest, since it is from these valleys that the members of the Italian Protestant Church took their name, and became known for over six hundred years as *Waldensians*. This sect differs little in doctrine from the Protestant Church of England. It separated completely from the Church of Rome in 1532, on the eve of the English reformation. The history of the persecutions and massacres which the Waldensians suffered is briefly and succinctly told. For some six hundred years they fought and died for liberty of conscience. From 1800 to 1814 under Napoleon, they were accorded civil and religious freedom; but they lost it again on the restoration of the Kingdom of Sardinia, and "were once more relegated to their former condition of civil disability. In this condition they remained till 1848, when by a special edict of Charles Albert, they were enabled to share the civil and religious rights conferred upon the rest of his subjects by the famous statute."

Turin, the city of statues, Genoa, the city of palaces and the sea-gate of Piedmont, are well described, as are also Susa and Carmagnola. The illustrations are charming and make the reader yearn for this delectable country. Mr. Reynolds-Ball, the author of this delightful account of a *pays inconnu*, is alas! no longer with us. His recent death deprived the world of a scholar and a traveller who did much in his many writings to raise the standard of travel in democratic days, when mere movement tends to take the place of leisured observation of the beauties of nature and of art, to the earlier phase when the Grand Tour was the conclusion of the education of a scholar and a gentleman. With Mr. Reynolds-Ball for guide the old fashion may return.

S. DE M.

TESTS FOR INTELLIGENCE.*

What is this thing called intelligence the measure of which, in individual children, some educationists are endeavouring to secure by mechanical means? Frankly no one knows, not even the intelligence-testers. To M. Bergson it is a manufacturing faculty which works through logic and it cannot deal with living things. The great modern French philosopher contrasts intelligence with instinct which is the vision of life. It is an old contrast. The mediæval followers of Aristotle and Aquinas worshipped the intellect while their opponents, the followers of Duns Scotus, elevated the will (which naturally strives for the ultimate good) to the highest place. Another aspect of the same problem is the contrast of mind and personality. We may adduce a good deal about mind, the instrument of will, but we cannot prophesy from mechanical considerations anything about the personality which is the will that moves the mind. The personality seems to be independent of the body that it uses. The intellect seems to be the manifestation of the mind that perishes with the body. That theory meets a good many of the difficulties of things and has the additional advantage of creating a reasonable theory of immortality.

These learned authors, in this remarkable book dealing with purely mechanical performance tests—non-linguistic tests such as the use of dominoes—of intelligence, frankly say that: "No agreement has yet been reached as to what the intelligence that is tested by mental tests really is, and psychologists and educationists have all their own ways of defining it." Let us assume that intelligence is a manufacturing faculty working through logic. It is then possible to see something of what can be learnt about a child's or an adult's manufacturing powers from tests of what the patient, in fact, can manufacture. The linguistic tests, tests applied by the application of mind to mind so to speak, are supposed to reveal the capacity of the patient to think in general terms, to think logically. But Dr. Drever and Dr. Collins point out that if by intelligence is meant good sense or judgment then the best tests are not those that consist of the clash of mind with mind but performance tests, the test of doing something rather than of thinking something.

This method of measuring intelligence seems to be more fruitful of results since there is an objective something upon which the mind plays, while in the so-called linguistic tests two subjective forces are playing with the certainty of uncertainty in results. In the performance tests there is something really measurable. It is not merely a relative business.

* *Performance Tests of Intelligence: A Series of Non-Linguistic Tests for Deaf and Normal Children.* By James Drever and Mary Collins. Oliver & Boyd. 5s. net.

The training of defectives about a hundred years ago was the source of formal performance tests. It is the root idea of the hand raining the mind; but when we get normal children—if any child can be said to be normal—the same principle of real results gives some very definite measure of differences between various normal children. These authors detect various discrepancies in many cases between the results secured by intelligence tests—linguistic tests—and performance tests, and it is suggested that these discrepancies may be of use in determining the sort of education that a child should undergo. But the difficulty is where there should be no discrepancies. A remarkable case is that of deaf children. The linguistic intelligence tests seem to prove that a deaf child is definitely intellectually backward to the extent, perhaps, of three years. The performance tests, up to the present, have noted no real retardation of intelligence due to deafness. Which is right? The temptation is to regard the performance tests as likely to be right because there are not the disturbing factors of clashing intelligence involved in the linguistic intelligence tests, tests that in the case of deaf children vary in the most amazing way.

But however this may be no tests appear to have any psychological values, that is to say they do not reveal anything of the personality of the child. It is quite impossible to prophesy from any test what is to be the spiritual or moral or even intellectual future of the child. Conclusions reached at the age of eleven may, and very possibly will, be all thrown out by the age of fourteen. The apparently practical mind may become the mind of the pure theorist and *vice-versa*. Personality goes on its way and it is impossible to measure scientifically that way. The great teachers, with professional traditions extending perhaps backwards for 2,000 years, have methods that are able to touch personality, but those methods cannot be learnt, cannot appear in the books; they are in themselves inherited and no one knows when a great teacher will appear. If intelligence tests were applied to teachers such as Dr. Thomas Arnold or Dr. Edward Routh—linguistic tests—they would probably appear at the age of forty to be, in the world of tests, about the age of twelve.

J. E. G. DE M.

LIBRARIES OF LONDON.*

The third edition, revised and enlarged, of "The Students' Guide to the Libraries of London, with an account of the most important archives and other aids to study," by the Goldsmiths' Librarian, Mr. R. A. Rye, is a valuable edition to the too few works dealing with the book resources of London. The Guide was originally

* University of London Press. 10s. net.

published in 1908, the result of information obtained in the previous year for the Senate of the University of London, "who were at that time occupied with the problem of organising, co-ordinating and developing the libraries under their control. It was important, if this work were to be done efficiently and economically, that the authorities of the University should be informed of the great resources offered by the existing libraries of the metropolis; yet even bare lists possessing a reasonable degree of accuracy and completeness were not at that time available." Now in its last expansion and revision the Guide makes a book of real historical interest combined with the practical needs of a standard book of reference; and in order to insure accuracy, the account of each library has been submitted to the librarian, and all information given has official approval.

London not only owns the largest library in existence but is, in herself, the most important and extensive library centre in the world; there are, in fact, over six hundred and sixty libraries which for individual merit have been included in the Guide. Perhaps to the ordinary reader the historical introduction (a book in itself) and the chapter on special libraries are the most interesting, in spite of the prior claims of the National Library at the British Museum and of the National Archives at the Public Record Office. Turning to the lists of special libraries, the reader finds, to his astonishment, that London possesses a library (however small) on practically any subject he cares to name, such as chocolate, vivisection, insurance, Bibles, Africa, Dickensiana, besides libraries of a more purely scholarly character, such as those dealing mainly with education, history, geography or pure science. This chapter is in itself a tour of general knowledge; who, for instance, would imagine that Messrs. James Pascall, Limited, of Blackfriars Road, S.E.1, could have found two thousand technical volumes "relating to chocolate and confectionery manufacture and general works on management, business organisation and similar subjects"? Or again that the National Temperance League Reference Library in Bedford Place "contains about 1,500 volumes dealing with the ethical, medical, social and economic aspects of the temperance question, some of which date back to the seventeenth century. . . ." All these special libraries tend to show that scholarship and research are carried to-day into every imaginable field of commerce, literature and science; and it is probable that the pioneers of these libraries have been the general libraries, public and others, which have encouraged enthusiasts to write and collect books on their own art, science, or industry.

DAME ETHEL SMYTH ON WOMEN.*

Dame Ethel Smyth in this delightful and penetrating volume of essays lays bare her own soul and other souls by a process of spiritual surgery. She illustrates the movement—or rather the final phase of the movement—for the emancipation of women, that is to say, English women, by her own brilliant career, full of many undeserved, indeed ridiculous rebuffs due or partly due to sex antagonism and sex jealousy.

There is such a thing as sex antagonism, absurd as it seems, and Dame Ethel puts it down as "an inevitable result of fundamental divergences." That is a strange proposition, since there are among men—classes of males, so to speak—these fundamental divergences, and also among classes of women. But it is true enough that there are inevitable qualities which may be called "maleness" and "femaleness," and that there are men who are possessed of "femaleness" and women who are possessed of "maleness," though, as a rule, the actual sex denotes the actual quality. But these divergences are as likely to cause affinities as dislike or jealousy. Yet the fact remains that there is in most women and in most men some quality that does in a very real sense make a distinction in personality. Almost certainly Dame Ethel's fancy is true that "even an average woman has more inward freedom than men; is less conventional, and, on the other hand, less haunted by the dread, if an artist or a writer, of being commonplace." Moreover, it is certainly true that "femaleness" is gifted with more intuition than "maleness," and is therefore less willing to rely upon logic in the art of life. This perhaps is at the root of the old idea that the average woman is less gifted with brain-power than the average man. Indeed, it is not impossible that reliance on intuition has, in fact, weakened in some women the power of logic. If the fact is added that men as a rule are physically stronger for certain types of effort than women and, therefore, have, by an allotment of convenience, to do the rougher work, it is not difficult to understand how the tradition of male all-round superiority grew up. But that tradition is a very partial tradition. Priestesses appeared before priests, and in a large part of the world matriarchal succession has always dominated the tribe. A scientific theory of much that Dame Ethel Smyth reflects upon, with some good-humoured bitter-sweetness, is greatly to be desired.

But the other subject, sex jealousy, is a very different thing. It is really not sex at all but sheer economic jealousy, the fear that fields which already yield a poor livelihood will be invaded by another half of mankind. That there is such jealousy or rather such

* *A Final Burning of Boats, etc.* By Ethel Smyth, with Frontispiece. Longmans. 10s. 6d. net.

time of Charles II, seven of the reign of James II, a good number of William and Mary or William, a substantial number of eighteenth-century pieces (235), and especially Anne, while both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are, of course, adequately represented. The Oxford movement was responsible for many of the generous gifts in the nineteenth century. The chalice presented by Newman to the Church of St. Mary the Virgin at Oxford when he was vicar (1828-43) does not follow the mediæval fashion. The post-Reformation period is marked by the increase of the size of the cups as the result of the communication of the laity in both kinds. Mr. Evans's study deals with the different periods in an essay of great learning which should stimulate work of this type in other counties.

* * *

The series entitled *Affirmations: God in the Modern World* is an attempt at an inductive approach to religion. Mr. R. G. Collingwood in this excellent volume of the series dealing with "Faith and Reason" as "a study of the Relations Between Religion and Science,"* declares that Faith is a certain form of thought though it is not related to the ordinary machinery of thought while Reason depends upon that machinery. Both are "Natural and necessary to man" and have no fundamental opposition. The apparent oppositions are due to the excessive claims of those who wish to stand for one and the other respectively. Faith and Reason have universal fields. Both are essentially practical. Reason builds on Faith, "Faith could not exist without Reason." The intuitive and the logical are different facets of one jewel. The war between the two is really mediæval: a sort of Thomist fight. There is no more conflict necessary between Reason and Faith than there is between man and woman.

* * *

Two more volumes of the *Cambridge County Handbooks*† (excellently illustrated) may be commended: Stirlingshire by Dr. W. Douglas Simpson, the librarian in the University of Aberdeen, and South Lancashire by Dr. A. Wilmore. The origin of Scottish shires seems to be certain tribal areas in, at any rate, many cases. In some cases the shire is an administrative area based upon some centre (Kent is an instance in England), and this was so with Stirlingshire "which has grown up round the fortified rock that from the earliest ages sentinelled the passage of the Forth" and is the gate of the Highlands. The history of the county is full of fascination, and there is much Roman material as it contains the Antonine Roman Wall. Lancashire is not a less interesting county, though it was really rather an Honour than a county until the end of the twelfth century. The history of the region is of vast importance and as South Lancashire includes both Manchester and Liverpool, Dr. Wilmore's pen has had a busy task. The photograph of Liverpool Cathedral gives a real conception of this noblest building of our century.

* Ernest Benn. 1s. net.

† Cambridge University Press. 3s. net each volume.

THE PROBLEM OF THE RATES.

MOST of us have good reason to know that Local Expenditure has gone up enormously in recent years. In 1890 the total expenditure by Local Authorities, other than out of Loans, was in England and Wales £42,200,000. In 1913-14 it was £148,260,000 and in 1924-5, £354,926,000. In other words, the Local Expenditure per head of the population has, in the last forty years, gone from something like 30s. per head to something over £9! These figures include Exchequer Grants-in-Aid, but they convey a rough idea of the proportionate growth of the cost of Local Administration chargeable to the Local Rate Fund. To put the matter more closely, I may observe that the average Local Rate in the pound upon assessable value has approximately doubled since 1913-6s. 8¼d. in the pound in 1913-14 and 12s. 5½d. in 1926-7.

But most of us are too busy either to know precisely why there has been this tremendous increase, or to know precisely how the burden may be equitably and adequately relieved. And slap-dash promise of Rate-reduction will not solve the problem. You have got to disentangle and straighten out first; and then apply the right remedies in the right way and at the right place.

Local Rates, broadly speaking, were designed to meet the cost of purely local services; and that is as it should be. Each Community under normal circumstances may reasonably be expected to bear the cost of its own lighting and so on: always provided that the burden falls equitably and upon the right shoulders. But in the last few decades especially, the Local Rate Fund has been called upon in an increasing measure to help meet the cost of providing Social Services which are a good deal more National than Local in their character. And as the public conscience quickened, and men's minds were lit up with new ideals and new standards, the cost of these Social Services became—and must become as time goes on—increasingly heavy.

Education is a case in point. The Exchequer makes Grants-in-Aid through the Board of Education. And except for a quite inadequate and makeshift scheme of preferential assistance to Necessitous Areas, these grants are dispensed on a basis common to all. Taking the country as a whole, these government grants meet in the aggregate appreciably more than half the entire cost. The other portion is a charge upon the Local Rate Fund. If the area is well-to-do, with a comparatively high rateable value, and comparatively few working-class children to be educated, the Rate-share of this National Social Service will be fairly light. But if the district is poor, with many children to be provided for in the

economic fear is true, and especially in the medical profession. It is disgraceful enough, but women as well as men are subject to it, and one of the difficulties of the position from the point of view of the economic clash of the sexes is that in a sense (Dame Ethel will forgive a poor male pointing this out) women, quite unconsciously, try to make the best of both worlds, the world where the woman has special protection if she has also special snubs, and the world where the woman, given equal chances, may quite reasonably, if she has good physique and ability, beat the man at his own game. The man has no chance of giving up the game. His wife, his children, and very often his elder and other relations depend upon his not only successful but continuous efforts. The woman, in a very considerable number of cases, has other resources, and one resource that the man has not got, the resource of marriage to a breadwinner. It is a difficult thing in these circumstances, human nature being what it is, to eliminate that economic sex rivalry which is so deplorable to watch. Yet if a woman were placed in the man's position she would quite probably be more ruthless, since women have fewer illusions than men and are harder realists. But the time will come when these economic problems will be solved by the creation of greater leisure for all. *Humanitas* will arrive for all.

A reference must be made to one other essay, among many that are delightful in the sphere of thought as well as music: the account of Germany in 1922. It is a heart-breaking account, and it is well that we should realise now how the learned middle class suffered. Dame Ethel is very fair and just in all her estimates, and she pays a wonderful tribute to a people who have emerged from such apparent wreckage of society into a new life of hopefulness and world-friendliness. To realise this it is not necessary to think about the bitterness of the war time or to endeavour to allot blame, though the German educational system was greatly in fault. These people suffered through no moral fault of their own and they have seen a better world built up and new vistas of permanent European peace.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Mr. E. E. Kellett in *Reconsiderations: Literary Essays** has given an excellent and brilliant volume of his essays, old and new. We have pregnant notes on phases of the work of the great masters, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Dante. In the essay on "Some pitfalls in Shakespearean Criticism" he rightly draws attention to the mysterious person, or rather persons, who took some sort of a hand in even the greatest plays. Everything "seems to indicate that now and then, whether from weariness, from charity, or from lack of time, Shakespeare passed on certain pieces of work to others . . . in every case he

* Cambridge University Press. 8s. 6d. net.

worked along with Shakespeare, sometimes hindering him, sometimes inspiring him; and it is impossible to appreciate the real Shakespeare without taking into account the too much neglected coadjutor." The paper on "Macaulay and the Authorised Version" is extraordinarily interesting, and shows how, in a casual inevitable way, the great essayist and orator brought in his detailed knowledge of the Authorised Version by way of half-quotation into his speeches. But a point of still more importance is made by Mr. Kellett, who derives the essence of Macaulay's prose style to the prose of the Authorised Version. "That short, sharp, balanced sentence of his was not, assuredly, derived from his reading of Cicero or Demosthenes, nor from the earlier masters of English prose. It differs markedly even from the antithesis of Seneca and from the epigram of Tacitus; nor is it really like the brevity and point of Bacon. Something similar, certainly, is to be seen in Johnson; and many of Macaulay's other characteristics are to be observed in Burke, who, like his disciple, was both a writer and an orator. But the real source of this marked and unmistakable feature—of that which to many people is *par excellence*, Macaulayese—is to be sought elsewhere. It was learnt from the short, sharp 'parallelism' of Hebrew poetry; from that antithetic collocation of clauses, sometimes by way of repetition, sometimes by way of correction or even contradiction, sometimes by way of extension, which lends such vigour to the retorts of Job, such vividness to the descriptions of Nahum or of Isaiah; nay, which often gives force to the sayings of our Lord Himself." This is a new point and a very valuable one, since for good or ill, Macaulay's prose has affected the general prose style of the twentieth century, and it is pleasant to think that the source is so noble a one. Mr. Kellett's essay on Swinburne is (as indeed all his essays are) singularly just (for it is very difficult to agree with a poet who is so blatantly atheistic). "It is futile to deny his originality" (he borrowed metres and made them his own); "he remains (Milton apart) the greatest master of sound, pure and simple, in English." He lacks condensation, he must have elbow room, but "how few, after all, are the lines that we would willingly miss, even in the longest poems!" Yet (*pace* Mr. Kellett) it is doubtful if he is wearing as well as Matthew Arnold except in certain supreme poems.

* * *

The Rev. John Thomas Evans in his noble volume *The Church Plate of Oxfordshire** deals with a great part of the largest rural diocese (Oxford) in England. That diocese has 650 parishes, and in the County of Oxford alone there are 286 churches, and Mr. Evans has taken eight years to complete his personal examination of the Church plate in the county and city of Oxford. The chronological table to the beginning of the twentieth century tells in brief the story. Mediæval plate is only represented by two thirteenth-century coffin chalices and patens at Christ Church, a chalice (originally a secular cup) of about 1450, at Marston, a Pyx (of tin) at Cropredy, of the same date, and a very beautiful chalice of about 1500 at Little Farringdon. There is one chalice of unique interest of Edward VI's reign, and then comes the magnificent list of nearly ninety pieces belonging to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a substantial number of pieces of James I and Charles I, eight pieces dating from the time of Cromwell, a larger number of specimens of the

* Oxford: The Alden Press (Oxford) Ltd. 2rs. net.

Public Elementary Schools, then the Rate-share must be oppressive.

Again, the passing of the horse and the coming of the motor have, in a great many cases, materially affected the extent to which you can properly describe the Road as a Local Service. It was all very right and proper to treat the making and maintenance of a road as a local service when in fact practically the sole users were the people of the locality. But the motor-car and the motor-lorry have revolutionised all that. The old conception has become an anachronism. It went out with the turnpike. To-day the road is very often much more used by persons from a distance than by the local residents. So far back as 1909 the Liberal Government of that day recognised the changed and changing condition of things by establishing the Road Fund from which the locality could receive subventions in aid of the making and upkeep of main roads. At present the Road Fund bears 50 per cent. of the cost of Class I roads and 25 per cent. of Class II roads. All other roads, unclassified, are entirely a local charge, though many of them carry a good deal of through traffic. This classification of roads needs to be brought down to date; 75 per cent. of the cost of Class I roads should be met from the central fund: 50 per cent. of the cost of Class II roads: and 25 per cent. of the cost of the others. This alone would relieve the Rates in Great Britain to the extent roughly of £12,000,000 a year.

And again, War and its direct consequences have most seriously affected Rate charges in many industrial areas. The shrinkage of our export trade has left our great staple industries—coal, ship-building, iron, steel, engineering, cotton, wool—very seriously crippled. It is in the areas engaged in these great industries that the problem of unemployment has been, and unhappily still is, most acute and persistent. Hence these communities for the last seven and a half years have had an abnormally large number of able-bodied unemployed to provide for. And that number has been augmented by the fact that in a number of areas the working population was specially augmented for the purposes of War work. Despite the most timely assistance given by the Unemployment Insurance Act, without which the Poor Law in these areas would most certainly long since have broken down, the cost of relieving the unemployed has cast, and still casts, a very severe burden upon these areas. To pretend that for some undisclosed reason these localities must continue to bear the consequence of War and its after-effects, even mitigated by a "formula," of which more later, is nonsense.

I may enforce the points I have been endeavouring to put by an examination of Local Authority net expenditure in 1924-5 in respect of the services just enumerated:

COST IN MILLIONS OF POUNDS.

	Total Exp.		From Exchequer Grants.	From Local Rate.
For Education	70.32	met by	38.68	31.64
For Relief of Poor	29.76	„ „	1.20	28.56
For Highways and Bridges ...	43.49	„ „	12.98	30.51

Taking Rate-expenditures only for the same year the percentage outlay on the services named was as follows:

On Education (including Libraries)	21.2 per cent. of total rate expenditure
On Poor Relief	18.4 per cent.
On Highways and Bridges ...	15.6 per cent.

Thus these three services alone account for more than half the total Rate expenditure.

In any scheme of Rating Reform, then, you have got first of all to determine what shall be properly borne by the locality and what by the National Exchequer. Pursue that on scientific lines and you have achieved the first great step towards a settlement of the problem before you.

In the next place, you have got to determine, upon whose shoulders, and in what proportion, shall fall the cost of the services properly chargeable to the Local Fund. To-day, one way or another, the occupying tenant carries the lot. The ground landlord escapes. And the irony of the situation is this: The public improvements which the ratepayer's payments furnish almost invariably enhance the value of the land. The landowner is inevitably the residuary legatee of much of the ratepayer's expenditure. Indeed, when he advertises his land for sale as a factory site he is careful to put into the catalogue of the amenities which enhance its value the contiguous main thoroughfare, and the available main lighting and water supply which the ratepayer's expenditure has wholly or in part furnished! Surely it is high time the urban ratepayer got a plum or two out of the rich pudding of his own making!

Since the War especially, millions have been spent on thrusting out great arterial roads from our great cities. The Local Rates have contributed largely to these necessary and invaluable efforts to adapt our highways to the ever-growing demands of motor transport. But observe. The frontages created by these new traffic ways have, at any rate near the cities themselves, gone up sometimes enormously in value. Now no revision of our rating system can do other than perpetuate a grave and manifest injustice which does not, by the rating of urban land values and the laying of effective betterment rates upon these new frontages, secure for the Local Rate Fund a due share of the values it has itself helped to create.

April 1st, 1930, the *ad hoc* Guardians are to go, just as the School Boards went six and twenty years ago. Each County and County Borough Council is to have its Poor Law Committee with powers of co-optation and of delegation to local Sub-Committees.

Into all this has been worked an extremely complicated scheme for making the Rate-relief for depressed industries also the medium for assistance to Necessitous Areas. The new Churchill baby is stuffed into the old Chamberlain perambulator. Certain Exchequer Grants-in-Aid are reviewed in connection with the Budget de-rating proposals; and as from April 1st, 1930, a new system of Grants-in-Aid will be introduced. This will take into account not only the loss due to de-rating, but to certain local conditions. A "formula" has been devised which—over and above connoting the loss due to de-rating—will "weight" the new Grant favourably in the cases of areas presenting special difficulties—low rateable value, abnormal unemployment, density of population. And here you get the first glimpse of Rating reform apart from mere Rate-relief. The "formula" Grants-in-Aid system will be applied gradually in quinquennial periods commencing on April 1st, 1930. At each subsequent revision it is proposed that more and more of the total grant should be distributed on the "formula" basis, until by 1945 the whole would be distributed entirely on this basis. Tables are appended showing the effect of the new distribution for the first quinquennial period. The Memorandum says:

On the assumptions on which the illustration is based it will be seen that of the 82 county boroughs there would be only 5 in which the loss of rates and grants would have been in excess of the new grant, while in 77 the new grant would have exceeded the loss of rates and grants (in 4 by less than 1s. per head of population; in 18 by 1s. and less than 2s.; in 18 by 2s. and less than 3s.; in 18 by 3s. and less than 4s.; in 5 by 4s. and less than 5s.; and in 14 by 5s. and over).

It is also proposed, says this White Paper, that in the case of any county borough or administrative county (as a whole) in which the allotted Grant-in-Aid does not exceed the aggregate loss of rates and grants in the standard year by a sum equivalent to 1s. per head of actual population of the area, the allotted grant shall be increased by such a sum as will bring the net gain up to the equivalent of 1s. per head of the population.

And, finally, it is estimated, we are told, on the calculations of 1926-27, that the additional grants to make the minimum gain to counties and county boroughs up to 1s. per head of population and the special Exchequer grants in reduction of the increases in the poundage of rates would amount to £2,500,000 so that, with the £5,000,000 new Exchequer money included in the formula grant, the cost of the scheme to the Exchequer over and above the equiva-

lent of the loss of rates and grants would amount to about £7,500,000 for England and Wales, including London. The corresponding cost for Scotland would amount to about £1,000,000, making a total for Great Britain of about £8,500,000, of which £3,000,000 will be charged upon the Road Fund.

All this is necessarily so dependent not only upon changing conditions, but also upon possible revisions of Local Government areas, that he would be a daring person who would guarantee that it will work out as indicated. And there it must be left. Meanwhile I go back to the Budget statement of April 24th and Mr. Churchill's promise of relief for industries more or less *in extremis*. They are to be assisted as from October 1st, 1929, and even then that assistance will have been to a large extent furnished by themselves. It really is more than a trifle Gilbertian. And it would be unkind to remind Mr. Churchill of another old tag, *Bis dat qui cito dat*. He has a surplus on last year of £4,250,000. It does seem curious to store that up for eighteen months with undertakings, as Mr. Churchill himself put it, "very near the verge of closing down."

Then, and the point has already been well made in directions that certainly do not harbour hostile partisanship, the relief is to be given to "productive" industries only. Distributing industries get nothing. The prosperous manufacturer of artificial silk comes in all right, the draper struggling along in a highly-rated district is outside. Further, gas, electricity, and water undertakings get nothing. By this time, as I have said, the Government has probably got its Bill setting up the machinery of delimitation between productive undertakings and those outside that pale. That machinery, it is anticipated, will have completed its work by October, 1929. I think the expectation rather optimistic.

And not only are all industrial undertakings other than "productive" concerns to stand out. The householder stands out also, save for the mitigating effects of the "formula." Seventy per cent. of the rates in England and Wales are to-day levied on dwelling-houses, shops, offices, and so on. Genuine rating reform will need to proceed on lines much more thorough-going than these. As a scheme of Rate-reform, "formula" and all, it is merely tinkering. As a scheme of Rate-relief, it is arbitrary, unjust, and wasteful.

And the more it is examined in detail the more that emerges. I take one or two cases from an analysis based on the Official Return issued in connection with the Government Relief Scheme, and published in *The Liberal Magazine* for July. It will be understood, says this Journal, that the estimated amount of relief is the amount that would have accrued last year if the scheme had then been in operation. It must also be remembered that in future the Rating

areas may be altered, and that of course the Rates levied will vary from year to year. With this understanding the following illustrations may be left to speak for themselves:

MIDDLESBROUGH.			
Rates in the pound, 1927-28	...	...	19s. 2d.
Total Rates levied	...	...	£613,210
Amount of Rates eligible for Relief.	£	...	Amount of Relief.
Agricultural	...	522	...
Industrial	...	101,952	...
Railways, Docks, &c.	...	28,191	...
		£130,665	...
Rates not eligible for Relief	...	...	£482,545
WEST HAM.			
Rates in the pound	...	...	24s. 6d.
Total Rates levied	...	...	£1,697,445
Amount of Rates eligible for Relief.	£	...	Amount of Relief.
Agricultural	...	95	...
Industrial	...	338,159	...
Railways, &c.	...	131,885	...
		£470,139	...
Rates not eligible for Relief	...	...	£1,227,306
HOLBORN.			
Rates in the pound	...	...	10s. 2d.
Total Rates levied	...	...	£837,086
Amount of Rates eligible for Relief.	£	...	Amount of Relief.
Agricultural	...	—	...
Industrial	...	25,630	...
Railways, &c.	...	8,756	...
		£34,386	...
Rates not eligible for Relief	...	...	£802,700
CARDIFF.			
Rates in the pound	...	...	14s. 3d.
Total Rates levied	...	...	£1,142,261
Amount of Rates eligible for Relief.	£	...	Amount of Relief.
Agricultural	...	1,526	...
Industrial	...	65,590	...
Railways, &c.	...	92,214	...
		£159,330	...
Rates not eligible for Relief	...	...	£982,931

I presume this picture is not complete until the figures have been modified by the "formula." But in any case it can hardly be described as a thorough-going scheme of Rate-reform.

No less astonishing in this bewildering scheme is the proposal to dispense this Rate-relief to productive industries all round whether they are depressed or not, and whatever may be the amount of the Rates in the districts in which they may be situated. Breweries and distilleries, which are doing very well, will get approximately £400,000 a year in Rate-relief; shipbuilding, which has been and still is badly hit, will get the same! Chemicals, which are doing well, will get approximately £600,000. Iron and steel, which is seriously depressed, will get £50,000 less! I should like to have heard the Chancellor of the Exchequer on this amazing feature of the scheme if anybody but Mr. Churchill had proposed it.

From this curious medley of anomalies let me briefly turn to the Liberal policy regarding our Rating System and its reform. I recall that so far back as 1891 the taxation of land values appeared as a first-class item in the famous "Newcastle Programme" of that day. Later, under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, we passed through all its stages twice, in 1907 and 1908, a Bill to tax land values in Scotland, which Bill was duly thrown out by the House of Lords on both occasions. Then came the famous Budget of 1909, and the struggle which ended with the limitation of the legislative Veto of the Second Chamber. Not until that limitation was achieved could thorough-going Rating-reform, as I conceive it, be entered upon. And we set out upon the Inquiry of 1912-13. If anyone cares to take the trouble to look, he will find the Rating problem carefully examined in Part IV of the volume on Urban Land then issued.

The avalanche of War set all that aside. When it had passed over our heads we went back again, and after further careful inquiry brought the Reports of 1912-13 down to date. Though, like the earlier Reports, these later Reports deal primarily with the land problem, rural and urban, like those earlier Reports they also necessarily have a good deal to say on Rating and its incidence. And all this is given point and application in the further Report on the Future of British Industry issued last February.

In the earlier part of this article I have indicated the lines along which, as I think, sound Reform should proceed. They are brought to a focus in the Resolution adopted in March last by a Conference of representative Liberals called together by the National Liberal Federation to consider the Report of the Liberal Industrial Inquiry. I cannot do better than quote it:

"(1) In view of the inequity and inexpediency of the existing System of Rates in its effects on Industry and in relation to

Working-Class Houses, a substantial proportion of the present expenditure from Local Rates should be transferred to the National Exchequer—

- (a) by transferring to the National Government responsibility for the Relief of the Able-Bodied Poor;
- (b) by the restoration and enlargement of the Road Fund, which should undertake a much larger share of the cost of road construction and maintenance; and
- (c) by increased Grants-in-Aid.

“Such proposals would occasion the transfer of approximately one-third of the amount at present charged on the local rates, and should form one of the first charges on any funds available for the relief of taxation.

“(2) In order to make the incidence of the charges remaining on the rates less burdensome, the proposals for Rating Reform and for the establishment of Regional Authorities which were adopted at the Liberal Land Conference in February, 1926, should be carried into effect.”

And to make the matter clearer let me quote in full the Resolution of the Liberal Land Conference in London in February, 1926, to which reference is here made:

“(1) All land in urban areas, other than land used for public open spaces and other public amenities, should be assessed for rates upon its land value, and rates should be imposed on the land values thus assessed and be devoted to the unrating of improvements and the general welfare, provided that the burdens on land which is in genuine use for agriculture and is not required for building or other industrial purposes should not be increased thereby.

“(2) Regional Authorities composed of groups of Local Authorities should be formed for purposes of joint action in matters of housing, town-planning, transport, and other similar projects in which the Local Authorities concerned have common interests; and a Regional Fund should be created by rates levied on land values, and by special rates levied on the increased land values which are due to improvements carried out by the Regional Authority.

“(3) The Conference reaffirms the accepted Liberal policy of relieving the public burdens on improvements, and of taxing and (or) rating all values of land which are due to the presence, activity, and expenditure of the community; and accordingly declares the necessity of making land value the basis of taxing and (or) rating all land which is used for building or other industrial purposes, or in the interests of the community ought to be so used, in urban and rural districts alike, and of reforming the whole system of rural rating so as to encourage instead of penalising, as under the present system, agricultural development and improvements both in and on the land.”

T. J. MACNAMARA.

HERBERT C. HOOVER.

AT Kansas City in the middle of June Mr. Herbert Hoover won the Republican nomination for the Presidency on the first ballot, and at the end of the month the Democratic Convention at Houston, in spite of dissentient Protestants and Prohibitionists, chose Governor “Al” Smith for their candidate. By general consent each party has selected the strongest and best available champion; and so the lists are now set for a Presidential contest which is certain to be exciting and likely to be close. It will be watched with keen interest, but with less anxiety than usual, in Great Britain and Europe; for, while we know that the peaceful progress of civilised mankind will depend largely on the policy of the United States during the next few years, and consequently on the character of its President, we may also feel reasonably confident that, whichever of these two powerful rivals is elected in November, Mr. Coolidge’s successor will be guided by a high sense of honour and a fine instinct for humanity and justice in international affairs. If some degree of personal intimacy and friendship predisposes the writer of these pages in favour of one candidate, it does not imply any sort of hostility towards the other, whom he has never had the privilege of meeting; nor does it involve any attempt to discriminate between the platforms and policies of the two great American parties, which indeed are no longer united or divided by principles and ideals. It would be easy to make effective contrasts between Hoover and Smith, but it is not certain that if they had been for the last few years colleagues in a Coalition Cabinet under a Washington they would have been driven into antagonism by the force of convictions, and become the creators and leaders of two opposing Parties.

“Well, Hoover is nominated,” wrote a New Yorker to a friend after the Kansas City Convention, “and ‘Al’ Smith soon will be”; and there we have the two best men in each of the parties to lead the unprincipled hosts:

“The nomination of Herbert Hoover is a triumph for the people, aided by a rascally crew of politicians, many of them cast off by the regular organisation. You know Hoover so much better than I that you are fitter to form a judgment on his career as President; for I expect him to be elected. He is not supposed to possess political sense, and some think he is better at carrying through a simple policy than at laying one out. The other day I asked X [a Republican leader] whether Hoover is *obstinate*. He replied that he is *persistent*; that if he meets with an obstacle he does not try to buck his way through it, but goes round, or over, or under. All who work under him love him. Some, who have tried to work with him, do not. I don’t share the feel-

ing of Y [an unfriendly critic] that H. H. has shown lack of courage in not declaring himself on this, that, or the other, or has been untrue to himself in adhering to the Coolidge policies. He was out to win the nomination. Now he must win the election. After that we shall see what we shall see. To me it seems a marvellous performance—not quite so extraordinary as Wilson's leaving the grove of Princeton to achieve the Presidency, but still wonderful."

The writer of this extract is an independent Democrat, free from Party rancour, cool and impartial. Another Democrat, a Virginian, whom I met the other day in London, shares the view that Mr. Hoover has the better chance of being elected. The odds, he thinks, are about three to two in his favour. But it is an open event, depending on whether the Democratic Leader can hold the whole of the solid South and win enough seats in the industrial East and Middle West to turn the election.

In 1920, when Mr. Hoover, after his famous achievements as organiser of relief in Europe, was emerging into the glaring limelight of American politics, his intimate friend, Mr. Vernon Kellogg, wrote an attractive little book entitled *Herbert Hoover, the Man and his Work*. In perusing it one lights upon some sentences which confirm the impression that Mr. Hoover is persistent rather than obstinate:

"He knows what he wants to do, and goes straight forward towards doing it; but if difficulty too great intervenes—it really has to be very great—he withdraws for a fresh start and tries another path. I always think of him as outside of a circle in the centre of which is his goal. He strikes the circle at one spot; if he can get through, well and good. If not, he draws away, moves a little around the circumference and strikes again. This resourcefulness and fertility of method are conspicuous characteristics of him. To that degree he is 'diplomatic.' But if there is only one way, he fights to the extreme along that way. And those of us who have lived through the difficult, the almost impossible, days of Belgian relief, food administration, and general European after-the-war relief with him, have come to an almost superstitious belief in his capacity to do anything possible to human power."

It is in personal talk, in counsel, in administration, rather than on the platform that Mr. Hoover shines. As a rule debating societies do not flourish in American Universities; and in his own beautiful and beloved Stanford, where he studied geology and engineering to good purpose, I do not suppose that Herbert Hoover had much training in literary style and expression. Mr. Kellogg concedes that his hero "has no voice for speaking to great audiences, no flowers of rhetoric or familiar platitudes for professional oratory"; but there is, he adds, "no more effective living speaker to small groups or conferences around the Council

table. He is clear and convincing in speech because he is clear and precise in thinking. He is fertile in plan and constructive in method because he has creative imagination." I may add that he is not good at small talk, is rather easily bored, and likes best to discuss with a congenial friend the topic that happens to be uppermost in his thoughts. When he opens his mind freely you realise that behind his opinions are strong reserves of facts, figures and arguments ready to be brought into action.

To understand the man we must know something of his history. He was born, August 10th, 1874, of Quaker parents—who both died while he was still a small boy—in a small Quaker village community of Iowa. His father was the village blacksmith, fond of machinery, which he repaired and sold, with an inventive turn in mechanics. His mother, we are told, had unusual gifts and powers of expression which, though shy and reserved like her famous son, she would reveal at Quaker meetings. There were three children; and after the death of their parents the orphans were looked after by relatives. Herbert was for some time with an uncle in Indian territory, then on a farm in Oregon, then a schoolboy in Salem, and afterwards in Portland, where he began to earn a living. There he heard of a new University which was about to be opened in Palo Alto, California. This was the Stanford or Leland Stanford University. It had been built and endowed by Senator and Mrs. Leland Stanford in memory of their only son who had died at Rome in 1884. No doubt the boy had read of its attractions, the wonderful charm of its Spanish architecture, the beauty of its surroundings, and above all of the fine staff which was being assembled. So in the early summer of 1891 he found his way to Palo Alto. Fortunately for himself and Stanford, though inadequately equipped with book learning, he revealed so much determination, character and original ability to one of the examiners, that he was admitted in the pioneer class among the first students of that splendid University which did so much for him and for which he has since done so much. There he made his mark, studied under a great geologist, Dr. John Casper Branner, became one of the Professor's favourite pupils, decided to be a mining engineer, and fell in love with another brilliant student of geology, Miss Lou Henry of Monterey, whom he was to marry when he had won his professional spurs. His career started with Louis Janin of San Francisco, the best mining engineer on the Pacific coast, who sent him first to a wild mining camp in New Mexico. Then came the mining boom in West Australia, and Mr. Hoover went out in 1897 for a London firm. There he quickly made a reputation, and after two years was recommended at 24 by his chief to assist the Chinese head of a new department of mines which had been established in the

Celestial Empire. On his way to China he stopped in California to marry. The wedding took place on February 10th, 1899. "At 2 o'clock they left San Francisco and at noon the next day sailed for the Empire of China."

But this is not a biography. I have carried the story thus far only to emphasise three characteristics, which may be traced to his parentage, training and profession. There is first the inborn Quaker philanthropy, or love of human service, second the sturdy individualism of one who has risen by his own exertions and thriven in the bracing air of competition. Then comes his zeal for education and a belief that America is leading the world not only in the number but in the democratic quality and usefulness of her Universities. Lastly there is a pride in the profession of mining engineer which in conversation often blossoms out into a controversial comparison with less favoured occupations. He glorifies engineering not only for its varied interest and the experience it gives in handling recalcitrant things, but as the finest preparation for public life and public service.

This passion excited a labour of love,* a copy of which is one of my cherished possessions. In 1912, after years of patient research, Mr. and Mrs. Hoover published their monumental work, *Georgius Agricola de Re Metallica*, that is to say, George Bauer's book on mining, which for 180 years after its first appearance "was not superseded as the textbook and guide to miners and metallurgists; for until Schlueter's great work on metallurgy in 1738 it had no equal." This superb folio volume of over 600 pages, with all the illustrations of the original exactly reproduced, is a translation from the first Latin edition of 1556. The task of rendering Agricola's queer Latin into English was made enormously more difficult because the author, too proud to use the vulgar German mining terms, coined several hundred "Latin" atrocities to answer his needs. Gradually the meaning of nearly all this mintage was discovered by our authors—how gradually and how laboriously is indicated by the fact mentioned in their preface that "the entire text has been re-typewritten three times since the original, and some parts more often; and further, the printer's proof has been thrice revised." The whole work is richly illustrated with footnotes, for which Mr. Hoover was responsible. Many of them represent an amount of scholarly research which seems amazing when we remember that it was performed in hours stolen from professional work by one of the busiest and most successful mining engineers of our time. I would not dream of reproducing

* They say in the Preface: "As this book could be but a labour of love, it has had to find the moments of execution in night hours, week-ends and holidays, in all extending over a period of about five years."

any of the learned notes that tell us how far the Egyptians, the Chinese, the Greeks or the Romans had advanced in mining and metallurgy. But to show that Mr. Hoover's curiosity was not confined to scientific facts and theories I may quote a note on "demons of ferocious aspect" which, says Agricola, haunted some few of the German mines, and could only be expelled (like those Balliol scholars in the Jowett story) by prayer and fasting. Mr. Hoover observes that the presence of demons or gnomes in mines was so generally believed that Agricola accepted it—despite his "very general scepticism regarding the supernatural." Then he cites another of Agricola's works to show that a nicer kind of gnome existed, called "little miners" because of their dwarfish stature, who were gentle and kindly and benign to men. These were sometimes called trulls, and resembled goblins. They seldom injured the workmen unless the workmen first ridiculed or cursed them. To which Mr. Hoover adds:

"The German miners were not alone in such beliefs. . . . Even to-day the faith in 'knockers' has not entirely disappeared from Cornwall. Neither the sea nor the forest so lends itself to the substantiation of the supernatural as does the mine. The dead darkness, in which the miner's lamps serve only to distort every shape, the uncanny noises of restless rocks whose support has been undermined, the approach of danger and death without warning, the sudden vanishing or discovery, all yield a thousand collaborations to minds long steeped in ignorance and prepared for the miraculous through religious teaching."

This brief extract may serve to illustrate not only Mr. Hoover's interest in psychology but also the strength and weakness of his style. His vocabulary is large; but his sentences are often as rough as the rocky ground which it has been his business to explore.

In gauging his qualifications for the Presidency we must remember that the United States is a land of development, bristling with engineering feats and problems, that the romance of the profession appeals to the ingenious and restless temperament of the nation and that the power to transform a desert by irrigation, to prevent floods, or to achieve any profitable marvel by mechanical invention would constitute for a candidate no small claim on the favour of his fellow citizens.

Let us try here to summarise the verdict of his friends on Mr. Hoover. A strong man and a good man, energetic, empirical, fonder of projects than of theories, a liberal Republican, whose political ambitions are balanced and purified by public spirit, an opportunist with a conscience to which the voice of human suffering has never appealed in vain. Pity and compassion are ennobling elements in any character and not least in a Statesman. In Mr.

Hoover they are so happily combined with business ability and financial prudence that he might stand for John Morley's favourite aphorism: "Great thoughts come from the heart, but they must go round by the head." In Belgium until the United States entered the war, then as American Food Controller, after the Armistice as Director of American Relief in Central and Eastern Europe, Mr. Hoover displayed superb resourcefulness and an unrivalled mastery of principle and detail. He showed himself not only just and merciful but a cool calculator of risks and costs, prompt to seize opportunities and equal to emergencies at which the stoutest heart and strongest brain might have quailed. Those who have seen him at work or talked with his staff of distributors and relieving officers know that his achievements were due not only to the wisdom and foresight of his plans but even more to his choice of subordinates and to the personal magnetism of his leadership. He had the rare gift of making men glory in sharing the burden of responsibility, of imparting to them his own enthusiasm, of infecting them with his own unsparing devotion to the work in hand. They felt in him such confidence as Cromwell and Napoleon inspired, the confidence of assured victory; and he contrived to make each individual feel that his individual effort was essential to the general success. To be present at a consultation with one or more of the members of his staff was an experience not to be missed. On such occasions he is a good listener, an eager and rapid collector of all relevant information, always keeping to the point, never wasting time, clear and decisive when the moment for decision arrives—altogether the most satisfactory chief imaginable.

It would be a mistake to judge an American Statesman by the policy of an administration of which he has been a member. For whereas in Great Britain Cabinet policy is strictly collective and the whole Cabinet is responsible to the House of Commons—or rather to the majority of the House, by whose judgment or approval it stands or falls—in the United States the whole responsibility is upon the President. He is not bound to consult his colleagues, or to take their advice; and they are not expected to resign even if he should overrule one of them on a question of policy within his own department. The foreign policy of the United States is made partly by the President and his Secretary of State, partly by the Senate. The tariff is made not by the President and his Secretary for Commerce, but by Congress. Consequently it would be wrong, I submit, to identify Mr. Hoover with the elements which European Liberals most dislike in the foreign, financial and fiscal policies of the Harding and Coolidge Administrations. Mr. Hoover has

devoted himself in the main to the department of Commerce, which he has made the most efficient institution of its kind in the world as a collector and disseminator of information or statistics useful to all classes of American business men whether engaged in home or foreign trade. He has initiated a much-needed and very successful campaign for the elimination of waste in manufacture and transport. It is true that a large majority of the Republican Party still clings to Protection; but it were absurd to identify Mr. Hoover with the crude theory of a reactionary section of "Stand Patters" that foreign trade is a nuisance and that the American Continent ought to be practically self-sufficient, or with the still cruder and utterly nonsensical notion that exports are a blessing and imports a curse, and that therefore the true wisdom of economic policy should consist in encouraging exports and discouraging imports. As if successful trade meant presenting the fruits of your domestic labour in field or factory, your grain, your meat, your fruit and the finest products of your mechanical skill to other countries without receiving payment from their surplus products—in the things they can produce better and cheaper! If anyone should suppose that Mr. Hoover's mind is capable of harbouring such absurdities as these, let him turn to an able address on "The Future of Our Foreign Trade," delivered by him in New York on March 16th, 1926, to the Export Managers' Club, and published by the Department of Commerce. For our purpose a brief quotation will suffice:

"Absurd as it may seem to you, our Department is frequently asked: 'Why all the worry about foreign trade?' and we are admonished to cultivate our domestic market, the biggest and most profitable market in the world.

"The immediate purpose of those engaged in foreign trade is remunerative adventure for the trader. But it has a far wider national importance than this, and the men engaged in it are engaged in a far more significant mission.

"Foreign trade has become a vital part of the whole modern economic system. The war brought into high relief the utter dependence of the life of nations upon it. The major strategy of war is to crush the enemy by depriving him of it. In peace time our exports and imports are the margins upon which our well-being depends. The export of our surplus enables us to use in full our resources and energy. . . . And we may quite well view our exports from the other side of the trade balance sheet. They enable us to purchase and import those goods and raw materials which we cannot produce ourselves."

If it should fall to Mr. Hoover to guide the destinies of the great Republic, we may anticipate an enlightened policy based on American interests and traditions but with a wider liberal outlook aiming at the elimination of war, the reduction of armaments, the promotion of international goodwill and the extension of international trade.

F. W. HIRST.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.

IT is not possible to discuss profitably the relations that do or should exist between two terms until the meaning of those terms is fixed in a manner free from ambiguity. Part, at least, of the confusion which at present exists with regard to the relations between Church and State arises from the variety of ways in which those terms themselves are understood. This is more true of the State than of the Church; but while there are in fact more conflicting conceptions of the State than of the Church, the public is almost wholly unaware that there are different conceptions of the State at all. Everyone thinks he knows what the State is, and supposes that everyone else agrees with him; but this is only because no recent political controversy has touched the foundations of political life or led to any discussion of them. Everyone knows how the State works; therefore, everyone thinks he knows what the State is. As regards the Church the situation is quite different; there is much dispute about how it works, and so people think there is doubt concerning its essential nature. But in point of fact there is far more agreement about what the Church is than about what the State is.

I

However the Church is constituted, whether or not Bishops or any other Ministers are essential to it, the Church is that Society which came into existence as a result of the facts recorded in the Gospels in order to carry forward the movement of which those facts are the inauguration. So far all would be agreed. Further, all Christians would be agreed that the Church is the Body of Christ, meaning at least this, that it is His organ for carrying out His purpose. To that end it is entrusted with the Gospel, which is its distinctive message to the world. Its members may be drawn from every nation and race, and in its fellowship they are united in a common service and allegiance. Just how far the sphere of the Church's proper activity extends there may be some doubt; some say that it is concerned only with what is spiritual, others that it is also concerned, for the sake of what is spiritual, with forces and conditions which are themselves material; but there is no doubt about its duty to lead men to faith in Jesus Christ and to the worship of God as revealed in Jesus Christ.

Its influence on the world is to be spiritual. It may urge its members to use their powers which they possess as citizens in the interests of righteousness; but it should itself be concerned with the

springs of action in the heart rather than with an external control of conduct by means of sanctions and penalties. The Law was, in its own time, a part of the divine dispensation; it commanded men to do this, not to do that. But the Law has been fulfilled or completed in the Gospel, and as Law is abrogated for those who have responded to the Gospel; and the command of the Gospel to men is not Do, but Be; and the standard to which they are to aim and by which they are to judge themselves is the perfection of the love of God as disclosed in Jesus Christ.

Hence the method of the Church should always be appeal, not compulsion; it will put respect for freedom in the forefront of all its enterprise, because freedom is the sole condition of spiritual response.

II

The origin and nature of the State is very different, whatever account of it may be accepted. It is certainly entitled to use force in securing compliance with its demands; and its characteristic action takes the form of law, which may be justified by its source of freedom on a broad scale, but is by its very nature general rather than individual, and secures the universality of its authority by coercing those who ignore it or defy it. But when we go beyond such agreed propositions there is still a host of debatable questions to be handled before the true nature of the State begins to emerge with any approach to distinctness.

One whole type of theory may be ruled out at once. The State is not, nor is Society, a construction deliberately framed by individuals who, before its establishment, were non-political or non-social. The notion that the initial fact is independent individuals, and that they surrendered their freedom to make a community, is as nearly as possible the exact opposite of the truth. The problems of ethics and of politics are the exact opposite of what at first sight they appear to be. It seems at a first glance that the unity of an individual is a given fact, within which room must be found for various interests; what the educator finds is that the individual is a highly multiple entity which he has to mould into the effective unity of a completely formed character. So it seems at first sight that there are many individuals whom the statesman must weld together into a united society; what history reveals is a very close-knit undifferentiated community, in which statesmanship has to find room for many varieties. For ethics the problem is, in Plato's words, "out of many to become one"; for politics the problem is, within a given unity to make scope for multiplicity.

Psychology and Anthropology have combined to overthrow every

kind of Social Contract Theory, though of course there are truths which that theory safeguarded. What we are now confronted with is a conflict between the Mediæval and the Hellenistic notions of the State—for the modern theory, so far as it differs from the mediæval, is really a return to the Greek philosophers. Both, broadly speaking, regard Society as itself a given fact—an element in the complex fact of human nature. But they interpret this very differently. Both proceeded on the basis of actual experience; but the data of experience were different.

The Greeks based their theory on the experience of a City-State, where all the citizens were closely held together in ties of kindred or commerce or other bonds leading to mutual intercourse. The religion professed was either civic, like the worship of Athene at Athens, or highly individualistic. Religious guilds and fraternities did indeed exist, and occasionally obtained a transient prominence; but there was nothing at all like the international Church. Human life was lived within the framework of the City; and the City was State and Community without clear differentiation.

The mediæval theory was based on the experience of large nations spreading over wide areas, with poor means of communication, so that intercourse between the various parts was greatly limited. Moreover, side by side with the civil organisation of society, and entering more deeply into the intimate life of men, was the order of the Church, a society more than national. There was little to encourage the mediæval theorist or statesman to set up the theory that the State is identical with the Community. There was only one Community or Society; but what we now call the State was one function within it, the Church being another. When the Reformation came to break up the old European polity, Jesuits and Calvinists united to uphold the old theory, which, in the hands of Calvinists, quickly hardened into the doctrine of the Two Societies.

It can hardly be too much emphasised that the great movement known as the Renaissance was essentially a return to Paganism; it was the discovery and application of the great treasures of wisdom and beauty which are to be found in the Pagan classics. We cannot too often go back to refresh our minds from the well-springs of wisdom to be found in Plato and Aristotle. But we must recognise, as political theorists have but seldom recognised, the difference between their data and ours. Through forgetfulness of this, most modern political theories have followed the Greeks in an identification of the State with Society itself, which the very scale of modern nations makes impossible, and in a consequent neglect of the fact of the Church as a factor in the political problem.

The Pagan theory of the State, which the Renaissance brought back, finds its typical technical expression in the doctrine of the State—Omnipotence. Now it is true that the State, as the fount of Law, inevitably has the legal right to do anything. But legal right is not the same thing as effective power; and our own experience is full of instances of the total incompetence of the State. The Coal Industry is at the moment the most prominent example. Whatever the legal rights of the State, it has found itself unable to control that great enterprise. Statesmen are familiar with this kind of problem, and know what are the actual limits of the State's supposed omnipotence. So too the State on the whole keeps clear of artistic or scientific controversy. Some of the States in America are trying to determine the sort of Biology that may be taught to their citizens. Everyone can see that the men who have to act for the State are not competent judges in such a matter. The State which seeks to regulate such matters by law is exceeding its proper limits.

What those limits are is best determined by considering what is the distinctive form of the State's activity. About this there can be no doubt: it is Law; and the State is entrusted with force for the maintenance of Law. I should myself maintain that Law—its promulgation and enforcement—is the one and only essential characteristic of the State; and that force is entrusted to the State for two purposes only, first that Law may have force at its disposal, and secondly that force may be used only for the maintenance of Law. But that the State normally acts through Law, and uses force for the maintenance of Law, is not questioned in any quarter.

This at once sets limits to the proper sphere of State action; it is the sphere where Law is appropriate and force may be effective. The characteristic of Law is universality, and the only justification of the use of force in support of it is that this is in fact the indispensable means to effective universality. Now there are many activities which are not amenable to control by universal regulations; scientific inquiry and artistic enterprise are obvious illustrations. The State which tries to regulate these has overstepped its own limitations, and, for the sake of that higher life which the State itself exists to subserve, ought to be resisted. For the existence of these spheres which are not appropriately subjected to Law, though they are certainly integral to the common life of men, is proof that the State is not co-extensive with the Community, but is an organ of the Community for certain necessary functions. This is, perhaps, the proposition in political philosophy on which it is most important in our time to insist.

Legally the State is omniscient; but the proper sphere of Law is not co-extensive with the common interests of men. Everything and every person is subject to Law so far as Law is properly concerned with things and persons. The man who is an artist is subject to Law in respect of his property; he is not subject to it in respect of his art. His pictures, or whatever works of art he produces, are subjects of Law in so far as they are marketable, not in so far as they are beautiful or ugly. The State is concerned with all things that exist within its area in some of their aspects; it is not concerned with all the aspects of all things, or perhaps of anything.

But this must not be taken to mean that the State is only concerned with material goods. It is concerned with the highest and fullest life of its citizens. It is entitled to prevent the publication of obscene books without regard to the literary skill of their authors. At what point it is expedient for the State to intervene in such matters may be a matter of controversy at any moment; it must be decided with reference to the general level of both moral and æsthetic culture in the community. At such times the artistic world is likely to clamour for a freedom which the State feels unable to allow, and to deny the right of the State to interfere. That denial cannot be substantiated. But it may be inexpedient for the State to exercise its right; and it may be the duty of the artists to refuse submission to the State.

III

It is clear, then, that a collision between Church and State is, in political principle, no more than an illustration of conflicts which may arise between the State and other associations within the community. It is made peculiar and intense by the Church's sense of trusteeship for a divine revelation and the special influence of religion upon national character. But the duty of the Church to maintain and interpret the faith of Christ is not different in kind from the duty of the scientist to seek and make known truth—a duty which may conflict with State enactments, as in some parts of America, or from the duty of the artist to impart his vision of beauty—which may lead to conflict with the State's concern for the general standard of morals. Yet the Church is in a special position as a body which exists to be the vehicle of the Spirit of Christ. From the State's point of view it is a voluntary association to which men belong or not as they choose; from its own point of view it is a divine creation into which men come, if at all, by the divine election, and by a response within them to the divine call which is itself the motion of the divine Spirit in their hearts.

Consequently the obligation upon the Church to assert its own spiritual autonomy is especially great. But, on the other hand, the influence of religion upon national character is so intimate and pervasive that the State cannot merely ignore it. The State, too, has its special obligation to exercise some form of supervision. But in point of fact it cannot in the long run affect the movements of men's spirits by its own instruments of Law and Force; and the political reason for the non-interference of the State in religious questions is that the State's intervention is quite certain to fail in its object and is almost certain to produce the opposite effect to that which was intended. In England a curious and anomalous situation has arisen, as a result of historic processes, which bears no ascertainable relation to any religious or political principles. In 1662 Parliament set the important precedent of affirming its right to control the Prayer Book of the Established Church and then formally deciding to accept unmodified what the Convocations put before it. But that could not alter the fact that legally the Prayer Book is a schedule to an Act of Parliament, and so long as that is true it cannot be modified without reference to Parliament. And at the moment Parliament finds itself unable to assent to what the Church has proposed.

The difficulty is increased by the fact that speakers against the Church's proposals did not confine themselves to representing the wishes of their constituents or to estimating what is the probable effect of the proposals on national character. They discussed theological doctrine as such. The speakers may, or may not, have been competent disputants; but quite certainly the House of Commons does not exist for the decision of theological issues.

The resultant situation is, in the strict and proper sense of the word, intolerable; it neither can, nor ought to be, accepted. But it does not follow that violent action, legal or illegal, is the best way to alter it. A solution might be found by Disestablishment: the case for this is very strong; it would remove a sense of inequality in the State's relation to different religious bodies, and it would assert the Church's freedom. No doubt much depends upon the manner of the Disestablishment, but we need not discuss that here. If this policy were taken up immediately, the House of Commons might be tempted to tie up all Church property by a Trust Deed which would in effect not leave the Church free at all. But Ireland and Wales provide precedents which at a calmer moment would certainly be followed. On the other hand there are real values in the Establishment which must not be lightly thrown away. The historic connection of Church and State undoubtedly lends some religious sanction even in these days to the State's

activities, and represents something in the way of a national confession of religious faith. If we could bring about a large measure of re-union, both of these elements in the Establishment would start with fuller reality and life.

It is wiser then to move circumspectly, but always with the clear determination that in one way or another the freedom of the Church to order its own life in things spiritual must be affirmed and maintained. If merely to affirm this effectively causes the State to end the relationship called Establishment, so be it. There might be regrets; there would at least be mutual respect. But it may be hoped that the State will be content to observe with a benevolent eye the Church's work of strengthening its own organs of self-government and self-discipline, as well as its endeavours to move steadily towards Christian re-union, and to grant the legal sanctions of such corporate freedom when it is a visible fact and an operative force.

W. MANCHESTER.

LORD CURZON IN INDIA.

LORD CURZON believed—how should he not have done so?—that his term of office in India was far more important than any other part of his life. More than this: he believed that the service he had rendered as Governor-General was the most significant work performed by any ruling Englishman of his time, and he imposed upon his biographer the duty of describing it on a scale commensurate with his own estimate of its value. Hence the second volume of Lord Ronaldshay's *Life** is entirely devoted to the Viceroyalty, and for my part I have no wish to deny the wisdom of the arrangement. The seven years of that resonant proconsulate were extraordinarily important, though not in Curzon's sense of the word; and I am sure that no Englishman who enjoyed the unforgettable experience of working in India while he was on the *gādi* would wish the narrative to be curtailed. Lord Curzon was a very remarkable man, and the circumstances of the epoch made him a man of destiny.

The great office had fallen to George Nathaniel Curzon in his fortieth year. He had prepared himself elaborately for it, and at the first contact with India he became the man we knew until the end. Assured, portentous, self-sufficient, he looked upon himself as the appointed instrument for the remaking of the Administration. The system had taken its completed form during the forty years of peace; that is, in the heyday of the Civilian and the Political Officer following the great Mutiny. The Sahib throughout that period enjoyed a position such as the dominant white man had never held before and can never hold again. His authority and privileges were unbounded. And at his back was the unique system of the older British India, a wonderfully graded and reticulated hierarchy, developed in the century of John Company's rule and perfected since 1858 under the remote authority of the Crown.

The bureaucratic machine so constructed had sunk deep into the ruts. It was stiff, cumbrous and inordinately slow. Its ways were of the kind to infuriate Lord Curzon. He went out to India convinced that it needed renewal root and branch. He had been at work only a few weeks when he was sending to the India Office and to friends in England lively descriptions of the "vile system" of departmentalism and delay, of government by Minutes and office files. He made war on all fronts, and at once in every branch of the Service there was an immense to-do. From the moment of his taking hold, he set a wonderful personal example of industry, drive, and thoroughness. He toiled without ceasing, in defiance of the

* *The Life of Lord Curzon*. By the Earl of Ronaldshay. Benn. Three vols. £3 3s.

climate and of a weakness of the spine which not seldom forced him to get through the greater part of his twelve or fifteen hour working-day lying down. His activity was marvellous. Nothing that has been written about it, or about his consuming interest in everything, goes beyond the mark. He knew everybody's job, was convinced that he could do it better than the incumbent, and probably could. His attitude and temper acted as a splendid spur to the public services. He was inspired by a lofty sense of duty; but government was from above, and God's Englishman had been chosen to rule over such people as the Indians. True, he affirmed that his test of the efficiency of an administration was the contentment of the governed; but, as Lord Meston has neatly added, it was for Lord Curzon to say when the people ought to be contented.

His overmastering passion was for administrative efficiency, and the first part of his Viceroyalty afforded him magnificent opportunities for the display of his talent. He had to grapple with a series of terrible famines, and he gave a new basis and direction to famine relief, the success of which, however, was mainly due to the masterly work of Sir Antony (afterwards Lord) MacDonnell. He was deeply interested in irrigation and railways, in currency reform, and in the Department of Commerce and Industry, which he created; a good deal less interested, I suspect, in agriculture and co-operative credit societies. The official enthusiasm over the American millionaire, Henry Phipps, with his gift of £30,000, and the Pusa Research Institute, was excessive. Such things were trifles in India, and, as a high authority expressed it, the agricultural credit societies represented, not a co-operative movement, but merely the small beginnings of an official policy. Curzon was a devout believer in the traditional Land Revenue system. It was assailed by English and Indian critics, and the Viceroy, in undertaking to answer them, performed his most astonishing feat as a master of the Minute. Finding that the Civilian whom he had selected for the task could not do what was wanted, the Viceroy took it out of his hand, carried it through in a single concentrated effort, and produced a brilliant piece of exposition and argument in which the experts could find no flaw.

The Viceroy of India is his own Foreign Secretary. His concern is with the Indian States and the Frontier, and Lord Curzon was supposed to know most things about them before going out as Viceroy. He visited more Indian States than any other Governor-General, but his relations with the Princes produced a crop of troubles. In an early dispatch he spoke of winning them by means of "a little personal courtesy," and at a much later date I heard him say that his habit had been to ride the Indian States on the snaffle and not on the curb. Such statements were ridiculous. In

his dealings with the Princes he was a martinet. A few of the stronger ones found pleasure in defying and outwitting him, but the majority thought him no laughing matter. They never forgot that he had drawn up for them a set of admonitory rules; and that these, instead of being embodied in a secret dispatch, had been published *en clair* through the official *Gazette*.

Lord Curzon's plan for keeping the peace across the north-west border with the aid of tribal levies was good, and it ensured a decade of comparative tranquillity. His policy towards the trans-frontier States, on the other hand, was essentially mistaken and could not have been successful. All the problems of the Middle East were seen by Curzon through the old fear of the Tsardom. He was in favour of a stern attitude towards Afghanistan, and, as Lord Ronaldshay admits, he was worsted by the Amir. He made a spectacular tour of the Persian Gulf, and Lord Ronaldshay speaks of his "triumphal" progress. The journey, as a matter of fact, involved certain incidents which the Viceroy resented. British prestige in the Gulf was more effectually served by Lansdowne's cool warnings to France and Russia than by the Viceroy's display. Tibet affords a still more serious example of his unwisdom. Lord Ronaldshay says that the case for militant action there was "particularly strong." It was, on the contrary, extremely weak, and a re-reading of the dispatches at this distance of twenty-five years would support the inference that if the head of the Balfour Government had not, as Curzon put it, "elevated political nonchalance to the level of a fine art," the military expedition would never have been sanctioned. The Cabinet was unconvinced and uncomfortable. It was anxious, and rightly so, that the negotiation with the Dalai Lama should be restricted to frontier affairs and trade relations. But Curzon, one cannot help feeling, was determined that his Viceroyalty should not come to an end without the unveiling of the last forbidden city in Asia. He had his way, at a heavy cost in reputation for Britain. The hostility of the Conservative Cabinet to the Tibet expedition was not singular but typical. Lord Ronaldshay brings out one most unexpected fact, namely, that Curzon was at loggerheads with the home authorities during the greater part of his long term. This disclosure is the more surprising because the legend of an almost complete harmony between Simla, the India Office, and the Cabinet was early set up and carefully maintained. It was a fiction. It would seem to be clear that upon only one of the many important controversial enterprises in which the Viceroy's mind was engaged did he receive cordial support from London. This exception was his scheme for the creation of the North-West Frontier Province. For the rest, in regard to Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, police reform and educa-

tion, and even the Delhi Durbar, Curzon found himself checked or thwarted. The experience hurt him beyond measure, but he was unable to learn from it. In exasperated notes he accused his own friends in the Cabinet of being especially antagonistic to him. They remonstrated in affectionate letters, assuring him that they were unanimous as to his being the finest of Viceroys, but begging him to remember that government was a matter of give and take.

When the crucial conflict came about over the control of the Army by the Cabinet he ought to have known that the Cabinet was committed to Kitchener. That affair does not seem any the less extraordinary now that we have the story told in full from the Curzon side—and told, one may note, without reference to the account given by Sir George Arthur in the *Life* of Kitchener. Curzon made the mistake of standing guard over the existing system, which, certainly indefensible as the basis of a modern army, Kitchener meant from the beginning to destroy. Angry dispatches were thrown off on both sides. The telegraph wires sizzled. Kitchener, glum and inarticulate in Council, found one or two able penmen to assist him, and he recognised no rules of the game. When on leave in England Curzon discovered that his antagonist was attacking him directly through the Committee of Imperial Defence and, as the Viceroy maintained, that he was supplying his advocates in London with copies of the confidential papers. Curzon was right in principle, but wrong in method. The Balfour Government was at the end of its tether in 1905. To the British public Curzon was almost nothing, while Kitchener's was a name of power. The humiliation of the Viceroy was inevitable, and he was wholly incapable of understanding why. Knowing what must happen, Mr. Balfour and his colleagues should never have granted him the extension of his term of office. But the probability is that Lord Curzon would have demanded to go back even if they had told him the facts. His adoring wife foresaw the disaster with sufficient clearness; but not even to her could Curzon give heed.

Although it was in the encounter with Kitchener that Curzon met defeat, his moral authority was overthrown by Bengal. There was a profound irony in this circumstance, for he had a full share of the orthodox official contempt for the people of the senior Presidency. I was in Calcutta during the prolonged conflict over the partition of Bengal. The *Statesman*, of which I was in editorial charge, took the lead in opposing the measure. The other English papers of the city were no less hostile, though somewhat less persistent in attack. There was, said Curzon, no trace of an argument in the Calcutta papers, either English or Indian: it was all rhetoric and declamation. This was absurd. His own original proposals were found to be indefensible; they were quickly dropped in favour

of a more thorough-going partition. Curzon would not concede the desirability of reconstituting an admittedly unwieldy province by following the racial and linguistic lines of division. He was contemptuous of Bengali sentiment. He had no estimate at all of the impetus that a grievance of this kind must give to the nascent growth of nationalism. In the end India made common cause with Bengal, and a national opinion against the Curzon policy was created. The partition, weak in logic and fatal in method, could not stand. Promulgated a few days only before the Viceroy relinquished his office, it was undone by the word of King George at Delhi, and the new division was made according to a plan much less satisfactory than would have been possible, by co-operation, in 1905. Lord Ronaldshay quotes Curzon as saying that he wished to draw the provincial boundaries for a generation. There was no reason whatever for limiting himself to so short a view, but in fact he drew them only for an uneasy interval of six years, an interval incalculably costly in many different ways to India and to British rule.

It was, again, in Bengal that he invited disaster on the day of his last address before the Convocation of Calcutta University. I was present, among the nominated Fellows, on that memorable Saturday afternoon. The Senate House was filled for the granting of degrees, Lord Curzon as Chancellor being there to deliver an exhortation to the new graduates. The assembly was plainly resentful, and I recall the angry hush when the deliberate voice, following as always the printed copy of the speech, came to the calamitous passage:

I hope I am making no false or arrogant claim when I say that the highest ideal of truth is to a large extent a Western conception. . . . Undoubtedly truth took a high place in the moral codes of the West before it had been similarly honoured in the East, where craftiness and diplomatic wile have always been held in much repute. We may prove it by the common innuendo that lurks in the words "Oriental diplomacy." . . .

The Bengali audience listened in complete silence. In the furious controversy over the universities and the approaching partition of their province, they were suffering from a sense of outrage, and one felt when the Viceroy sat down that he had delivered himself into their hands. For my part I went from the Senate House back to the office of the *Statesman* and wrote a leading article in the strongest terms I could manage. But the luck of the occasion was not with the journal that I served. It fell rather to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, a daily paper conducted by the quaintest of Bengali editors, into whose hands on the Sunday was put an extract from *Problems of the Far East*, an entertaining record of travel pub-

lished ten years before by George Nathaniel Curzon. The passage read as follows :

Before proceeding to the royal residence I enjoyed an interview with the President of the Korean Foreign Office. . . . Having been particularly warned not to admit to him that I was only 33 years old, an age to which no respect attaches in Korea, when he put to me the straight question (invariably the first in an oriental dialogue), "How old are you?" I unhesitatingly responded "Forty." "Dear me," he said, "you look very young for that. How do you account for it?" "By the fact," I replied, "that I have been travelling for a month in the superb climate of His Majesty's dominions." . . . Finally, conscious that in his country it is not easy for anyone to become a member of the Government unless he is related to the King or Queen, he said to me, "I presume you are a near relative of Her Majesty the Queen of England." "No," I replied, "I am not." But, observing the look of disgust that passed over his countenance, I was fain to add, "I am, however, as yet an unmarried man," with which unscrupulous suggestion I completely regained the old gentleman's favour!

A delighted laugh against Curzon as Oriental diplomatist ran through India; the immediate bitterness was thereby dissolved, but the incident remained a vivid memory.

"Curzon is never equal to the occasion he can create," said that clever novelist, Sara Jeannette Duncan, as we watched the Viceroy's straining to deliver his address in the great arena of the Delhi Durbar. It was a true word. He was proud of his achievement as organiser of the Durbar. It was a supreme triumph of what he called his "middle-class method." But he could not fail to realise that there was an awkward measure of truth in what he took to be the newspaper view of him as "a magnificent State Barnum, an imperial Buffalo Bill." He had moments of detached self-knowledge, and yet he could not have been what he was had he not been unconscious of his solemn contradictions. He declared that the greatest evil in India was the tyranny of the pen, and he produced mountains of memoranda. He denounced the manuscript eloquence of Indian members of Council; his own speeches were very long and always written out in advance. He magnified his office and insisted upon the last ounce of dignity belonging to it; yet whenever any other high-placed servant of the Crown sought to do likewise, he withered him in scorn. He cared more, and more intelligently, for the historic buildings of India than any Viceroy who had preceded him; and yet he could transform the finest hall in the Delhi palace-fort into a ballroom, and dispose his European Durbar guests upon seats within the precincts of the Jumma Musjid, where, when looking on at the fireworks display, they dropped fragments of forbidden sandwiches on the consecrated

pavement of the mosque—a contretemps which, as the Press correspondents knew, narrowly missed being turned into a tragedy. He obeyed a noble passion for justice when, again and again, he withstood his fellow countrymen in India, insisting upon the rigorous punishment of the European soldier or planter proved guilty of an outrage on an Indian servant or coolie, and I am glad to remember that not all the English papers in India took sides against him. The letters to Lady Curzon appear to prove that at no time was the sense, and the bitterness, of exile far from him; Lord Ronaldshay—critical of Curzon's temper, though laudatory throughout of his policies—shows that his nerves gave way at a very early stage. His speeches and dispatches were filled with self-praise, while in his private letters during the greater part of the seven years there sounds the wail of a man who believed himself to be surrounded by half-wits in India and betrayed by feeble friends in England. It is a distressing picture, to be explained in no small degree by the plain fact, of which Curzon himself had no suspicion, that India had already moved decisively past his conception of imperial rule. And in closing I take note of this most revealing fact—that in the 400 pages that commemorate his Viceroyalty there is no sign vouchsafed that he ever felt a friendly interest in the mind or character of any Indian, whether thinker, scholar, or man of affairs.

S. K. RATCLIFFE.

IMPRESSIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

THESE are superficial impressions that can claim no value save as those of an old traveller who has seen many cities and men but had never yet been in South Africa. I went there in December last, with a well-tried "brother of the road," in search of sunshine and rest and change from the gloom and cold of an English winter. My quest seemed to be rewarded, when at sunrise on Boxing Day, whilst England was shivering, I went out on deck and saw the sheer wall of Table Mountain, nearly two miles long and over 3,500 feet high, rising immediately behind Cape Town in a clear sky and without a sign of its frequent "tablecloth" of drifting cloud. Magnificent too was our first drive beyond Table Mountain, right round the long tapering peninsula, beneath frowning cliffs and along sheltered bays, to the far-famed Cape of Good Hope where the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans meet some forty miles south of Cape Town.

But what was worth the whole voyage was to stand, under the huge bluffs of Table Mountain, at the foot of the monument erected by Sir Herbert Baker to the memory of Rhodes, close to the wooden bench where, amongst the great pine trees above Groote Schuur, he used often to sit and seek inspiration for his life's work. The Monument itself must rank, I think, amongst the world's great sights. Built of the granite which forms the base of Table Mountain, four flights of deep steps flanked by eight bronze lions lead up to a noble hexastyle colonnade with projecting porticos on either side. The details of the architecture are simple and elemental, and the style seems designed to recall the crude and vigorous Doric of Paestum with which Rhodes had been deeply impressed. Above a bronze head of Rhodes, recessed in the centre of the colonnade, is a recording inscription, and below it the lines of Kipling to the "great and brooding spirit" of the Mountain, whilst in the middle of the bottom flight of stairs stands, on a high pedestal, Watts' statue of Physical Energy, a free gift from the sculptor to the memory of the statesman. Between the porticos and through the columns are set, as in a frame, beyond the two encompassing oceans, range upon range of distant mountains leading up in a succession of rugged terraces to the great South African tableland. There could hardly be a finer interpretation by the builder's art of the meaning of nature to man—an idea deep in Rhodes' thought—and Mark Twain aptly said that from that spot one can almost see the shadow of Rhodes projected right across to the Zambesi over the far-spread regions which his genius so largely helped to open up, and once, in an evil moment, nearly marred. But that spacious panorama necessarily makes its strongest appeal to the young who

still have a long life in front of them; for, apart from its natural beauty on a glorious summer evening, it suggests a vision of the future of which the fulfilment is yet to come.

What, as an old man, I constantly missed in South Africa, as in other new countries, was the great historical background and the wealth of ancient culture, and the picturesque features that still linger in the daily life of the people in the older countries of Europe and of the Orient, in which I have chiefly moved and had my being. In Cape Town and a few of the oldest districts within easy reach of Cape Town one finds a few interesting legacies of the Dutch period in which South Africa first bulked large in the history of Western colonial adventure. There is, it is true, a rock-girt bay near the extreme point of the Cape Peninsula where history reaches still further back; for it is there that the bold Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, landed in 1497, after rounding the Cape and discovering, with stupendous consequences, a new ocean route across unexplored seas for the commerce and enterprise of Western nations. But Portuguese power endured for little more than a century at the Cape itself, where scarcely a trace of it can now be found, and then it had to yield to that of Holland, out of whose hands it finally passed into those of Britain at the close of the Napoleonic Wars.

In Cape Town only the dismantled castle, with its gloomy dungeon and the watergates that once opened on to Table Bay, the old City House, and a few Dutch houses, survive, with the site of the old Slave Market, from a whole century and a half of Dutch domination. The dignified traditions of Dutch architecture have, however, been happily revived in our own days by Sir Herbert Baker, who will have left his mark in South Africa, not only in the stately houses which he has himself designed—chief amongst them Groote Schuur, high up above Cape Town, which was originally built for Rhodes and is now the South African "Chequers"—but in the inspiration which he has afforded to much lesser local architects. Dutch gables and stoeps constantly redeem from the worst vulgarity the succession of new suburbs that form the prolongation of Cape Town on both sides of the Peninsula. In the country districts first settled by the Dutch, Stellenbosch and Paarl still preserve something of their Dutch character, and there are not a few old farm-houses, often likewise restored and extended under Sir Herbert's direction, that were once the outposts of Dutch penetration into the interior.

Foremost amongst these is Vergelegen, now the residence of Sir Lionel Phillips, one of the Rand magnates whom Kruger seized as hostages at Johannesburg after the Jameson Raid. About thirty-five miles away from Cape Town, near Somerset West, in a small

valley sheltered and watered by the picturesque Hottentots Hollander range, it was, as its name indicates, considered terribly far away when the great Dutch Governor-General, Van der Stel, built it more than two centuries ago within enclosed walls and on such a scale of magnificence for those times that he incurred—for this and other reasons—the hostility of the Dutch Boers or farmers. When denounced to the Netherlands authorities he seems to have made light of the charges which ultimately procured his downfall; for with his defence he sent in a plan of Vergelegen, of which a copy is preserved there, showing formidable lions prowling round the walls as evidence of the dangers he had braved in order to develop so remote a part of the Dutch possessions. A group of splendid camphor trees, imported at that time from Java, some of them measuring forty and fifty feet round the trunk, bear witness to the age of the settlement and tower above the beautiful Dutch gables and shaded stoep of the country house, equipped with all modern luxuries and containing many artistic relics of the past, in which the present owners love to dispense hospitality and to show the results of expert farming on a grand scale.

There, and in other favoured districts of Cape Province, one may see what the South African soil can produce under intensive cultivation, and with an adequate supply of water. In the Groot Drakenstein valley just above Stellenbosch, the fruit industry for instance has flourished exceedingly. It is barely thirty years since its pioneer, Mr. Pickston, an Englishman who had had some experience as a fruit grower in California, first set eyes on it, and having quickly discerned its possibilities, induced Rhodes to finance a scheme for buying out the small Dutch farmers, who had never dreamt of growing fruit trees except for their own household needs. To-day a number of English settlers, and some more enterprising Dutch farmers who have followed suit, have converted this small valley into a continuous fruit-growing area, which exports produce, mainly to England, of an annual value of nearly a quarter of a million sterling.

Considerations of altitude and long railway journeys deterred me from travelling beyond the Cape Province, but within its area, which is more than twice that of the British Isles, I motored over 3,000 miles. Few things struck me so forcibly as its emptiness. The entire population scarcely exceeds two and three-quarter millions, and of these only 700,000 are whites. One reason doubtless is that in a large part of Cape Province, as elsewhere in South Africa, the supply of water is lamentably scanty and often when rain fails quite inadequate. Irrigation has done something, and may do still more, but the difficulties are immense. Unlike Egypt and Mesopotamia and Northern India, Africa, south of the Zam-

besi, has no great rivers which, even in the driest seasons of the year, pour down a steady volume of water which engineering science can hold up behind gigantic dams or divert into deep canals through hitherto waterless areas. I motored through districts between Oudtshoorn and Ladismith (C.P.) which, until three years ago, were regarded as containing some of the best agricultural areas in Cape Colony. Then came three years of such a spell of drought as no living man remembered—three years without a single one-inch rainfall. Countless empty homesteads told their tale of the desolation and ruin that had overtaken the unfortunate farmers, many of whom had prospered until three years ago and looked confidently forward to increasing prosperity. Some were being even driven to take the dole and work for a pittance on roadmaking in order to keep body and soul together.

Scarcely less pathetic was the plight of the wretched ostriches, whose feathers not so many years ago brought considerable wealth to South Africa until the change of feminine fashion in this country, over 6,000 miles away, suddenly stopped all further demand for them. Strange ungainly birds, which our motor sometimes almost brushed out of the road, they seemed to wear a forlorn and dejected look as if they knew that they were worth no more nowadays than the value of their skins for making purses and suchlike humble uses.

Sights such as these made one wonder what will be the future of the South African Union if and when its immense mineral wealth is exhausted and it has to fall back on its agricultural and pastoral resources. For it is to its mineral wealth—the Rand alone has yielded over £1,000,000,000 of gold—that it largely owes, directly and indirectly, its present development. New scientific appliances are prolonging the life of the mines beyond former expectations and may prolong them still further. More reefs may yet be discovered. But mineral wealth cannot be safely regarded as inexhaustible, and it sometimes raises awkward problems of its own. Witness to-day the curious dilemma in which the South African Government is placed by a plethora of diamonds. It has been compelled to restrict the working of new and apparently immensely rich fields of alluvial diamonds in order to avert the depreciation of diamonds on the world market which is already sufficiently supplied from Kimberley. It is equally unpleasant for a Nationalist Government to enforce restrictive measures which provoke opposition from large numbers of its own "poor white" supporters—mostly Dutch Afrikaners—and at the same time to check the expansion of such an important source of revenue to the State. But there is apparently no help for it.

Large parts of the Cape Province are painfully desolate,

especially in the dry season when I saw it nearly shorn of its annual glory of wild flowers, and in the Lesser Karroo itself one may drive for hours without meeting a white man, or seeing a single human habitation or even a tree to break the monotony of the low and dusty scrub and the stark nakedness of occasional *kopjes* whose walls of rock stand out sun-scorched and flaming against the deep blue sky. Nothing, on the other hand, can be more beautiful than the ocean coast eastwards from Cape Town, where the cliffs almost overhang the Mediterranean-blue sea and the great rollers break against them in columns of spray or spend themselves more gently on immense stretches of silver sands, often swept far inland by the prevailing winds.

I had heard much of such "beauty spots" as George and Knysna and the "Wilderness," and what is styled the "Garden Road" between Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, which passes through some of the few remaining bits of "forest" country. George is a pleasant township carefully laid out with wide streets running at right angles and fine avenues of oak trees; it reminded me a little of a favoured Indian cantonment. Knysna lies on a great lagoon into which the sea pours through the only deep breach in a wall of cliffs unbroken for some hundreds of miles, and its attractive background of hills and mountains recalls some of the lesser lochs on the coast of Scotland. The "Forest," which can hardly be compared to any of our English forests, consists chiefly of a dull mass of underwood out of which emerge at rare intervals a few lofty "yellow-wood" trees with long bare trunks and somewhat scanty foliage. Even in its densest parts it harbours very few, if any, of the elephants and lions and lesser wild beasts that used formerly to roam at large in most of the wooded kloofs of Cape Colony. To European travellers these "beauty spots" may be rather disappointing, but they doubtless delight the eyes of tourists from up-country, weary of the treeless and waterless High Veldt.

Splendid, on the other hand, are many of the mountain ranges that divide the successive plateaux of the Cape Province. Their outlines are often fantastically jagged and bold and, where the road across them does not lead over high passes with magnificent panoramic views, they are intersected by deep ravines of surpassing grandeur. The Swartzberg Range, the loftiest of the great ramparts that divide off the more favoured districts of Cape Province from the High Veldt, throws up isolated peaks as bold as the Matterhorn, and little less than 8,000 feet high, and it is pierced by an extraordinary gorge known as the Seven Weeks Poort because of the time it took the earliest trekkers to make their way through it. Rarely, if anywhere, do the earth's convulsions,

when it was still in the melting pot, seem to have been so suddenly arrested and petrified for all time. As in a stormy swirl the different stratifications, often tilted at right angles or twisted into knots, are laid bare, the cliffs on either side assuming wildly distorted shapes and evoking in a riot of colour a Dantesque picture of the flaming cauldron out of which they were once evolved.

On the other hand, the small townships and dorps one motors through or has to spend the night in, are as commonplace and uninteresting as they are probably bound to be in a new country in which the settlers are in haste to build up their scanty homes on strictly utilitarian principles—a few streets tidily laid out, corrugated iron roofs, brick or white-washed walls, a church or chapel, often as ugly as the worst Bethel in this country, a few more or less well-equipped stores, perhaps a struggling cinema, and, beating down on them, an almost sub-tropical sunshine seldom broken by the slender shade of recently-planted trees. Nothing else. Never, of course, an old church or manor house. Nor the old streets and old-time fashions that delight the eye in almost any English or continental village. The inns are generally clean, but, as their profits are chiefly derived from the bar attached to them, very little is done to provide for the comfort of mere visitors, and of the food the less said the better. What is urgently needed is that some small Swiss inn-keepers should go out and teach how the most simple and modest hotel can be rendered quite attractive. South Africa and the Cape Province in particular are enormously advertised nowadays, sometimes even as "the tourist's paradise"; but even the least fastidious tourist, long accustomed to roughing it in many countries, may be excused for saying that such exuberance of language merely tends to create a strong reaction in those who are tempted to put the matter to a practical test. Before South Africa can claim to be "the tourist's paradise" it must provide tolerable accommodation and much better roads than to-day.

In Cape Town and the immediate surroundings, and in some of the mountain passes over which new roads have had to be made—and have been very well made with easy gradients and a fairly good surface—the motorist has no cause to grumble. But throughout the rest of the country he has to make the best of rough and dusty roads that are merely an enlargement of the old tracks worn down by bullock wagons, often to the very ribs of the underlying rock. There are very few sign-posts or milestones, and least of all in the more remote districts where they are most sorely needed, as one may run for miles without meeting a soul who is able to set one right. Fortunately one has the almost unfailing compensation of bright sunshine and a wonderful atmosphere,

which in the morning and evening suffuses even the most barren and monotonous stretches with a wealth of light and colour.

The people, too, are everywhere extremely friendly, whether British or Dutch or coloured, and the further one gets away from Cape Town and other urban centres the less one hears of the friction between the two white races. It is, in fact, one of the most promising features of the present situation that British settlers, and especially those who have come since the Great War, themselves bear witness to the neighbourly relations that exist between them and the Dutch farmers who live alongside of them, though there may seldom be much intimacy between them, as many of their ways in life are still very different. It is in the politically-minded world that, in spite of the settlement of the Flag question—rather reluctantly accepted by the “die-hards” on either side—the tension still endures. The Dutch “die-hards” are not to be found so much amongst the Boers who actually fought against us in the South African War, as amongst those who were then children in the Concentration Camps, and were taught there a fierce hatred of England by their mothers. Time alone can—and may be trusted to—wear out this bitterness.

The British element has a more actual grievance in the one-sided application of the bi-lingual principle in Government schools and colleges where Afrikaans, as the latest development of the Taal is called, is being pushed vigorously at the expense of English. One might have understood the desire of the Dutch Afrikaner to preserve the traditions of his historical connection with the Netherlands by bringing the Taal more nearly up to the level of the Dutch language, which has a fine literature and represents a distinct culture of its own. But that is avowedly not the purpose of those who are engaged in promoting Afrikaans, for they borrow most of the new words necessarily required to express modern ideas from English rather than from Dutch. Afrikaans has no real literature nor any culture behind it, and it can never be of the slightest use to the youth of South Africa outside South Africa itself. But for the moment it serves to handicap the young British Afrikaner, who has to compete for appointments in the public services at examinations in which, for all grades, a knowledge of Afrikaans is compulsory.

It may be too much to say that there are no Dutch “die-hards” left who actually desire to sever the constitutional ties between the South African Union and the Empire. But the parliamentary debate which I heard opened by Hertzog and Smuts on the last Imperial Conference and the thorny question of South African neutrality in the event of another Great War, shows how jealous Dutch opinion is to safeguard the principle of equality and the

freedom of action of the youngest member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. One could but ask himself whether the keen interest taken in such questions, which both sides must feel to be more academic than practical, would not be better spent on the much more vital problem of the relations between the white races, amounting to barely more than one and a half million altogether, and the darker races four-fold in number. I do not feel in any way competent to discuss it, and in South Africa it differs vastly in many of its aspects from the question of the relations between the white and the coloured races in other parts of the world with which I am more familiar. But what I saw and heard during my short visit to South Africa was enough to convince me that there lies the gravest of all the problems which South African statesmanship will have sooner or later to face more seriously than it has hitherto done, and can only face successfully if the two white races co-operate heartily together in a liberal spirit of justice to the dark races.

VALENTINE CHIROL.

MR. A. L. SMITH.

"Vivat in memoria Balliolensium nomen Arturi Lionelli Smith, A.M., scholaris, socii, magistri, qui per annos amplius L huic domui totum se dedidit."

THE Memorial in the Chapel of Balliol College recalls a master, friend and tutor, whom Oxford men will not readily forget. The biography just published by his widow refuses to dwell on the melancholy childhood when the little boy of six was sent to Christ's Hospital to fight his own battles in a difficult world. That rough and gloomy nursery in the heart of London was for years the only home he knew; and the cold, the poor food and the hardships which he there encountered, sowed the seeds of weaknesses which never perhaps altogether disappeared. Old friends of his have spoken of the Christ's Hospital of the "fifties," where there were no playing-fields for the packed crowd of eight hundred boys, where English and science were still outside the range of studies, where geography and history stopped with Julius Cæsar and an innovating head-master roused resentment by permitting French marks to count for a boy's place. Yet even there Smith, a chubby youth with thick hair and a merry smile, always talkative and generally ready with some tit-bit from a book on which he had been browsing, managed to read history and to make his mark. His power of writing essays showed itself at school, and helped to win his entry into Oxford. Even without playing-fields he learned to row and to play hockey, and to pick up a vivid interest in every form of game and sport. And in 1869 he found himself an Exhibitioner of Balliol, a little anxious as to whether it would be possible to live "in the first College of all Oxford" on the slender income of £150 a year.

At Balliol happier conditions awaited him. Jowett, long since a power among the Tutors, succeeded to the Mastership in the year after Smith went up, and set himself "very seriously" to see what could be made of a College. The new Master was not too quick to recognise the quality of the young Exhibitioner from Christ's Hospital, though he proved for long years afterwards a generous and devoted friend. It is on record that it was Smith's masterly performance in some country-house theatricals, when his undergraduate days were over, which led indirectly to his return as a Fellow to his old College. But the two men came to know each other intimately. There were strong bonds of sympathy between them. Jowett took Smith more and more into his confidence in regard to his plans for the College, and Smith never resented, as other Tutors sometimes perhaps resented, Jowett's autocratic ways. The older man's kindness and his watchful care of the younger man's interests never failed. By the time Smith went up, most

Balliol men of Jowett's generation had passed already from Oxford. But memories of Stanley, Tait and Clough, of Stafford Northcote, Frederick Temple, John Duke Coleridge, lingered still in the two quadrangles. The traditions of many famous Tutors, of James Riddell and Edwin Palmer, of Henry Smith and W. L. Newman, were passing to successors worthy of them. T. H. Green had already won great influence. Strachan-Davidson, Evelyn Abbott, Lewis Nettleship were entering on their life-long work. Externally the once-beautiful College was being transformed by the activities of Mr. Waterhouse. And many of Smith's undergraduate contemporaries were already candidates for fame. Charles Loch and A. C. Bradley came up with him. The two Asquiths followed very soon. Charles Gore and Herbert Warren were little younger. Alfred Milner arrived in 1873. And the freshmen of 1874 included not only brilliant scholars like S. G. Hamilton and A. D. Godley, but Richard Lodge, who had been Smith's schoolfellow at Christ's Hospital, and W. P. Ker, who was presently counted among his closest friends.

At Balliol A. L. Smith was very soon a favourite. Exceptionally competent, absolutely modest, keenly interested in all sorts and conditions of men, his vitality, sympathy and humour conquered his natural shyness and swept barriers away. To his last hour he went on making friends. The boy who had had few opportunities of learning games in childhood became a great rower—remained an "ancient mariner" as long as strength held out. We have vivid little pictures, drawn by friends later, of the short tough man in the faded Balliol blazer, with a shaggy face "like a Skye-terrier's in a high wind," wandering down the towpath in February rains, noting with trenchant criticism the work of every crew that passed, and pouring out meanwhile a hundred lively reminiscences of College rowing to illustrate his views. To hear him talk about rowing one might have thought that he really cared for nothing else. To be tubbed by him was "to feel one's character laid bare." But it was just the same if the occupation of the moment happened to be hockey instead of rowing. He found just the same absorbed delight in skating, or in bicycling, or in walking, or in almost any other form of exercise.

"No new game came to Oxford without being sampled and generally initiated in our garden, and many were the long hours spent in mastering the intricacies of bicycle-polo, net-ball, tether-ball, and fug-soccer (a terrible substitute for football on a wet day)."

He believed in athletics as a key to character. He over-worked his body steadily, body and brain together, always trying to do a double share of work. And yet no one was ever less inclined to allow

athletics to shut out other considerations, better able to make games or sport an intellectual interest, to build on them the beginnings of an educated man.

But many-sided as he was, Smith was greatest as a learner and a teacher. He took pains which few men took to know and understand his pupils, to get on to close terms with them, to draw out whatever was in them worth eliciting. Intuitive sympathy, says a fine critic, was of all his gifts the greatest. It gave him an extraordinary tenderness for duffers, an extraordinary power of making the most of very ordinary young men. And it brought him from scholars and dullards alike a rich return in personal affection. For tutoring undergraduates he had exceptional gifts. As a lecturer he may not always have held his audience so closely as one had expected, though there were days and moments when "that queer, husky, rather toneless yet perfectly distinct voice of his" raised Stubbs from the dead.* But in talking he conspicuously excelled. He was at his best in dealing with individual pupils, in dissecting their essays, their theories, their ineptitudes, in showing them how to cover the dead bones of history with flesh and beauty and humanity, in picking out of a memory packed with detail, observation, anecdote, all the most relevant and necessary facts. "Ten minutes of A. L.," it was said, "was worth an hour of anyone else in Oxford." Mediæval kings and popes, mediæval pirates, villains and crusaders, became alive as fellow-creatures. Mediæval chroniclers revealed their humours. Crabbed points of mediæval law—Smith had a keen eye for legal questions—became lucid and intelligible, as he unravelled, "almost acted," them before us. He was quick enough in checking or exposing blunders, but always quicker to praise than to blame. There was no "donnishness," no pedantry or affectation; only a simple, searching friendliness which it was impossible to resist. Book-reader and book-lover as he was, book-writer on a great scale as with more time to spare he might have been, Smith's kingdom was with men not books. It was human character and his power of understanding it which made the deepest interest of his life.

The undergraduate days at Balliol were followed by a Fellowship at Trinity, where Smith was "incredibly happy," and by an early and, no doubt, improvident marriage, which brought him deeper happiness still. Plans of going to the Bar gave way before the offer of a History Lecturership at Balliol, and before long Mr. and Mrs. Smith were settled in a house in Crick Road, Oxford, where a singularly charming family grew up round them. The Oxford

* I have ventured to quote freely, not only from Mrs. Smith's sympathetic biography (*Arthur Lionel Smith, Master of Balliol, 1916-1924*), but from two or three brilliant papers by old friends included in it.

society of earlier days—four exclusive University ladies were remembered as taking pride in their "delightful circle"—had already passed away. The Parks system was beginning. And the house in Crick Road became the centre of many activities for fourteen years, until in 1893 Mr. Jowett's generous plans provided an official Tutor's residence near Mansfield College, where the ever-increasing household could find space and live "a country life only a few yards from a city street." All through those early years it was Jowett's custom to plant out pupils, young men who might one day come to count in public life, to profit by Smith's teaching and the hospitality of his home—Thynnes, Howards, Russells, Jock Wallop, Victor Morier, George Goschen, Bron Herbert, many another. Lord and Lady Carlisle and their family in particular became valued and familiar friends. It was perhaps the only practicable way of supplementing the inadequate income of a college Tutor. For Smith, who was never properly remunerated, and whose ideal was always to save money, had all his life, in giving to others, "the instincts of a millionaire." One friend has compared his rash generosity of purse with the native generosity of soul which drove him sometimes to write to a pupil or a colleague, "hater of letter-writing as he was, notes of overflowing tenderness, things which he could never have brought himself to say.

But not even the needs of private pupils or the calls of a very full and busy home prevented him from devoting himself to the interests of his College. He was for years the most vigorous spirit among its Tutors, in work, in games, in social intercourse, in the external interests which grew wider every year. His energy, his humanity, his refreshing humour told. "No one ever knew more perfectly the inside of an undergraduate." His lectures grew in popularity: some on Political Science proved among the most effective. He published little, but his lectures on *Maitland* and on *Church and State in the Middle Ages* contain some of his finest work. He was a leader of "the Gang"—Arthur Johnson and Richard Lodge were others—who worked for an efficient Modern History School against reactionary influences in Oxford. More and more, especially after Jowett's death, he became the strongest influence in the College. He was largely responsible for Dr. Caird's election as Master, but he gave Mr. Strachan-Davidson in his turn invaluable support. His speeches at College gatherings became famous: as an undergraduate he had joined the Union, but seems to have been too shy to speak there. The Smuggins Club—he was always preaching the virtue of "clubosity"—was founded largely to listen to his after-dinner speeches. Its motto was *Nil infabre*, nothing un-Smithlike. He met other Smiths there and elsewhere. "I have often heard of Smith's *Wealth of*

Nations: but I have only now realised the nation's wealth of Smiths." His wit was as spontaneous as his anecdotes. "Brilliance has always been a danger of Balliol: but it does not outlast the years of extreme youth." He was warned that a certain Tutorial Centre had declined to only twelve members. "How many apostles were there?" He was never at a loss for a retort. "I would not write *in ink* in a book," he gently suggested to a pupil who was making notes in a volume of history. "It's not my book," replied the sinner: "it belongs to a John's man." Smith smiled: "Even they are God's creatures." There can be no resistance to reproofs administered like that.

It was an active and a happy life, and none the less so for the pressure of straitened circumstances and incessant work. After 1906 Smith's nomination to one of Lord Newland's Jowett Fellowships brought a certain measure of relief. But before that time his health had begun to give trouble, and as years passed anxiety on that score increased. Still it was in these latter years especially that the force and influence of his character, not as a Balliol tutor only, but as a great representative of Oxford and as a great citizen of the world, appeared. Smith had always had interests outside Balliol. He had been a Poor Law Guardian. He had learned from Charles Loch the meaning and value of organised charity. He had been one of the first to propose the extension of the University property and borders so as to include the hill-lands surrounding Oxford, a plan now being realised in part too late: and he was one of the first to encourage T. A. Brassey's generous project of a University Endowment Fund. He had been, though something of a heretic about women's degrees, a strenuous friend of women's education. "He never left a pupil thinking herself a fool," said one of his most distinguished women-pupils.

Every movement that widened the bounds and increased the influence of Oxford made to him an irresistible appeal. He was keenly interested in Mr. Rhodes' will and in the scholars who came to Oxford under it. He was one of the earliest and best friends of University Extension. He threw himself with equal zest and optimism into the efforts of the Workers' Educational Association and the Tutorial Classes. To bring Oxford into line with the movement of democracy became latterly a primary object. He never forgot that the academic life tended to become a "padded cell." He cared nothing for conventionalities or class distinctions. He was at home at once with an audience of country schoolmasters or artisans; and no-one was readier to point out the beauties or to expound the traditions of Oxford to them or to any other stranger who trespassed on his time. He would take on as readily, if occasion served, any tourist who chanced to accost him in his own quad-

rangle, walk him over the town and tell him every good story about it that there was to tell. He would make friends as naturally and quickly with every rank and condition of acquaintance, fishermen, sailors, wood-cutters, craftsmen, ploughmen and bargees.

When the Great War came these powers of sympathy and understanding found their fullest scope. Smith's speeches to industrial workers, workers, it might be, inclined to grumble or to strike, were even more valuable than his addresses to Officers in Training Camps. His efforts to hold things in Oxford together, to provide for war conditions, to do justice to the Cadets billeted in College, were only a part of his public work in the country. Committees and conferences made a great demand upon him. Conferences of employers and employed were held year after year at Balliol. His succession to the Mastership in 1916 was universally welcomed. "No one," it was said, "has ever better deserved, for strenuous or whole-hearted personal service, the first place and honour which his College could give." The same year saw him serving on Lord Selborne's Committee on Church and State and on one of the Committees appointed by the Archbishops to consider the relation of Christianity to Industrial Problems. To both he brought his deep historical knowledge and his still deeper common-sense. His sympathies excluded none who professed and called themselves Christians. And if he had but slender interest in merely sentimental economics, he shared to the full, and he probably inspired, the liberal theories of education set forth in the Committees' reports. Education was a social thing, a witness to equality, its object to assist human beings to become themselves. The basis of differentiation should be differences of taste or of capacity, not of class or of income. The manual worker needed a liberal education for the same reason as the barrister or doctor, to develop his faculties, to play his part as a citizen of the State, "to perform," in the majestic words of Milton, "justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."

The years after 1918 were not the least difficult, with their new problems, their inrush of new men, their economic perplexities, their proposals for University endowment and reform. In all these problems and anxieties the Master took as of right a leading part. He had fully come into his own in Oxford. Far beyond the walls of Balliol he was recognised as representing the ideal for which under modern conditions the ancient Universities must stand. He was struck down in an hour when his spirit and his guidance were still greatly needed. But his College, his University, and his innumerable friends will cherish the memory of those vivid and endearing sympathies, of that eager and unconquerable mind.

CHARLES MALLET.

FACTORS AND FORCES IN MODERN CIVILISATION.*

WHEN does the first modern man appear—that is to say, a man whose fundamental assumptions in thought and life are so closely akin to our own that we could sustain intercourse with him? It is not necessary to agree with Harnack who assigns this title to St. Augustine. Nor is it necessary to agree with Bluntschli, who terms the year 1740, the year of the appearance of Frederick the Great in the world of arms, the first modern one. There is far more to be said for the contention implicit in the able book of Herr Ehrenberg, of which an English translation is extremely welcome, that the modern age dates from the sixteenth century. If it is the age of the late Renaissance, it is also, so he pleads, the age of capital and finance. He studies the coming of capital in its manifold forms, and his study is deserving of close attention.

Herr Ehrenberg provides for us a background to his book by setting before us the share taken by money capital and public credit towards the end of the Middle Ages. These ages had suffered from a dearth of the precious metals, which had not appreciably increased since the downfall of the Roman Empire. The results of the labours of Columbus and Copernicus are familiar to all, but the part that the muleteer of Potosi played is sometimes overlooked. He was travelling along a steep mountain side. His mule slipped, and in his anxiety to save himself he clutched at a bush, which yielded a little to his pressure. The tearing up of the roots disclosed a mass of silver, and in this seemingly accidental fashion the metal once more altered the destinies of mankind. The silver came to Europe, raising prices in a fashion similar to our war prices, making labour dear, and thereby changing the tillage system to the pasturage. In the agricultural world men were upset and not a few homeless, and as the cake of custom was irretrievably smashed they were not so unwilling to hear the new doctrine of the Reformation as their fathers would have been.

With the Renaissance or the Reformation, call it which name we will, Herr Ehrenberg is but little concerned: he is very much concerned to explain to us with force and with power the place given to the capitalist in that new world which the silver from Peru helped to create. He specially invites us to consider the Fugger and their connections, which he exhibits in all their rami-

fications. They did not belong, as did the Welser, the Herwart, and the Langenmantale, to the "old" families of Augsburg. Their ancestor, Hans Fugger, came to Augsburg from the village of Graben in the year 1367. He was a weaver, but he also traded, and he left a fortune of three thousand florins, a considerable amount in the Middle Ages. His sons dealt exclusively in spices, silk, and woollen materials. The Fugger merchant dynasty had, in fact, launched out on that career which meant so much to the beginnings of the capitalistic system.

To Jakob Fugger, Jakob II, the fortune of the dynasty is mainly due, for he displayed a financial genius which makes him of real importance in the forces making for modern civilisation. He was just fourteen when he abandoned his clerical career in order to become a merchant in 1473. He learned his business, like so many other young south-Germans, in the great business house of the Germans in Venice, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, where his elder brothers had a permanent warehouse. Herr Ehrenberg tells us that when Jakob II became a partner and the three brothers had carried on the business together for some time, they came to an agreement that their male heirs and descendants should leave their property in common in the business, but that the daughters should be given money down in dowries "so that the Fugger business may remain in every wise undivided." So long as the house prospered, this principle was rigidly observed. Jakob II struck out those new paths which bestowed so much riches on the firm. With the Genoese Antonio de Cavallis he advanced no less a sum than over 23,000 florins to Sigismund, Archduke of Tyrol. The security they received for this sum was a mortgage on the best of the Schwatz silver mines and the whole province of Tyrol, under which, if the money was not punctually paid, the silver due from the mines to the Archduke should be handed over. The next year three of the Fuggers made the stupendous advance of 150,000 florins to the Archduke, and till this debt was paid the whole silver production of the Schwatz mines had to be handed over to the Fugger at a very low price. His brothers deferred to the judgment of Jakob II, and it was through this deference that in practice, as Herr Ehrenberg insists, the Fugger dynasty was monarchical. What Jakob II began, Anton developed, and his is the great period of this house. Its growth is evidenced by the fact that in 1527 its assets amounted to three million gulden. *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance* widens out into a consideration of other German financiers, and inevitably this extends to the operations of the Florentines and other Tuscan financiers.

In the world of business, no less than in the world of religion, Germans had outgrown the conception of the duality of life, and

* 1. *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance*. By R. Ehrenberg. (J. Cape.)
 2. *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century*. By P. Mantoux. (J. Cape.)
 3. *European Liberalism*. By G. De Ruggiero. (Clarendon Press.)
 4. *A Survey of Socialism*. By F. J. C. Hearnshaw. (Macmillan.)

found the new conception of its essential unity. One outstanding effect was the emphasis laid on vocation in relation to daily calling. The "Saint's Rest" was in the world to come: in this he was to labour faithfully at his calling. Business, in the sight of the Reformers, became a sacred office in which it was a man's bounden duty to do his utmost *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*. The sanctity of the monastic life was transferred to the common round, the trivial task. Man no longer was made for a function: a function was made for man. The "religious" were no longer men and women in a monastery: life and religion were now fundamentally one. With inimitable insight Max Weber points out that the Calvinist had a calling (*Beruf*) not merely in religion but also in business. How this attitude affected the world is implicitly revealed by Herr Ehrenberg.

The best book by far on the industrial revolution in the eighteenth century is that by M. Mantoux, and it is good to see it in an excellent translation. He renders it clear that the capitalist successor of the Fugger was continuing his work during the seventeenth century, and, accordingly, we read a luminous survey of large-scale industry then. The thesis that history is a science finds more support in the field of industrial history than in the field of civil, and in accordance with this view M. Mantoux unveils the coming of the Industrial Revolution as no mere accident. The growth of the employment of machinery, far-reaching as it undoubtedly is, is only secondary. What is really primary is the exchange of commodities and the division of labour, and on these two phenomena the Fugger had exercised no little influence. When the machines came, the men were ready to handle them, and they were ready to handle them because they had long been accustomed to the exchange of commodities and the division of labour which this exchange means.

M. Mantoux swiftly sketches the old type of industry and its evolution before 1760 in England, for it is perhaps superfluous to say that for another century other countries remained mainly agricultural. With us changes in one department meant changes in another, and if there was an industrial revolution there was also an agricultural one, with which our author suggestively deals. His book steadily increases in interest, and when we come to the beginning of the reign of George III we are confronted with a series of inventions which turned the north of England into the manufacturing centre it now is. If a Rip van Winkle had gone to sleep in 1066 and awakened in 1760, he would have seen little in the surface of England with which he was unfamiliar. If he had gone to sleep in 1760 and awakened in 1785, he would barely have recognised the landscape. From 1760 to 1785 Hargreaves, Crompton,

Arkwright and Cartwright had been busy in making economically serviceable the spinning-jenny, the mule, the carding machine, and the power-loom. Watt had produced his steam-engine, Cort his processes of puddling and rolling iron, and Roebuck his method of smelting it by coal in place of the charcoal that had become dear. Wedgwood gave a marked impetus to the pottery trade, turning out articles of beauty. Nor must we overlook the cheapening of the transport of heavy goods by Brindley's canals. With French lucidity M. Mantoux links these changes together, with the result that we have before our eyes a remarkably vivid picture of the new England that the Industrial Revolution brought into being.

The evil done by a great book is only equalled by the good it accomplishes. Few books have so speedily acquired fame as Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776. In it the Scot traces with the hand of a master the harm wrought by the policy of State interference. Pitt was his pupil, and a pupil anxious to translate into practice the precepts he had learnt. One precept men learnt was that while the State might do good, it was at least more likely that it might do harm. Accordingly, *laissez-faire* was the order of the day. No one can doubt that much can be justly urged on behalf of such a policy.

How much was urged M. Mantoux discloses in his last chapter: how much was to be urged against it, time was to reveal. Unfortunately for us the war against France broke out in 1793 and with the slight lull due to the Peace of Amiens lasted to 1815. That is to say, during the critical period of the age of great inventions our attention was engrossed with the single idea of defeating Napoleon at all costs. It has been the permanent misfortune of mankind that Watt invented the steam-engine when he did. The factories grew up in the north of England, and grew up at the expense of the boys and girls, the men and women, who toiled in them. Whatever may be said against the World War of our day, at least our land witnessed no such horrors as were to be seen on all sides in the north. *Laissez-faire* bade men see them as part of the unalterable laws of Political Economy.

Cruelty to the factory workers was more widespread in Bentham's time than in Beccaria's. The conditions over Europe remained, as we see in the pages of Signor de Ruggiero's illuminating volume, pretty much the same, yet mankind suddenly became conscious of conditions that they had not noticed before, and found them intolerable. Evangelicalism can in England claim credit for this changed attitude, yet religion was not the only cause, for in France it was accompanied by a great wave of scepticism. Nor can it be ascribed to intellectual advance, for many of the objects had nothing

to do with knowledge or reason, and the humanitarians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were conspicuously inferior to the intellectual giants of the seventeenth century. It is true that the latter part of the eighteenth century was called the age of Reason, and the men of that day prided themselves on their intellectual superiority; but at that very time knowledge, once pursued for its own sake, was becoming the handmaid of utility, and the claims of the body were taking the precedence that has been allowed them in increasing measure ever since. The humanitarian movement was a matter of feeling, not of intellectual or spiritual activity. Lecky ascribes the change to the progress of civilisation and Signor de Ruggiero leans to this view. What does it mean? For it is a phrase as chameleon as national character.

Our Italian author points out that a characteristic of Liberalism, which he interprets widely, is devotion to freedom, and this in turn means humanitarianism. "European Liberalism" is one of the most valuable surveys of the history of an important party in England and France, in Germany and Italy, with which we are acquainted. The author not only possesses, to an unusual degree, the power of thinking but he communicates this power to his readers. Problem after problem is raised in his engrossing pages, and no one, no matter how well versed he is in the fortunes of Liberalism, can lay this book down without feeling how profoundly its author has handled his subject. Behind the cold print of this volume we feel how warmly the heart of Signor de Ruggiero beats for everything that tends towards Liberalism in general and humanitarianism in particular.

The question is, Why did the sympathies of men become more expansive, their perceptions of the sufferings of others more acute? There had been predecessors, of course. The great ethical teachers of the Middle Ages denounced cruelty, inculcated pity, sympathy and benevolence, and laid down principles of punishment for crime. Nor was the practical application of these sentiments lacking. The establishment of hospitals, the practice of almsgiving, the benevolence exercised by monasteries, surely displayed sympathy with suffering, as lively as any a Socialist can feel. There is, however, a marked difference between mediæval humanity and the humanitarian movement of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the earlier period kindness and sympathy might be enjoined as a moral duty, but the spectacle of bodily suffering evoked none of the instinctive repugnance that characterises the later period. The voluntary mortification of the flesh was indeed deemed praiseworthy, torture was allowed by common consent, and burning at the stake was regarded not merely with equanimity but with satisfaction. It is clear that when humane and en-

lightened men could endure and approve such sights the valuation of pain was quite different from our own.

We get nearer to modern conceptions in the sixteenth century. Sir Thomas More denounced severe punishment for trivial offences, but even he argued rather as a lawyer than as a man revolted by the infliction of needless pain. Montaigne, however, fairly anticipated the humane spirit not only of the Benthamic period but of more recent times. He detested cruelty of every kind with all his heart. How are we to account for the great change which takes place during the end of the eighteenth century? Beccaria suggests that in proportion as the minds of men become softened by their intercourse in society, the severity of punishments should be diminished. But do they become softened by their intercourse in society? Is it not rather the rising standard of comfort, as Malthus says, and the gradual removal of hardships once accepted as inevitable in the natural order of things, that increase sensitiveness to bodily conditions in general?

May there not be a physiological change, due to easier conditions of life, which heightens sensibility to pain and causes men to shrink from the thought and the spectacle of suffering to which they were formerly indifferent because pain was then really less felt? It is possible, and no one can say that such a change has not taken place. We know but little about the nervous mechanism of pain. Its development may, for all we know, keep pace with the progressive increase of comfort and diminution of pain-exciting stimuli in the ordinary course of life. Individuals differ enormously in their sensibility to pain, and there is nothing inherently improbable in the hypothesis of a general increase of sensitiveness. People certainly used to make little of bodily suffering which they could not stand at all to-day, such as operations without anaesthetics or floggings of five hundred lashes. Think of the hardships and perils they used to undergo and calmly accept as a matter of course in the way of ordinary travel, and contrast that indifference with the fuss made to-day over the most trifling inconvenience. Torture of old surely meant far less in actual physical effects than it would mean to-day. On the other hand, it may be argued that if the humanitarian movement which began in the eighteenth and developed in the nineteenth century was due to physiological change and consequent revaluation of pain and suffering, then it must have been more than skin deep, and would not have given place again so readily to outbursts of savagery as it appears to have done under the stress of conflict between nations and within them in these latter days.

Whatever may be the solution of this riddle, the fact is clear that we count this humanitarian movement among the forces urging men

towards Socialism. The French Revolution had raised the question of liberty, emancipation from political oppression, and the Industrial Revolution was destined to raise the question of economic oppression. To the old ethical view of poverty as misfortune, claiming pity and help from society, were added the ideas of oppression and inequity, both claiming redress. The cause of the poor and needy not only received powerful reinforcement from the ideals of liberty and equity, which appeal to impulses not less deeply seated in human nature than pity, but under these influences and the humanitarian movement it took a new direction. The aim was no longer the mitigation of an accepted evil, but its abolition by the removal of its social causes. Here we have the double basis of Socialism, which is reflected in the two main tendencies it has ever since exhibited—political and economic. They are often divergent, and sometimes in direct antagonism; but this is due to the inability of men, and especially those of an ardent temperament, to see more than one thing or one side at a time. The two tendencies are really complementary, and both spring from live roots which ensure their persistent vitality, through all vicissitudes of season and weather.

Directly, Signor de Ruggiero says but little on Socialism: indirectly he says much. In passing we may remark that Mussolini's name is not to be found in his pages, at which we do not wonder. It is, however, a more serious omission to note how slightly he considers the influence of science on Liberal politics.

The whole of Professor Hearnshaw's able book is concerned with nothing else but Socialism, and his latest piece of work will enhance his growing reputation. Its range of reading is as evident as the mass of facts which the author adduces in support of his very critical examination of Socialism. At the same time we are glad to be able to state that in his third part he devotes a whole chapter to the merits of the plan so much in vogue to-day. The method he adopts is, of course, an effective one, for if anyone clearly perceives the advantages of a scheme, and yet sums up against it, the candid reader comes to the conclusion that it is a very great failure indeed.

There is a striking resemblance between the period after 1815 and the period after 1918. In this country, after the battle of Waterloo, all those efforts and aspirations which are once more claiming political and public attention—whether in the name of Socialism, Syndicalism, trade unionism, or any allied ism—had their real beginnings. There is no phase of the Labour Movement to-day that we cannot trace, at least in embryo, to this period, a fact of which Professor Hearnshaw is fully aware. It was a time of as extraordinary ferment as our own day; it produced a welter of ideas,

theories, projects, agitations, experiments and efforts, economic, social, and political, which anticipated everything since advocated or attempted. And since neither doctrines nor events can be properly understood except in the light of their development, a knowledge of this period is essential to a right comprehension and valuation of modern movements. The current notion—invented by Marx and Engels—that up to their time Socialism consisted of a few absurd Utopian schemes, and that it has since become something entirely different, is quite false. Godwin, Thompson, Hall, Gray, Hodgkin, and Bray were men of the early nineteenth century who anticipated *Das Kapital* by a couple of generations. The Belgian Socialists engineered in 1893 a general strike in favour of general suffrage, and the public were informed that this was a new and unprecedented departure; but in 1839 the Chartists did precisely the same thing. They voted a general strike for general suffrage; only it fell through. William Benbow was the originator in 1831 of the general strike as an industrial and political weapon. Syndicalism is as old as the general strike. The extraordinary outburst of trade unionism in 1833 had a true syndicalist side. Its promoter was not Owen, but James Morison, a member of the Builders' Union and editor of their paper, the *Pioneer*. It is clear that genuine syndicalism is essentially a trade union policy, which came at once into conflict with Owen's superficially similar but radically different aims. Another point is also clear. There is an inherent antagonism between direct and political action which shows itself then, as now, directly organised Labour took hold of the doctrine taught by the Socialists. On matters like these Professor Hearnshaw affords real guidance, for the knowledge of the past enables us to grasp the present and, in some measure at least, to forecast the future.

The pursuit of happiness is natural to man, and, in some form or other, has always employed his activities. The builders of Utopias may roughly be divided into these two categories: those who seek to subtract, and those who seek to add and multiply. The worst of any general scheme of the sort is that—in no other matter is the adage so true—one man's meat is another man's poison. Fourier, for instance, considered variety, constant employment, and promiscuity as elements in happiness; but there are those who love nothing so well as monotony, solitude, and leisure—divine trio, out of which issue great thoughts, combined ideas, deep and instinctive memories, even as bees issue forth and hover above their quiet hives. The man in the street is wise who has summed up rightly that it is impossible to make a man happy by Act of Parliament. The same shoe will never fit Thomas Arnold and Matthew Arnold, Goethe and Gambetta, Maitland and Marx.

The victors of the Crimean War, France and Great Britain, imposed on Russia by the Treaty of Paris such serious limitations of her sovereign rights in the Black Sea, that when fifteen years of peace and of inner reforms had wiped out in Russia the evils of the war and the causes of defeat, the Imperial Government took advantage of the fall of Napoleon III to declare itself free from these limitations by the famous circular of Prince Gortchakow of October 19th-31st, 1870. The Russian Chancellor declared thereby that the many derogations to the Treaty of Paris by other Governments made it impossible for Russia to continue observing those stipulations which touched on the direct interests of the Empire,* although Russia adhered entirely to the general principles of the Treaty and was ready to come to a further agreement with the other signatory Powers. At a Conference which soon met in London, the substance of Russia's claim was not contested, and the necessary changes in the text of the Treaty were made. But the British Foreign Secretary raised a very serious previous question of diplomatic principle. For the first time in the practice of diplomacy a signatory Power of a treaty of peace informed the other Powers openly and sincerely that a part of the treaty concerning that Power had become inapplicable, and did this without any warlike threat or preparation, expressing also its willingness to enter upon a new peaceful adjustment of the difficulties. No precedent existed then for such a case, and no rule as to how it should be dealt with. One point, however, appeared to Lord Granville beyond doubt: "that it is an essential principle of the Law of Nations that not one of them can free itself of the obligations of a treaty nor modify its stipulations otherwise than following on the assent of the contracting parties by means of an amicable agreement." When the Foreign Secretary laid down this principle and had obtained the unanimous approval of the Members of the Conference, a Protocol in the above terms was signed in London on January 5th-17th, 1871. This Act was evidently very limited in its scope and only negative in character, but it formed nevertheless a valuable new asset in international law, to be improved upon later by the Hague Peace Conference and the Covenant of the League of Nations.

A couple of months before the meeting of the Second Hague Peace Conference of 1907, Mr. Nelidoff, who was then Russian Ambassador in Paris, and was to become President of that Conference, published an article in the Paris monthly *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, concerning one of the most frequent causes of war. This he discovered in the fact that a treaty of peace registers and reflects the relative political and military situation of the belliger-

* See Serge Goriainov's *Le Bosphore et les Dardanelles*, Paris, Librairie Plon, 1910, I vol. (in French), p. 158 and *passim*.

ents at the close of their war, and fixes on that basis their future reciprocal relations and the elements of their political, military, and economic equilibrium for ever after. Now, none of these elements of a living organism such as a State can escape change. One State grows weaker and poorer, the other stronger and richer, one tends to shrink, the other to expand. Thus the time comes when, speaking for instance only of the territorial limits fixed by a treaty, these limits become too vast for the one and too narrow for the other. In this way the Austrian Empire as defined by the Treaty of Vienna of 1815 gradually withered and fell to pieces under the growing impact of Italy, Hungary, and her Balkan neighbours. Thus also over-populated Japan cast off in 1904 the treaty trammels imposed on Japan in defence of China in 1895 by Russia, France and Germany, and ultimately annexed Korea and Southern Manchuria. All this was done by war, for, as one can understand now, no other way was then known or practised for "the reconsideration of treaties which have become inapplicable." Mr. Nelidoff's official position precluded his putting his name to the article, and it was signed only XXX. But he gave it to me to read at The Hague, and we often discussed the weighty questions he had so learnedly and forcibly placed before the public.

The drawbacks of "eternal treaties" being manifest, treaties of peace for only a fixed number of years, or also truces, used to be concluded when a war could neither be continued, nor fought out to a finish. Thus, for example, peace was signed for twenty years between the Emperor and the Sultan in 1606, to hold good irrespective of the persons of the rulers. And the important truce of Androussovo was agreed upon in 1667 for six years between Russia and Poland, and was changed in 1686 to an "eternal" peace. In modern times, however, these makeshifts of peace fell into disuse, and diplomacy had to search for other means to the same end. In our day the "Triple Alliance" of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, originated by Bismarck, was timed for ten years, and was twice renewed. And the defensive Franco-British "Entente Cordiale," established in view of a possible German aggression, lasted till the latter began, and ended.

The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907 were neither allowed nor expected to grapple with the general problem of amending or superseding inapplicable treaties. But they created and developed various appliances, such as systematic arbitration, good offices and mediation, and international commissions of inquiry, which have actually made and do make it possible for States sincerely desirous of peace to avoid war. The Hague tribunal, which is constructed on non-political lines, has also proved itself a most useful and authoritative institution for promoting peace.

It may be surprising, but is certainly true, that the virtues which are continually preached to each generation are precisely those which it already possesses in the greatest abundance. The ages of faith, like the Middle Ages, preach the need of faith; the ages of reason, like the eighteenth century, preach the need of reason; and the ages of Socialism, the twentieth century, preach the need of Socialism. There was probably never a time when the thought of God, the consciousness of His presence, and the claim of His service were so common among the people of England, whether Puritan or Anglican, as in the seventeenth century; and these were the very subjects with which all the pulpits rang. So to-day because the "service of man" is the pre-occupation, almost the passion of our day, that is the one virtue to the exclusion of all others which is incessantly urged upon us by our preachers, both clerical and lay. What is new in our social situation is not its evils but our consciousness of them and our determination to remove them. Even in many of the churches the calls for faith and reverence and the love of God, for truth and honesty, and humility and meekness—nay, even for Pauline charity—are almost silent before the insistent claims of social service. Yet it is quite certain that neither faith nor hope nor charity has increased in at all the same proportion. Herein lies the strength—as well as the weakness—of Socialism.

R. H. MURRAY.

RELATIVITY IN TREATIES OF PEACE.

"Another war on a large scale would wipe out European civilisation."—Speech by Mr. McNeill (Lord Cushendun) at Canterbury, November 4th, 1927.

SINCE the terrible question: how to avert another war on a large scale, has become the theme of anxious public discussion, not much has been said about the new principle introduced into International Law after the Great War, which may be termed that of relativity in treaties of peace. This novel idea has been embodied for the first time in a treaty of peace as Article 19, Part I of the Treaty of Versailles of 1919. The wording and insertion of this article in the Covenant of the League of Nations were due, it appears, to the initiative and insistence of President Wilson. Its aim is to make possible "the re-consideration of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." Such a revision is to take place through the medium of the League of Nations, and must serve to avert war. This new departure in practical politics gives some hope and is of good promise for the maintenance of general peace. But it brings into use in international relations a method which strikes at the root of the classical doctrine concerning the sacredness and permanence of treaties, and reduces even the greatest and most solemn of them to the status of temporary agreements of only relative value. On this subject I wish to say a few words from the point of view of international law and diplomatic practice.

Treaties of peace were, of old, very grave commitments, and were called "eternal" following the Roman legal formula *pia et æterna pax sit*.* Such treaties usually marked the beginning of a new historical period, as did, for example, the treaties of Westphalia of 1648 which ended the Thirty Years' War and laid the political foundation of Modern Europe. To this class belonged also the eternal treaties of "Capitulations" between European Powers and Turkey, which Acts remained in force for many centuries and were abolished only by the Great War and the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923. Thus treaties of peace were to be looked upon as absolutely binding and as leaving no room for contingencies, relativity and changes, till war ensued, which usually happened sooner or later between the contracting parties. In the same category may be classed the Treaty of Paris of 1856 which closed the Crimean War and was also considered absolute and of unlimited duration, till it came to be modified unexpectedly and in a new way by the London Conference and Protocol of 1871.

* See Hugo Grotius, *The Right of War and Peace*, Book I, Chap. III, 2, note 1.

But it was only after mankind had experienced the calamities of the Great War and was, and still is, in fear of war beginning again, that the time appeared ripe for including in a treaty of peace provisions for the possible peaceful change or abrogation of the treaty itself, and likewise of all kinds of "inapplicable" treaties. Article 19, Part 1 of the Treaty of Versailles, containing the Covenant of the League of Nations, entrusts the power to do so, and to consider in the same way any menacing international conditions, to the Members of the League sitting in Assembly. And thus the new and promising elastic principle of the relativity and practical adaptability of treaties to an altered situation, has taken the place of the old doctrine of their august, ossified and dangerous immutability. And the "Covenant" itself, although it is formally a most solemn Act, admits of the signatory Powers on giving due notice freeing themselves in peace from its obligations, as has been done by the Argentine, Brazil and Spain. This principle seems to establish in international law and in diplomacy, besides the "right of war" and the "right of peace" of Hugo Grotius' time, a new intermediary, the "right of international consideration," by means of which wars may be averted in good time and by general peaceful consent.

Whatever fate the future may reserve to the Treaty of Versailles and to the present League of Nations and its Covenant, it appears evident that the new and hopeful principle outlined in Article 19 of the Treaty should be carefully treasured by all nations and still further developed and applied, in the paramount common interests of mankind. It is no secret that Germany joined the League of Nations hoping to obtain in this way without war an alleviation, if not the abolition, of some at least of the duties imposed upon her by the Treaty of Versailles, and that the same holds good for Hungary and her Treaty of Trianon. When Mr. Lloyd George spoke in October, 1927, of the "adjustments" which can be expected to be introduced later "with patience and discretion" into existing treaty stipulations, he expressed a widely spread conviction that the maintenance of world peace will depend some day on a lenient interpretation of certain treaties in the light of Article 19 of the Covenant. Thus much, if not most, is to be hoped for peace from the new doctrine of International Law which, under certain conditions, admits of the collective, peaceable, and timely revision of all treaties when, instead of securing peace, they begin to herald war. And to this principle of relativity in treaties of peace nations may be hopefully allowed to appeal under stress of need in the interests of general security, independently of the success or otherwise of disarmament or arbitration.

Constantinople.

N. V. TCHARYKOW.

A VISIT TO NANSEN.

MORE than six months ago a group of boys in Bembridge School began to work at the construction of a model illustrating Dr. Nansen's famous journey Farthest North. We began this piece of work as an act of homage to one of the great men of the world. The making of the model followed the study by the members of the Scientific Society of the explorations undertaken by Dr. Nansen. It occupied many happy hours, and was a considerable undertaking, being six feet square, and made to scale. It included subsidiary models of the *Fram*, the animals of the Polar regions, and other things.

The model was completed last term, and a little party of boys with the head of the Science Department and myself went this spring on a pilgrimage to Norway to present personally the model to Dr. Nansen. This is not the opportunity to tell in detail of the many interesting experiences we had. I must select those incidents which centre around the man we were visiting, and who had invited us to his house.

Dr. Nansen's house stands on a hill a few miles from Oslo. It was at the end of winter when we saw it, and before the touch of spring had changed with its magic the desolate hills around. The trees as yet showed no sign of life. Only the famous Norwegian pines appeared green to relieve the wintry landscape. The house itself from the outside looked uninteresting. Its colour was drab and it lacked architectural charm. But inside the house was wholly delightful. Its windows looked beyond the near waters to the high hills in the background. The house was designed by Dr. Nansen, and its plan was admirable. There was a great living-room with a gallery above. From one side of this room you entered a set of rooms used by Dr. Nansen for his work. From another side a dining-room and other rooms were entered through sliding doors. The dining-room was singularly beautiful. Its walls were covered by very striking frescoes illustrating a legend in the history of Norway. The artist had introduced Dr. Nansen's own children into the paintings.

Our first interview with Dr. Nansen was fixed to take place in the late afternoon of an early day after our arrival. The model was contained in a large case measuring more than six feet square. It had been an object of great anxiety to us all, for we had had to transport it from Bembridge to far-away Oslo, and at present it was lying in the courtyard of our hotel, that being the only place large enough to accommodate it. We mounted it on a motor-lorry, most of the boys in the party scrambled to the top of it, and in this form we had something in the nature of a triumphal

procession to the explorer's house, where we were anxious to unpack and prepare the model before its formal presentation. This we did, and all was ready in Dr. Nansen's great hall at the hour appointed.

Perhaps I may be allowed to record the words in which the presentation to Dr. Nansen was made :

" We desire to ask your acceptance of this model illustrating your great journey Farthest North, which has been made by members of Bembridge School.

" Will you allow me, on behalf of the school, to attempt to record something of the gratitude we feel for the inspiration of your life and work. Some of us are too young to remember from contemporary accounts the days of your epic adventures in the arctic seas, but we have all read the imperishable story.

" At the end of the war we remember that you led the civilised world in the attempt to fight the forces of disease, famine, and pestilence, which followed in its wake.

" In those years, too, you took under your care the oppressed remnant of the Armenian nation, whose story is one of the tragedies of the world.

" To-day you are the foremost champion of those who seek to make the brotherhood of nations a reality and to banish war from the earth.

" We beg your acceptance of this gift, the work of our hands, as a symbol of our affection and homage."

Dr. Nansen was greatly touched by the presentation, and made a very moving speech in reply. Every boy in our little party knew that a great friend was speaking to him. He spoke of their future, of what they might do in the world, of the need for peoples to come together, and of the good such visits as the present did.

After Dr. Nansen had accepted the gift of the model, he examined it in great detail and told us many interesting things about his great journey.

Those who helped to make the model will remember how, in tracing upon it the route taken by the *Fram* when it was locked in the ice, at the mercy of unseen and unknown forces, to drift from one side of the world to the other, there came quite early in the journey a time when the *Fram* ceased to go forward and began to drift towards the position from which she had started. The explorer told us of the anxiety and disappointment which this brought to them all. If it continued it meant the negation of all their hopes, the destruction of all their plans. Could he have been mistaken? During those days of strain he went again through all his theories and the evidence which he thought proved their correctness. And as he did so he kept his faith that all would be well. There could be no failure now. What they had to do was to hold on. Soon he knew that he was

right. The hostile winds were alone responsible for the strange backward movements of the ship. When these stopped the ship resumed her inexorable drift across the polar world.

Dr. Nansen was particularly interested in that part of the model which showed Franz Joseph Land, which he reached with his solitary companion, after the weary months when he had left the *Fram* and had attempted to reach the North Pole on foot. He thought the land was very accurately shown on the model and was glad that the hills on this land were shown snow-covered. For it was the snow which had prolonged his trials. He had probably seen this land for some weeks without recognising that it *was* land. He was conscious of a rather whiter atmosphere when he searched this part of the horizon, but it never struck him that it could be land. He was not at this time able to take accurate observations. His watch was wrong and there were other difficulties. Then one day he saw through his telescope two black spots where this line of a whiter colour appeared, and he realised he was looking at rocks emerging from the snow-covered land.

On the day after his interview Dr. Nansen sent me the following letter. It is addressed to the boys of Bembridge School, but I think it has a message far wider than this, for it is a message to all boys :

Lysaker,

April 19th, 1928.

Dear Mr. Whitehouse and my dear young friends,

It is difficult indeed to express the gratitude I feel, and to thank you as I should like to for this charming gift which you have built with your own hands and with your keen youthful interest, and then brought the long way to Norway and to Lysaker.

I am more touched than I can say by this admirable token of your sympathy and the interest you have taken in the work of our expedition in the *Fram*.

I must also express my admiration for the manner in which you have carried out your work and have stuck to it to the very end, and have finished it in every detail. And when it was finished you have yourselves taken the long journey to bring it to what you had decided to be its destination.

This is a remarkable proof of the right spirit in young people; an exquisite training for making men. It is only to be wished that there was much of it in the young generations. I do hope it will be the guiding spirit in the future life of all of you.

You are young, my friends, you have the life ahead of you with all its wonderful possibilities and adventure. I am sure that some day some of you may become great explorers in one field or other. We are all of us explorers in life whatever trail we follow.

But whether explorer or not, I have one advice to give you : stick to the work you begin in life, till the task is finished and

finished well, whatever it may be. Go into it with your whole heart and your whole mind. Do not do things by halves, but carry your task through to the best of your ability, just as you have done this task; and be not satisfied before you have got the feeling that you cannot do it better. It is really remarkable how much you learn by doing a thing well. I am convinced that this is an important secret of real success in life, and it will give you the satisfactory feeling that you quit yourselves like men; for we have come here, in this world, every one of us, to do our part and to do it well.

It is men of that kind with the right stuff in them which the world now needs badly, and you, my young friends, will become some of them.

It is a difficult time you are living in, no doubt, and the world does not give you a bright outlook just now perhaps. But it is an interesting time, many important things are happening, and it is full of great problems for you to solve. It is you who have to create the future, and make the world a better place to live in.

A thing of special importance is, I think, to do all we can to create a better understanding and more confidence between nations, and in that way a fuller co-operation between them.

You have in your young age come to this country. I hope you will have a pleasant time here, and will return home with nice recollections of old Norway and her people, and with the feeling that you have visited a kindred race. And I do hope that that feeling will last for life, and that you will as men do your share to strengthen the good relations between your great people and ours, as well as all other people, and thus help to create a solid foundation for really wholesome international relations and for a betterment of the world.

I once more thank you from all my heart for your great gift and for your coming here and for all the kind sympathy and interest you have shown me.

Believe me, my dear friends,

Your grateful friend,

FRIDJOF NANSEN.

We were all anxious to know from Dr. Nansen what has happened to the *Fram*. He told us that it was in dock not far from Oslo, but he feared it was in danger of destruction. Owing to its special construction to withstand the ice pressure its timbers were closely wedged together in a way which did not allow proper ventilation. The result was that rot had set in. The only way to save it would be to put it in dry dock and have it extensively repaired and protected. It would be a very costly matter and the funds were not available.

He reminded us that after his own journey in the *Fram* she was used by Captain Sverdrop, his second in command on the *Fram*, for the arctic explorations he undertook. He had greatly altered her. The low deck, which was a feature of the ship originally,

was quite suitable for the polar journey undertaken by Nansen, for he had not much open sea work to do. It was unsuitable for journeys in rough waters, for it meant that they were constantly shipping heavy seas with consequent discomfort and danger. The alteration was therefore a great improvement for Sverdrop's purposes.

After he had finished with the *Fram* it was used by Captain Amundsen, but few alterations were made by him in the design of the ship.

We learned from Dr. Nansen with surprise and admiration that he hoped next year to go on an arctic expedition by airship. One was being built for him in Germany by sympathisers, who had undertaken that when completed it should be first placed at his disposal for the purpose of two journeys to the polar regions. The airship was being built so rapidly that he feared it would be ready long before he could start. In that case there might be a temptation to use it for other purposes first. He was anxious that when he was ready to start the airship should be in the finest condition.

He wanted very much to go again on a polar expedition, and he thought an airship would be ideal for the purpose. It had a great lifting capacity—as much as a hundred tons—and therefore adequate stores could be carried. An airship would also be fairly safe, for violent storms in the north polar regions were rare. The ship's anchors, fixed in the ice, would hold it securely when necessary.

Dr. Nansen wanted particularly to take soundings in the polar seas. There was a great deal of scientific investigation waiting to be done.

It was my privilege to have much private conversation with Dr. Nansen. Amongst the subjects we discussed was that of Armenia. He spoke at great length of his interest in the Armenians and his schemes for helping them. There were large numbers in Greece and Turkey living under unspeakable conditions. These should be moved to Armenia. He had had much trouble in connection with schemes for Armenian relief both with the English Government and others. The League had entrusted the matter to him and had begged him to organise a scheme, but nearly all the members of the League had refused any financial help to carry out the scheme. He was so discouraged by this attitude that he had proposed at a recent meeting of the League that the scheme should be formally abandoned, for he did not think it consistent with the dignity of the League that they should have an official scheme which none of them supported. Nor was such a state of things of any help to the Armenians. But the League had persuaded him to continue his appeals for support for the scheme.

Since our conversation took place I have received from Dr.

Nansen a copy of his book on Armenia, giving the record of his own journey to Armenia and to the Balkans and Turkey in connection with the relief of the Armenians. I have seldom read a more profoundly moving record. The massacres of the Armenians, beginning soon after the outbreak of the European war, and continuing long after it had finished, remain one of the greatest horrors of which Time has any record.

I was able to discuss with Dr. Nansen the American proposal for a multilateral pact for the renunciation of war. It was his earnest hope that the big nations of the world would sign the proposed treaty without hesitation. The mere signing of it would carry civilisation to a higher level. Nothing could be quite the same again.

Let me close this account of our visit by paying an inadequate tribute to the kindness and hospitality with which we were received by Dr. Nansen. He established personal relations with each of our party, and everyone soon knew him as a friend. When we embarked on our little steamer and sailed from Oslo, our last sight of him was as he waved us farewell from the quayside. That memory will always be in our minds, and there will be another beside it—the memory of Dr. Nansen in his home above the fjords showing us his loved country, with his great happy dogs wildly gambolling around him.

We salute one of the great men of the world.

J. HOWARD WHITEHOUSE.

SPAIN UNDER HER DICTATOR.

MOST people make the mistake of interpreting the situation in Spain in terms of up-to-date political thought. Here is a country, however, which has still to find its own equilibrium in the age-long struggle between Church and State and to create from its own substance the political structure which history, character and national aims require. It is almost an axiom that the advanced thinkers, most of them calling themselves Socialists and Republicans, are out of touch with realities in Spain through their uncompromising hostility to the Church. Partly owing to continued ecclesiastical domination, partly as a result of long years of mis-government (and perhaps too from the Oriental strain in his character), the modern Spaniard is undoubtedly something of a fatalist where politics are concerned. From the outset the majority of the nation adopted towards the present dictatorship the traditional attitude to the Government, a compound of scepticism and cynicism, which is best expressed in the Spaniard's own proverb "Dios guarde este señor, no sea que venga otro peor—" (God save our present ruler; the next one may only be worse!)

As far as one can gauge popular feeling now after four and a half years, this indifference is only modified by a general sense of gratitude to the man who has brought to an end that tragic and senseless drain of men and money, which is the tale of Spain's Moroccan campaign. This supineness gives the clue to Lenin's famous remark that Spain would be the first European country to follow in the footsteps of Russia. He saw that in Spain, as in Russia, a purposeful minority might just as easily seize power and exploit the political ignorance and weakness of the nation to their own ends without meeting with any determined resistance. In this sense then, General Primo de Rivera, Marquis de Estella, has as much right as Signor Mussolini to pose as the saviour of his country from Bolshevism. On the other hand, the idea of General Primo de Rivera as a Spanish Mussolini is apt to be misleading. His supporters are naturally proud to point out that, although the military *pronunciamiento* in Spain came after the revolution in Italy, the model of the Italian Fascio—if not the Fascist Militia—was to be found in the *Somaten*, a Catalan institution which the Marquis de Estella has done his best to extend to all regions. There is, of course, also the same sequence of cause and effect; on the one hand "historical" parties surviving simply as warring Parliamentary groups without any roots in popular feeling; on the other hand political jobbery, a paralysed administration and disorganised finances producing an economic situation which made the country, as a whole, ready to acclaim a new broom. Anyone may perceive,

too, a superficial resemblance in the methods of government. But beyond that, the lines of political development in Spain and in Italy cannot be said to run parallel. There are no Spanish Fascists and, one might add, the species is almost as inconceivable in the Peninsula as in this country.

If Lenin's prediction, on the other hand, has proved false in the event, it is above all because he left out of account the one element in Spanish life (excluding the Church) which still retains the reality of power and a truly national prestige—the personality of the King. King Alfonso, knowing better than anyone, after a reign of twenty-five years, the special problems of his country, grasped with both hands the opportunity offered by the bloodless revolution of September, 1923. He threw in his lot with General Primo de Rivera on the strict understanding that the emergency régime was designed to make possible *without an upheaval* a regrouping of the forces of the State which might put an end once and for all to the “desgobierno” of the period before 1923. Had the King not then sacrificed his personal scruples to the interests of national unity, the latent conflict between the two sections of the governing class, the army and the “politicos,” would have continued to impede any effective government, would have made Spain's position in Morocco untenable, and most probably by now would have plunged the country into civil war.

On September 13th, 1927, the fourth anniversary of the establishment of the Dictatorship, King Alfonso sealed the fate of the old régime by his signature of the decree convoking a National Consultative Assembly, considered as a necessary prelude to constitutional reform and having the mission of devising the electoral law under which the members of the future Legislative Assembly may be chosen. It is admittedly an experiment, a working arrangement by which it may be possible to pass from government by dictatorship to a political system which corresponds to the pulse of the country.

This move has aroused a certain mild curiosity among the general public, though it must be confessed that suspicion of the Government's intentions is still the dominant note of such public opinion as finds expression under the special circumstances of a dictatorship. Naturally, too, there has been a protest on behalf of the “politicos.” The manifesto issued last August by Señor Sanchez Guerra, leader of the old Conservative Party, is important for its strong statement of the constitutional issue and above all for the fact of its being addressed directly and personally to King Alfonso. By this token it is a solemn act of accusation which shows that there is a danger of civil war being brought about sooner or later, *unless* the passive resistance of many anti-Government elements in the

country can be transformed into a settled and vigorous determination to uphold the new and reformed constitution which it is the business of the present assembly to elaborate. Those who gird at the continuance of the Press censorship and question the intention of the dictator to “restore normal conditions” should bear in mind that nothing lasting can be achieved as long as the monarchy itself is involved in the inevitable clash of opinions on important national or local problems. To safeguard the one while providing to some extent for the other, is precisely the purpose of the transition stage, which is marked by the establishment of a non-political national convention.

There is a certain irony in the fact that Señor Sanchez Guerra, who was one of the strongest opponents of the army and who, as Prime Minister in 1922, was responsible for the decree which dissolved the military *juntas*, should now appeal in so many words to “the Spanish army of such a glorious Liberal and Constitutional history, not to belie its honourable traditions by presenting to the outside world a picture of Spain as a country conquered by its own army.” As a matter of fact perhaps the most noteworthy feature of the present régime is the honest endeavour to wean the army from politics. The system of military delegates acting as inspectors for the Government in every administrative division of the country has long since been abandoned. That the dictator has succeeded, in the face of considerable difficulties, in sifting military and political questions was well illustrated by the episode of the Artillery Rebellion in 1926. Nevertheless the army has still to be reckoned with as a decisive factor in any scheme of internal reform, all the more now that the end of the war in Morocco and a rigorous reduction of military expenditure has brought many hardships for officers' families. On the eve of the Assembly, among the wild rumours which multiply in the absence of any free Press, there was one most persistent according to which the army leaders who formed the original Military Directory were none too pleased with the turn of events and were plotting to overthrow their former chief and to set up his old rival, General Berenguer, in his stead. No doubt the public demonstration, when the latter was made Marquis of Sheshuan, early in October, was designed to give the lie to this report, just as in the previous year the appointment of the same General Berenguer to a post of confidence in the Royal Household was intended to show the malcontents in the army that personal considerations would not be allowed to stand in the way of merit.

Perhaps the most telling passage in the manifesto of the veteran constitutionalist who sees his country's destinies once more in the hands of the army supported by “the throne and the altar” is

his warning against "those elements which, after being conquered in three civil wars, naturally welcome the chance of winning victory now without resort to war at all and are now to witness the establishment in power of their doctrines as well as their leaders." The allusion, of course, is to the remnant of the Carlist Party who still to-day uphold the tradition of an absolute monarchy and Catholic unity against the constitutional monarchy and relative freedom of conscience of the Restoration. When General Primo de Rivera first took office, the Pretender, Don Jaime, promised support in the name of his following, but with a clear indication that the failure of the Director's experiment would be the opportunity for his own cause. King Alfonso has, therefore, also his personal reasons—apart from the "responsibilities" question (the disaster of 1921) which disappeared with the lapse of Parliament—for clinging to his Prime Minister and staking the country's future on the success of the present venture.

It is a fact that latterly the extreme Right has been very active and quick to take advantage of the obstinate neutrality of other sections of the nation, while those members of the present Cabinet who came forward to form the Civil and Economic Dictatorship are known to be backed by clerical influence. Hence the diffidence of non-party men of broadly liberal views, which is not lessened by the disingenuous tone of *El Debate*, the clerical organ, welcoming the National Consultative Assembly as a heaven-sent means for the return of the Right to political life. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the Marquis de Estella was insincere when he invited co-operation in the work of this trial body from men of all shades of opinion and representing a variety of interests. Unfortunately the attitude of those who stand for freedom and progress is not very helpful.

For different reasons but with equal stubbornness Liberals and Socialists have declined to take advantage of the "controlled" means of expressing their views. They are evidently not prepared to risk being saddled with any responsibility for a new political dispensation opposed to their dearest convictions. The progressive elements of the nation take the view, in fact, that as long as the present Government claims to have the last word on all questions of policy and the Press censorship continues, there can be no place for them in political life. They point out with justice that the method of nomination has deprived the assembly of all virtue as "a first instalment of representative government as well as the second stage in the dictatorship"; that there is no guarantee of freedom of opinion, since members of the Assembly as such enjoy no privilege or immunity whatsoever; and finally that the whole scheme of which the Assembly is an element is invalid, from the constitutional point

of view, because without a Cortes or elective Assembly the King can sign only *decrees* and not *laws*. This negative attitude in the face of what seems to be after all the only positive solution of the constitutional deadlock, is not calculated to inspire confidence in their fitness for leadership of a people which above all at the present time needs leaders. The whole purpose of the Consultative Assembly is to offer a parade-ground for new men, a platform for new ideas, so as to train up a new political class to understand what are the real national problems. The Opposition should take warning from the fate of the Aventine parties in Italy. If the more enlightened Spaniards refuse to pit their brains against the reactionary supporters of the present Government, the result must surely be to balance the weight of the conclusions reached by this assembly and consequently the future organisation of the State towards the Right, and so confirm the tendency of the "revolucion desde arriba" (revolution from above) which Señor Don Antonio Maura predicted many years before the dictatorship made it possible.

At the second plenary meeting of the Assembly held on November 23rd, 1927, there was already an illustration of what I mean. The Marquesa de la Rambla, the first woman to speak in the Spanish House of Representatives, made an impassioned appeal in favour of making religious, i.e., Catholic, teaching compulsory in all schools, this being the first overt challenge to that measure of freedom in education which the disciples of Don Giner de los Rios had succeeded in introducing during the last half-century. Don Jose Castillejo, the chosen representative of the State-recognised body which has charge of the Free schools, should have been there to take up the challenge, but he was one of those who had backed out and resigned the proffered seats in the Assembly.

The official Liberal view was expressed by Don Francisco Villanueva, Editor of *El Liberal*, when he declined the Government's offer of a seat on the ground that membership of the Assembly was more likely to hinder than to help the re-organisation of the Liberals as a political party. The same party allegiance has frustrated the Marquis de Estella's attempt to enlist organised Labour as an element in the new scheme of things. The unanimous decision of the Congress of the General Union of Workers and of the Socialist Party against taking part in the work of the Assembly must be the death-blow to any hopes the Spanish Dictator may have had of using the industrial Labour Movement as a factor in some future Corporative State, organised on the lines of Fascist Italy.

The Marquis de Estella is known to be in favour of a Chamber composed of representatives of corporate bodies and economic

interests as against political suffrage. In this connection it is of some interest to record a proposal put forward in 1925 by Señor Juan Vasquez de Mella, the veteran Carlist, who was offered a seat in the Assembly but refused it on account of ill-health, and whose death was reported early this year. He suggested that the future Spanish House of Representatives should be formed on the basis of class suffrage, since the political division of the nation was artificial, whereas the demarcation according to class was clear-cut and natural. For this purpose the nation could be divided into six classes, agricultural, industrial, commercial, ecclesiastical, intellectual, and military-aristocratic. When the idea was mooted, the Liberals hailed it as a "mediæval idea for mediæval minds," but to anyone who is familiar with the fundamental conditions of Spain it does not seem so far-fetched.

That the non-political provincial masses are capable of enthusiasm when economic interests are at stake has been proved time and again during the last few years, especially on the occasions of elections to constitute the assemblies of the various River Confederations. (A River Confederation is composed of all those bodies which use the waters of a river basin for irrigation, power or any other purpose, whether syndicates, private companies or State corporations.) This idea of organising the economic resources of the country according to the areas watered by the great rivers has caught on like wildfire, and the number of persons who are eager to vote on some matter which affects their daily life, makes a vivid contrast to the apathy of the electorate when general elections were held under the Parliamentary régime.

The encouragement of local enterprise in the economic sphere has its counterpart in administrative reform on the lines foreshadowed in one of the earliest declarations of the President of the Directory :

"My Government . . . recognises the necessity for a system of administration which shall guarantee regional development and preserve the character of each of our natural regions."

The Marquis de Estella was formerly Captain-General of Barcelona, and he brought back from his sojourn among the Catalans not only a shrewd idea as to how much was genuine in the Separatist agitation, but also a wholesome admiration for their provincial charter, the *Mancomunità*, and the reforms in local government and popular education which this measure of independence made possible. Since, however, many of these Catalan institutions were tainted with Separatism, the *Mancomunità* itself has been abolished to make way for the municipal statute of March, 1924, and the provincial, or inter-municipal, statute of March, 1925, the effect of which is to encourage and stimulate "regionalism" in all

parts of the country, not only Catalonia. Whereas his predecessors have either ignored or repressed the living force of local patriotism, which is bound to impress even a casual visitor to Spain, the Marquis de Estella sees in it a potential political asset, in fact the only way—until educational conditions are vastly improved—by which the ordinary Spanish citizen will be brought to take any real interest in public affairs.

Here again we see a world of difference between the trend of policy in a land with long-established national traditions like Spain and a young nation-State like Italy, where the emphasis is all the time on nationhood, *Italianità*, and it is only in art and literature that regionalism meets with the Government's approval. Signor Mussolini is driven by the force of circumstances to adopt the traditional methods of a dictator, the way of Napoleon and of the Roman Cæsars, controlling everything from the centre of power.

In keeping with this policy of administrative decentralisation, the Marquis de Estella aims at making the province the future electoral unit and at introducing voting by "*ayuntamiento*" in place of direct universal suffrage. It is significant that the National Consultative Assembly contains the nucleus of a corporate Chamber on those lines. Out of a total of 400 members, apart from the hundred or so who sat in the Assembly by virtue of their rank or their office, there are delegates from the fifty provincial councils with a similar number to represent the municipalities *plus* fifty elected as provincial representatives by the local committees of the Patriotic Union. The full Assembly only meets four times a month. During the remainder of the time it works by Section Committees like the Geneva Assembly and in this way the whole field of politics is covered.

Three years is the maximum period of usefulness assigned to the new body, during which time plans for a new constitution are to be worked out and an electoral system is to be devised by which a genuine Constituent Cortes may be called to pass the constitution into law. Another of the major tasks of the Assembly, we are told, is the study of the budget estimates. Unfortunately, as the estimates for 1928 are already made out and approved, the section deputed to initiate this control of public finance cannot begin its work until next autumn. The dictatorship in Spain is no exception to the rule by which an extravagant use of public money offsets the beneficent results of an ambitious internal policy. As in Italy, the sums spent on public works and subsidies for the defence of "national" industries are assuming alarming proportions, while the economic policy by which the State makes itself responsible for a great deal of industrial production leads on to bargains with foreign Powers which strike at the principle of national indepen-

dence. All this is veiled from the public eye, of course, by the indefatigable censorship, and there is as yet very little evidence of economic discontent. The workers, for instance, are at one with the industrialists who call the tune, since very few of them are sufficiently educated to realise that a high rate of wages does not necessarily mean a greater purchasing power. It is the consumer who pays the piper as the cost of living goes steadily up, and in Spain more than anywhere he is patient and long-suffering.

As you walk along the Castellana, that magnificent modern avenue which is the meeting-place of all Madrid on a Sunday morning, you may still see on a kiosk one of the placards dated September 12th, 1926, in which the citizens of Madrid were exhorted to record their vote in favour of the continuance of the Primo de Rivera régime. No zealous opponent of the Government seems to have thought of tearing it down, nor has any partisan taken the trouble to stick up over it any further popular appeal or any hysterical challenge. The contrast between Spain under her dictator and Fascist Italy could hardly be more strikingly illustrated.

W. HORSFALL CARTER.

IMMIGRATION A SOURCE OF INDUSTRIAL WEALTH.

THE interdependence of nations, with all it means, is fast becoming known to the public, and it may be well for us to realise a little more how much it has brought to us, as common stock, in the past. The most serious problems that Ireland has to face lie before her, now that the long-drawn-out struggle for Home Rule is ended. She still has to build up Industrial and Commercial life out of the remnants of her people. Those who have been watching behind the scenes, beyond the narrow range of party passion, cannot help feeling that the worst effect of English government on Ireland has been that it has driven from her shores the younger generation, as they grew up. The welcome they have received from America, and their success in that land, has saved many a revolution at home, but the loss to the country of its best life blood has been incalculable.

It may perhaps help to suggest some ideas for the future if we consider, first, what an immigrant population can do for other lands; and, secondly, what it has done for us in the past. I shall quote from various writers the story of some of the many trades introduced into this country by foreign immigration in order to show that the popular and conservative dislike to foreigners is in reality a bar to progress and the growth of a country's wealth. We can find no better illustration of this than America, who, by opening her arms to receive the fresh blood, the diverse trades, and the most ardent spirits of many lands, has provided herself with boundless energy and wealth. The decline of Spain is a remarkable instance of the contrary experience.

"Weaving, though known as a domestic art, does not appear to have been practised as a trade for the market in the time before the Conquest, but there were groups of weavers and fullers in various towns before the end of the twelfth century. The names of weavers and of dyers in the town of Winchester at an earlier period in the same reign, suggest that they were of alien origin. . . . They were organised as a separate community under the protection of the Crown. . . . Early in the twelfth century, the townsmen of Coventry obtained a charter empowering them to admit *comburgenses*, and it would seem that any one of the numerous towns which obtained a guild merchant had the power, if it had the will, to adopt aliens to its trading privileges." Flemish masons were also in high repute: they were employed by Bishop Poer at Salisbury, and there is reason to believe that some of them had a hand in the erection of Llandaff Cathedral and Caerphilly Castle. When the citizens of London were about to rebuild their bridges in the be-

ginning of the thirteenth century, they were recommended by King John to secure the services of Iselbert, who was master of the Masons' School at Saintongeas. He had already executed similar undertakings at Rochelle and elsewhere.

Edward III looked to Flanders as the source whence skilled labour might be drawn. It has been surmised that early weavers selected the neighbourhood of Cranbrook in Kent for their manufacture, but tradition assigns the eastern counties, and especially the neighbourhood of Norwich, as the district where many of these weavers settled. . . . Two weavers from Brabant obtained authority to settle in York, while Thomas Blanket set up looms and carried on the manufacture of weaving on a considerable scale in Bristol. The later immigrations of destitute aliens were concentrated in the counties nearest the coast, from which they gradually spread inland, but skilled artisans, invited here under royal patronage, appear to have immediately made their way to the neighbourhood of the wool-growing districts.

In 1453 there was a grant to John de Salvo and Anthony Spynile, allowing them to introduce foreign cloth makers: and Anthony Bonvis, an Italian, obtained permission to introduce an improved method of spinning into Devonshire. Endeavours were made by Henry VIII to obtain the services of Germans in order to develop the mineral resources of England. In 1528, Joachim Hechstetter, of Augsburg, was appointed principal surveyor and master of all mines in England and Ireland, and was empowered to come over with six Germans to start operations and erect smelting houses. The immigrants in the time of Edward III appear to have rapidly merged with the rest of the population. It seems possible that it is to the seventeenth century, and especially to the time of James I, that we are to attribute the large immigration of weavers which took place. French miners and masons came to Scotland during the reign of James V, and Mary of Guise is alleged to have introduced workmen from France, but in Scotland it may be said that the influence of the travelled Scot is more noticeable than that of the alien who came to this island. The manufacture of blankets at Witney, Oxfordshire, was connected with alien settlers.

Humphrey was very energetic in attempting to develop new branches of the manufacture of brass: with the help of German associates he endeavoured to mine for copper and calamine stone, and he established wire and battery works at Tintern. Wire-making was started at Esher in Surrey by Mommer and Demetrius, and there was a Dutchman who opened a wire mill at Richmond in 1662. The making of Spanish needles was begun in England by a German in 1556. Men were brought from Holland to establish the manufacture of brass at Bristol in the eighteenth century.

Cutlery has long been made at Sheffield, but the improvement in the manufacture of knives was in all probability due to the settlement of Flemish cutlers, who began the manufacture of steel at Shotley Bridge, near Newcastle. Cotton was imported from Antwerp in 1560. It was by refugees, after the sack of Antwerp, that cotton was established as a manufacture in Manchester. There were also engineering works of various kinds undertaken during this period with the assistance of German immigrants. Waterworks for London were projected by an Italian named Genbelli. In Scotland, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, Eustacius Roche had a patent granted to him for the manufacture of salt. Several Flemings obtained mining rights, and in 1590 a German, Peter Groot Heare, and several associates, were licensed by the Privy Council to make paper for nine years. At this period there is only one solitary instance in which a settlement of refugees was made under the patronage of Sir H. Sidney, at Swords, near Dublin, for the manufacture of ticking and leather work.

A most important movement was the great attempt to reclaim Hatfield Chase, and to drain the Fens, and this was accomplished by Vermuyden, an engineer of Dutch extraction, and by the labour of Dutch settlers. In 1621 Vermuyden had been employed to repair breaches in the banks of the Thames. Five years later he entered into an agreement with Charles I for his first big venture, the drainage of Hatfield Chase, and in 1629 a grant was made to him and his heirs of a third of such land as he should succeed in reclaiming. This enterprise was financed by Dutch capitalists in London, Amsterdam, and Dordrecht, and was executed by workmen brought from Holland. The work was carried on in spite of the determined opposition of the fenmen. Progress was also made under Dutch influence in the mechanical and mining arts. The clocks which had been previously made in England were of French design, and Frenchmen had been brought over to work at the clock at Nonsuch Palace, under Henry VIII. But the term Dutch clock suggests the fact that, at the time, pieces of this type were originally made in Holland. They were first made in England, soon after the Restoration, by a Dutchman named Fromantil. The use of gunpowder in mining operations is said to have been practised first in England by German miners, brought in by Prince Rupert to Ecton in Staffordshire. In 1692 Martin Biggar, a German, made an application to the clerk of the council for a patent and monopoly for making refined sugar, and in 1634 certain foreigners, known as Theries, proposed to make loaves of white sugar for the first time in England. A German set up a kind of furnace for brewing under Elizabeth, and in the reign of James I there were Dutch brewers in London. Gardening, both ornamental and for kitchen purposes,

was scarcely known in England before this time, but the formal fashion, which has not altogether died out, was introduced from Holland, while the cultivation of not a few vegetables may be dated from the same period.

After one attempt had failed, Thomas Lombe, of Derby, went to Italy in 1715, and secured men to come and set up a mill at Derby for throwing silk, and one of the men introduced by him attempted the same thing at Stockport. In Ireland the silk industry was established by a refugee at Lisburn. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the ribbon trade was started at Coventry. Its promoter was an Englishman, but the use of numerous French terms in the process indicates the nationality of the workers by whose skill it was established. The Irish Parliament had been making efforts to foster the linen manufacture, especially after the repression of the woollen trade in 1696, and they cordially welcomed foreign Protestants. But little success attended their efforts until they obtained Royal patronage, and secured the services of Louis Crommelin. He was a Frenchman from Picardy, who had settled in Holland, and he was enabled to bring over an industrial colony of Frenchmen from Holland, and to settle at Lisburn. This was the foundation of the linen manufacture in the north of Ireland.

It is hard to say what success attended the various experiments in paper-making, which date from Tudor times, but there can be little doubt that the chief development of the industry in this country was due to French refugees. The art of making sheets of plate glass in England is said to owe its introduction to a Frenchman, Abraham Thevenart, and in Scotland his compatriot, Le Blanc, instructed his fellow-workmen in glass polishing. Rope-making was carried on in Leith by a Huguenot; while another refugee, Paul Martin, introduced the manufacture of lancets and other surgical instruments into Edinburgh. A silk weaver from Rouen came in 1532, and two others a few years later. A ribbon weaver came from Gascony in 1628. The making of combs, buttons, jewellery, baskets, and embroidery, were among the occupations of aliens. Dutch tapestry-makers settled in London, and several glaziers from the Low Countries and from France. The art of printing had been learnt by Caxton in the previous century in Germany. Book-binding was practised by foreigners. The making of felt hats (in Henry VIII's reign) was introduced by Spaniards and Dutch.

In 1561 a number of families, 406 persons in all, who had been driven out of Flanders and Brabant, were allowed to settle in Sandwich in order to carry on weaving and to engage in fishing. The Corporation of Norwich petitioned to have some families settled in their town, and thirty Dutch families of weavers were sent among

them. They met with some opposition, but after ten years there was no longer any doubt as to the profit which the town had derived from their presence. The establishment of glass engraving in London and of new potteries is due to aliens; they began silk-weaving in Canterbury and thread-making at Maidstone; linen-weaving, printing, and the making of needles and parchment. Many were skilled as gardeners. The introduction of lace-making is attributed to refugees from the Low Countries. Flemish names figure in church registers at Honiton.

The Dutch and Walloon colonies were separately organised for social and religious purposes, but they soon came to be highly appreciated by their neighbours as an important factor in the economic welfare of the country. Spain had suffered severely by imposing disabilities on aliens, and England gained immensely by encouraging their immigration, and absorbing them as an integral part of the nation. Partly through the force of circumstances, but partly also through the wisdom of Government, there was thus a development of the manufacture of native products, which reacted in a healthy and natural manner on the improvement of agriculture and the increase of trade.

The methods which Cecil (Queen Elizabeth's great minister) adopted for carrying out the promotion of industry and trades provide another interesting contrast to that of Spain. He had indeed to obtain assistance from the group of Augsburg capitalists who had taken such a leading part in European finance, but he relied on them rather for their technical skill and enterprise in organising undertakings, than for the capital with which new schemes were carried out. The usual plan was to grant a concession to a company, the capital being subscribed in England, though the management was controlled by the Hocksetters and other German adventurers. By this means the arts of brass-founding and wire-pulling were planted, and mining for the useful metals was largely carried on. Most important of all was the skill of the German engineers; their methods of pumping water were introduced, and rendered mining possible where it had never been practised before.

In France it was to the interests of the French monarchy, with its large income drawn from taxation, that measures should be taken to advance internal trade, to plant industries, and to improve agriculture, so that people might be prosperous and able to contribute their quota to the revenue.

In his *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières et de l'Industrie en France avant 1789* Levasseur shows that the industrial life of France owes something to alien immigrants. The great minister of Louis XIV, Colbert, is regarded as the father of French industrialism. One

of the motives which induced Colbert to start industries in the country was the idleness of the people, and his desire to give them work. He subsidised manufactures in order to stimulate the people and rouse them from their apathy. . . . Colbert employed agents to start these manufactures, and he brought from Italy Silvio, a maker of cloth of gold and silver, who taught the trade to Marcellus Charlier. Colbert also employed the French ambassador, as well as his business agent in Holland, to recruit the best agents there. In 1665 Van Robais set out from Middlebourg with all his family for Abbeville, where he founded the manufacture of fine cloth, which remained for so long one of the most important trades in France. Van Robais received for his expenses at the time 22,560 francs. He began work with fifty workmen. Woollen manufactures were established at Carcassonne, at Guise, etc. From Germany came tin-men, from Sweden moulders and prospectors of mines, from Italy lace-makers and glass-manufacturers, from Flanders carpet-makers, and from Holland men who could make canals. In Colbert's accounts are often found entered the sums of money he paid to his agents for introducing foreign workmen.

When we come to the influence of foreigners and aliens on the intellectual and spiritual life of the countries they entered, it seems impossible to exaggerate its importance. It would be well worth while to trace its course through history, but for our present purpose we need only mention the Roman missionaries who planted Christianity in this country. They came from abroad, and they exercised an extraordinary influence upon the development of English life. Varieties of type and of intelligence have been of the greatest importance in introducing new methods of business and improved processes of production, but in the world of intellectual and spiritual life the foreign visitor has brought us gifts beyond all price for the building up of our civilisation.

We have now shown that the principal method by which culture has been diffused over the globe has been by migration. Even in the present day, when the opportunities of intercommunication and the means of transmitting knowledge are so easy, ideas and opinions do not travel rapidly from advanced to backward countries, unless through the personal medium of those who are imbued with the advanced ways of thinking. So far as the practice of manual arts is concerned, it may be said that it can hardly be communicated from one country to another unless those who possess the necessary skill shall migrate, and this is also true of forms of social organisation. We must remember when we try to apply this knowledge to future history that the larger invasions of foreigners, by which so much industrial life came to us, were the result of great political or religious persecution in their own countries. Those immigrations

brought the most energetic and the choicest spirits of the nations from which they came. They were the type of the Pilgrim Fathers, men of thought and action and courage, who refused to submit to tyranny and oppression. It may be suggested that the same type can be found now in the countries still under tyranny. The emigrants from these countries would be the best, and not the worst. Of this problem, a recent writer says, "It is commonly supposed that the stranger in a country is a decided disadvantage. The teaching of history points very much in the opposite direction."

I am also inclined to suggest that the growing armaments of the older worlds are (apart from all other drawbacks) an actual handicap to the growth of wealth in many lands. They act as a strong barrier to the development of trade, and still more to the growth and spread of the new ideas that would naturally travel from country to country by the intermixing of the peoples. Where you have your inventive minds occupied in the mechanism of war, and where conscription closes the door to life in some lands, you keep out a large part of the elements which would invent and create new trade for those countries. The theory that these armaments actually protect and foster trade is overthrown by the fact that the larger they grow the more we are told of our danger. On the other hand, the unguarded boundary line between Canada and America is more free from scares of war than the frontiers of countries armed to the teeth.

SOPHIA STURGE.

JOHN SCATTERGOOD: EAST INDIA MERCHANT.

A FEW years ago there were unearthed at the Public Record Office some documents formerly belonging to an East India merchant in the time of Queen Anne. These papers came into the custody of the Court of Chancery on the death of their owner, John Scattergood. They consist of letters, diaries, journals, books of account, bills of lading, in English, Portuguese, Chinese and various Hindoo dialects, and throw much light not only on the domestic life of a middle-class family in England at this period, but on methods of trading, prices of commodities, etc.; while the Oriental documents are interesting to the student of philology.

The owner of these papers was the only son of another John Scattergood, also a merchant in the service of the East India Company. The elder John's father was Roger Scattergood, a merchant taylor of London, whose wife, Catherine Westby, could trace her descent from the Conqueror and Charlemagne.

John Scattergood the younger was born in India in 1682, his father having previously died "of a violent fever." He was educated in London, and returned to India when he was fifteen years old. The log of the *Fame* tells of incidents which relieved the monotony of the long voyage; two huge turtles were caught; the "calipee," or rich green fat, was given as a special delicacy to Thomas Pitt, who was going out to take up his new appointment as Governor of Fort St. George (and incidentally to bring back with him the Pitt Diamond). Several "albertrostes" were sighted and one of the ships caught fire; but on July 8th, 1698, the ships of the convoy arrived safely at Fort St. George, and were received with a salute of thirteen guns.

When young John arrived in India he found that his mother had married again. Within a month of his return he was sent to Bengal on a small coasting vessel, Captain How, Master, at a salary of twenty-four rupees a month; and from this time forward we have almost complete records of his doings in the East. His first boyish diary contains such entries as these: he buys half a hogshead of Goa arrack, or rice spirit, for his friends in England; he pays his washerman three rupees for two months' washing; buys a copy of Tavernier's *Travels*; makes payments to the doctor, including eight rupees for a "set of Boles." The last entry is for clothes purchased at Bengal, in anticipation of a journey to Persia.

From the time of his arrival in 1698, the whole of John Scattergood's life was passed in the East, with the exception of two years which he spent on leave in England. He had remarkable

business aptitude, and within a very few years he was able to "adventure" considerable sums in trading voyages, and eventually became the owner of many large vessels. He visited Persia twice, penetrating to the interior as far as Isfahan, and he made at least eight voyages to China. Of his first voyage to Persia no details are preserved, but during his second visit he kept a diary, which is of considerable importance to students of Eastern topography, as it is with one exception—the travels of Le Brun—the only early eighteenth-century account we have of the road from Isfahan to Gombroon.

The diary begins with his departure from Isfahan (where he seems to have stopped for nearly a year) on February 5th, 1707-8, and ends with his arrival at Gombroon, or Bandar Abbas. It is the daily record of an unromantic business man, interested only in his comfort and his pocket, and he keeps careful account of his daily expenses. He passes within a mile or two of the ancient Persepolis, or "Presepolis" as he calls it, and does not think it worth while to stop there, but is careful to record that on that day he spent 8d. on firewood. One of the sights that interested him was the mausoleum of a Persian saint in a garden at Comashaw, "with a fine tanke" full of fish, "some with gold rings in their noses." Of the city of Shiraz he has little to say, except that he bought there 40 lbs. of pomegranates for 6s., and had his horse re-shod and his saddle mended. At Mayar he is impressed by the "extraordinary caravanseroy"; Le Brun had also stayed there and made a sketch of it two years before. The journey from Isfahan to the coast took rather more than a month, and on arriving at Gombroon John was met by the Chief and the principal merchants.

Before he sailed for Persia he had married a young widow, Arabella Forbes, daughter of John Burniston, Deputy Governor of Bombay, and his eldest daughter was born during his absence. We may note that he was away on some voyage or another when each one of his eight children was born. The godfather of his daughter Frances was Elihu Yale, founder of Yale University.

In 1711 John Scattergood made his first voyage to China, landing at Macao, an island at the mouth of the Canton river—the Bocca Tigris as he calls it—and spending several weeks in Canton. His purchases there included silks and satins, both plain and embroidered, which, judging from samples found among his papers, must have been particularly beautiful both in colour and texture; stockings, gold neckcloths, vermilion, quicksilver, coral, amber beads and pearls, tea and teapots, china, clockwork, fans, large jars, sharks' fins (table delicacies) and a large "escretore with draws"; baskets of hams, sugar candy, and "soy." He gives a recipe for making soy:

VOL. CXXXIV

"Take a quantity of grain, more or less, steep them in water for several hours, and then boile them very well. Take them out and strow some flower over them, and soe let them lye warm till they are cover'd all over wth mold. Then dry them well in y^e sun; and then put them [in] a Tub or some other thing y^e is shallow, wth salt and water, and so expose it to y^e sun all day, turning them now and then till they are all melted; y^e water of which is Soy."

He bought a slave-boy eight years old for 17s. 6d., the price of a pound of tea. Another item was a payment to "the Duckmen for hatching Ducks," and these men probably showed him their primitive incubator, so that he was able to surprise his friends by telling them how "To hatch Eggs wth Fire." The method was as follows:

"1.—Take a quantity of eggs put them in a basket cover'd and put y^e basket in a tub and make fire round it thus. Take a hand full of fine beaten charcole, kindle it and cover it all over wth ashes of straw. So keep y^e fire and Tub &c. cover'd altogether close, observing not to keep y^e place too cold or hott but wth a due heate. 2.—Every 4 or 5 houre [you] must put fresh Cole to y^e fire and turn y^e Eggs in y^e baskett y^e Top must be y^e bottom and y^e sides in y^e middle et contra. 3.—After seven or eight days [you] must look y^e Eggs against a Candle and you will find w^{ch} are good and w^{ch} bad y^e bad [you] must turn out. 4.—After seventeen or eighteen days take y^e Eggs and spread them on a wooden frame like a Cott* and so turn them as before keeping little or no fire till they are hatch'd."

A similar method of hatching ducks is still in use in Egypt.

John Scattergood was constantly sending to his friends in England gifts of tea, fans, painted china, lacquered furniture, and seeds of rare Chinese plants. To his favourite daughter, Betty, who had been sent home to be educated, he sends an embroidered gown and petticoat. Several letters from her to her father are extant, written in the pathetically stilted manner in which children of those days were taught to address their parents. They all begin "Honoured Sir," and end "Your dutiful daughter and humble servant"; but beneath these conventional phrases it is easy to perceive an undercurrent of real affection. In one letter she writes: "I will take care to improve my self in all Virtues as much as I can and Endeavour to please you in all things, for I desire no greater pleasure than that of pleasing you." Betty was then thirteen.

Although a generous man, John Scattergood was not above scheming to evade Customs duties, and he knew which Captains were most expert at this game. In one letter he directs that sheets sent as a present should be used on the voyage, and thus "run

**Khat*, an Indian bedstead.

ashore foul." In another he tells his step-sister to ask her husband, Edward Fenwick, and Padre Wendy* to "gallant her" to the Captain's house to get some chintz and tea—the Captain being, as he says, "an excellent man for running things ashore."

Among the papers is a Sino-Portuguese vocabulary which Scattergood copied out to help him in his struggle with the language. His Chinese broker was one Pinkee Winkee; perhaps Pinkee Winkee also taught him Chinese.

By the time he was thirty, his position in India was thoroughly established, and we find him referred to as "the eminent merchant of Madras." In 1715 he hired the good ship *Sommers* for £2,000 to sail from Surat to Persia, the cargo consisting of North Indian piece goods, beads, "elephants' teeth," opium, soap, shawls, etc. A document in Gujarati, a dialect of N.-W. India, also records the acceptance of a bill for 2,000 rupees by "English gentleman, John Katarigut."

In one of his Chinese voyages some of his quicksilver was stolen: "I have," says he, "made a great bustle about our loss; I have been before the Hoppo" (the Chief Commissioner of the Customs) "and Manderins of Justice and have got the rogues in Limbo, I have got them Bamboed severall times and twice tortured by squising their leggs almost to pieces to make them confess their comrogues but they are very poor and very little compensation is to be had from them."

In 1713 he thought of sending his wife and children home, as he found it "very chargeable to maintain a family" at Madras, but he was not able to carry out his intention until two years later, when he returned to England with his two daughters Arabella and Carolina.

In London he and his family lived in Devonshire Street, in a fine Queen Anne House, still in existence. With his partner Thomas Harris he purchased the *Bonita*, a ship of 350 tons, and by licence of the East India Company she sailed from Portsmouth in 1718 with the owners on board. The licence gave them the status of "free merchants," and enabled the vessel to trade from port to port in the East.

John took with him his uncle Roger Scattergood, an ex-officer in the Customs. He had been stationed in Yorkshire, at Otley and Skipton, where he had married Mary Longfellow, of the family from which the poet traced his descent. She soon died, and Roger's second marriage took place at Holy Trinity Chapel, Knightsbridge, where at that time runaway couples could be united, and no questions asked. The registers are significant. After the names we find

* The Revd. James Wendy, Minister of St. Mary's, Fort St. George, then in England.

"secrecy for a year"—"secrecy for five years"—and so on. Perhaps his friends did not approve of this marriage. Uncle Roger was no credit to his family, and his nephew evidently wanted to give him another chance in India, but he was "a man that does not love work." So he was shipped back to England, and would not have been flattered if he had read the letter which his nephew commissioned him to deliver, and which ran as follows:

"To my Aunt Farmerie.*

Hon'd Aunt—This comes by my Uncle who returns once more to England to pay his respects to you. I have done all I could, but he is not fitt for this Countrey. I send him down to Bengall recommended to severall of my friends who would have made him a pursar wth was a very good step to a supercargoe but truely he would not go, but took care to spend me about one hundred pounds and came to me again as wise as he went he complains y^e Countrey does not agree wth him. So I was resolved to send him home and allow him 25 pounds p. ann. on w^{ch} he tells me he can live very well in Yorkshire and drink ale, for he is good for nothing else. I asked him if he would live wth our family in Lincoln, but he says he would rather live in an Oven than wth my Aunt Scattergood. So you have bewitched to bring him out—I had better allowed him a pention before. However he has seen the Indian world and can entertain a Yorkshire Gentleman over a pott of nappy (ale) wth Indian stories etc. By him I have sent you and my Aunt Scattergood a p^{el} of fine muslin w^{ch} he will deliver you. Please to give my respects to my Aunt Maria & service to all freinds.

Remain Dear Aunt Your affect.

Nephew and most Obedient Serv^t—J.S."

John Scattergood's final stay in India lasted for four and a half years, and by hard work he accumulated a capital of £40,000—equivalent to about £200,000 at the present day. He was fortunate not to be in England, for in 1720 came the South Sea crash, which involved so many people in ruin. Many letters from England refer to the South Sea Bubble. Uncle Roger writes to his nephew (July 13th, 1720):

"I could wish and so doe all y^r fr^{ds} & acquaintances that you had never gone to the Indies, for you would certainly have doubled whatever you can expect to gitt where you are, for here is severall that has gott £100,000 and more that had not near what you had, nay some scarcely anything (by the South Sea Stock) w^{ch} is the admiration of most people, but who could foresee what has happened or what may?"

Who indeed? For seven months later (February 27th, 1720-1) his uncle writes in a very different strain:

* Katherine Scattergood, who had married the Revd. John Farmerie, Canon of Lincoln and Rector of Broxholme, Co. Lincoln.

"Here is such unaccountable transactions this last year w^{ch} could not enter into the heart of man to believe, relating to y^e South Sea Company who have Bubbled all they have dealt wth except some few they had occasion for in carrying on their designs. I doubt not but you will have a larger account of it from other hands, but am heartily glad that you was not here fearing the destiny of abundance of persons with many 1000sands before & now beggars. This is the reverse of what I wrote in my former letter to you."

It certainly is! About the same time his sister Elizabeth Fenwick writes to John Scattergood: "You will hear from all hands, what doings we have had hear, and what great Esteats that people have imagin'd to have got, which are all come to nothing, by the fall of stocks, which has made a great many very miserable, that have bought [at] high prizes, and now that they have fallen have lost thare all, but now that the Parliament has taken it in hand, hope we shall soon see better times." As a matter of fact they did see better times, for they sold out at the right moment. His sister Nancy was not so fortunate; she writes: "I am one of the adventurers in that dangerous South Sea, and am afraid Mama and I shall suffer by it." They did not lose much; but from other letters we learn that they had expected to make £30,000 and £18,000 respectively by their "adventure." They held on too long.

But to return to John Scattergood. He made four more voyages to Canton. On one occasion his ship the *Bonita* and her consorts encountered a fleet under the command of the notable Indian pirate Angria. They escaped an attack by altering their course, but one of the ships sprang a leak, and the voyage had to be abandoned. "All this," writes John, "chagrened me so much that I thought I should fall sick." Although he was only forty-two his health was, in fact, beginning to fail, and he was "heartily tired of India," and longed "to lay his bones in England."

And so, having settled up all his affairs in Madras, he sailed for China, and had spent two months in Canton, when an unfortunate incident occurred. The gunner's mate fired at a bird in a paddy field, missed the bird, but accidentally killed a Chinese boy. By order of the Mandarin the innocent purser was seized and thrown into prison. From prison he wrote a letter with a brush, Chinese fashion:

"S^r—In this my confine^t I want 6 or 8 Doll^{rs} for Prison Charges and a little Liquor and Victualls w^{ch} pray send me & likewise the person guilty that I may be Released w^{ch} I don't care how soon for I am honoured wth a chain about my neck, so hope I shall hear from you tonight, may send what I desire by my China boy or one of the Linquist men—

"Your most humble servant, W^m Colebrook."

"Morning 8 a'clock."

The Company's officials, and Father Maurant, a Jesuit priest, interceded with the Hoppo on behalf of the traders. Eventually the bereaved parents received 350 *taels* (£70) as compensation, the Hoppo and the Governor consented to accept five times that amount, and the purser was released. But even then the Hoppo withheld the "Grand Chop," without which licence no ship could depart, until November 17th, when the "Grand Chop" was confirmed, and Scattergood's ships returned to Madras, while he himself sailed shortly afterwards in the *Lyell* for England. During the long homeward voyage his health entirely broke down, and he was put ashore at Portsmouth on June 10th, 1723, so ill that he died two days afterwards, without seeing again any of his kith and kin. His thoughts had always turned with longing to England as "home," but his wish to lay his bones there was the only one of his hopes to be fulfilled.

BERNARD P. SCATTERGOOD.

SUNLIGHT IN INDUSTRIAL ENGLAND.

JUSTLY or unjustly, England has acquired a reputation as a conservative nation. This term has often been misapplied politically, but considered generally, England is slow to change her ways, and will only diffidently invite the assistance of modern processes and ideas in the conduct of her affairs. Many inventions evolved by Englishmen in their own country have first been exploited abroad before being recognised at home, and though, on a subject so vast, generalisations are impossible, it is by no means difficult to see why the application of artificially-created ultra-violet energy to industry should have received such comparatively meagre support.

One of the most distinguished and indefatigable advocates in the propagation of sunlight-knowledge, Dr. C. W. Saleeby, M.D., F.R.S.E., has for the greater part of twenty years been pressing the claims of coal-miners and night-workers for the provision of treatment with artificial illuminants to compensate for the lack of natural sunlight occasioned by their work, and though such methods have been successfully adopted in other countries, it was not until late in 1926 that the first pithead sunlight clinic was installed in England.

Against this apparent lack of a capacity seriously to consider initial experiments in general instances, it must be admitted that once the value of some discovery or invention has been definitely proved and its commercial applicability demonstrated elsewhere, English industrialists will willingly give it most careful consideration and, if approved, adapt it for use in their own particular class of trade. It is, therefore, a direct consequence of this that the use of artificial sunlight is increasing rapidly, and, judging by the interest evinced at the present time, more widespread application is probable shortly.

The therapeutic use of ultra-violet light in cases of particular diseases such as tuberculosis, rickets and others, has been demonstrated in hospitals and sanatoria throughout the country, and remarkably successful results have been achieved. To the lay mind, however, and even to the mind scientifically trained in a different branch, this discovery, important as it may be, and in spite of its surprising success in specific cases, is but another achievement of medical science which is only of passing interest to the world in general. Now, however, that the advantages to health by general irradiations of the whole body with artificial illuminants has been established, this illusion has been rapidly dispelled and, from being a purely scientific achievement, the invention has evolved into a definite factor in industry which is being taken

advantage of by manufacturers engaged in all classes of trade.

Those who are personally acquainted with the large industrial centres of England will fully appreciate that they are distinctly remarkable if only for their smoke-laden atmosphere, and when London is contrasted with New York or Sheffield with Essen in this respect, it is not surprising that there is an urgent need for the provision of sunlight in England by other than natural means. A further disadvantage is a climate world-renowned for its fog and gloom, and so the worker in an industrial centre aiming at a high standard of personal efficiency has things to contend with which are beyond his control, though in the first instance not beyond that of his employer. This state of affairs is by no means confined to England and is also by no means applicable to the whole of the country. Germany, Belgium, France and other countries in Europe, as well as various cities in the United States of America, have instances of smoke-laden atmospheric conditions which are equally disgraceful to their respective nationalities, and all of which could be effectively remedied.

The theory on which artificial sunlight treatment is based is that the majority of people do not receive the amount of sunlight which is necessary to maintain health at the highest standard of efficiency. This is due primarily to the conditions already mentioned, and also in individual cases to the nature of the work in which people are engaged during the day. This is obvious at once in the case of miners and night-workers, but employees in sedentary occupations, who spend the greater part of their time in offices, works and shops, do not receive as a whole their full quota of sunlight.

Widespread interest has been aroused by the establishment of the first experimental pit-head sunlight clinic at Mansfield by the Directors of the Sherwood Colliery Company. When its success has been proved, as it most certainly will be, the installation of similar apparatus by other mining concerns will follow, while many manufacturing industries will adopt ultra-violet light treatment as part of their schemes for maintaining high personal and collective efficiency amongst their workers.

It is about thirty-six years since Professor Finsen of Copenhagen produced the first lamp for generating ultra-violet energy, and considerably less since these irradiations were used medicinally with outstanding success. The present application of artificial sunlight, as it is popularly known, by irradiating the whole body with artificial illuminants, is due more particularly to the great work of Dr. Rollier at Leysin in the Alpes Vaudoises, and Dr. Bernhard at Samaden. They were the pioneers in demonstrating the use of ultra-violet rays for increasing vitality, improving general

health, and also more specifically in the treatment of tuberculosis. The clear atmosphere of the High Alps is eminently suitable for obtaining the maximum amount of rays from the sun, and remarkable results have been obtained.

When the possibility of increasing industrial efficiency by this means was first conceived, the immediate difficulty in England was the lack of a constant supply of natural sunlight. The present success of sunlight treatment is due to a very large extent to the invention of the mercury arc quartz lamp which produces a greater intensity of ultra-violet rays than the sun itself, together with the great advantage of being available as and when required. It is this lamp which is being used so largely for therapeutic purposes in industry.

How the mercury vapour lamp compares with other sources of light in the amount of ultra-violet radiations produced is clearly shown by the following table compiled by Dr. L. C. Donnelly, M.D. :

Mercury vapour quartz lamp gives 28 per cent. ultra-violet light, 52 per cent. visible light, 20 per cent. infra red.

Sunlight gives 7 per cent. ultra-violet light, 13 per cent. visible light, 80 per cent. infra red.

Carbon arc lamp gives 5 per cent. ultra-violet light, 10 per cent. visible light, 85 per cent. infra red.

Incandescent lamp gives 1 per cent. ultra-violet light, 6 per cent. visible light, 93 per cent. infra red.

The glass of the incandescent lamp filters out practically all the beneficial ultra-violet rays.

The invention of "vitaglass" by Mr. F. E. Lamplough, M.A., makes a great step forward in the more widespread use of ultra-violet light in factories. Hitherto, the lamps have been made of quartz, which is extremely expensive, and effectively prevents the installation of apparatus on a large scale. Quartz will allow ultra-violet rays to pass through it while glass will not. "Vitaglass" will also allow these rays to pass through, and it can be produced at very much less expense. In all probability the near future will see lamps made of "vitaglass" instead of quartz, which will be followed by enormously beneficial results to the industrial community.

The new glass is being used also for factory lighting instead of ordinary window glass, and though the cost is about six times more, many industrial companies consider it essential in a modern factory conducted on a hygienic basis. All the ultra-violet light from the sun which can penetrate our smoky skies is passed through the windows into the factory instead of being eliminated by the ordinary glass, and it is also interesting to find that companies who have realised the advantages of this method also

appreciate the tremendously bad effects which the smoke from factory chimneys has on general health, and in many cases smoke-abatement schemes are being practised with considerable success.

When methods such as these are more fully developed in England as they already have been in America and Germany, both personal and collective efficiency will be materially increased, which incidentally, and quite apart from the moral and social values, will be reflected in the companies' balance-sheets by increased output. A very interesting demonstration of this in the United States of America is recorded by Dr. L. C. Donnelly. The General Electric Company have made extensive investigations regarding the effects of ultra-violet energy on the efficiency of employees, and they found that during the winter months more mistakes were made and individual output was less than in the summer months. Ultra-violet burners were installed at one end of a large room and suitably screened to prevent injury to the eyes by the shorter wave-lengths. At the end of a month it was found that employees under the ultra-violet lights were producing considerably more work than those at the other end, and that the percentage of errors was greatly reduced. This is not an isolated example, and many manufacturers are being compelled to realise that the value of sunlight in industry is no longer a mere theory, but a practical means of increasing efficiency which must have careful consideration.

The therapeutic use of ultra-violet energy is not claimed as a certain cure for all ills, but irradiation produces a skin reaction which accelerates and increases other methods of healing such as medicine and diet. Professors Hoffman and Bloch are jointly responsible for the generally accepted theory regarding the action of ultra-violet energy on the human system. This is known as the esophylaxian theory, and states that the human skin possesses an inwardly directed protective function (esophylaxis) of forming anti-toxins.

In general irradiations the amount of the dosage is an extremely important factor upon which is dependent practically the whole success of the treatment. Too little is not satisfactory, while too much can be definitely harmful. Writing on the effects of incorrect dosage, Professor Leonard Hill, M.B., F.R.S., one of the most distinguished research workers in the country, says, "Excessive irradiation may cause a fall in bactericidal power, fatigue and general malaise." In consideration of this, where the rays are used therapeutically in an industrial concern, they must be under the direction of a competent medical man. Those firms with health departments already in operation are incorporating ultra-violet light treatment with considerable success, and smaller companies which do not possess their own apparatus are now able to send

patients whose cases have been approved by their own doctor to the municipal clinic for treatment. Sunlight clinics under municipal control have been inaugurated by a large number of cities throughout the country, particularly in industrial centres. These are governed by the municipal health authorities, and though primarily intended for maintaining the health of school children, they are always available for treatment in industrial cases when required.

It is seldom that a particular branch of science achieves popularity, but this has occurred twice recently. Broadcasting is naturally the most noticeable and widespread, but sunlight treatment is now enjoying a large measure of popular success. Privately controlled centres for treatment have been installed in the majority of towns and cities throughout England, and the results are very satisfactory. In these cases the dosage given is very mild, and the irradiations are taken as a tonic rather than as treatment for a particular disease.

A factory medical department is not directly concerned with the treatment of disease. Its work is principally in the prevention of illness and in the treatment of minor injuries. When employees are suffering from infectious complaints, particularly tuberculosis, they are treated by the local hospital or sanatoria authorities, with whom the factory health department works in close co-operation. Certain metabolic and dermatological disorders, can, however, be treated with success, and in many cases a more serious disease may be prevented.

The method for ascertaining the correct dosage which is used in general practice is to observe the degree of erythema produced on the skin after exposure to irradiations for a known time at a known distance. While this method is quite good for ordinary use, it does not record exactly, and various other means have been devised to obtain more accurate results. The infusoria-killing test, the methylene blue test evolved by Professor Hill, and, finally, the convenient uviometer have satisfactorily solved this difficulty, and the required information can now be obtained to a remarkable degree of accuracy.

Industries equipped with ultra-violet light plant find it invaluable in the prevention of septic poisoning supervening after a wound, and engineering works particularly are deriving great benefit. The annual loss to the country from cases of septic poisoning in industry is enormous. A very large number of working hours are lost annually, and the monetary benefits paid to employees total a tremendous sum. H.M. Inspector-General of Factories is at present concentrating especially on the prevention of septicæmia, and the more extensive use of ultra-violet energy is one of the methods advocated. The entire tract of a wound is flooded with a photo-

sensitive dye and then exposed to ultra-violet irradiations. The dye conducts the ultra-violet energy to all portions of the wound, and the resulting flooding of the tissues with red blood cells relieves pain and hastens healing. It is also claimed that wounds treated in this way leave less scar than by any other method.

Dr. Van Lier of Holland brings remarkable evidence in support of ultra-violet light as a sterilising agent. He has performed over eight hundred surgical operations using no other antiseptic than these irradiations, and it is claimed that superior results are obtained over ordinary methods. A mercury vapour quartz lamp was used and the surgeon's hand and instruments were first irradiated. Then the field of operation, the patient's skin and the atmosphere above, were all exposed to ultra-violet light. Rubber gloves were not worn.

The therapeutic use of artificially created ultra-violet light in maintaining industrial health may be divided into three sections: Irradiation of the employee to produce higher personal efficiency; the treatment of wounds and minor diseases, effecting a saving in working hours lost and benefits paid; and the irradiation of the atmosphere and materials used to provide better conditions of labour and consequently increased collective efficiency and output.

The ultimate value to industry in England considered as a whole cannot yet be fully determined in view of the insufficient data available. The results of one particular experiment in an industrial company cannot be considered as being applicable to the whole of the country because the conditions of labour vary enormously in different manufacturing processes, and a suitable scheme for one instance may not produce such beneficial results in another. From the information available at present, however, and in collaboration with other countries which have had greater experience, it can be definitely assumed that the use of artificially created ultra-violet energy will produce beneficial results in industry by improving personal health and efficiency and increasing output, particularly in cases deficient in natural sunlight.

Though not used therapeutically, recent developments in the irradiation of foodstuffs will have considerable effect in promoting better health. In all large hospitals and sanatoria and also in many wholesale distributories, milk is irradiated before use, to produce complete sterilisation. This is claimed as the only method which does not affect the taste of the milk, while the calcium content is said to be increased. The extensive irradiation of foodstuffs in general use is a certain development of the future, and "there is little doubt that when it becomes possible certain foodstuffs will be irradiated on a commercial scale." Various companies, particularly those engaged in the manufacture of foods, already use this means

as a preventative sterilisation in various processes of manufacture, and the more extensive application will certainly be reflected by an improvement in communal health.

In a country such as England where the population is crowded more and more into towns, and where even country dwellers are deprived of sunlight through the vagaries of climate, the practical value of ultra-violet energy in restoring health and increasing vitality under such a wide range of conditions is more than sufficient, apart from the many technical uses, to warrant the extensive installation of apparatus in industrial concerns engaged in all processes of manufacture. This will compensate to a very large extent for the gloomy climate, the smoke-laden skies and indoor life, and the result will be an immediate and permanent benefit to general health and industrial efficiency throughout the country.

L. V. DODDS.

THE ENGLISH IN FRENCH FOLKLORE.

A RECENT French speaker, alluding to the conquest of England by William of Normandy, wittily described this country as "France's greatest colonial triumph." Though he obviously did not intend his words to be regarded as anything more than a passing sally, they do suggest an interesting inquiry into the reaction of the French peasant mind—that is to say, the very centre and core of France—to France's "colonials." And such an inquiry, some typical results of which are embodied in this paper, makes unmistakably plain the dread and hatred engendered by the mere name of the English throughout the whole countryside of her present ally.

Nowadays, of course, the Frenchman has become too accustomed to English tourists to look upon them in any other light than that of grist to his mill. But a century ago Englishmen were still referred to in Normandy as *Godons*, relic of the Hundred Years' War when, according to Norman folksongs, their favourite expletive was "Goddam." It used to be averred that the English rejoiced in an elongation of the spinal column, and expressions in this sense were not uncommon until the sixteenth century. Later they were called Lobsters—allusion to the red uniform of their soldiers—and Hermit Crabs, because, it was said, they liked nothing better than to take possession of other people's shells. In Brittany they were synonymous both with pigs and creditors, the latter simile, it has been suggested, probably arising out of the heavy ransoms extracted from the French during the interminable wars of the Middle Ages.

As standards of comparison the English were no more fortunate than in their nicknames. "To swear like an Englishman" and "to drink like an Englishman" are expressions which I have myself heard in a French town where many thousands of English troops were stationed throughout the Great War; they are expressions which date back to mediæval times. *Grossier comme un Anglais* was a comparison not unknown a quarter of a century ago among the *habitants* of Canada. In parts of the centre of France, did one man injure another, the aggrieved would cry out "*Chien d'Anglais!*" and at one time on the Ile de Ré, opposite La Rochelle, the loser in an argument would consider himself once more on a footing of equality if he exclaimed "*Va donc, Anglais!*" to his victorious opponent. Several folksongs allude to the long-standing hatred between the two countries. In one of them, a French lady weds an Englishman, but, she declares, "I would sooner marry a lowly French soldier than the King of England himself." According to some versions, however, the dame, anticipating doubtless the international friendship she did not live to see, determines to

do her utmost to try to love her husband. In another song a shepherdess fights the English King:

Prends ton épée en main
Et moi ma quenouillette. . . .
Au premier coup porté
Le roi tomba par terre.
Le maudit roi est mort,
Nous n'aurons plus de guerre.

In that last line we have the essence of all the French feeling against England; for in spite of the military ardour which has always characterised his nation, the French peasant knows well that peace is his best friend and his surest ally. But while the English occupied French provinces, and for some three hundred years afterwards, there was no peace.

At the same time, in the Centre, West, and South-West, there persist a few stories and traditions which seem to point to an attitude other than that of mere fear and hatred. The French mind appears to have been impressed with the strength and sometimes the strangeness of the castles built by the English during their occupation and to have assumed that any piece of unusual construction could be attributed to them. Thus, in the Department of Aveyron, they are credited with the erection of megalithic monuments; dolmens are called the Tombs of the English, and a Roman aqueduct goes by the inappropriate name of the Englishman's Cellar. In Berry we find *le Chemin des Anglais*, and in the Landes of Gascony the English are declared to have heaped together mounds of earth, still to be seen from afar over the flat countryside, beneath which they buried their treasure; while in Brittany and in the neighbourhood of Agen (Lot-et-Garonne) they are popularly believed to have been both architects and builders of some of the finest churches and even of the cathedrals.

But with these few exceptions, it is their pugnacity, sometimes their cruelty, always their sturdy refusal to accept defeat, that have impressed themselves most forcibly on the French mind; so much is plain from the wealth of legends and semi-historical folktales that have clustered round the occasions upon which the French succeeded in overcoming them. Throughout the length and breadth of France such legends and folktales are told, from Brittany to Béziers and from Dunkerque to Lyons; English bones, according to tradition, lie scattered over France in greater profusion even than the bones of Frenchmen, for when the opportunity for slaughter came their way the French were no sluggards. In at least one town—Montluçon, in the Department of Allier—the most important annual fair owes its establishment to a defeat of the English in one of its suburbs.

In 1421 was fought the battle of Baugé, in Maine-et-Loire, in which the English under the Duke of Clarence were defeated. The

story is told that some time before the battle the English captured a girl and burned her alive; and there arose out of the flames a dove which spoke to the savage soldiery. "By the Divine Will," said the dove, "has it been ordained that you shall die, every one of you, between two places which bear the same name." When they arrived that night at their camp, the English set about discovering the names of the towns near by. On one side of them, they were told, was the place called Baugé, on the other, the place called Vieil-Baugé. Then the words of the dove came back to their memory; and indeed, so heavy was the defeat they sustained that a mill-wheel on the battle-field is declared to have turned with the blood that flowed beneath it. The Duke of Clarence (actually he was killed) and an unspecified Queen of England, whom tradition asserts to have been present with her troops, saved themselves only by jumping to horse and taking a leap, still measurable by the imprints of their steeds' hoofs, so gigantic that it has come to be regarded as miraculous.

A favourite booty of the English when they captured a town was the church bell, which they used to send across the sea to their own country. When they pillaged the Abbey of Corneville, near Pont-Audemer in Normandy, however, the boat containing the great bell sank in the river Risle. Whereupon the English attempted to salve it; but just at that moment the French fell upon and decimated them. Ever since then, it is said, the bell rings upon joyous occasions at the bottom of the river to demonstrate beyond doubt that it is still upon French soil—a tradition which will be not unfamiliar to lovers of Planquette's celebrated operetta "*Les Clôches de Corneville*." Similarly, the Baron of Les Biards, in the Department of Manche, sank his treasure in the river rather than allow it to fall into English hands. Now part of this treasure consisted of three lovely silver bells. They may be seen to this day shining through the water when the sky is cloudless; but the current is so rapid and the bells have grown so heavy that no one has yet dared risk his life in recovering them. Nevertheless, they ring every Christmas Eve of their own accord.

Miraculous intervention of the Blessed Virgin and her Saints seems often to have saved the French from disasters courted through deficiencies in their organisation or even in their integrity. When the English lay siege to Poitiers in 1202, a cleric within the town struck a bargain with the enemy to deliver to them the keys of one of the gates. But at the fateful hour no keys were to be found; the cleric went therefore to the Mayor with the tale that he required them for a loyal gentleman who was on his way to the King of France. Now the Mayor could not find them either; and becoming suspicious, he called the inhabitants to arms. When the

walls were manned, the English could be seen beneath the gate fighting furiously among themselves; but meanwhile the Mayor had hurried off to the Cathedral to place the town once more under the gracious protection of Our Lady—and there, safely reposing in the arms of her statue, lay the precious keys. With them the gate was opened; the townsfolk fell upon the English, killing the greater part of them but taking a few prisoners in order to learn the truth about their strange fight among themselves. By the prisoners the story of the cleric's treachery was disclosed; but they added that while they awaited the keys a splendidly-robed queen stood above the gate attended on the one hand by a bishop and on the other by a nun. These three were at the head of a large number of soldiers who fell upon the English with violence, and the English were hard put to it to defend themselves. The Poitivins at once recognised in these three figures the Blessed Virgin, St. Hilaire and St. Radégonde, the Patron Saints of the city; and in memory of their happy intervention, new statutes, which may still be seen, were erected upon the altar of the church of *Nôtre Dame*, and representations of keys suspended from the vaulting.

On a later occasion, when the English were besieging Quimper in Brittany, a cannon-ball which crashed through the window of a church was caught and held by a statue of the Virgin; and the statue bent down and gently rolled the cannon-ball along the nave and out of the western door to safety. At Chartres also, a statue of the Blessed Lady attracted all the English bullets into her lap. At Rennes, St. Melaine revealed to the defenders a passage which the English had dug beneath the walls; whereupon the people of Rennes let loose in the passage a bull with quicksilver in its ears and sickles attached to its horns.

Probably no individual Englishman has become more conspicuous in French folklore than Richard Cœur-de-Lion. Although in his own Duchy of Normandy his reputation is higher than a strict reading of history would seem to justify, yet in the provinces of the Centre, where he was constantly engaged in warfare with turbulent barons or with his own kith and kin, his memory is of the blackest. No violence or cruelty was too terrible for his pleasure: wives and daughters he carried off by the score to satisfy his lust and, after he had grown tired of them, threw them to his men-at-arms. Indiscriminate slaughter was his hobby; in the Holy Land Saracen prisoners were served as choice dishes at his table; and a sigh of relief went up to Heaven from the entire countryside of the Centre when the intrepid French archer at Chalus, in the Department of Haute-Vienne, extracted an English arrow from the wall of his besieged castle and with it shot the English King and ruffian. In Normandy, however, it is told that he was once called upon to give

judgment in a dispute between an Angel and Satan. A certain monk had stolen away from his monastery at Caen to visit a woman for other purposes than giving her absolution. On his journey he fell into the river and was drowned; and Satan promptly seized his soul out of the very hands of an Angel who had just arrived to carry it to Paradise. The Angel argued that the monk's life had been irreproachable and, whatever his intentions, he had not sinned at the time of his death; the Devil, on the other hand, maintained that his innocence was due to nothing but the accident of drowning. Finally they decided to put the matter before Richard, whom both admitted to be the justest man in all the Duchy. And Richard ordered that the monk be restored to life and placed in exactly the spot on the river bank at which he met his death; if he sinned, the Devil might claim him; if not, he belonged to the Angel. The decree, therefore, was duly carried out, and the monk found himself once more walking beside the river; when suddenly, in a terrible fright, he tucked up the skirt of his habit and ran his hardest back to the monastery, never again to leave it.

And so his soul was lost to the Devil.*

It is perhaps strange, when the fury occasioned by her death is borne in mind, that comparatively few legends and traditions seem to have grouped themselves about Jeanne d'Arc. The best known of them refers to the dove which was supposed to have issued from her mouth as she cried the name of Jesus at the stake; and it is said also that always around her banner fluttered a host of white butterflies. At the Château of St.-Aubin-du-Cormier, in Brittany, used to be shown a subterranean passage by means of which she escaped capture by the English: in reality, she was never in Brittany. A story of her childhood was at one time told in the Department of Meuse which put her in very much the same situation as Little Red Riding Hood; but perhaps the clearest glimpse of the popular attitude towards her may be caught from the tradition that she saw her Visions under a fairy tree hard by a fairy fountain.

The gradual expulsion of the English from France seems also to have left little impression on French folklore. I have come across only one tradition, and that from the district of Agen: that they were chased from the Midi by the giant Gargantua, who hurled after them huge trees which he plucked from the ground as easily as if they had been weeds.

In 1627 the English under the Duke of Buckingham suffered defeat at the Ile de Ré, where he had landed in an attempt to help the besieged Huguenots at La Rochelle; and when the inhabitants walk over the spot assigned by tradition to the defeat, they mutter to themselves:

* This story is usually told of Richard Sans Peur, one of the early Norman Dukes; but I have heard it told also by a Norman of Richard Cœur de Lion. Similarity of name may possibly have led to confusion.

Boukingant, qu'as tu fait de ton monde?
Je l'ai laissé à Ré faire vendange.

The weakness of the French fleet during the confused period of the eighteenth century encouraged many English raids upon the coasts of North-Western France; and stories are still current, as, for example, at Ouistreham, near Caen, of the resource and courage of French soldiers in repelling the invaders single-handed. But it is upon the seaboard of Brittany that the greatest number of these stories are told, and there, as we should expect from a people so imaginative and so deeply religious as the Bretons, the saints play a prominent part in the destruction of the hated foe. Most popular among these stories is that of St. Blanche, who left her resting-place at St.-Cast, in the Department of Côtes-du-Nord, and trailed the muslin of her robe and veil over the sea between the French soldiers entrenched on the dunes and the English vessels covering the landing of troops in the river Arguenon. The invaders, mistaking the long lines of her drapery for the dunes themselves, fixed their sights upon them, with the result that their fire fell harmlessly into the water; while the French, whose natural piety made them quick to realise the turn that events had taken, enjoyed an uninterrupted target practice.

A few years earlier, the English were said to have raised the siege of Lorient in terror at a vision of the Blessed Virgin which had appeared, surrounded by a halo of light, above the town; and at Port-Blanc (Côtes-du-Nord), in response to the promise of the inhabitants to erect a chapel to Our Lady, all the ferns along the coast ranged themselves in martial ranks and thus scared away the English who were prowling in the offing. In folksongs of that period we hear much of a habit ascribed to the English of carrying off girls to their boats. In a typical one, the girl, threatened by soldiers and sailors alike, throws herself overboard. For a little while she swims towards the shore; but just as she is exhausted a fish rises to the surface and swallows her, conducting her thus in perfect safety and comfort to her native place. Similarly the exploits of the Corsairs against English shipping are celebrated in songs not yet wholly forgotten.

French prisoners in those days were apparently sent to the galleys or forced to submit to other indignities. It is told of one of them that in order to avoid starvation he ate the calf of his own leg, of another that because of the weight with which he had been loaded he could never more stand upright, and of a third that he was chained outside the gate of a prison and compelled to bark like a dog. Such stories as these are the invariable accompaniments of heated passions—of passions so heated that an eminent French folklorist declares that he himself has known old sailors whose dream it

was to eat an English heart. About a year ago a sea shanty was discovered and published in France in which a Breton and a Provençal dispute for the honour of having shot Nelson; and the decision is arrived at that it was the Provençal in the fighting-top of the *Redoubtable* who fired the actual shot with a musket handed to him by the Breton—but that the Breton would gladly have used the weapon himself if from his point of vantage he could have seen the British Admiral.

Throughout France the ghosts of English fighting-men are thought to return and become visible on the fields which are their graves. At Auray, in Brittany, those who died without absolution are compelled to march hither and thither over the plain, but always in a straight line no matter what obstacles may present themselves; and the living man whom they touch will die before morning. Around Lyons, French and English meet once more in battle, and the clang of their ghostly weapons can be heard in the night. At St.-Cast, where an annual procession is still held in memory of the English defeat, dead Englishmen are declared to appear as dancing fires. In the district of Dieppe knights in armour ride about the country seeking the graves of their dead comrades. At Zuydcote, near Dunkerque, the fisherfolk used to declare that they could hear on quiet evenings the tramp of English feet, the rumble of passing cannon, the blare of trumpets sounding the alarm, and the violent ringing of church bells. And on the Ile de Ré until recently the groans of fallen Englishmen could be heard at the Pont de Fénau, the scene of their defeat in 1627.

Finally, two traditions may be mentioned in which the English appear as possessors of a cherished secret. The stones composing the famous Lines of Carnac are said by some of the local peasants to be placed in such a relationship to each other that together they provide a clue to the hiding-place of a vast treasure. But though the clue may, with ingenuity and patience, be read upon the spot, the final solution reposes nowhere in the world but in the Tower of London. And in the Department of Corrèze, in the South-West of France, is supposed to be hidden a golden calf of prodigious value. The English know very well where this calf rests and would give a million of money to possess the land under which it lies; but if the sale of this land to them were ever effected, it must be followed by a terrible war in which France would be decisively beaten.

Would it be altogether an exaggeration to suggest that, far from entertaining for us sentiments appropriate from a mother-country to her colonies, part at least of the attitude of distrust and suspicion which France seems occasionally to display towards our post-war diplomatic and political activities arises in some measure from an inevitable failure to cleanse the memory of nine hundred years of history?

W. BRANCH JOHNSON.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

SIR AUSTEN AND THE PACT.

THE international consequences of Mr. Kellogg's proposed pact for the prohibition of war revealed Sir Austen Chamberlain at anything but his best. No doubt by the time this paper is published, the British answer to the revised proposal will have crossed the Atlantic; no doubt that answer will substantially harmonise with former British pronouncements on the subject of peace: but it will be too late wholly to undo the harm done to British prestige by Sir Austen Chamberlain's remarkable unwillingness to appear in the rôle of enthusiast. Herr Stresemann was first in the field every time. Even M. Briand, who had reacted badly to Mr. Kellogg's pacifism, contrived to reap more moral capital out of it for France than Sir Austen reaped out of it for Great Britain, although British policy for ten years has been pacifist in purpose and in effect, and French policy has not even aspired to be pacifist in purpose and has been the reverse of pacifist in effect.

It seems odd that the British Foreign Secretary, who drove the Locarno idea to success by the sheer force of imaginative enthusiasm, should have shown so little enthusiasm and so little imagination over Mr. Kellogg's kindred proposal that American opinion at one point came to regard the British Government as the chief obstacle. Of course American opinion was wrong. It was ignorant, as it generally is, of the facts. American ignorance, however, ought to have argued the more, not the less, reason why Sir Austen Chamberlain should have nursed American opinion. His dour carelessness of American opinion, contrasting with his profound appreciation of French opinion—more profound than even M. Briand's appreciation of it—had the incidental effect of misrepresenting British opinion.

While the British Foreign Office was engaged in logically unanswerable arguments designed to persuade itself that its delay had no bad motive, the contrary impression was complacently allowed to develop outside; wherein the Foreign Office hardly served the best interests of its country.

It was as long ago as May 19th that Sir Austen Chamberlain, in his answer to the first Kellogg Note, promised that the British Government would "support to the utmost of their power" the suggestion "of a treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy." He concurrently made certain submissions, reasonable enough in themselves, about the sacrosanctity of the League Covenant and of the Locarno Treaties, and reminded

Mr. Kellogg that European diplomacy had been engaged for several years in the very work which now attracted Mr. Kellogg.

On June 24th Mr. Kellogg submitted a revised draft of his proposed renunciation treaty, in which he embodied every suggestion that had been made by Sir Austen on May 19th. If white was white and black was black, the pact was then as good as signed. But white wasn't quite white. There descended upon Sir Austen Chamberlain, not the crusading zeal for peace which he had shown in 1925, but a weird and unintelligible silence. When on July 9th, after British opinion had patiently assumed the best of Sir Austen for more than a fortnight, certain questions were put to him in the House of Commons designed simply to ask why he had not yet clinched the matter, he caused general surprise by the change, both of tone and of substance, that had come over him since May 19th. He entrenched himself in his changed position by means of that well-known parliamentary tactic which he adopts when on the defensive: the tactic of haughty resentment not only of criticism but even of question. On July 11th, when he was again assailed in the House of Commons, far from taking the hint that wrong impressions were being allowed to develop, he petulantly provoked still worse impressions. On July 9th he had coldly declared in the House of Commons: "In my view it is more important that His Majesty's Government should be careful when undertaking new engagements not to break their old ones than to proceed without reference to the serious nature of the questions involved." Yet on May 19th—nearly two months before—in his Note to Mr. Kellogg, Sir Austen wrote: "It is because the object of both [i.e. of Mr. Kellogg on the one part and of Geneva and Locarno on the other] is the same that there is no real antagonism between the treaty engagements which His Majesty's Government have already accepted and the pact which is now proposed."

It becomes clear from the events of June and the beginning of July that Sir Austen Chamberlain gradually became more concerned with the difficulties raised in Paris than with the constructive proposals made in Washington. There is a certain austere simplicity in Sir Austen's character which would command all the respect it deserves if only the Sermon on the Mount were a practical guide to the policy of, say, the Quai d'Orsay. But the Quai d'Orsay is not guided by the Sermon on the Mount. "Heureux les débonnaires; car ils hériteront de la terre" is not one of the maxims on which is based the policy of the Quai d'Orsay or the philosophy of the French General Staff. On the contrary the simplicity (to France the meek simplicity) of Sir Austen Chamberlain is regarded as a phenomenon, not to be imitated, but to be exploited.

French exploitation of Sir Austen Chamberlain is easy work because Sir Austen has a pronounced bump for sympathising with, even when he does not understand, French ideas. Some time ago he publicly declared in France that he loved France as one loves woman—a declaration which had its controversial element, but which was singularly illuminating. At Geneva in March, 1926, for instance, Sir Austen was sublimely unaware that he was taking part in an intrigue. The essence of the intrigue, so far as M. Briand was concerned, was that it should be conducted subtly. When therefore at one point Sir Austen's sympathy for M. Briand ran ahead of M. Briand himself, and he burst into some rather petulant denunciation of Dr. Luther and Herr Stresemann, and into the bargain of Mr. Unden as a tool of Germany, M. Briand became frankly alarmed and allowed it to be known that there are times when one prays to be delivered from the undiluted kindness of one's friends.

On the present occasion, however, the process of harnessing Sir Austen to the purposes of the French General Staff was less controversial, because neither the Quai d'Orsay nor the General Staff was in the least attracted by the Kellogg Pact, and did not mind how much damage might innocently be done to it by Sir Austen. The French General Staff still regards the Rhine frontier as the only method of security satisfactory to itself, and in this matter of security the Quai d'Orsay is as much under the influence of the General Staff now as it was in January, 1923. It was, therefore, a simple matter to suggest to Sir Austen that in his enthusiasm (alleged) to embrace the Kellogg Pact he should guard against unwittingly committing himself to something at variance with the great Locarno Treaties of which he (Sir Austen) was the main author; that he should not commit himself to anything that might conflict with the Geneva Covenant, for instance with Article 16 thereof; that he should remember that the League Covenant expressly enjoins on the signatories the obligation never to accept future obligation that might prove inconsistent with it. After all, what was France suggesting? Only that Sir Austen be careful, that he examine the Kellogg proposal critically before accepting it irrevocably. Sir Austen's statement of July 9th that "His Majesty's Government should be careful when undertaking new engagements not to break their old ones" had a good Press in Paris and a stony Press in London and New York.

Now the main issue that could exercise Sir Austen's caution was the old issue of sanctions versus "unsecured" pacifism. Those who remembered Sir Austen's Note of May 19th could hardly understand what the difficulty could now be in the middle of July. On May 19th Sir Austen wrote to Mr. Kellogg: "The machinery

of the Covenant and of the Treaty of Locarno, however, go somewhat further than a renunciation of war as a policy, in that they provide certain sanctions for a breach of their obligations. A clash might thus conceivably arise between the existing treaties and the proposed pact unless it is understood that the obligations of the new engagement will cease to operate in respect of a party which breaks its pledges and adopts hostile measures against one of its co-contractants." Still further to sharpen that point, Sir Austen added: "For the Government of this country, respect for the obligations arising out of the Covenant of the League of Nations and out of the Locarno Treaties is fundamental."

Sir Austen therefore clearly defined the difficulty as a potential clash between the Kellogg pacifism without sanctions and the Geneva-Locarno pacifism with sanctions, but equally clearly postulated, as an adequate solution of the difficulty, an understanding that the Kellogg Pact should automatically cease to protect any signatory who broke the pledge and went to war. Now on June 24th Mr. Kellogg met that difficulty frankly and adopted Sir Austen's own suggestion as the solution. He submitted a revised Preamble in which appeared the paragraph: "Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory Power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty."

Nothing could be more explicit or more complete, yet three weeks after Mr. Kellogg's revised draft was received Sir Austen Chamberlain was paying more attention to French juridical quibbles than to Mr. Kellogg's acceptance of his own suggestion.

There was and is a danger that the bold simplicity of the original Kellogg proposal may be robbed of its moral strength by the sophisticated fears of European jurists. The whole virtue of the Kellogg proposal was its simplicity. If the Great Powers of the world were to commit themselves unreservedly never to go to war with each other in any circumstances, the problem of war would be solved, or at any rate the foundation of a solution would be well and truly laid. There is no "snag" in it. If the pledge were kept, then the object would be achieved and peace would be supreme. If the pledge were not kept, then the position would be no worse than if there had been no pledge. Never in the history of diplomacy has there been so great a proposal; so contrived that in the simple acceptance of it the world has settled peace to gain and absolutely nothing to lose.

If American diplomatic ignorance and callousness towards the post-war European attempts to secure the peace have been the worst

obstacle to peace during the past ten years, that same ignorance has, by a delightful freak, produced the very thing that Europe needs. If Mr. Kellogg had been as enmeshed in the juridical complications of the European system as Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand or Dr. Beneš, he never could have conceived his simple thesis. Yet that thesis cuts out all the intermediate stages and needs only a little courage and a little simple faith to become effective—simple because experience proves the greater efficacy of psychological over legal sanctions. Two commonplace illustrations may be summoned at random. The power of an A.A. or R.A.C. agent who at a country cross-roads holds up half a dozen motor cars by raising his arm is not based on force or legal authority; it is based on the faith of the half-dozen drivers that the agent in their own interests is worth obeying. The Football Association which controls professional association football in Great Britain has no legal status whatever, has no juridical power to impose its will; yet it suspends players or clubs and generally rules the roost with despotic power. Why? Only because its authority is accepted by the millions of people interested in the game, on the voluntary faith that its authority is a good thing for everybody concerned. Examples could be added endlessly. If the nations of the world, recognising only that peace is worth while, accept an obligation not to go to war, and if they believe in the value of the pledge, there will be no war. The faith may be difficult, and the attempt may fail. But is that an argument against trying it?

There are those who regret that Mr. Kellogg allowed himself to be drawn into the juridical argument, for the clear horizon thereby became dimmed, and origins were forgotten. Already several distinct chapters in the history of the Kellogg proposals have been closed and some of them forgotten. The main chapters and dates in the history are the following:

(1) On June 20th, 1927, M. Briand proposed to Mr. Kellogg that France and the United States should conclude a bilateral pact for the outlawry of war as between France and the United States. There followed a long correspondence lasting throughout the winter of 1927-1928.

(2) On April 13th, 1928, Mr. Kellogg widened the field of discussion by inviting London, Berlin, Rome and Tokio to join France and the United States in a multilateral pact for the outlawry of war. He submitted to the new governments the full correspondence that had passed between himself and M. Briand, and also enclosed a preliminary draft of a treaty such as he now suggested might be signed, in the first instance by the six Powers named, and subsequently by any other Power so disposed. It was described as a treaty "to condemn war as an instrument of national policy

and renounce it in favour of the pacific settlement of international disputes."

(3) On April 20th, 1928, M. Briand circulated to the other five governments an alternative draft of a treaty, requesting that the French draft be fully considered before any action be taken on the Kellogg draft. It was described with conscious or unconscious irony, not as a rival draft, but as a complementary draft, designed to make the Kellogg proposal practicable for Europe. The irony consisted in this, that the sum total of M. Briand's complements was to neutralise every idea, expressed or implied, in the Kellogg draft. The main substantial reservations made by M. Briand were four: (1) that the proposed Kellogg pact should not become operative until "all countries" had signed it [the effect of which would be to give France an absolute veto over the pact]; (2) that each signatory should retain the right to make war in "legitimate self-defence"; (3) that if any one signatory should violate its pledge, all the other signatories should be automatically released from their pledge towards that one signatory; (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. M. Briand's draft also submitted a highly intriguing definition of what France understood by Mr. Kellogg's phrase about renouncing war "as an instrument of national policy." What is an instrument of national policy? M. Briand defined it as "an instrument of personal, spontaneous, independent, political action in which they take the initiative," as distinct from an action imposed by the Covenant of the League or by "any other treaty" registered at Geneva. It is clear that if France had signed the Kellogg pact incorporating such a definition of its purpose and such reservations against its operation, France would have been signing precisely nothing whatever.

(4) On April 27th, that is, a fortnight after the proposal was made, Germany accepted it without reservation.

(5) On April 28th, 1928, Mr. Kellogg addressed the American Society of International Law, M. Claudel, the French Ambassador, being present. He dealt with the French reservations. He conceded the right to legitimate self-defence, and the right of any signatory of his proposed pact to be released from its pledge vis-à-vis another signatory who violated the pledge, but pleaded that as those two submissions were matters of commonsense they need hardly be incorporated in the text of the treaty. He naturally rejected the contention that the pact be signed universally before becoming operative.

(6) On May 19th, the British Government accepted the proposal,

rejecting the French stipulation that it should be signed by all nations before becoming effective, but stipulating for its part that (1) the right to make war in self-defence be not affected; (2) that the Geneva-Locarno method of sanctions be safeguarded by the provision that the Kellogg Pact be terminable towards any signatory who should violate it; (3) that certain diplomatic fields [Egypt for example, although no example was mentioned] should be exempt from the proposed field of the pact's operation. Now Mr. Kellogg in his statement of April 28th had expressly agreed with every essential point that was destined to arise out of the British Note of May 19th. The only point he had not mentioned was the British reservation of certain diplomatic fields on a quasi-Monroe system; but as the Monroe doctrine stands as an American principle, there could arise no serious difficulty on that score.

(7) Having received the British acceptance together with an intimation that the British Dominions and India agreed with that acceptance, Mr. Kellogg proceeded formally to invite those Dominions and India to sign the pact. The Dominions and India formally accepted the invitation, as did the other Powers approached by Mr. Kellogg. The situation now was that everybody was agreed on essentials.

(8) As if to gather up the various threads and to embody in a single document the proposal as now agreed to, Mr. Kellogg, on June 24th, presented a new Note, nursed and rehearsed, as it were, into a blue note. It was presented not only to the original five Powers concerned in the matter, namely to France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan, but severally to H.M. Governments in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, to the Irish Free State, to the Government of India, and to those Locarno signatories that had not been approached in the first instance, namely, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Poland. It was thus addressed to fourteen States in all. By so widening the scope Mr. Kellogg cleverly and comprehensively covered the difficulties raised by M. Briand about the French treaties other than the Covenant of the League and Locarno.

The document of June 24th was a remarkably complete document, that is to say, of all the difficulties, reservations and what-nots that had been thought of in Paris between April 13th and June 24th—and that period was a fruitful period of research in that sense—not one of them but was met and answered and, as it were, taken within the fold of the new pact.

One of the paradoxical effects of the world's fear of war is that it so distrusts any arrangement for complete pacifism that it clings desperately to the right to make war, at any rate in self-defence. Both Paris and London, but not Berlin, in their reaction to Mr.

Kellogg, insisted on the right to make war in self-defence. Mr. Kellogg however on June 24th thought to satisfy them in this way: "There is nothing (he wrote) in the American draft of an anti-war treaty which restricts or impairs in any way the right of self-defence."

Next, to allay any bogey that might stalk about Geneva or Locarno he made a detailed analysis of the purpose of those instruments in order to show that peace, as encompassed at Geneva and at Locarno, was not incompatible with peace as encompassed in the pact proposed by himself. He cast his observations in a juridical mould such as might reasonably appeal to Sir Cecil Hurst, M. Fromageot and Dr. Gaus, and made some points which had not so far, or at any rate so clearly, occurred to the European jurists.

On the subject of Geneva for instance he wrote: "The Covenant imposes no affirmative primary obligation to go to war. The obligation, if any, is secondary, and attaches only when deliberately accepted by a State. Article 10 of the Covenant has, for example, been interpreted, by a resolution submitted to the Fourth Assembly, but not formally adopted owing to one adverse vote, to mean that—'It is for the constitutional authorities of each member to decide in reference to the obligation of preserving the independence and the integrity of the territory of the members, in what degree the member is bound to assure the execution of this obligation by employment of its military forces.' There is, in my opinion, no necessary inconsistency between the Covenant and the idea of an unqualified renunciation of war. The Covenant can, it is true, be construed as authorising war in certain circumstances, but it is an authorisation and not a positive requirement."

Even more to the point was Mr. Kellogg's interpretation of the Locarno system in its relation to the proposed pact. "If the parties," he wrote, "to the treaties of Locarno are under any positive obligation to go to war, such obligation certainly would not attach until one of the parties had resorted to war in violation of its solemn pledges thereunder. It is therefore obvious that, if all the parties to the Locarno treaties became parties to the multilateral anti-war treaty proposed by the United States, there would be a double assurance that the Locarno treaties would not be violated by recourse to arms. In such an event, it would follow that resort to war by any State in violation of the Locarno treaties, would also be a breach of the multilateral anti-war treaty, and the other parties to the anti-war treaty would thus, as a matter of course, be automatically released from their obligations thereunder and free to fulfil their Locarno commitments. The United States is entirely willing that all parties to the Locarno treaties should become parties to its proposed anti-war treaty, either through signa-

ture in the first instance, or by immediate accession to the treaty as soon as it comes into force in the manner provided in Article 3 of the American draft, and it will offer no objection when and if such a suggestion is made."

He made a somewhat similar argument about the French treaties of neutrality, arguing with disarming simplicity that the obvious way for France to reconcile the two systems would be for the nations concerned to sign both instruments. "The United States," he wrote, "is not informed as to the precise treaties which France has in mind and cannot therefore discuss their provisions. It is not unreasonable to suppose, however, that the relations between France and the States whose neutrality she has guaranteed are sufficiently close and intimate to make it possible for France to persuade such States to adhere reasonably to the anti-war treaty proposed by the United States. If this was done no party to the anti-war treaty could attack the neutralised States without violating the treaty and thereby automatically freeing France and other Powers in respect of the treaty-breaking State from the obligations of the anti-war treaty. If the neutralised States were attacked by a State not a party to the anti-war Treaty, the latter treaty would, of course, have no bearing, and France would be as free to act under the treaties guaranteeing neutrality as if she was not a party to the anti-war treaty. It is difficult to conceive, therefore, how treaties guaranteeing neutrality can be regarded as necessarily preventing the conclusion by France or any other Power of a multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war."

He next reaffirmed the principle postulated by Sir Austen Chamberlain on May 19th and agreed to by himself in advance on April 28th, namely that "there can be no question as a matter of law that violation of a multilateral anti-war treaty through resort to war by one party thereto would automatically release the other parties from their obligations to the treaty-breaking State. Any express recognition of this principle of law is wholly unnecessary."

Burying, as it were, the now defunct suggestion that the pact should not operate until signed by everybody—"for one reason or another (he wrote) a State so situated as to be no menace to the peace of the world might obstruct agreement or delay ratification in such manner as to render abortive the efforts of all the other Powers"—Mr. Kellogg proceeded to make his most practical point, one that had not yet been appreciated, or at any rate expressed, in any European capital, namely that the prohibition of war by the Great Powers would probably at any rate prevent another Great War, an achievement in itself of some value. "It is highly improbable," he wrote, "that a form of treaty acceptable to the British, French, German, Italian, and Japanese Governments, as

well as to the United States, would not be equally acceptable to most, if not all, of the other Powers of the world. Even were this not the case, however, the coming into force among the above-named six Powers of an effective anti-war treaty and their 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 not willing to jeopardise the practical success of the proposal which it has made by conditioning the coming into force of the treaty upon prior universal or almost universal acceptance."

It already followed that the British, German, Italian and Japanese Governments and the British Dominions by their acceptance of the principle of the Kellogg Pact could have signed the Pact as originally drafted without doing any violence to their juridical consciences. France was in a separate category because her reservations and counter proposals, although now tacitly ignored, had not been formally withdrawn. None the less Mr. Kellogg decided that to force the pace towards signature he would elaborate his original draft in order to temper the wind to the shorn lamb. "While my Government," he wrote, "is satisfied that the draft treaty proposed by it on April 13th, 1928, could be properly accepted by the Powers of the world without change, except for including among the original signatories the British Dominions, India, all parties to the treaties of Locarno, and, it may be, all parties to the neutrality treaties mentioned by the Government of France, it has no desire to delay or complicate the present negotiations by rigidly adhering to the precise phraseology of that draft, particularly since it appears that by modifying the draft in form, though not in substance, the points raised by other Governments can be satisfactorily met, and general agreement upon the text of the treaty to be signed be promptly reached."

The revised draft of June 24th differed from the original draft of April 13th in only two particulars, namely (1) that the new Preamble provided that the British Dominions, India, and all parties to the Locarno treaties were to be included as original signatories and (2) that the first three paragraphs of the April 13th Preamble were altered to read as follows: "Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind; Persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated; Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory Power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests

by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty."

The specific object of those alterations was first to recognise the principle that if a signatory of the Pact violates its pledge by going to war the other contracting parties are released from their obligations towards that signatory, and second by providing for the inclusion as signatories of the Locarno Powers, to make it certain that a violation of the Locarno treaties would also be a violation of the Kellogg Pact, thus removing any possibility of conflicting obligations as between the two sets of instruments.

The substantive draft of the pact itself maintained its simple three articles, the first providing that "The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare, in the names 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"; the second that "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"; and the third providing for the usual procedure for ratification.

In transmitting his revised proposal Mr. Kellogg expressed "the fervent hope" that the other Governments would "be able promptly to indicate their readiness to accept without qualification or reservation the form of treaty now suggested by the United States."

Except that on July 12th the German Government notified Washington of its unqualified acceptance of the revised draft, no further development had taken place at the time when this paper was written (July 15th). What did happen after Mr. Kellogg's Note of June 24th had been received in Paris and in London, was something negative and disquieting. Sir Austen Chamberlain in London was stubbornly silent. Sir Cecil Hurst, the legal adviser of the Foreign Office, met M. Fromageot, the French jurist, at Geneva, where they were attending the meeting of the League Security Commission. They together subjected the new Kellogg draft to a meticulous, and ridiculous, scrutiny. In the course thereof they decided that it would be well if they also saw Dr. Gaus, the German jurist, and they therefore went to Berlin for the purpose. While Sir Austen was publicly silent, his spokesmen in Whitehall were saying in effect: "Why all this impatience? We have had experience enough in Europe of the dangers of careless drafting, of instruments which, drafted in a hurry, have been repented at leisure. We must make sure that all the signatories not only sign the same instrument now, but that it is clearly

understood that we all interpret it in the same way. We have to avoid the danger that some signatory may try to quibble out of the commitment at some later date by advancing some controversial interpretation that may suit its quibble. As for the principle, we are all committed. There is no need for a further acceptance of the principle. The business now is careful drafting; and the fact that we are being so careful is proof, not that we want to reject the pact, but that we have accepted it and are determined to make it a success." That sounded all right in London, but had a different ring when repeated in Paris. The three jurists, having explored a possible conflict of phraseology between that part of the Kellogg draft which referred to a violation of the pledge by a "signatory" State and that part of the covering letter which referred to a violation by "a State," and having examined for the thousandth time the wording of Articles 10 and 16 of the League Covenant, finally reached an agreement on their interpretation of the Kellogg formulæ. The simplest commentary on their work was that the moment it was finished the German Government dispatched to Washington its unreserved acceptance of the new draft. Germany was the first to accept the revised, as she had been the first to accept the original, proposal; and she made no reservations on either occasion. On July 9th, only three days before Germany's unqualified acceptance of the pact was received in Washington, a question was put to Sir Austen Chamberlain in the House of Commons asking if the rumour was true which ascribed to Great Britain and to France the intention of embodying reservations in a Protocol, and the question was not answered. On the same day Sir Austen could give no indication when the British answer would be ready. When on July 11th in the House of Commons Sir Austen declared, in answer to a provocative and ill-advised question, "I do not intend to wreck the proposal, and I wish to bring it to a successful conclusion," he illustrated the difference between the content of British policy and its manner. The British Government was clearly sincere enough in wanting the Pact, but by its halting manner gave an impression all the time of grudging acquiescence, instead of giving an impression, as Germany gave, of enthusiasm.

Sir Cecil Hurst returned to London on Monday, July 9th, after his juridical excursions in Geneva and in Berlin. By the following Saturday (July 13th) Sir Austen's draft of the British answer was complete. It had then to be submitted to the Cabinet and communicated to the Dominions before it could be sent to Washington.

THE EUROPEAN STORM CENTRES.

One of the fortunate effects of the international negotiations now proceeding for the conclusion of a pacifist pact is that the four chief

centres of European unrest are robbed of much of their potential danger. One of the storm centres is the Rhinelands, still occupied, at the dictation of the French General Staff, by the 1914-1918 Allies; another is the Lithuanian-Polish border, where the poison of the Vilna annexation is still working; a third, the South Tyrol; and the fourth the Slovak-Hungarian border.

South Tyrol and Vilna hardly lend themselves to immediate treatment. In present circumstances little can be done to satisfy either Lithuanians or Germans in those centres.

In the case of the Rhinelands, however, it is at any rate possible to prevent what may be called the spread of the disease. It has become an article of faith in Europe that Sir Austen Chamberlain's support may be obtained for any cause provided he be approached via Paris. Mr. Zaleski a short time ago attempted something on that principle, and discovered, probably to his surprise, that the principle could not be taken for granted. He announced that before the Rhinelands could be evacuated, further guarantees for Polish security must be negotiated. The approach in that case clearly was through the French commitment to safeguard Poland. Asked about that matter in the House of Commons on June 27th, Sir Austen Chamberlain made two statements. The first was "that this country cannot give further guarantees or increase the obligations which it has taken by the Covenant of the League and the Treaty of Locarno." The second, given in answer to a specific question whether the British Government had a free hand in the matter of the Rhineland evacuation, was that "obviously in a matter arising out of the Treaty of Versailles there would be consultation with certain other Powers, but we come under no obligations to any country."

It seems reasonable to infer from that statement that on the one hand Sir Austen may be prepared for a boundless time to tolerate the occupation of the Rhinelands and to that extent to stultify the Treaty of Locarno, merely because his friendly relations with the French Government prompt him to acquiesce, as the French Government itself acquiesces, in the French military dream of making the Rhine the frontier between France and Germany; but that on the other hand if any non-French influence attempts under a French cloak to strike other, even if comparable, blows at the Treaty of Locarno, Sir Austen galvanises himself into prompt resistance. It is well that the limitation to Sir Austen's elasticity be thus made known.

It is a singular phenomenon that Sir Austen Chamberlain's policies remain true to their general purpose of peace and European convalescence except in so far as French policies diverge from him. He then digresses and follows France. In the case of the

Locarno treaties French policy coincided with his because the French General Staff was given an unequivocal juridical guarantee that, in case of an attack by Germany, Great Britain would be fighting on the side of France. In the case of the Kellogg Pact, the French General Staff has been difficult. It does not understand peace-pacts; it understands only specific military commitments in relation to the Rhine. Hence it probably is that Sir Austen has been facing both ways in the Kellogg discussions, although inevitably he will move in the right direction in the end.

It happens that in the Hungarian difficulty above alluded to there is no French objection to the policy that Sir Austen Chamberlain, in common with most realistic people, would pursue, namely to stop agitation of the unconstitutional, revolutionary type, and to discourage even constitutional agitation. In the case of Hungary's alleged grievances against Rumania, he stated in the House of Commons on July 4th that "There is a proper proceeding by which if a minority have complaints to make they can approach the Council (of the League), and so any State may also approach the Council if it thinks the circumstances proper." Speaking on the same occasion of the non-Magyar agitation against the Treaty of Trianon, he said: "I am quite clear in my own mind that nobody serves the interests of peace by pressing for the revision of treaties so recently concluded."

ENGLISH AND ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

There is an international aspect to the controversies which have been agitating the English Catholic Church on the one side and the Roman Catholic Church on the other. In the case of the Roman Church the grim muddle of religion and politics produced by M. Charles Maurras and his *Action Française* serves to contrast the purely religious function of the English Church, although it is surprising how many Continental commentators on the English controversy have been ignorant of the distinction.

The case of M. Maurras deserves to be studied both from the religious and from the international point of view. He has had political influence in France, he has bewildered the Roman Catholics of more than one country for a whole generation, and has the distinction of having drawn the formal displeasure of two Popes. Those Roman Catholics, and they are many, who cast their stone against English Catholics for the quarrels and divisions produced by the Anglican Prayer Book have apparently not appreciated the altogether bigger schism produced in the Roman Church, not by a serious and honest religious controversy, but by an atheist who despised them and made use of them.

Who or what is this Charles Maurras? He was bred a Catholic. Being endowed with a singular inability to think straight or constructively or positively about anything, but with a torrential facility for negative and destructive propaganda, he first of all gave up religion and became an atheist. He then decided to be for ever restless in political propaganda based exclusively on two simple, but not magnificent ideas: namely, one, that France must be top-dog and Germany bottom-dog in an unending dog-fight; second, that in order to encompass that end France must be freed from Republicanism and democracy and must revert to Monarchist Royalism.

Not a subtle conception; yet by a certain freak of cause and effect he effected something subtle. The rich aristocrats of France are Roman Catholic in religion and Royalist in politics. The Roman Church in France is poor, and its dependence upon the rich Monarchists opened out to the ruthless vision of M. Maurras a prospect in which, because he could not see straight, he himself saw neither humour nor inconsistency. He had the frankness or the lack of imagination to maintain his atheist contempt of Roman Catholicism while extolling the order, discipline and authority (alleged Monarchist virtues, these) of the Roman Church. The poor priests of France, drawn by the purse-strings of the rich aristocrats, who in their turn were drawn by the militarism of M. Maurras, became involved in the paradox of enlisting themselves as disciples behind a frank antagonist of Christianity and of all religion.

Pope Pius X before the war decided to place Maurras and his works upon the Index, but suspended action because there was some formal difficulty in condemning one who ostensibly was concerned only with politics. Logically it was the Roman priests of France who ought to have been condemned for their heresy in adoring an anti-Christian. The English Church has been ruffled by the inelastic attitude of those Anglicans who, not wanting to adore the Reserved Sacrament themselves, wish to prevent others from adoring it. The Roman Church has been more than ruffled, it has been mocked by its French priests, who for the supposed glory of France insisted on adoring, via their rich patrons, a frankly anti-Christian, bloodthirsty cynic. What about the supposed discipline of the Roman Church, that quality which, as one was always told, was worth the sacrifice of the individual's spiritual freedom because it prevented controversy? It has prevented nothing of the kind.

Astonishing sentiments were uttered for instance by certain Cardinals who hailed Maurras as a great spiritual as well as political force. The lack of humour in the spectacle of a Roman priest thus abandoning himself to homage of an atheist and basing his homage on spiritual grounds is so drab as to appear untrue.

Yet it is true. M. Maurras himself appears to be untrue to life. The unleavened heaviness of the Action Française, its unimaginative atheism, its militant Nationalism, its wooden compact with rich Romans, are unattractive things. Yet M. Maurras attracted adulation. The students of Louvain University voted him the greatest living philosopher. Jacques Bainville—a good writer—fell under his influence, although the influence gradually weakened.

The main interest of M. Maurras's activities attaches, it is true, to his political consequences. M. Briand was propagated by him quite simply as a traitor to France because he wanted to have peace with Germany, not war. Now it is clear from two points of view that the Vatican was thereby placed in a dilemma. In the first place there are Romans in Germany as well as in France. In the second place peace on earth, good will towards men are of the essence of the Roman creed, a Christian creed. If therefore M. Maurras thought to mobilise his Roman apostles in an unholy crusade against M. Briand merely because M. Briand advocated peace and good will, he was stretching the paradox a little too far.

He provoked an immediate reaction. In his 1927 New Year's Speech at the Elysée, Mgr. Maglione enthusiastically extolled M. Briand's peace policy, as exemplified by the Locarno Treaties, and promised the co-operation of the Holy See. Then the Congregation of the Holy See condemned the works of M. Maurras and of his Royalist paper, *L'Action Française*. Next, at the suggestion of the Papal Nuncio, the Archbishop of Rouen refused to appear on the same platform with one Admiral Schwerer, an eminent member of the Action Française, at a War Memorial ceremony. As Admiral Schwerer on principle regretted that the war, or any war, was over, it was perhaps just as well that the necessarily more Christian views of the Archbishop of Rouen avoided contact. Paradoxes crowded on one another. For the first time since MM. Daudet and Maurras began performing, the anti-Clerical Left in France found itself wholly in agreement with the Holy See, whereas the French Roman Catholics were confounded and confused between their political allegiance to Maurras and their religious allegiance to Rome. When M. Maurras, nettled by his own mismanagement of his Roman followers, lost his head (it was not much of a head to lose) and incontinently attacked the Vatican as a "pro-German" agency merely because it had condemned himself, then the matter was finally reduced to the absurdity it ought to have produced many years before.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

July 15th, 1928.

No. 323.

August, 1928.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. REVIEWS	253
THE ARCHITECT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE; YORK TO-DAY AND YESTERDAY; THE MYSTERIES OF MATTER; A GUIDE TO ENGLISH LITERATURE; THE TRIAL OF THE TEMPLARS; THE SCIENCE OF EXAMINATIONS.	
2. SHORTER REVIEWS: "Canterbury of our Grandfathers and of To-day"; "Concerning the Bible"; "Hyndman: Prophet of Socialism"; Mrs. Turquet-Milnes' Poems	269
3. NOTICES OF BOOKS: "The Traditional Life of God"; "Alpine Valleys of Italy"; "Tales by Nathaniel Hawthorne"	272

THE ARCHITECT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.*

Dr. Rice Holmes here gives us a noble instalment of the history of the Augustan Age upon which he has been working since the completion of his great work upon *The Roman Republic* which deals, for the most part, with the years 81-44 B.C. Dr. Holmes' fear that he may be unable to complete his work on the Augustan Age has various advantages for the students of the present book. For instance, his tribute to that sweet, gentle, and strong woman, Octavia, the youngest sister of Octavian and the wife of Antony, will come later in the history of the period, but it is given here as well. It will be remembered that at the suggestion of Mæcenus and Pollio Octavia married Antony in 40 B.C., and she was the link between her brother and her husband (as the wise Mæcenus intended) and she contrived to be absolutely loyal to both.

She was with her husband at Athens in 39 B.C. in a curious but pacific stage of the struggle between him and Octavian. At Tarentum in 37 B.C. she mediated with success between the two, and Antony placed a fleet, which his wife induced him to enlarge, at the disposal of Octavian. Yet immediately after this event Antony

* *The Architect of the Roman Empire*. By T. Rice Holmes. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 15s. net.

felt the call of Cleopatra, and departing for Syria, sent his wife back to Italy, probably with her own little daughter or daughters and his two sons by his former wife Fulvia. In 35 B.C. she reached Athens, hoping to meet, with her brother's permission, Antony as he was proceeding from Syria. But he was in the power of Cleopatra, and ordered his wife to return to Italy, which she did, remaining in her husband's house, contrary to the wishes of her brother, and taking care of Fulvia's children as well as her own.

A breach between Antony and Octavian was now certain, but it was not until 32 B.C. that Antony, who seems to have been really attached to Octavia, irritated by a speech of Octavian's in the Senate, divorced his faithful wife. Octavia was then compelled to leave Antony's house in Rome, but she took with her all his children, and her only fear was that she might be regarded as partly responsible for the war that was to make Octavian Master of the World. So Actium came on September 2nd, 31 B.C., and sea-power ended the remarkable career which was nearly saved by a noble woman of character, and was actually lost by a great woman of no character. It is a strange drama in which Octavia and Cleopatra are fighting for the soul of a man who was a great adventurer and soldier but not a great man. To Octavia Dr. Holmes pays a tribute that Shakespeare might well have paid :

Let me now pay my tribute to a character in which strength and sweetness were harmoniously combined. Roman history knows no nobler woman, and it is the simple truth that there are still students of the past who feel the inspiration of her unselfish devotion to the public weal, maternal kindness, and forgiving magnanimity.

Her splendid record makes it hardly possible to speak of the strange life and death of Cleopatra. The story is told in minute detail in the various parts of this book. Shakespeare had the pith of the true story and wove round it perhaps his greatest play, the play that exhibits the Roman Empire as a reality vast in space but dominated by a series of mighty minds. It is sufficient here to say that the dead Queen of Egypt was, in characteristic fashion, laid by Octavian in the grave of the great adventurer whose soul she had won in spite of Octavia.

But what of the man who was Octavia's brother, Gaius Octavius, Octavianus, and known to history as Augustus, the spiritual successor of Gaius Cæsar, whose greatness, supreme as it is, almost pales beside that of his adopted son? If we observe the extant effigies of these great men the difference of their characters seems to spring into being; Gaius Cæsar supremely intellectual and supremely bold, Gaius Octavius Jovian in the equanimity of a noble personality that knew not fear nor favour, making himself part of

the essential processes of things. Noble by birth he was godlike by instinct, and not merely an intellectual output of an age of genius. Dr. Holmes quotes what may be called the message of a god penned in the last weeks of the life of Augustus :

In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had extinguished civil wars, having by universal consent been put in possession of supreme authority, I transferred the commonwealth from my own power to the control of the Senate and the Roman People. . . . After that time I stood above all in influence, but of power I had no more than my colleagues in each several magistracy.

This is more than the announcement of a Principate that was to last for fifteen hundred years. It is the announcement of a person who feels the attributes of godhead, so far as human affairs are concerned, an earthly god announcing the devolution of his sovereignty to the lesser rulers of the earth. In it there is no condescension but an announcement of the inevitable order of things on the part of one about to withdraw into his Olympus where he could shed the frailties of his humanity and reign indeed. In him we may perceive the very qualities that make Octavia immortal, but in addition the vision of one who sees right through the deeds of men. It is the particular charm of this book that Dr. Holmes out of the great range of his scholarship (adequately displayed in the technical chapters in the second half of the work) has been able to sculpture from the stubborn and slippery marble of historical sources a living sunlit frieze of a great age in which Augustus and Octavia—the greatest brother and sister in the history of the world—stand out supreme, the woman in the Parian pallor of purity and the man in the Carrarian whiteness of a reluctant god.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

YORK TO-DAY AND YESTERDAY.*

This elaborate study of York from the point of view of local government has a wide general interest in days when the comparative method is seen to have singular importance in the affairs of men as well as in the region of science. Those responsible for civic government in every great city in the English-speaking world should study it, for it is a notable example of the fashion in which local patriotism and the demands of humanity have preserved a

* *How York Governs Itself: Civic Government as Illustrated by the County of the City of York.* Edited by J. B. Morrell and A. G. Watson. Allen & Unwin. 15s. net.

noble city nobly without loss of tradition, and with gain in all the regions, moral and physical, of health. Mr. Morrell and Mr. Watson hit off the exact position in their dictum from Thucydides, "Men not walls make a city." The walls of England are our seamen, the walls of English cities are the citizens.

York is one of the most ancient cities in England, and has, though not a university town—it is strange that neither Canterbury nor York has ever dreamed of a University—always been a strong centre of culture. The schools of York were famous in the seventh century, and are famous to-day, with their accretions of noble foundations due to Quaker generosity more than a century ago. Nor were the Friends the only bulwarks against the devastating ignorance that followed in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. The National Society and the British and Foreign Schools Society arose as national forces to combat that ignorance, and by 1837 the City of York had five national and three British schools, and this movement spread rapidly. Moreover, that great feature of modern times, Adult Education, found in the York Institute more than a century ago an early hearth, and there are to-day and have been for many years some six other centres of adult educational work where the Workers' Educational Association and other bodies have room for their devoted activities. The Act of 1870 brought an outburst of new schools, while all the modern movements since 1899 in the way of higher education have their place in York.

The school doctor is busily at work, and this thought brings the reader to the really marvellous work done in the region of public health by the City Council. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the parochial system dominated the city in the work of local government, and no less than twenty-eight independent parishes looked after the City, while the ancient corporation administered the city property and markets, the rivers, prisons, city walls, churches, and justice. "There was hardly any drainage system in the city, no health administration, and no building regulations other than the safeguards provided by the common law of the land." The position became intolerable and disease played riot with the people. The Corporation was reformed and became representative in 1835, but it was not until 1850 that the central body took over the lighting and cleaning of the streets. The condition of things was terrible at that date, and the fact is not shirked in this careful record. It was indeed terrible in all the great centres of population, and the onslaught of Asiatic cholera taught Parliament a lesson. In 1848 the first voluntary Public Health Act was passed, and the York City Council obtained leave to apply its provisions to the city, and much in the way of drainage was done, but it was not until 1873 that the first medical officer of health and

inspector of nuisances was appointed, and until about 1890 the sewage of the city was discharged in a crude form into the Ouse and the Foss at numerous points. The sanitary position on the eve of the twentieth century was still appalling, but in 1895 a great sewage scheme was brought into operation and has recently been added to and improved. The concentration of powers in the City Council in other ways has had great results, and the Council is now looking forward to the task of Poor Law administration.

The stern efforts of the last half century have been able to reduce the death-rate and sickness-rate in a measure that would not be conceived of as possible in 1850. But there is still more to be done in great cities in this direction, and especially in the case of little children. The history of recreation for the people in York is singularly fascinating. Recreation in its noblest sense includes literature, and the Minster Library has been at work for twelve hundred years and more. When the revival of humanism came a century ago a subscription library began to cater for the people, and it was well supplemented by the Old Mechanics Institute, which in 1891 blossomed forth into a public library that now has 30,000 volumes for borrowing, as well as a reference library of over 17,000 volumes. The new public library will concentrate the work done by the old Subscription and Mechanics Institute libraries. To these libraries we must add the recreational work done by the Museums and Art Gallery Committee of the Council and the Musical Entertainments Committee, which in a sense carry on the recreation that was to be found in the mediæval religious plays and the famous Corpus Christi festival which from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century was under the control of the Corporation. The ancient playground and pageant ground outside the city where the two rivers meet is still used as a place of recreation; the racing fields known as Knavesmire of 300 acres is a fine centre for sport, and has been used for two centuries. The park at Clementhorpe, presented to the city by Messrs. Rowntree as a memorial to those employees who fell in the war, is a great and noble memorial. There is, in these and other delightful sites, not forgetting the city walls, three miles of grassy ramparts, ample space in which the citizens can take their ease and magnify their health.

No doubt much remains to be done to make York the new Jerusalem that William Blake pictured as the ideal of city life. There are needs in the way of the care of young mothers, of co-operation of hospitals with after-care, the abatement of smoke, the elimination (even now) of slums. But York has had and has courage and great traditions, and other cities, and not least the Scottish cities, will benefit by the study of the lessons given by this excellent book.

THE MYSTERIES OF MATTER.*

The Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the first of the series of Founders' Memorial Lectures at Girton College, carries the students literally into worlds not realised and answers some of the "obstinate questionings" with which the layman, necessarily ignorant but passionately as well as intellectually curious, endeavours to satisfy himself as to the reality of an unseen universe.

The discovery of the electronic structure of the universe seemed for a brief period to carry the human mind, the mental eye, as far as it could go. For very many centuries men were content to believe that the structure of objective things was composed of irreducible atoms, but in recent times

The sanctuary of the atom was invaded, and it was found that the atom was built up of smaller parts—of electrons carrying a charge of negative, and of protons carrying a charge of positive electricity. Means were devised for counting the number of electrons in an atom, and it was found that the atom, instead of being just the little hard solid particle of the original view, was a very complex thing, comparable in complexity with the Solar System. It was found, moreover, that it was this complexity, this fine structure inside the atom, which endowed matter with its electrical and chemical properties.

The temptation to rest upon this great achievement, establishing the invisible sources of the activities of the Universe, was great. There was the temptation to regard the whole structure of the Universe as simple in the extreme and to regard the electron as a single point charge of electricity surrounded by a structureless medium. That Nature is simpler than we think was a point made by Sir Ernest Rutherford in a recent address at the British Association, and certainly the simple view of the electron is a very convenient illustration of this principle. But as Sir Joseph Thomson drily remarks: "There is no evidence that the convenience of mathematicians has been a dominant factor in the scheme of the Universe." In fact, there is the counter-temptation to ask whether there are many kinds of electrons, as there are many kinds of atoms, and whether, in any event, the electron itself, in its turn, has a structure.

Sir Joseph Thomson, working from some marvellous physical experiments carried out by his son, Professor G. P. Thomson, tells us that this further knowledge has come, and that it is now possible to move "beyond the electron" into a region where mysteries, of which perhaps Sir Isaac Newton in his investigations into the nature of light was partly conscious, seem at last to be within reach of solution. Newton's corpuscular theory of light, the theory that

* *Beyond the Electron*. By Sir J. J. Thomson. Cambridge University Press. 2s. 6d. net.

light consists of actual particles, and the later wave theory of light, may, in the presence of the new knowledge, be combined in a higher unity, and indeed the Master of Trinity seems to indicate in the lecture the nature of that unity. Professor Thomson's experiments seem to show that "the electron is accompanied by a train of waves, and that these waves have complete control over its path; the electron is compelled to follow the lead of the waves." These electronic waves are "of extraordinary high pitch; the pitch of the lowest is nearly a million times that of visible light; it is far higher than that of the Röntgen rays," higher than all rays hitherto known with the exception of the Gamma-rays emitted by radio-active substances. The significance of the discovery of this new type of radiation is summarised in clear fashion by Sir Joseph Thomson:

Just as it was found necessary to supplement the corpuscles which, on the old corpuscular theory constituted light, by systems of waves, so it turns out that bare corpuscles of electricity are insufficient to explain the properties of electrons, and that these, like the corpuscles of light, must be accompanied by systems of waves. The duality of corpuscles and waves seems to be in evidence in many regions of physics and may be of the nature of things.

Now if we adopt the view of Faraday and Clerk Maxwell as to the properties of electrically charged bodies "as due to lines of force which spread out from them into the surrounding ether," the energy of the electron is not internal but in the space outside the electron, and it travels as waves through the ether. This theory assumes that the ether is not merely an intellectual concept accounting for action at a distance but is what may be called perhaps a transcendental reality in which energy dwells and moves by means of waves. But the electronic structure does not apparently involve the universality of ether through space. Electrical energy certainly moves by way of waves, but here we face what is perhaps the fundamental mystery of the objective universe. Hitherto the spread of light has been regarded as the maximum rate of motion in the Universe. But the new conception of electronic structure seems to dissipate what has always seemed to the man in the philosophic street a purely artificial dogma. Sir Joseph Thomson puts the fact quite simply:

All electrical waves, whatever their wave length, travel with the same speed, that of light, through the ether, and the energy they carry must therefore travel with this speed. But when you or I move from one place to another and carry our energy with us, even the youngest of us are left sadly behind by light. We must face the fact that energy may travel at any speed, and show that this is not inconsistent with its transmission through the ether. I think we can do this, for though it is true that

electrical waves, long and short, all travel through a structureless ether [Sir Joseph Thomson deals with the structure of ether later] with the same velocity, yet, if the ether has mixed with it electrons or any bodies charged with electricity, the conditions are entirely changed. The charged bodies are set in motion by the electrical waves, and as a consequence emit electrical waves themselves; these secondary waves unite with the primary one, change its character, e.g., alter its wave length without altering its frequency, and thus alter its velocity.

Thus in the Heaviside layer of the upper atmosphere of the earth (which makes possible long-distance wireless transmission) the molecules of air by the intense radiation are often split up into electrons and positive ions, and contain a supply of positive and negative charges. In this region the electrical waves in no case travel as slowly as light, and the longer the wave-length the greater the velocity of the waves. This demonstration that there are no apparent limits to the velocity of energy seems to indicate the possibility of new knowledge as to the properties of energy in regions that are now known to us by phenomena revealed only by the velocity of light.

But whatever the velocity of energy, vast or minute, it is the waves which determine its path; the wave may be far in front (so to speak) of the energy but it guides the energy. The idea seems almost to negative free will, or at any rate (a more gracious thought) to give to that coagulation of energy, Man, a guardian angel in the shape of the resultant of the appropriate waves. Always "the energy system and the waves are in resonance." But Personality comes in here, and the physicist has not yet reached or, at any rate, touched that sublime region, though the grosser physicists, asserting that personality is resident in the brain, premise, with unspeakable dullness of apprehension, the extinction of the individual. For the present it is sufficient to be satisfied that the electron has a dual structure, "one part of this structure, that where the energy is located, being built up of a number of lines of electric force, while the other part is a train of waves in resonance with the electron and which determines the path along which it travels." This assumes that ether is a reality. When once the reality is assured the physicist must necessarily attack the problem of the structure of this reality. This task is begun in the paper by Sir Joseph Thomson. It may be that the electron provides its own ether and has an internal structure that dominates all motion in what we are pleased to call space. But these are mysteries that, for the ordinary man, must await for solution further research into the ultimate structure of what we call matter. It is sufficient to realise that faith is a far more practical thing than even the theologians suspect.

J. E. G. DE M.

A GUIDE TO ENGLISH LITERATURE.*

These lectures address a wider audience than "palæographers or palæotypographers," to use Mr. Esdaile's elephantine phrase. A mere reader of books, the person in fact for whom books were written (the palæotypographers, philatelists and collectors of first editions forget sometimes this fact of practical usefulness), is the humble individual for whom the Sandars Lecturer for 1926 provides provender in the shape of the sources of the bibliography of English literature. The humble reader is led gently not to commentaries on an author, but to the author himself, to his actual text and his literary environment. A reader however humble and an editor however mighty need the author's actual text, the thing he wrote and sanctioned, not the thing even that the printer thought that he wrote, but the thing that the author was desirous of giving (or not giving) to the world as the product of his mind and his personality. As Mr. Esdaile reminds us, first editions contain *errata*, and they also contain passages that on second thoughts the author—possibly as in the case of Boswell under fear of the horsewhip—desires to expunge. It may be important to know what the author's thoughts were if the quiet reader is to understand the man. Bibliography is, in fact, a practical thing, practical in the history of literature, and even more practical in the history of history-literature. Many an historian would give a very great deal not to have presented certain passages to the world: but if the reader is to understand history and the historian, the history of his mistakes and his prejudices is all important. That is why the manuscript *Marginalia* of an historian are the precious possessions of some libraries.

Mr. Esdaile fully realises the bibliographical value of manuscripts, and in fact, though he is, in the British Museum Library, a "printed-book man," he gives us a useful section in relation to manuscripts. The mediæval scientific manuscripts of English origin alone is a vast field. Professor and Mrs. Singer's bibliography of this class "is expected to contain between 30,000 and 40,000 articles," and Mr. Esdaile thinks that the number of extant Old and Middle English literary manuscripts can hardly be less. But all this is another story than the one that Mr. Esdaile tells so well. But perhaps his field should include *Marginalia* and other manuscripts forming part of books that are sources of English literature. Some early printed books were finished by the scribe

* *The Sources of English Literature: A Guide for Students. Sandars Lectures, 1926.* By Arundell Esdaile. Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.

for some reason or other, and it is almost certain that early editions finished with the quill must have news, perhaps 450 years old, to give to an expectant world.

The judicious reader most often knows very little indeed of the machinery and the history of the machinery of bibliography. The general bibliography "is like the mammoth, extinct," though some of these mighty books have still some use. Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Books* of 1595 is necessarily of use. "A most tiresome business," he called it, but, with a humane egoism for which all must love him, he added that there is also "a blessing upon the labours undertaken in our poor estate." Not every cataloguer or classifier is so modest. Robert Watt's book (1824) purporting to be a general index to British and foreign literature, is still of great value, and is "the first alternative to the catalogues of the greatest libraries for establishing the existence of English books, especially the obscure books of the century and a half before his time. His critical remarks are careful and based on the best authority available to him," an industrious Scottish doctor.

But if the mammoths are extinct there are some huge wild elephants left which the timid general reader can observe in comparative safety from the copses of the virgin forests of literature. The general catalogue of the British Museum Library with its fawn the Grenville catalogue is, so to speak, the friendly mother of the herd. It is a blessed thought that the classifiers of America, the good Dewey and others, who feed gently upon the life-blood of budding librarians, have not been able to introduce their famous taming process—which has been known to reduce the foresters to a condition of lunacy—to the simple three-dimensional life of the books in the Museum. The solution of a simple problem in rigid dynamics will bring you in time any book that the Museum holds. The elephant is on her knees, with the book in her trunk, in quite a brief period. Moreover, if you whisper the name of the book into the ears of the Postmaster-General—who really is a mammoth—he will dispatch the whisper into the forests of the night and the book will be available before the gentle reader has finished his breakfast and has sallied forth from the Groves of Peckham. It is true that even the General Catalogue has its difficulties to face. Men and women in fear of the scaffold or the sword or the ridicule of the ignorant, choose to write in disguise, and "anonyma are the bane of catalogues," but Mr. Arthur Miller solved the difficulty. The other great libraries, at Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh, Dublin and Manchester have their advantages and their drawbacks, but as Mr. Esdaile feelingly observes, there are other advantages in visiting some of them. The bibliographies of particular periods are elephantine enough, as indeed are bibliographies of the litera-

ture that centre round certain books, such as the *De Imitatione Christi*. The chronological arrangement invented by Mr. George Fortescue for special periods in connection with the Thomason Tracts is wholly admirable. By this method "we can follow the ebb and flow of rumour and opinion in London from day to day" in the period of the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth. Mr. Esdaile wonders why the method "has been tried for no other period, at least for the literature dealing simply with current public affairs." The answer is a simple one. Cataloguers, classifiers, and bibliographers, outside a select area in Bloomsbury, are (as Mr. Lewis Carroll would say) so awfully clever that the convenience of the man in the street—for whom, after all, tracts, newspapers, prayer-books, Bibles, and all other books written in the vernacular, were written—never even occurs to them. Bibliography and its paraphernalia are a cult, and the augurs wink at one another. It would not be too much to ask that when general bibliographies for the eighteenth century are designed (to take the place of dear Robert Watt) the man in the street and the historian, who, after all, are the people that matter, should be taken into account. A nice chronological method, let us say in lustra, would be gratefully accepted by these general readers.

Mr. Esdaile passes on to local bibliographies. Has a bibliography of Scottish law books in use prior to 1700 ever been compiled? Is there a bibliography of Kentish books? Every county archaeological society should make a bibliography of the literary works published in that county—excluding the vast towns. In the section dealing with the bibliography of literary forms—such as the drama—Mr. Esdaile deals with a great subject. How large was the first folio edition of the works of Shakespeare? New copies have turned up since Sir Sidney Lee's list of 1902. It would be a curious bibliographical fact if the total eventually exceeds the output of the press of 1621, though there have been very strange facts in the history of literature. It is pleasant to think that there are all the other great dramatists awaiting attention from skilled hands. Mr. Montague Summers is at work on Dryden. Then again there is fiction, and an American gentleman is said to be specialising on English eighteenth-century fiction. There is no rumour to the effect that an English gentleman is dealing with American nineteenth-century fiction. An extremely important piece of work is a bibliography of English translations from Greek and Latin classics before 1641, produced in 1911 by Miss Henrietta Palmer. The translations from the Italian are scarcely less important, and from the point of view of dramatic sources perhaps more important. A work on translations into English from the Spanish is needed up to, let us say, the end of the eighteenth century. Bibliographies of law books,

and especially legal manuscripts (other than the Year Books, which are receiving full attention) are needed. Miss Putnam is in the field, but more workers are needed, and especially in the region of mediæval manuscripts of Roman law and Canon law texts. But these are perhaps less closely related to English literature than they ought to be, despite the efforts of Professor de Zulueta.

Mr. Esdaile's admirable book should arouse interest, however, in many fields, and stimulate the owners of private libraries, on which he has much to say, to look into their musty but perhaps priceless shelves, and this remark applies to Cathedral and Chapter libraries which seem to be somewhat somnolent as well as musty. Mr. Esdaile's index to his own book is a model of what an index should be.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

THE TRIAL OF THE TEMPLARS.*

Mr. Edward Martin has given the public an excellent and fair account of the terrible suppression of the Knights Templars in the first decade of the fourteenth century. The heart of the movement for suppression was in France, the favourite abiding place of the members of this international Order which, founded in Jerusalem in 1119 as a body bound by the triple vow of poverty, chastity and obedience, had become in the course of time an Order of great power, substantial wealth and immense influence. It had, however, no real object for the energy of its organisation after the destruction of Jerusalem in 1191 and the final loss of Palestine.

The Order was recognised as a danger at the Council of Lyons in 1245, and their record as an institution for a century before that time was questionable both in the Holy Land and in Europe. Despite the fact that they became bankers to kings, they defied national laws, the customs of chivalry, and even ecclesiastical law, while charges of what may be summarised as disgusting devil worship and flagrant immorality were rife in many countries. A crisis came at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Philip the Fair of France found or believed that they endangered his national aims. The king determined to stamp out the Order, and the story of his successful effort is the story of this book.

As Mr. Martin shows, there is a distinct resemblance between the suppression of the Templars and the abolition of the monasteries

* *The Trial of the Templars.* By Edward J. Martin. George Allen & Unwin. 5s. net.

in England by Henry VIII. Philip IV and the English Henry were pillars of the national ideal in their respective kingdoms. In France the Templars were members of an Order which was international as well as being a secret society. It was rich, and had among its debtors the king. It had a large number of privileges which were incompatible with Philip's policy. Moreover, charges of heresy and corruption were becoming especially frequent in the French branch of the Order. This gave Philip his chance.

The king was shrewd enough to obtain the favour and co-operation of the Pope, a Frenchman resident in France, before he proceeded. "The Templars were an ecclesiastical society outside the reach of the civil courts, and they were spread over the whole of Europe. The Pope alone could command the obedience of all the European princes, and the Pope alone could enforce the law in the face of the ecclesiastical position of the Order." In August, 1307, Martin V instituted an inquiry into the character of the Order. This step was forced upon him by his powerlessness at Avignon and by the number of terrible accusations made against the Order. The Pope himself was possibly satisfied as to the general innocence of the Templars as a body. Throughout the whole movement, the Pope was vacillating. It was only the continual pressure of the French king that forced him to countenance the attack upon the Order.

After the papal inquiry had been set up, Philip ordered the arrest of every Templar in France on October 13th, 1307. The danger of infringing the privileges of a religious order was averted by the conditional support of the University of Paris and the decision of the Inquisition to work under the direction of the French king. The purpose of Philip was definite. "It was to secure such a weight of evidence against the Order, supplied by members themselves, that no course would be open but to dissolve the Order and confiscate its property. This aim opened no attack on individuals, for individually the Templars were in no danger."

As a result of Philip's action in obtaining evidence the Pope issued a Bull, calling on all Christian Princes to make examination of all Templars in their domains on a series of scheduled charges. In France a papal commission was set up to obtain evidence from the French Templars and to report to the Council of the Church to be held at Vienne in October, 1310. The schedule of charges contained a number of accusations which were the commonplaces of all mediæval criminal trials, such as charges of unnatural vice and blasphemy. The only definite charges, which distinguished the case against the Order from any other heresy trial, were secrecy, the use of Lay Absolution, and the claim of the Order that "its interest should supersede all principles of right and wrong."

These were the only definite charges made against the Order. The inquiry dragged from November, 1309, to May, 1310.

The delay, coupled with the lukewarmness of the Pope, forced Philip to action. He burnt at the stake fifty-four individual Templars who had retracted their confessions. Mr. Martin partly exonerates Philip from this massacre, though he rightly calls the executions "cruel and futile." He holds that the resistance of a number of Templars forced the king to take action against them. He calls it "an unforeseen side issue to which Philip was brought by the vacillation of the Pope and the obstinacy of the Order itself." Philip "must at least be absolved from the charge of plotting in cold blood the murder of these men." Philip the Fair was unscrupulous in his methods but not wantonly cruel. If the massacre was a "side issue" the king was indeed a cold-blooded murderer, because his action was not necessary. The obstinacy of the Order was certainly unexpected. It was this unforeseen occurrence which threatened to destroy Philip's plans and so forced him to take action which would expedite a favourable decision from Pope and Council. It seems therefore more probable that the massacre was no side issue, but it was certainly unforeseen. Philip felt that it was essential to his success, when he found his original plans unsuccessful.

Philip's brutal action had its effect. The work of the French papal commission was speeded up, and the evidence, along with reports from other countries, was submitted to the Council of Vienne on October 16th, 1310. By an overwhelming majority the Council recommended suppression, but pronounced no opinion as to the guilt of the Order, and the Pope issued the Bull "Vox in excelsis" dissolving it.

Mr. Martin sums up with admirable fairness the case against the Order. The conditions under which the inquiry was carried out, and the motives behind the whole movement prevent any really satisfactory solution. The evidence given by the Templars themselves cannot be disregarded as a product of the torture chamber. The evidence obtained under better conditions in other countries in certain respects supports the French evidence. The order had undoubtedly become internally rotten. "There is a strong presumption that the Order was corrupt spiritually if not morally, and there is an undeniable certainty that its existence could be no longer continued without gravely menacing the States of Europe." Certainly no harm was done by the suppression of the order. Undoubtedly the new national spirit which was beginning to permeate through Europe profited by its dissolution. The only question is whether it was legally justifiable. Sir John Macdonell thought that it was not justifiable. *Tot jurisprudentes tot sententiæ.*

THE SCIENCE OF EXAMINATIONS.*

This is a timely book. A considerable proportion of the rising generation in the schools and universities of Great Britain have recently sat for examinations, and now even the examiners are at rest and are spending their well-earned leisure without a thought (it is to be hoped) of new Tests for Tiny Tots or new problems for the Smith Prize.

The history of examinations has apparently never been written, though the subject has given rise to a whole literature of short and disturbing stories that have from time to time wrung the reins of white-haired men and women and blushing youth. The story of the flannelled undergraduate who sat on the inked type of a set of mathematical tripos papers and thereby, in due course, became Master of his College, is perhaps too improbable to be true, but there are other stories almost as improbable and not so criminous that are true. But the history of examinations is a different matter. Have the modern scientific examiners, who by means of an Ogive Curve can classify the sons of men, ever considered the great Chinese examination system dealing with hundreds of thousands of candidates which was so accurate and so prophetic that it placed one of the greatest of the Chinese Statesmen, Li Hung Chang, at the top—or was it the second place?—in the gigantic list? China has abolished these competitive examinations, but England, which adopted tea-drinking from China as a substitute for indiscriminate beer and strong waters, has decided that competitive examinations make for social stability. Certainly China has not gained in stability since the abolition of examinations and pigtailed and tight shoes, and indeed there is much to be said for an examination system that will give to each candidate his or her appropriate place in an ordered system of society. The only question is whether our present system, part of which is in this admirable book discussed in scientific fashion by the Secretary to the Joint Matriculation Board of the Northern Universities and the senior lecturer in social statistics in the University of Liverpool, achieves that result. If the terms of the Education Act, 1918, are to be our guide, then, so far as examinations determining transfer from elementary to secondary schools are concerned, we have not achieved that result.

But Dr. Crofts and Mr. Caradog Jones are mainly dealing with an examination for secondary schools known as the First School Examination, and usually called the School Certificate Examination. The Board of Education requires that all children in State-

* *Secondary School Examination Statistics Prefaced by a Simple Introduction to Statistical Methods.* By J. M. Crofts and D. Caradog Jones. With folding plate and diagrams. Longmans. 2s. 6d.

aided secondary schools who are in forms in which the average age is 16+ should be submitted for this examination. In 1927 there were 54,953 candidates, and the number is increasing annually. There is a further examination which is called the Second Higher School Examination which in certain circumstances excuses the successful candidates in respect to certain universities from the Intermediate Examination. A considerable confusion exists in this matter. If the first examination is passed with five credits, which means a high standard in five subjects, it excuses candidates from the Oxford and Cambridge first examination, but the practice has arisen of submitting candidates at an early age with no intention of winning credits, but with the intention of qualifying them for the second examination. In this way a school can boast of a great number of Higher School Certificates in the case of half-educated candidates who had not obtained a single credit in the first examination. It is a wholly unsound practice which saps the very basis of a liberal secondary education, but it is very popular, and in 1927 no less than 5,179 candidates entered for the second school certificate examination.

The result is that there are, in fact, two grades of secondary education, the lower which aims chiefly at the Higher School Certificate and the higher which aims chiefly at the First School Certificate with sufficient credits to pass straight into the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge ready for Honours work based on a thoroughly sound and liberal secondary education. The reason for the haste to pass the Higher School Certificate—a different matter to the use to which it is also put as an examination for large numbers of scholarships, the only purpose to which it should be put—is to expedite as far as possible the taking of the degree, but in fact in many universities the Higher Certificate does not necessarily excuse matriculation. These special problems are, however, the outcome of examinations, and do not touch the actual mechanism of the examination process.

There are eight examining bodies closely linked with the secondary schools, all of which are university bodies with the exception of the Central Welsh Board. They work to syllabuses which are constantly revised, and there is an opportunity for a school to have a special syllabus, though the right is rarely exercised. Examiners are drawn from two classes, university teachers and school teachers, the examination papers are drafted with infinite care and are criticised not only by a number of persons with secondary school experience but by laymen who introduce a living and moderating element. The marking is checked to the standard of the chief examiners, and this standard, though arbitrary, is a standard with comparatively little variation. There are four groups of subjects :

English, History, Scripture, and in some cases Geography ; languages other than English ; Mathematics and Science ; and fourthly Music, Art and domestic subjects. A candidate must pass in five subjects which must include one subject included in groups I, II and III. The schools are invited before the examination to send in an estimate based on the school records of the marks each candidate is expected to gain in each subject, and these records are taken into account in the case of candidates who fail by a narrow margin. Moreover, there is a further help in the practice of compensations when good work in one subject may balance a slight failure in another subject. This is a frequent practice in subjects in the same group, but failure in a whole group is rarely the subject of compensation from other groups, though that is possible. Everything, in fact, is done to allow for temperamental differences. In the case of awards with merits (a matriculation certificate) in 1927 32.1 of the boys and 25.0 of the girls obtained the valued distinction. In the same year 66.5 of the candidates obtained a certificate. Various teachers' associations are clamouring for a lower standard that would ensure at least 80 per cent. securing the certificate. If this demand is met the value of the certificate will fall and the examination itself will be discredited both with employers and universities.

But such questions are not discussed in this strictly scientific book. The authors are anxious to disclose to the world the scientific mechanism of the modern examination system, and it should be read by those who have any doubts of the fairness of the system. It is fairness itself, and there are ample opportunities for school teachers to suggest improvements of method. It is the use that the examination is put to that really interests the general public, and here, as is indicated in this brief notice, reforms are due in the relationship of the two examinations. That the standard of the First Examination should be lowered or that it should be differentiated for the sexes is unthinkable : examinations are apparently necessary, and as the sexes have now equal political rights they should have equal rights in the field of examinations.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

In this book *Canterbury of our Grandfathers and of To-day** Mr. Gordon Home has given us another of his delightful series, charmingly illustrated, which will appeal equally to those who know Canterbury well, and also to those who have not yet had that privilege. The

* The Homeland Association Ltd. 3s. 6d. net.

grandchildren are, and ought to be, proud of a unique city; and books, such as Mr. Gordon Home's, with his knowledge of history and architectural beauty, greatly help to make Englishmen and women aware of, and rejoice in their inheritance. The facilities of road travel to-day make one sometimes fear that the invasion thereby of these old-world cities may tend towards modernisation, and utility may again override beauty, as it did in many cases in the early nineteenth century. Mr. Home gives some amusing instances. "The Cathedral's Measure" which has lately been before the Church Assembly (the debate on which has been adjourned to the autumn) will when, and if, passed, carefully guard these ancient edifices, which, as the centuries go by, will be more and more cherished. As education advances in the knowledge and appreciation of beauty and art, so will the nation become more anxious to conserve and preserve from the ravages of time the heritage already hers, and it behoves us, stimulated by the grand examples of the glorious art of the past, to leave to our children and grandchildren noble buildings worthy of our generation. The Archbishop of York said last month, in moving the general approval of the Cathedrals Measure, "The Cathedral Churches constituted one of the greatest trusts committed to the Church of England."

"The Pictorial Presentation of Canterbury as it was and as it is," given us by Mr. Gordon Home, is beyond praise, and the plan of the city in 1825 shows at a glance how little change has been effected in a century. All who are contemplating a visit to this famous city with its historic cathedral, should take this book with them, for it is not cumbersome, and contains much knowledge pleasantly told.

* * *

The Rev. Conrad A. Skinner has supplied in his book *Concerning the Bible** an admirable handbook that is specially suited for young people. Mr. Skinner is well qualified for his task, for while his scholarship is sufficiently accurate and up-to-date, his experience first of all in the rowing world of Cambridge University (for he was cox of the University Boat) and since then as Chaplain to the Leys School, has brought him into close touch with the needs and ways of thinking of ordinary young men and boys. The book starts with the English Bible and gives an account of the sources of its text and also of the successive translations into English. The author then proceeds to deal in succession with the origin and contents of the New Testament and of the Old. He goes on to explain how and why the Books came to be collected and selected. After completing this historic survey Mr. Skinner discusses the meaning of Revelation, Inspiration and Authority in their relation to the Bible. While not committing ourselves to every detail either of statement or of view, this volume can be heartily commended as a careful and popular account of the subject and may, with advantage, be put into the hands of young people who are seeking information and guidance, especially in regard to the results of Criticism, both Higher and Lower.

* *Concerning the Bible.* By Conrad A. Skinner, M.A. Sampson Low, Marston & Co. 2s. net.

Hyndman : Prophet of Socialism,* by F. J. Gould, forms a welcome supplement to the two volumes of autobiography and the briefer record provided by his second wife. Mr. Gould, who is qualified for his task by close sympathy with Hyndman's opinions and by intimate personal knowledge of his later years, has written a very interesting study of a remarkable man, who gave his life to the service of his ideal. "His way was as straight and as firm as a Roman road. For modern England he was the Prophet of Socialism; neither more nor less; from first to last; from his *Dawn* of 1881 and the Great Challenge, through the long years of propaganda, to his last sentence in *Justice*." The stage is crowded with figures who have played their parts in the Socialist Movement, from Karl Marx onwards, and Mr. Gould occasionally draws on his own long memory for the picture of a meeting or a scene. To his followers Hyndman was the valiant and glorious champion of the oppressed; to those of other schools of thought he appeared rather as a master of invective, quarrelsome, ill-balanced and indeed ludicrously cocksure. His sincerity, however, was never questioned, and the gentler side of the old warrior is charmingly depicted in the chapter on Rosalind Travers.

* * *

A book of verse by Madame Turquet† is certainly welcome since, with her, deep sense of feeling is coupled with technical excellence. There is perhaps too much restraint, too much of obedience to the rules of art and yet the same complaint has been made of notable poets of the past. The famous quatrain form is used with modification in "The Dancing Faun" with effect that does not owe its force either to Omar or Fitzgerald.

How sweet the rain in that old beech tree's shade!
The hour's set flute—wise to the stream's soft lips:
Hear how the shower soft on the grave-stones drips
And know the eternal flow of all things made.

In changing things could we but one thing stay!
Prolong our destiny beyond man's day,
Make life an hymn all forms to celebrate
And soul's hunger for truth a little sate.

.

Most precious Faun turning my hurt to gain,
Dark brand erect on heaven's wide expanse,
In you the universe itself doth dance,
Its lusty soul thy cadences enchain.

The Nature Studies in piece after piece are united to the throb of humanity though a certain melancholy haunts the union as in the lines on *Arundel*: the immensity of things and the smallness of human life should not be a theme, since the true philosophy of life is Kant's: the stars eternal and the eternal conscience of man. But Madame Turquet in the lines to *Shelley*

* Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.

† *Poems.* By G. Turquet-Milnes. Jonathan Cape. 3s. 6d. net.

Thy spirit far beyond earth's seas would press
And soar above the stars, at last to be
Made one with Beauty's immortality

does not dispel the sadness that the thought of mortality begets in some minds. The persistence of personality is the true poet's theme and it may well be sung by this excellent writer of music.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

To those who desire a lucid and brief exposition of the highest themes the little volume entitled "The Traditional Idea of God"* can be highly recommended. It consists of three lectures delivered by Canon John Gamble in Bristol University, and deals with Deity, Authority, and Immortality. The author has a remarkable art of presenting the results of high thinking, extensive study, and breadth of view in a form that is as attractive as it is instructive to the general reader, if educated and thoughtful. While Modernist in temper and outlook, Canon Gamble is reverent in spirit, and in the best sense, conservative in temper. His attempt to restate the essential beliefs of Christianity in terms of Divine immanence and in accord with Evolution is timely and should be widely useful.

* * *

"Alpine Valleys of Italy,"† From San Remo to Lake Orta, by Ellinor Lucy Broadbent with twenty-five illustrations from photographs by Margaret E. Broadbent, is a very useful and delightful handbook for travellers in those lesser-known parts. The history of the district is given in the opening chapter. Geography, geology and natural history are interspersed with travel experiences and observation. A special feature is the chapter on the Waldensians, whose valleys are part of the trip. Delightful walks, magnificent scenery, comfortable hotels, picturesque old towns and villages and friendly people entice the reader to spend his next holiday here. In hot weather one can go up towards the snows. In cold weather the sea-coast has its well-known charms.

* * *

Nathaniel Hawthorne is perhaps best known to English readers as a mythologist and as the author of "The Scarlet Letter"; in addition to which he is one of the few great American writers known and appreciated on this side of the Atlantic. The Oxford University Press have lately published in "The World's Classics Series," a collection of Hawthorne's short stories entitled "Tales by Nathaniel Hawthorne,"‡ selected and edited by Mr. Carl van Doren, which should prove a popular addition to this Series. The tales show the art of a master in every detail; character or period study, natural or supernatural, Hawthorne carries his reader with him into the very heart of the story and never leaves him disappointed even in the midst of tragedy.

* J. W. Arrowsmith, Bristol.
† Methuen. 7s. 6d.
‡ 2s. net.

PATRIOTISM AND PEACE.*

THE Liberal Summer School ranges wide. It deals with small things and great, with controversial questions of the moment and with political principles which are—or should be—for all time. Like the elephant, whose trunk, as we used to be told in the books of our childhood, can with equal ease pick up a pin and uproot a tree, the Liberal Summer School handles with the same facility the minuter points of local rating and the largest problems of world relations. This year our programme has been even more varied than is usual, and certainly not less interesting. You have had a strenuous week, and I think my appearance among you will be welcome, for the reason that I am the last speaker.

But I hope that you still have left enough mental energy to consider the problem on which I am to speak to you. It is among those of the largest scope; it is fundamental to much of our political thinking; it touches a matter which in these days holds a leading place in men's minds. For we are the generation which has passed through the greatest conflict, and the most disastrous, in human history. Never has there been a more compelling motive to think out the question of the right relations between peoples. Never has there been a more powerful stimulus to apply the means to establish right relations. It is a time when we have to examine our ideas on international affairs from their foundations, to take for granted nothing that is pre-conceived. The most bitter experience has shown beyond dispute that mankind has been on the wrong path. And we can feel no certainty that we are yet on the right one.

The field of politics is divided into two parts—the relation of a State to its own members and the relation of a State to other peoples. The first occupies by far the larger place in our thoughts and in our activities; in the home sphere there is so much more to be done every day and every year than in the foreign sphere. The other is regarded as incidental, as an adjunct. Consequently it has been assumed, almost without examination, that the same main purpose which applies in the one case must apply also in the other. The State in its relation with its own members exists in order to promote their welfare and prosperity; it must therefore have the same purpose in its foreign relations. There also its duty can be nothing else than to promote the interests of its own members. If they can best be advanced by a policy of peace and friendliness towards other States then that is the proper policy; if not, not. The nation is the ultimate unit. Its interest is the supreme law. In the scale of the virtues patriotism takes the highest rank. I shall ask you to consider what should be the attitude of the modern

* The Valedictory Address to the Meeting at Oxford of the Liberal Summer School, August, 1928.

mind towards this principle. But in order to clear the ground and to prevent our coming at once to cross-purposes, it is necessary to reach an understanding first as to what we take patriotism to be. For there are two conceptions of patriotism, very different from one another.

TWO VIEWS OF PATRIOTISM.

The one is the militarist view. It holds that the greatness of a country is a matter of armed strength. The qualities most to be admired, in a man or in a people, are the fighting qualities. Glory is the aim to be pursued, and glory is a matter of victory and conquest. If a moral justification is needed for this creed—and that is not usually thought to be necessary, for the creed considers itself to be apart from and above morality—such a justification can be found in the theory that military conflicts between nations are akin to the struggle for existence in nature; since the struggle for existence among plants and animals results, in the long run, in the survival of the fittest, so war contributes to the progress of mankind. The world will advance most if it is ruled by its most virile elements; and if you ask for a test of virility it is to be found in the capacity to seize power. So whoever is strongest is therefore fittest, and serves mankind best through the vigour of his self-assertion. As the history of the past has been one of warfare, so the history of the future will be, and should be, one of warfare also. Treitschke, a leading exponent of this philosophy, said in his Political Lectures to the University of Berlin, "War will endure to the end of history. The laws of human thought and of human nature forbid any alternative, neither is one to be wished for."

This is the creed in its most extreme form; but with dilutions and modifications it is to be found in many places and many periods outside pre-war Prussia. When we analyse the beliefs of some of our own old-fashioned Conservatives, and try to distinguish the elements that make up that muddled mixture, we find in it, half-understood and half-confessed, something not very different from this. In such a creed patriotism, in one of its interpretations, is the motive; and it is also the instrument. For men will not consent to make the immense personal sacrifices which this doctrine imposes except under the influence of an inspiring ideal. That ideal is found in devotion to country for its own sake, in patriotism.

But there is another view of patriotism, which has always been the Liberal view. Keats, in one of his letters, spoke of "the glory of patriotism, the glory of making by any means a country happier." To help to develop a nation which shall be at a high standard of culture and of comfort, which shall be prosperous and

free, a help to other peoples through the example of its character and the worth of its civilisation—that also makes for the greatness of one's country, that also is patriotism.

WAR AND EVOLUTION.

'The analogy between the process of natural evolution and that of international conflict is superficial. No sound argument can be based upon it. In the first place war, in the modern world, does not exterminate. If it did war might possibly receive some sanction from biology. But ruthlessness cannot now be carried to that point. Not even a Treitschke would assert that the ideal nation was one that had not scrupled to destroy every other. Unless, however, the less fit are exterminated they will continue to survive, side by side with the fitter. Consider the many wars that have been waged in Europe and Asia during the last hundred years. In which of them has the result borne any resemblance to the replacement of one species by another such as takes place in nature? That replacement is not brought about by events that are in any way akin to human warfare. It is the result of competition or conflict between individuals, not of battles between opposing forces. As Dr. Chalmers Mitchell, the eminent zoologist, says in his *Evolution and the War*—a destructive criticism of the theory: "One species is not supposed to advance in serried ranks against another, wolves against bears, eagles against vultures, firs against beeches, and so forth. The competition is internal, amongst the individuals of a species."

So far as a war has any biological effect upon the survival of the fittest, it is usually unfavourable rather than favourable. Both in the nation that is successful and in the one that is defeated, numbers of the fittest are killed off. The method, approved by this theory as nature's means of raising physical standards, in practice results in the disappearance of some thousands or millions, as the case may be, of the strongest and bravest. Let the process only be repeated often enough, and populations of old men, cripples, women and children would survive as evidence of the value of war in promoting virility. And it is a fallacy to suppose that "fittest to survive" is the same thing as "best." Even if it were the case, which it clearly is not, that war eliminated the defeated, the outcome would be merely the survival of those who had shown themselves the best fitted to conquer. They, no doubt, would regard this as proof of an all-round supremacy. But that is by no means self-evident. Ability to conquer is one thing; a high place in the human scale may be another. When the Tartars or the Turks swept over great portions of the civilised world, it is far from obvious that progress was served. Evolution through war may encourage and establish a fitness merely of barbarism. If in this country all the restraints of morality and

of law were abolished and our social relations were left to be settled by individual brute force, those who were the fittest to cope with the new conditions would no doubt survive and become predominant. But they would not be the highest types that the country might produce. They would be those whom we now call sturdy criminals. It is the same with nations.

Let it be remembered also that the methods of the swamp and the jungle are not the only ones that are available. For men it is open to attain the results that are of value by other and less costly means. The animal world cannot influence consciously the forces that shape it; its progress depends upon causes that are unaffected by its own mentality. With us there is a fundamental difference. The human world is conscious of itself; it can choose, within limits, its own method of evolution. It can retain the competition of ideas and customs, and the competition of races and peoples, while discarding violence and while developing co-operation as well. Man-kind, unlike the beasts and the insects, has that power of choice. Constructive civilisation is an alternative to conflict.

HUMAN NATURE AND WAR.

In the end the defender of war usually takes refuge in fatalism. War may be proved to be foolish and harmful. From whatever side the question is approached—historical or moral, biological or economic—the conclusion may stand out, clear and unmistakable, that the institution is evil and the world would be well rid of it. Nevertheless, we are told, it is inevitable. It has always existed, and therefore will always continue to exist. It is rooted in human nature, and human nature does not change.

The voice of the defeatist is heard in every theatre of action; had it been listened to we should still be in a stage of culture even more primitive than we are. We should still be settling our personal differences by constant duels: still burning witches and heretics: still using torture for the detection of criminals: still practising piracy on the sea and slave-raiding on land; perhaps still eating the bodies of our enemies killed or captured in incessant tribal fighting. We may be sure that each of these customs was defended in its day as an inevitable outcome of human nature, which always had existed and always would. Each was deep-rooted in the habits, and perhaps in the laws, of thousands of years. Yet each has been utterly discarded. If anyone were now to seek to restore those practices he would be regarded as not less mad than the reformers were doubtless regarded who were the first, in some distant age, to dream of destroying them. Human nature, after all, is not something extraneous, distant and fixed: it is nothing else than our own nature, our own opinions and habits, and the

opinions and habits of other men and women not very different from ourselves. We know, from observation and from the reading of history, that these are open to change; slowly, perhaps, and stubbornly, but still open to change. So also with regard to the impulse to war.

For Liberals, at all events, it is of the very essence of their creed that they will tolerate no bad custom as inevitable merely because it exists, no matter how ancient it may be, no matter how deep-rooted. They at all events will not accept as the desirable and permanent ordering of the world a state of things in which "the nations do but murmur, snarling at each other's heels." They at least will not sit still and watch the gradual accumulation of enmities until they vent themselves in violent and devastating conflicts. In a patriotism which tolerates, and indeed fosters, those tendencies, Liberals cannot see any virtue to be admired and cherished. They see in it only a noxious growth, the curse of mankind ever since the dawn of history: not a feature in a majestic cosmic process, but a mere survival of primitive human savagery; not the chief of civic virtues, but one of the worst of civic vices.

IS PATRIOTISM THE LAST WORD?

Let us begin then by rejecting altogether the militarist kind of patriotism and consider only the principles of patriotism as Liberals understand it. And the first question I ask you to examine is this, whether patriotism, as so understood, is the fundamental idea in politics; whether, as is frequently supposed, it is self-contained and self-sufficient; or whether it is itself based upon something deeper, and has to find a justification by reference elsewhere. For example, it has often been said that "the greatest British interest is peace." That no doubt is true; but the question arises—should we then seek peace simply because it is the greatest British interest? In other words, is our final object a British object? And, similarly, is the final purpose of the Frenchman or of the Italian a French or an Italian object?

This is a question which goes to the root. I suggest to you that the answer to it can best be found in the historic phrase of Edith Cavell, "Patriotism is not enough." There is no motive in human conduct which can exempt itself from the moral law. The rules of right and wrong are not bounded by frontiers. It is the accepted code of many savage tribes that there is a duty not to murder or steal from a member of the tribe, but no duty to respect the life or the property of a member of another tribe. Such a code is plainly contrary to every reasonable system of ethics; yet it is in essence the same as the view which regards patriotism as an ultimate principle, transcending the ordinary rules of right and

our nature : that we owe a duty to our fellow-men, and that we cannot adequately perform it to the race at large." It fills a psychological need. To destroy it would leave a void.

There is another consideration. The variety of human types is a good thing in itself. It adds to the ultimate wealth of man. If all the peoples were moulded to a single pattern, life would be the poorer. It is fortunate that we still have differences of characteristics, which have come down to us from diverse origins and through a diverse history ; so long as those characteristics are harmless in themselves they should be cherished. The spirit of nationality is a great preservative of distinctive qualities and customs, revealing themselves in distinctive institutions and literatures, arts and crafts. The single world order might escape from the difficulties and dangers of separateness at the cost, in the long run, of a flat and dull uniformity.

Lastly, this new world order must pre-suppose a unanimous acceptance. Even if it were held desirable as a goal, until it were attained the peoples at the higher levels of civilisation could not run the risk of being overwhelmed by those at a lower. As Dean Inge well expressed it not long ago, " It must be remembered that, in spite of the proverb, it takes in reality only one to make a quarrel. It is useless for the sheep to pass resolutions in favour of vegetarianism, while the wolf remains of a different opinion." War is always wrong, but for a particular people at a particular time it may be the only means of preventing, or of remedying, a greater wrong. The conditions of the world do not render impossible a violent military aggression on the part of some government still animated by the philosophy of international politics which the Anglo-Saxon peoples have discarded. If it occurred, ought the people who were its victims quietly to accept conquest, and whatever conditions conquest might impose? If not, they have a duty of self-defence, and to inspire that defence they need the stimulus of patriotism.

THE CONCLUSION.

This, then, I suggest, is the conclusion. Let us promote to the utmost of our powers the Liberal policies in international relations. Let us welcome the establishment of the League of Nations as by far the greatest and most beneficent event in the modern history of mankind. Let us rejoice at this new Pact, this solemn renunciation of war by all the principal governments, which will make the present year a memorable date. Let us be insistent for the creation of machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, a machinery which shall be effective for its purpose and applicable in all cases without exception. Let us show our readiness to join

with others in an immediate and extensive reduction of armaments. Let us conduct our affairs in relation to our own Empire and to other countries with a full recognition that " the greatest nation is but a fragment "—not an ultimate unit, but one part among many of a greater whole, each with a duty towards the common membership ; that the world is not merely a congeries of separate sovereign States but a moral unity, divided for its own advantage into different nationalities and governments. When all this is done, still there would remain a place for patriotism ; still there would be a call to promote the greatness, as rightly understood, of our own country, and for others to promote the similar greatness of theirs ; still there would be the need to maintain in the nation a willingness and a capacity to respond, almost as by instinct, to legitimate appeals on behalf of country. And if this is so, it will not be wrong for the practice of patriotism to become a habit and for its appeal to be animated by a deep and sincere emotion.

The ideas which we hold on these large and fundamental issues will decide our attitude towards questions that present themselves in the current handling of every-day politics—the question of the national defences, questions affecting the Dominions and India and the Crown Colonies, questions of ceremony in relation to the monarchy and to the flag. At different times and in different circumstances the emphasis to be laid upon one aspect of these matters or upon another will vary. At one time, as when militarism offered its challenge to the modern world, it was essential to emphasise in reply the military and defensive aspect. At the present time I believe it to be essential above all to emphasise the pacific and co-operative aspect, to seize the propitious hour for the establishment of permanent methods for avoiding and settling disputes between nations. But both sides are there and both are valid. Nationalism and internationalism, the fatherland and the world, patriotism and peace—these are not antagonistic ; they are not opposites ; they are complementary to one another. The true word was said long ago by Seneca, " Every man is born into two communities, the Cosmopolis and his native city." To harmonise the claims of the two is our daily task.

HERBERT SAMUEL.

wrong. "Put justice away," said Saint Augustine, "and what are your empires but brigandage and rapine?" Peace is the greatest British interest, no doubt, just as honesty is the best policy. But an honesty which is merely politic is no very admirable quality. Peace is to be sought as a thing that is good in itself, and not because it serves the individual aims of this nation or that. For if such were accepted as the motive, then it must necessarily follow that as soon as peace ceases to be directly advantageous to a particular State it can rightly be discarded, for that reason alone; if national interest is the final test, aggression against one's neighbours may, in given conditions, be a virtue and not a crime. We come back to the root principle that the State is nothing else than a society of men and women organised for purposes of common action, and that their doings as a community must be regulated by no other principles than those which govern their actions among themselves as individuals. The State then, in its relation with other peoples, is subject to the law of duty; but it is not the same duty as in its domestic relations. It is not a duty to its own members only. It is a law of duty as wide as morality itself, and that cannot be narrower than the bounds of the human race.

THE ROOT QUESTION.

Now if this be accepted, we have to consider how far it will carry us. A large and formidable issue at once arises. Granted that the militarist idea of patriotism is wrong and indefensible; granted also that patriotism, in any form, is not something complete in itself and ultimate, but that it must be subordinate to the general rules of morality and must justify its actions by reference to them; the question then presents itself whether there is any place left for patriotism at all. It is not the final and absolute virtue; but is it still a virtue? May it not be an obstacle to the well-being of mankind as a whole, and therefore, in the long run, to the well-being of every country? And if that is so, would it not be best if it were discarded as soon as might be, as one of the sentimental delusions which, all through history, have misled the peoples into the deserts of suffering and the quicksands of death?

Mr. Wells, in his latest books, pleads for the ending of the confusions of this age and for the construction of a new world order. This is not to consist in a federation of countries, each with its own loyalty, but the new order is to supersede national governments and separate loyalties altogether. These are to be eliminated once and for all. Nationality as a principle, and nations as a method of organisation, are to disappear, and patriotism will go with them. Whether this scheme of things seems practicable in our day is not the point of chief importance. The point of chief importance is

whether it is desirable in itself. If this is to be the right ordering of the world one hundred years hence, or even five hundred years hence, the attitude of good citizens towards many political questions of our own time will be greatly affected. We must have a clear idea of the aim towards which we are working. For Liberals, and one may add for Socialists also, it is not merely worth while that they should consider their ultimate objective; it is essential that they should do so. Otherwise our ideas on the current issues of politics will be confused, and our action uncertain and wavering. For my own part I believe that, in the present age and for as long a future as we need contemplate, the idea of country has its legitimate place, that nationality has its justification, that patriotism has a basis, not merely in emotion, but in a sound political philosophy.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF PATRIOTISM.

The world is too large and too varied to be able to manage itself as one State. It has proved impossible for even so small a piece of it as the British Islands to manage itself as a single unitary State. Merely for convenience of government it is essential that the world should be organised in divisions of some kind. The successful working of those divisions demands a great deal of energy and self-sacrifice. Experience shows that those qualities can best be evoked if the unit of government commands the affection and enthusiasm of its members. Service is stimulated where the citizen feels devotion to his city or his country. It is notorious that London suffers in its administration through the comparative failure of either the city as a whole, or of its constituent boroughs, to arouse a sufficient sense of local patriotism. The troubles of China, which are no new thing, but have continued intermittently for centuries, have been largely due to the absence, in Chinese ethics, of any emphasis on the value of patriotism, on the need of self-sacrifice from the individual for the benefit of the country. Indeed, in almost all the countries of the East the idea of duty to one's nation is given a much lower place than the idea of duty to one's family; the results to the purity and efficiency of administration have been disastrous. Whatever advantage Mr. Wells's world order might derive from the disappearance of nationality as a motive in conduct would be countered by the far-reaching disadvantage of eliminating one of the most powerful springs of civic devotion. Governments in local divisions there must still be. Do not deprive them of one of the main factors of success.

Further, nationality puts the average man into touch with something which is greater than himself, yet not too vast and complex for his imagination to grasp. As Karl Pearson said, "Patriotism seems to be based on the reasonable acknowledgment of two facts in

EGYPT TO-DAY.

THERE would almost seem to be a conspiracy of silence on the part of the Press with regard to the latest developments in the affairs of Egypt. The suspension of parliamentary institutions and the establishment of a dictatorship in any foreign country would in the ordinary course receive special attention, and the various cross-currents of opinion produced by such an upheaval would gain full publicity. Except for a brief report of the secret meeting of a number of members of Parliament in a private house the absence of any news from Egypt might lead us to suppose that the latest *coup d'état* has passed off without any resentment or opposition on the part of the Egyptian people.

This silence is not so much due to a reluctance to stir up what may prove to be a veritable hornets' nest as to the very strict censorship which has been imposed on the local Press and to the control exercised by the British Residency over British correspondents. But we must not be misled into supposing that this is a case where no news is good news. The British public are generally ill-informed on foreign affairs. This is the old tradition. Their ignorance renders them powerless, and they are kept ignorant in order that they may be powerless. The sequence of events in Egypt, piecemeal and incomplete as it reaches us, is difficult to follow. Political moves in any foreign country are not easy to interpret, but when they take place in an oriental atmosphere of plot and intrigue it becomes almost impossible for us to judge their true significance or to appreciate the strength or weakness of men and movements. In Egypt, however, owing to its peculiar relationship to this country, an unusual degree of responsibility rests on us which must prevent us from dismissing problems of government with the aloof unconcern which we can display in the case of foreign countries.

Apart from the details and confusing circumstances which lead from time to time to crises in Egypt, there are certain broad principles, certain fundamental lines of policy, about which British public opinion can quite well make up its mind and, indeed, should quite firmly come to a decision. Let us consider these before examining more recent events. We need not go back into early history and discuss our presence in Egypt and our promises to evacuate. We need only be concerned with present circumstances. What vital British interest is bound up with Egypt? The answer to this may be found in the first of the reserved points which accompanied the unilateral declaration of Egyptian independence in February, 1922: "The security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt," and the second point which is consequential: "The

defence of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference, direct or indirect." In other words, we consider it vital that in case of war we should have complete control over the Suez Canal. But the military strategist will at once ask how without full command of the Mediterranean we can prevent the canal being blocked on the outbreak of a war, and how in any event a British regiment at Cairo or on the Canal itself can effectively secure control over the waterway. Circumstances have changed. The development of the Air arm has very much mitigated the importance of sea-power, and the idea is gaining ground that the great waterways of the world should be internationalised and not remain under the sole control of any single nation. These considerations take away much of the substance from the second consequential point, namely, the defence of Egypt against foreign aggression. The strategic value of Egypt no longer makes it a special prize for an aggressor. But behind all this lies the aggressor myth, the unprovoked attack of an enemy out of the blue which never happens, but the warning of which proves enormously useful in instilling through fear a desire for protection. The Egyptian people have been successfully scared about this—a consideration which we will take into account later. What British public opinion has to decide is whether this very doubtful strategic hypothesis is in itself sufficient justification for continuing to prevent the Egyptian people from having complete and unfettered autonomy.

There is undoubtedly a general reluctance on the part of the British people to keep any other people in tutelage or subjection. The declaration of independence in 1922 was accompanied by many assurances of sympathy and encouragement for the institution of representative government. The High Commissioner in a note to the Sultan said, "As regards the internal administration of Egypt, H.M. Government will view with favour the creation of a Parliament with right to control the policy and administration of a constitutionally responsible Government." Now some people may quite legitimately doubt whether a representative parliamentary system, the roots of which have struck deep in Western soil, can successfully thrive in oriental soil. No conspicuous success has accompanied other attempts, as, for instance, in Turkey and Persia, and we are forced to admit that even in Southern and Eastern Europe the parliamentary system so far from flourishing has broken down. There is no reason whatever why a method of government which we have slowly developed in the course of six centuries should suit people of other race and entirely different traditions. On the contrary, there is every reason why it should not. But if there is one thing that is certain and can be made abundantly clear, it is that a grant of independence with substantial

reservations is far worse than no grant of independence whatever, and the establishment of a Parliament without complete control and not even assured of its own continued existence is far worse than the failure to establish any Parliament at all. The reservations which accompanied the British declaration of 1922 were, of course, not accepted by Egypt. But they became outstanding questions which awaited settlement, and necessarily formed the basis of all future negotiations.

Since 1922 two definite attempts have been made to settle these outstanding issues: Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's conversations in 1924 with Zaghlul Pasha and Sir Austen Chamberlain's projected Treaty in 1928. Both failed. Superficially, it might appear that the draft Treaty came nearer to success than the conversations of 1924, which never reached the stage of specific proposals. But there is this fundamental and significant difference between these two attempts. Mr. MacDonald may have failed, but he was dealing with a man who could undoubtedly speak for majority Egyptian opinion, and could have fully implemented any agreement arrived at. Sir Austen Chamberlain in Sarwat Pasha was dealing with a man who did not represent majority Egyptian opinion, and who was almost certain to be thrown over, whatever conclusion he arrived at. Moreover, Mr. MacDonald's conversation with Zaghlul was only the first round in a characteristically oriental negotiation which would certainly have been resumed had it not been for the fall of the Labour Government. His Majesty's present Government have throughout been and are still anxious to arrive at a settlement, but they have and are still making the fatal mistake of supposing that this can be done by setting up in Egypt an authority or a minister who is likely to be accommodating and sympathetic to the British point of view. Obviously this is a case in which failure with the proper representative authority is preferable to success with a puppet who will eventually be repudiated by Egyptian public opinion.

The Wafd represents not a narrow but a very large majority of Egyptian Nationalist opinion. It returned an overwhelming majority of deputies to Parliament. Even the death of Zaghlul has not mitigated its power or weakened its policy. We may not like the policy of the Wafd; we may feel a certain hopelessness in attempting to come to any agreement with Nationalist extremists who apparently refuse all compromise. But unless we deal with the Wafd, unless we take fully into account the opinions and policy which the Wafd represents, and unless we accept as a spokesman for Egypt a minister in whom the Wafd has complete confidence, no success whatever can ever attend any endeavours to settle our Egyptian difficulties.

Events since 1924 show at each stage not only attempts to ignore and suppress Wafd opinion, but a still more serious disregard of the constitutional parliamentary system the establishment of which we ourselves favoured. Alongside of Parliament and by no means subject to it, but on the contrary a rival to parliamentary authority, there is King Fuad, who is not without autocratic ambitions, and there is the British Residency, which has a peculiar and in some respects a key position and exercises a paramount influence.

After the murder of the Sirdar in November, 1924, Zaghlul Pasha was forced out of office, and Ziwar Pasha, backed by the Palace and the Residency, took his place. The King, hoping to consolidate his power, suspended parliamentary government for eighteen months. When, after a period of Palace intrigue, the suspended constitution was revived and elections were held, the coalition of Wafdist and Liberal Constitutionalists swept the country. But Zaghlul was not allowed to form a Cabinet; he became President of the Chamber of Deputies. After two years came Sir Austen Chamberlain's failure with Sarwat Pasha, a Liberal Prime Minister, who entered on negotiations on his own initiative without any parliamentary mandate or without consultation with the most powerful political party in Egypt. On Sarwat's resignation Nahas Pasha, a Wafdist Minister, succeeded. But again majority Egyptian opinion as represented in Parliament was to be flouted, this time not by the King, but by the British Government. Nahas found himself confronted with an ultimatum from Great Britain demanding the withdrawal of the Assemblies Bill on the eve of its passage through Parliament.

There is no need to enter into the technical discussion of the projected Bill and the hypothetical results contemplated from its passage. It is sufficient to say that the British Government considered that as a result of such a law their hands would be weakened in the maintenance of order, and they accordingly declared that "H.M. Government 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 they reserve the right to take such steps as in their view the situation may demand." This ultimatum was backed by the dispatch of a warship. Nahas yielded and agreed to postpone the Bill. But as a representative of the Wafd his days were numbered. In June the Egyptian Press published scandalous allegations against Nahas of fraudulent conspiracy. It was alleged that in his capacity as a lawyer he had contracted to receive enormous fees in connection with the claim of Prince Seif-ed-Din for the restoration of His Highness's very large estate. An inquiry is being made into the case, and as the

charges were denied, they could not actually be used against Nahas. But an unfavourable atmosphere of suspicion was intentionally created, and owing to the resignation of other Liberal members of the Cabinet, the King dismissed the Nahas Ministry on the very slender ground that the coalition had ceased to exist.

Mohammed Mahmud Pasha was entrusted with the formation of a Cabinet. In this appointment Nahas was never consulted. Even after the resignation of the two Liberal ministers both Houses of Parliament passed unanimous votes of confidence in Nahas. In the Chamber of Deputies alone he commanded a majority of 180 as against all three opposition parties numbering 34. It became clear that Mahmud, the new Prime Minister, with this majority against him, could not meet Parliament. The two could not exist side by side. The King and his new minister, encouraged no doubt by the British antipathy to a Parliament dominated by the Wafd, has now recklessly decided on the suspension of Parliament for three years. It is expected during that period that a new electoral law will be promulgated by edict in order to arrange elections in such a manner as to prevent the return of a Wafdist majority. This may prove difficult.

Whatever may be thought as to the expediency or otherwise of the various steps taken during the last three years, no one can for a moment pretend that the Egyptian Parliament has been given a fair chance. The unwisdom of these repeated attempts to stifle majority opinion and to set up acquiescent ministers favourable to British Conservative policy cannot be over-emphasised. It may be difficult to point to the right way of proceeding, but there can be no question that this is decidedly the wrong way. Treaties or agreements signed with Minority ministers, so far from helping, will indubitably hinder an eventual settlement. It is something to learn that the British Government do not intend to renew negotiations, at any rate for the present.

Criticism is always easier than construction. In the Egyptian question, which year by year becomes further obscured by fresh complications, a solution is far from easy to define. Extreme Nationalist opinion which the Wafd has inherited from Zaghlul may not be so hopelessly uncompromising as is generally supposed. It is not so much British proposals as British eventual intentions of which they are suspicious. They are persuaded that it is not the fixed intention of Great Britain to relax completely at any date a controlling hand which must deprive Egypt of absolute autonomy. Take the crucial question of the British garrison. There can be little doubt that the immediate evacuation of every British soldier from Egyptian soil within a month would neither be demanded nor accepted by the great body of majority opinion in Egypt. Not only

do they fear the autocratic ambitions of King Fuad but they have learned some lessons from the drastic methods adopted by the French in Syria, and they are fully aware that in Italy and Turkey unscrupulous autocracies may take advantage of their weakness. The question therefore resolves itself into one of time and degree, to be adjusted according to the legitimate ambitions of Egypt, and a reconsideration by Great Britain of imperial strategic necessities.

The other outstanding problem of importance is the question of the Soudan. Space forbids any examination of the vicissitudes through which this question has passed. It is sufficient to say that from the Egyptian point of view it is not merely a question of territory. Nile water supply is a matter of vital necessity to the very existence of Egypt. In the course of imperial aggrandisement we have established economic interests in the Soudan and have undertaken certain obligations towards the Arab population which we cannot lightly abandon. Compromise here is unlikely to be reached by the wrangling of the two interested parties, more especially when the Soudan problem is linked up with the other highly contentious controversies connected with Egypt itself. But the Soudan and the Suez Canal present just the sort of international problem suitable for submission to the League of Nations, so that without any question of triumph or submission on one side or the other a decision may be arrived at by an impartial outside authority by which both parties will abide.

We may sum up our conclusions on the broad lines of principle and method which British public opinion can easily understand.

(a) Our declared intention should be the establishment without reserve or qualification of an independent autonomous Egypt.

(b) The steps taken towards this end must be devised according to the best interests of the Egyptian people and consistent with the responsibilities and obligations which our long sojourn in the country has for the time being imposed on us.

(c) Negotiations for a Treaty of Alliance must be conducted only with a responsible authority, representative of majority opinion in Egypt.

(d) Egypt must become a member of the League of Nations in order that the major issues which prove incapable of adjustment in bilateral negotiation may be submitted to that body for an impartial international verdict.

With the right spirit and intention, the right approach and the right people as negotiators, it is not impossible that a solution can be found. Unfortunately for the moment we have drifted far down the wrong road, and time will be needed for us to retrace our steps and for Egypt to be restored to normal and regular conditions of government.

ARTHUR PONSONBY.

COUNSELS OF DESPAIR.

A REVIEW OF SOME RECENT INDUSTRIAL PROPOSALS

FOR many years now the conditions of trade and employment in this country have been such as to cause the gravest anxiety, especially to those connected in any way with the distressed areas. But there has persisted among the spokesmen of Government departments a tendency to minimise the gravity of the situation, and even to cast doubts upon the patriotism of those who have sought to emphasise it. See, for example, the speeches in the House of Commons of the President of the Board of Trade and his Under-Secretary on March 1st and May 24th, and of the Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Labour on April 30th. We are told to look upon the bright side of things, to remember that 10 per cent. of unemployment means 90 per cent. of employment, to realise that 500,000 more persons are now in work than when the present Government took office, and finally a list of temporary causes of depression is set out with the implication that the depression itself is temporary and may soon be expected to pass away.

This somewhat facile optimism, making rather for the comfort of onlookers than for the relief of sufferers, must have received a rude shock from the publication on July 23rd of the Report of the Industrial Transference Board.* This is a document of the first national importance, and in its style, arrangement, and presentation of the problem is worthy of its subject and of its distinguished authors. It is brought home to us, as we read, that the mere total figures of unemployment, bad as they are (and they are already far beyond the 1,100,000 noted in the Report), are not the worst of the evil, for those figures might represent the lowest point in a regular trade cycle. But it is the considered opinion of the Board that in the coal industry alone 200,000 are surplus to any probable future requirements, and that 100,000 in iron and steel and a considerable though unascertained number in textiles may be in the same position. Here we find the feature of permanence that changes the whole face of the problem. For benefits or doles are clearly only tolerable as remedies upon condition that they are temporary. The prospect of useful lives condemned to futility, and a young generation growing up without the discipline of regular work, is appalling, and cannot be faced in the spirit of Micawber for the simple reason that nothing, in the ordinary course of things, can be expected to "turn up." It is a challenge to constructive statesmanship and national effort.

That challenge has not been ignored by the authors of the

*Command Paper 3156 of 1928, by Sir Warren Fisher, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., Sir John Cadman, K.C.M.G., D.Sc., and Sir David Shackleton, K.C.B., J.P.

Report, though their answer is disappointing in the highest degree. There are certain sweeping and revolutionary policies, such as Socialism, Protection, and Inflation of Currency, from the consideration of which they regard themselves as debarred by their terms of reference, and so far the Report is probably not impoverished. For of Socialism at least it may fairly be said that its responsible advocates are so far committed to the "inevitability of gradualness" that for immediate purposes they would themselves look for something more presently applicable than the realisation of their political vision. And, in view of Mr. Baldwin's recent utterances, Protection may be regarded as in a somewhat similar position. For as long as the present Safeguarding tests continue this remedy cannot be applied upon a scale sufficiently extensive to realise the hopes of its supporters or the fears of its opponents. And if they are abandoned Free-Traders should have no difficulty in proving to the nation as in 1906 and 1923 that, quite apart from the effect upon the standard of living of the people, employment as a whole stands to lose far more in the exporting trades and in those industries that use imported materials than it can hope to gain by the exclusion of imports. As for Inflation with its incalculable effects, this policy is not so far supported by any considerable section of opinion.

But, leaving aside these heroic remedies, a considerable field for constructive action remains open, and is faithfully covered by the Report. And the first question to be asked appears to be this. Are we compelled to regard the present figures of unemployment in the great basic industries as representing a permanent surplus, or is it not possible that by improved methods of management and marketing that surplus may be absorbed in the most satisfactory way possible, that is to say, into its own industries and within its own areas? The conclusion of the Board is for practical purposes in the negative. They are fully alive to the necessity for re-organisation in the basic industries, and would admit that, whatever the immediate result, in the long run the maximum amount of employment can only be given by the most economic and scientific methods. "But," they say, "it seems clear that in its first phases at any rate re-organisation means concentration of production in the most economic units, and unless this leads to an immediate and substantial expansion of markets through lower prices, a contraction and not an increase of personnel is involved." With the experience of the "Five Counties" scheme in the coal industry fresh in mind it is impossible to disagree with this conclusion. Rating relief ought perhaps to be considered as a favourable factor, since the basic industries have been heavily handicapped in this respect; and even from the Government's scheme, wasteful as it manifestly is in

scattering relief among the prosperous, some advantages may be obtained; but, since the Board specifically mention this scheme, they have presumably allowed for it in arriving at their pessimistic conclusion. We have therefore for practical purposes to envisage the problem as presenting us with a permanent surplus concentrated mainly in certain well-defined areas where the overloaded basic industries are carried on.

This surplus may be treated by several methods pursued either separately or concurrently:

- (a) The volume of the surplus may be reduced by the removal of its youngest or of its oldest sections by raising the school age in the first case, or by the adoption of a lower pensionable age, say 60, in the second.
- (b) Fresh occupation may be found by the deliberate promotion by State or municipal effort of work unsuited to and not competing with the ordinary operations of private enterprise. The creation of small holdings, though considered separately in the Report, is really a special care under this head.
- (c) The surplus may be transferred bodily from the distressed areas to other regions, either at home or in the Empire overseas, where it may have the prospect of absorption in the normal course of industry.
- (d) The establishment of training centres for widening the scope of employability of the unemployed is clearly subsidiary and auxiliary to (b) and (c), and must be considered with reference to them.

Applying this analysis to the conclusions of the Report, it may be broadly stated that (a) and (b) are summarily rejected, and that (c) is adopted with (d) as an auxiliary.

Now, that the Industrial Transference Board should come to the conclusion that the surplus must be transferred is in a sense logical and inevitable. They are thereby recognising the purpose for which they were created as defined by the Minute of the Minister of Labour dated January 6th, 1928, which appointed them "to be a Board for the purpose of facilitating the transfer of workers, and in particular of miners, for whom opportunities of employment in their own district or occupation are no longer available." But that purpose needs not only to be recognised but to be carried out, and, as any transference involves not only a starting point but a destination, the value of any suggestions in that respect depends upon the discovery of that destination. This may seem too obvious to be worth stating, but the fact remains that the Board do not even pretend to have discovered, as far as this country is concerned at any rate, any industries in which the demand for labour so far exceeds the existing local supply as to be capable of absorbing in

any substantial degree the surplus in the distressed areas. With regard to the Dominions overseas, the possibilities are obviously greater. One has a consciousness of vast unoccupied spaces and enormous capacity for development; one murmurs that nature abhors a vacuum, and imagines that here if anywhere lies the need for the labour which we can supply.

But we have to consider facts as well as possibilities, and the facts are that migration into Canada, which averaged over 100,000 annually from 1909-13, has since 1922 fallen to slightly over half that amount, while Australia, which took a yearly average of 55,000 in the earlier period, now absorbs only about 40,000. This decrease is not wholly or even largely the result of British policy. The Dominions tend to regard our unemployed as unemployables; they insist on the very best, who, perhaps, having the brightest prospects of employment at home, may show the least desire to emigrate. Further, although the Report does not make this point, the Tariff system obtaining in the Dominions tends to make each manufacturing industry a close corporation tenacious of its artificial privileges and resentful of recruitment from outside sources, while Agriculture, with the greatest possibilities for absorption, gets all the 'kicks' of that system without any of its halfpence, and is the less capable of expansion. While, therefore, it will be the earnest hope of everyone that this avenue of employment will be increasingly used, it must be recognised that Dominion policy as well as our own is involved, and that, facing the facts as the Report faces them, we cannot regard immediate prospects as bright. As Sir Robert Horne said in the House of Commons on April 30th: "These countries . . . are faced with the same kind of problem as we have, and they are very unwilling that, for example, any suggestion on the part of the Industrial Transference Board should involve them in receiving a large number of labourers from this country."

I return therefore to the prospects of transference at home. What is the policy suggested by the Board? It consists in a triple appeal to the employers, to the unemployed, and to the Government. The appeal to employers is to make every use of Employment Exchanges, Training Centres, and Juvenile Unemployment Centres for the purpose of allocating work as far as possible to applicants from the distressed areas. The appeal to the unemployed is "for the personal will to move of a man who, looking out soberly at what is before him in his own area, is prepared to take some risks." Finally, the appeal to the Government is to "help, where necessary, by training and by grants towards the cost of moving, to encourage the will to move." Of these appeals the last is clearly subsidiary to and dependent upon the others, and for this reason the whole policy will recommend itself strongly to the Government

and particularly to the Prime Minister. For the initiative is not imposed upon them: all they have to do in the first place is to broadcast the appeal to masters and men, and for such a task no man is better qualified than Mr. Baldwin.

But what can be the result of the most whole-hearted response to this appeal by masters and men alike? The employers concerned will be mainly those of the developing South and Midlands, who will be required to shoulder some of the burden of the stagnant North-East and South Wales. It must be assumed that they are in the labour market looking for workers; it would greatly simplify the problem if it could also be assumed that no labour is available for them in their own localities. But in fact the most that they can do is to give preference to applicants from the distressed areas, and that must *prima facie* be at the expense of other applicants. Even so, it may be admitted, something is gained: for, by widening the scope of their selection, there will be a better chance of obtaining the best men; and nowhere will finer recruits be found for any work than in the coal and iron and steel areas. The employer therefore may gain, the successful applicants will gain; but the general volume of unemployment will remain the same, with a mere variation of names and addresses among the individual units.

The Report seeks to avoid this conclusion, but its argument is unsatisfactory and somewhat mysterious. "There is," we read on page 19, "a ceaseless ebb and flow of employment, and at all times the employed personnel is constantly changing. Each man taken on is adding to a flowing stream, not driving another out of a space of fixed dimensions. The existence of local unemployment does not make it unnecessary or uneconomic to bring in labour from other areas." There may of course be cases where employers do not make a new job, or keep an old job vacant, through lack of just the right man to fill it, but, speaking generally, surely the amount of employment available in a given industry depends upon the public demand for the goods or services which that industry supplies; and, though that demand will vary from time to time, it will not do so in proportion to the labour available. The "flowing stream" simile of the Report does not therefore explain very much, and another may be respectfully suggested as more illuminating. The total area of employment may be regarded as a sheet of blotting-paper, at certain corners of which large pools of ink represent the surplus. The saturation of the blotting-paper adjacent to the pools prevents further absorption. Industrial Transference is a spoon which spreads the pools evenly over the blotter. Obviously the success of the experiment will depend upon the degree of saturation of the rest of the paper.

So much for the employers. Now for the appeal to the unemployed. They are urged to acquire "the will to move," and to be

"prepared to take risks." The second item illuminates the first. Clearly it is not a question of moving from unemployment in Middlesbrough to employment ready found and waiting at Coventry. No risk would be involved in that. The movement is to be from areas where employment is unlikely to where it is more likely but still speculative. Incidentally, this programme involves a housing problem of its own which is nowhere faced in the Report. The development of a new industry may well carry its own housing scheme, but an influx of new competitors will not do so. And for the migrants, if they can find house-room, the old search for work begins again along fresh streets and amid strange faces. It may be doubted whether even Mr. Baldwin's eloquence will prove a sufficient stimulus. And therefore the Report does not depend upon that alone. "The administration of poor relief and of unemployment benefit should not become an artificial barrier to the movement of labour . . . it is essential that the economic stimulus towards transfer should not be artificially weakened" (page 19). This somewhat sinister passage contains the essence of the doctrine of "economic pressure" preached with such ruthless logic by Mr. Austin Hopkinson. In order that the people may not be tempted to linger in the wilderness the supply of manna is to be strictly rationed. Mr. G. K. Chesterton speaks somewhere of "the easy phrases that comfort cruel men." No one would accuse Mr. Hopkinson, whose practice is as humane as his theory is stern, or any one of the authors of the Report, of cruelty; but I think Mr. Chesterton would give "economic stimulus" a place among his "easy phrases." And those who have first-hand knowledge of the distressed areas will probably hold that the present administration of relief and the interpretation given to the test of "genuinely seeking work" constitute an economic pressure which they would not desire to see increased.

We come then to the task of the Government. It is to help by grants towards the cost of movement, but whether that assistance is to be given to purely speculative journeys, or only to those where definite employment is waiting at the other end, is not clear. It is to help also by training. But training for what? At present there are five training centres for adults and a number of others for juveniles with places for some 3,600 persons in all, and they are teaching "general employability": with no special employment in view what else can they teach? These, together with a cautious word in favour of Forest Holdings, constitute the sum total of the proposals of the Report. Take it as a whole, negative and positive sides together, and it merits the title of "Counsels of Despair."

But the despair need not be ours. Let us turn for a moment to the stones that the builders have rejected. The suggestions for

raising the school age and lowering the pensionable age have been dismissed with very scant consideration. The cost of these schemes is stressed in the Report, but no account is taken of the saving in other forms of expenditure. Training, after all, is part of the Board's own policy, and surely if money is to be spent on teaching it will bring better value by completing a systematic course for the benefit of those who, from an educational point of view, are not yet ripe for industry. Similarly with the expenditure on pensions. Money is being spent in millions now on maintenance without work, and surely a discrimination which would keep labour for maturity and idleness for age is not unscientific.

These possible limitations of the surplus are therefore deserving of further study. But far more important is the actual absorption of the surplus by its application to schemes of work nationally or municipally designed and undertaken. The Board has allowed itself to be prejudiced against such schemes by the use of question-begging words such as "relief" work and "artificial" work. They are thereby led to assume that the value of all such schemes is to be reckoned solely by the amount of employment given, and the whole of the expenditure is treated as a form of dole. Yet when we are considering, for instance, the plans for the new Charing Cross Station, no one would consider the expense involved as any kind of dole or relief. The work is needed; the expenditure is balanced against the need and found worth while; and the employment follows automatically. It must be realised once for all that work may be a national asset irrespective of dividends to shareholders, and that if necessary there may be national investment for peace as well as for war. The scope of such work in docks, harbours, bridges, roads, housing, and agricultural drainage is enormous, and anyone who desires to appreciate its possibilities should read, if he has not already done so, Book IV of the Liberal Industrial Report.* Taken in conjunction with such schemes, Industrial Transference acquires a definite destination, and Industrial Training a definite object. Without them the whole policy becomes no more than a distribution of distress and discontent. That discontent instead of being concentrated in a few areas will have a nucleus in every county and in every town. And it will not be the "divine discontent" of the young. In the words of the Report itself:

"A critical attitude towards the order of society is, among the young, a natural and in many respects a healthy sign: but when older and more serious men are brooding over a situation so much against their wishes and efforts that it looks like an injustice imposed from without, a society that makes no effort to help them may one day be called upon to pay a heavy reckoning."

F. KINGSLEY GRIFFITH.

* *Britain's Industrial Future.* Ernest Benn Ltd. 2s. 6d.

SYRIA—YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY.

THE situation in the French Mandated area, generally but incorrectly known as Syria, is of the greatest moment to the British Empire. It lies on the route or on the flank of the route to the East and, whilst we possess an all-British highway from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf by way of Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq, Syria plays or always may play an important part in our imperial communications by land and air. Moreover, whilst a short stretch of the Baghdad Railway actually runs through French territory to the north of Aleppo, a much longer section of that line, now on Turkish soil, forms the northern boundary of, and is more or less commanded from, Syria. These conditions are or may be of material significance, since they enable the French practically to prevent or tacitly to permit the transportation of Turkish troops by train almost to the frontier of Iraq. Furthermore, Syria has common frontiers with the British mandated areas, where many of the problems are in some ways the same as those existing in French territory. Lastly, Damascus, the largest town under the control of the French, is the centre of a Nationalism which now permeates the entire Middle East.

Although the principal object of this article is to provide my readers with a pen-picture of the three phases through which Syria has passed since the departure of King Feisal from Damascus in the summer of 1920, it is advisable first to refer to certain facts connected with that country, and to outline a few of the difficulties by which the French have been beset from the beginning. The mandated territory is made up of four parts—the Greater Lebanon, the Syrian, the Alaouite, and the Jebel Druze States—linked together only by the person of the High Commissioner and by the High Commissariat, of which he is the Chief. No reliable statistics exist, but the total area is rather more than that of England and Wales, and the population numbers between two and a half and three million souls. Of these, some one and a half million are Moslems, half a million are Christians, and the remainder are Druses and representatives of the various sects which frequent this part of the world. With the greater part of the country composed of desert, the real industry of the western or inhabited section is agriculture, and the Coastal Strip, the plain of Bekaa, and the Hauran, are extremely fertile. The roads and the means of communication are not nearly as good as in Palestine, but it is now possible to travel almost everywhere in suitable cars. Moreover, even if some of the railways have the great disadvantage of being on the narrow gauge, a broad-gauge line runs southward from the Baghdad Railway near Aleppo as far as Rayak, where it connects

with Beyrout and Damascus. This line has an important branch from Homs to Tripoli—a branch probably soon to be prolonged thence to Beyrout and Acre in Palestine which is already joined to Haifa by rail. Regular connection by car already exists between Syria and Iraq and Syria and Palestine, but when this section, only about 125 miles in length, is constructed, it will be possible to travel by train from Calais to Cairo with breaks only at the Bosphorus and on the Suez Canal. This will not only be of wide international importance, but the new facility for railway travel will greatly encourage the summer traffic between Egypt and Syria, already visited by numerous tourists desirous of enjoying the cool climate of the Lebanon.

The Administration varies in the different areas, and it and the division of the mandated territory have passed through several phases. Generally speaking, however, it may be said that the High Commissioner holds the executive and legislative powers in his hands and that he has the veto over everything. He and his advisers, together with the cost of the French Army and part of the Syrian Legion, are paid by the French Government. The Customs are common to the whole country and the posts are partly centralised and partly decentralised. But whereas Beyrout is the headquarters of the High Commissioner, it is in no sense a Federal capital and French authority is maintained by the Army, the Syrian Legion, and a number of officials who fall into two categories. In each State there are French Delegates, who represent the High Commissioner. And then every important functionary has a French Counsellor, without whose advice he cannot act. These general principles work differently in the different areas. The Greater Lebanon, which to-day is much larger than the pre-war autonomous Lebanon, has been a Republic since May, 1926, it has a Lebanese President, and it possesses its own Constitution. The Alaouites, who are probably the most contented people in the whole zone, enjoy direct French rule under a French Governor, and this at their own wish. The Djebel Druse State, which previous to the outbreak of the revolution was semi-independent of Syria, has since then been under military control. Syria is by far the largest and most important unit. Prior to the troubles of 1925-1926, it was ruled by a native President and a Representative Council; subsequently there were ever-recurring changes in the administration and a Constituent Assembly is now engaged in endeavouring to frame a Constitution. The district of Alexandretta, situated close to the Turkish frontier, and possessed of a considerable Turkish population, forms part of Syria under an arrangement ultimately made in June, 1926, by which it possesses a limited form of decentralisation.

If the fundamental position of the French in Syria and the attitude of its people towards them are to be understood, it is necessary to go back to circumstances which accompanied or immediately followed the establishment of the mandate. Here the condition of all predominating importance concerns the fact that, whilst certain events during the war encouraged Arab aspirations, Syria of to-day is much smaller than the pre-war zone usually known by that name. This materially affects the prosperity of the population, and influences it against the present state of things. Thus not only are Syria, Palestine and Transjordan separate units, but by the so-called Franklin-Bouillon Treaty of 1921 a considerable area of Syrian territory was handed over to Turkey. These divisions and this sacrifice, necessary as they may have been, together with the establishment of the frontiers in their present positions, have had serious financial consequences for Damascus and Aleppo which have always possessed very large economic and commercial hinterlands. And then the French followed the British, who came as liberators, and who, partly owing to the extravagant atmosphere of those times and partly as a result of the value of our currency, were able to spend much more than our Allies. Moreover, even before the war, the French were distinctly unpopular with the Moslems, who form the vast majority of the population, and particularly with the Druses on account of their attitude assumed towards and in connection with the Christians ever since the sixties of the last century. Furthermore, the temporary régime of the Emir Feisal (now King Feisal) at Damascus created widespread difficulties and gave the Nationalists a taste for self-government and native rulership. Lastly, the doing away with the privileged positions enjoyed in Turkish times by the upper and politically-minded classes caused great discontent among those concerned. On the one hand these people became subject to and were unable to secure immunity from the ordinary law, and on the other they were left free to agitate as they have agitated in British as well as in French territory, against innovations certainly unfavourable to them.

We now come to a more detailed account of the events which have taken place during the last nine years—events for convenience and clearness to be divided into those bound up with three more or less distinct periods. The first lasted from the arrival of General Gouraud as French High Commissioner in November, 1919, until the departure of General Weygand in December, 1924. This stage, particularly in its earlier years, was really preliminary, for it embraced the time immediately before and after the establishment of the Mandate, which was declared by the Council of the League to have become effective in September, 1923, and it saw the organisation of the country into more or less its existing shape.

The Greater Lebanon was constituted a separate unit in August, 1920, and its inclusion of Beyrout and of Tripoli, together with certain other districts, where the majority of the population is not Christian, is still a matter of serious significance, since this is resented by the Moslems, and particularly by those of Syria proper. After the departure of King Feisal the States of Damascus, Aleppo, the Alaouites and the Djebel Druse were set up, at first as independent units and then (June, 1922) as a Syrian Confederation. With the Lebanon always a distinct unit and with the Djebel Druse more or less depending on Syria, these conditions, which carried a degree of federal organisation, lasted until the end of 1924. The Confederation was then dissolved, the Alaouites became independent, and Damascus and Aleppo were united as the present State of Syria.

Whilst General Gouraud and particularly General Weygand carried out their tasks well, the above-mentioned developments show that French policy was not consistent. Moreover, although many of its functionaries were good, the Mandatory Power had not a big field from which to draw its officials, and some of these performed their duties in a Colonial spirit. And then, if the French had ample justification for establishing a separate organisation in the Greater Lebanon, where conditions are different and where they are or were the most sure of their ground, there is no doubt that the other subdivisions of the country added to the expense to be borne by the inhabitants and that, for this and other reasons, it resulted in considerable discontent. Lastly and most important of all there was the question of the currency, which has played a prominent rôle in influencing a people, many of whom have business and commercial instincts. Here the French were in a very difficult position, for they were faced by the alternative of maintaining the British coinage and of meeting the extra expenses of occupation which would have resulted, or of introducing the French monetary system. The latter course was adopted, the franc was substituted for the piastre, the Bank of Syria was given the right to issue notes, and for a time all money in the banks was compulsorily converted into francs. Outside Beyrout paper money was never accepted otherwise than of necessity, business was always unofficially done on the gold basis, and the people invariably changed their paper into gold at the earliest opportunity. The position is now much better as a consequence of the prolonged stability of the franc, but for some years the conditions arising from this policy and from the very heavy losses suffered owing to the decline in value of the franc caused a discontent which was one of the most important elements in Syrian unrest.

To balance the account at the time when General Weygand was

replaced by General Sarrail, it would be safe to say that the French administration was vastly better than anything known in Syria for centuries, that French justice was and is enormously superior to local justice, and that a good deal had already been done to encourage the better development of agriculture. The Christians and the other minorities, except perhaps the Druses, certainly preferred and prefer the protection of a foreign Power to being left at the mercy of the Moslems; and all classes, other than the extremists, have always recognised the necessity for outside assistance, both in the internal government and in the external protection of the country. It is true that little real power has fallen to native hands, except perhaps in the Lebanon, and that taxation is of necessity heavier than before the war. But whilst one is often told in Syria that the people would prefer a British to a French Mandate, the real facts are that the present division of the whole of this part of pre-war Turkey is resented, that, here as elsewhere, nationalism is rampant, and that the inhabitants are certainly not capable of governing themselves. In short, if the French made a number of mistakes even during the régimes of Generals Gouraud and Weygand, they have always been beset by difficulties, the magnitude of which cannot be realised except by those who have been able to study the situation in Syria at first hand.

So far as the present discussion is concerned the second stage covers the period from January, 1925, until July, 1926, during which General Sarrail and M. de Jouvenel filled the position of High Commissioner, and it includes the major part of the Djebel Druse insurrection. General Sarrail's appointment by the Herriot Government was political. He followed General Weygand, who was very popular, and he gave immediate offence by the attitude which he assumed towards some of the French Representatives already in Syria, and by his openly-avowed policy of anti-clericalism. This conduct in a way appealed to the Moslems, who had always suspected French partisanship towards the Christians, but it greatly and seriously antagonised the Catholics upon whose support the Mandatory Power had previously been able to rely. This antagonism, particularly marked in the Greater Lebanon, coupled with the military spirit and personal unpopularity of General Sarrail, really intensified the whole situation and undermined the French administration immediately before and during the Djebel Druse revolt.

The Djebel Druse State is the smallest and most turbulent unit in the Mandate. Situated to the south-east of Damascus and on the borders of Transjordan, it is partly mountainous and partly fertile. The population is or was about 50,000, four-fifths of whom are Druses belonging to the Druse community, which probably

numbers about 150,000 in the whole French area. Professing a secret, mysterious religion, the people are warlike, vigorous and independent. Their attitude, always hostile to the French for reasons already given, was aggravated by events which took place during the earlier years of the new régime. More or less suspicious if not afraid of the Moslems, the Druses took no part in the struggle between the French and the Emir Feisal in 1920 and, after prolonged negotiations, an agreement, providing for a certain degree of autonomy, was signed in March, 1921. This was followed by considerable unrest and by Franco-Druse disputes, and in September, 1923, Captain Carbillet, formerly the French adviser, took the place of the local Governor. This official, who had gained his experience in French Africa, did a great deal for the Druses in the way of public works and education, but he was ignorant of the language and mentality of the people, who resented the forced labour to which they were subjected, and who were greatly enraged at not having a Governor of their own nationality. This was in no way the fault of General Sarrail, but in April, 1925, three months after his arrival, the High Commissioner seriously complicated the situation by his contention that that agreement of 1921 was of "a purely historical value," and the actual revolution, which broke out in July, was precipitated by the banishment of three Chiefs, who accepted a French invitation to come to Damascus.

It is obviously impossible to refer in detail to the revolution. At its outset the French forces, which then perhaps numbered 14,000 to 15,000 all told, were too weak to deal with the situation, and the earlier victories of the insurrectionaries encouraged them. Later on the bombardment of Damascus converted what had been a Djebel Druse revolt into a Syrian national insurrection. The French were panic-stricken, tanks were sent through the streets, and the city was attacked by artillery and from the air. This lasted about twenty-four hours, there were serious casualties, and a material area of the town suffered severely. Opinions will always differ, but if the bombardment was a military necessity, the authorities certainly ought to have issued a definite ultimatum and they should have warned the foreign communities beforehand. For this inefficiency in the handling of the entire situation, for this failure to appreciate its gravity, and for the way in which he withheld all news from the world, General Sarrail was removed from his post at the end of October. But fighting spread to a wide area of the mandated territory, the revolutionaries were better led and organised than before, and at one moment Beyrout and the whole French position were in real danger. However, reinforcements, which should have been sent out in large numbers directly after the

trouble began, gradually arrived, and with their presence the actual military situation became assured.

The period of M. de Jouvenel's High Commissionership, which lasted from December, 1925, until the following July, was principally occupied by intermittent though often serious fighting, by a second bombardment of Damascus (May) and by peace negotiations, which led to no tangible results. His Excellency immediately empowered the Lebanese Legislative Council to draft a Constitution, he endeavoured to secure the election of a Constituent Assembly in Syria, and he released certain political prisoners. The first French civilian representative therefore inaugurated a new system and, if he had a weakness for promising the people more than he could carry out, he certainly worked loyally with the British in the neighbouring areas. But the High Commissioner was faced by great difficulties, matters had already gone too far, and the French were extremely unpopular even in the Greater Lebanon. Consequently M. de Jouvenel's failure, no doubt partly dependent upon his desire to achieve a marked and admitted public success, arose largely from the shortcomings of his predecessor and from the impossible demands put forward by the Druses and Syrian Nationalists.

After he had given evidence before the Mandates Commission, which seriously criticised French Policy, in June, 1926, M. de Jouvenel was succeeded by M. Ponsot, who reached his post in the following October and with whose arrival the third and present Syrian phase begins. As a non-politician and as a highly experienced official from the French Foreign Office, the new High Commissioner inspired confidence and, from the time of his appointment, the situation gradually began to improve. He toured the country without making any unwise declarations, he gave sympathetic hearings to the people and he paid a prolonged visit to France whither he returned at the end of June, 1927. This visit, during which the whole situation was discussed with the Cabinet, inspired a new start, for, about a month after his arrival in Beyrout, M. Ponsot made a declaration of far-reaching importance. The Mandatory Power thenceforward intended to give satisfaction to the wishes of the people, there was to be greater decentralisation in the administration, and the political evolution of the States in conformity with the aims of the League of Nations was to be encouraged. In the following November the Nationalists of Syria welcomed the co-operation of France and indicated their admission that further agitation was useless. Thus, if the year 1927 saw the effective rather than the formal conclusion of peace, it certainly witnessed the inauguration of an atmosphere of "getting together" between, if not mutual admiration by, the respective parties.

During the last few months events of far-reaching importance have taken place. In February, when it was already known that the political future of the State of Syria was coming up for discussion, Damad Namy Bey, the President and a son-in-law of Abdul Hamid, resigned, Sheikh Tag-ed-Din forming a new Government. These changes were followed by elections for a Constituent Assembly which took place in April, and in which the Nationalists secured an overwhelming majority. But confidence was restored by the effective freedom of the elections, the Nationalists were expected to co-operate loyally and, when M. Ponsot opened the proceedings on June 9th, there were scenes of wild enthusiasm, the Prime Minister stating that the Constituent Assembly had full liberty to elaborate a Constitution which would ensure national sovereignty. Hashim Bey Atani, Prime Minister during the reign of King Feisal in 1920, and a leader deported by M. de Jouvenel, was elected President of the Chamber. He and his staff are Nationalists but, unless unforeseen developments arise, they seem determined to justify the confidence placed in them by M. Ponsot and his Government.

The discussions now in progress are the most important since those which led to the proclamation of the Emir Feisal as King of Syria in March, 1920. They involve the status and future governmental system of that area, and directly or indirectly they are likely to affect its relations with the other States under the Mandate and with the Mandatory Power itself. The first and all-important problem clearly concerns the question of a Kingdom or a Republic. The people would probably prefer a Sovereign but, partly owing to the difficulty of finding a suitable personage, the French appear favourable to a President. If there is to be a King the choice seems to lie between some member of the former Ottoman Royal House, the Emir Feisal, second surviving son of Ibn Saud, the present Wahabi Ruler, and the Emir Said, the youngest son of King Hushein. Any connection with Turkey would be open to objection and suspicion, and the selection of each of the other two personages would carry with it certain difficulties. The Emir Feisal might be acceptable to the French, but his election would hardly be looked upon with favour in British circles, or in Iraq or Transjordan, in view of the present difficulties with Ibn Saud and unless his son renounced his Nejd nationality and also any claims he may possess to the throne of that country. The Emir Said, probably satisfactory to the local population, and, of course, to his brothers, King Feisal of Iraq and the Emir Abdullah of Transjordan, might well prove objectionable to the French. With regard to a Presidency, some of the same conditions would arise, but as that position would be less important and less permanent, these would be more or less confined to internal matters and they

would be more unlikely to raise complications with the neighbouring countries and with the Mandatory Power than would the establishment of another dynasty.

Over and above the problems of the head of the State of Syria, concerning which the Assembly seems anxious to avoid friction with the French, there are the connection between the four mandated areas and between the whole territory and France. No doubt rests in my mind that some form of federation of the several States or at least an understanding between the Greater Lebanon on the one side and the remainder of the French Zone on the other is essential to the political tranquillity and the commercial prosperity of the areas involved. Equally well, it is obvious that the peoples of the Greater Lebanon and Syria, locally linked together or separate, would be materially gratified by the conclusion of a Treaty or Treaties with France. This arrangement, foreseen by M. de Jouvenel, should be capable of negotiation without endangering the position of the Mandatory, who is entitled to full protection.

Two problems remain. Although the award arrived at by the delimitation commission along the Eastern Section was not accepted by Turkey for months, the position of the Turco-Syrian frontier was really settled under the second Angora Agreement signed between the French and Turkish Governments in May, 1926. And then whereas a great deal has still to be done, the lot of the 100,000 Armenian refugees in Syria is in course of betterment. The Government has assumed a very sympathetic attitude towards the problem, the International Labour Office and various charitable organisations are doing their best to improve the situation, and agricultural settlement and urban amenities have begun to take shape.

In conclusion, therefore, it is only necessary to add that the presence of the French in Syria is greatly to the interests of the British Empire, and that they have held out an olive branch which should put an end to local unrest. By accepting that gesture with good faith the Nationalists can secure peace and prosperity for Syria as a whole. By refusing or failing to do so they will knowingly inflict further hardship and increased economic disaster upon a people who have already suffered too much during the last few years.

H. CHARLES WOODS.

FRESH LIGHT ON SERBIA AND THE WAR.

IN July, 1914, when the Austro-Hungarian Government presented a copy of the Note to Serbia to the British Government, it presented also a detailed explanation to show that Serbia's aggressive policy made strong steps necessary. Briefly: that in spite of solemn promises, Serbia continuously carried revolutionary and terroristic work within the Monarchy for the purpose of disrupting it; that Serbia was the focus of criminal agitation; that societies both public and private, whose members included generals, diplomats and government officials, existed in Serbia for the above purposes; that Serbian journalism aroused and spread hatred of the neighbour State; that Serbian agents corrupted the youths of the border States of Austria-Hungary; that the Serbian Government had taken no steps to suppress this criminal action which had culminated in the murder of the Archduke. Details were given about his murderers and about other political *attentats*. This important document seems never to have been duly considered. It did not appear in the Press. Sir Edward Grey (as he then was), apparently without reading Austria's well-documented reasons, at once replied to Count Mensdorf that he thought the Note "the most formidable document I had ever seen addressed by one State to another that was independent." That he had never before had to consider a case in which such formidable provocation had been given he appears not to have realised, for he refused to consider the document on the ground that "to discuss the merits of the dispute" (a very mild term to use in such a case) "was not our concern. It was solely from the point of view of the peace of Europe I should concern myself with the matter." How he hoped to preserve peace without knowing the basis of the trouble is inexplicable. None of the British Documents indicate that Sir Edward ever realised that "Serajevo" was not a mere assassination but a challenge hurled by the Slav at the Teuton. The Near East knew this very well. The Austrian *dossier* was, it seems, submitted for an opinion later, only to Sir Charles Oman, whose personal knowledge of the Balkans was—as his report shows—nil.

That Austria was amply justified in all her charges is now shown by the Serbs themselves. That the Serbian Government of 1914 knew of the plot to murder the Archduke we learnt in 1924 from Ljuba Jovanovitch, the truth of whose well-known article has never been shaken. When challenged, he offered at once to produce documentary evidence, whereupon his opponents dropped the matter hastily. Now full details of the whole criminal work have been published in the review *Nova Europa* (Zagreb) during the past year

by men who led or took part in it. Serbia had long hoped to achieve her ambitions by means of a European war. In *Serbia's Task* (Belgrade, 1894) Zhivanovitch points out that Europe is rapidly arming: he calls on all Serbs to unite to create Great Serbia: only by war can this be done. "Europe will be regenerated by blood. . . . we have always been the declarers of war. The fruit of these wars is the Kingdom of Serbia . . . force must be met with force, be it on the Carpathians, the Lim, the Drin, the Save, or on all at once. . . . Fearful will be the storm. Blessed he that successfully survives. *Serbia will perhaps be the centre of the fight.*" She must prepare. He quotes "one of our leading statesmen" as saying "we want all Bosnia."

The *Nova Europa* articles show how this "task" was carried out. "Serbia's resurrection" is dated from May 29th (Old Style), 1903, the murder of King Alexander Obrenovitch. While the Austrophile Obrenovitches were on the throne anti-Austrian work was impossible. The writers glory in that murder. The murderers are fondly called "the May Men." *Nova Europa* (Oct. 11th-27th) gives a long account of those bloody shambles and the treachery and savagery of those same "May Men," who used to celebrate the anniversary of their deed by an annual dinner at Restaurant Kolozatz, when Dimitrijevitich-Apis, who later organised the Serajevo murders, sat at the head of the table. Dushan Semiz, a member of the revolutionary party (*N. E.*: Oct. 11th-27th) lauds Apis and calls on the nation to honour him as the creator of Yugoslavia. The May Men, he says, "opened a new page of Yugoslav history." They began to work at once in Austrian territory. He himself met the Serbian revolutionary agent Lj. Jovanovitch-Chupa (journalist, a founder of the Black Hand) in Mostar in 1904. "I then joined the revolutionary movement. . . . The May Men opened Belgrade's gates to youths from all parts. Inspired Jugoslavs swarmed in. The officers fraternised with them and vowed to live and die together for the liberation and union of the nation. *All who still believe that the youths' revolutionary Yugoslav movement at the beginning of the twentieth century arose and developed independently in Austrian territory, deceive themselves. It derived its moral and partly its material support from After-May Belgrade.* Thus, after May 29th the Shumadija (central Serbia) revolutionaries set fire to our whole race." Austria's efforts to suppress this he calls "persecution."

A Herzegovinian from Trebinje told me how schoolboys were worked upon. Danilo Ilitch (afterwards Black Hand agent at Serajevo and hanged as accomplice to the Archduke's murder) there taught the violin and preached revolt. "We were so young—so ignorant. They told us we were oppressed and we believed it;

that it was heroic to defy our masters. I shall never forget how when I was only fourteen Ilitch told me that it was not enough to kill Austrians. We must torture them. He drew his finger across his face and said we must cut the skin of their faces with a knife and drag it upwards and downwards. I was terrified. I did not join the revolutionaries. He loved cruelty. Many of them did."

"Marco," the pen-name of ex-Colonel Bozhin Simitch, May Man and member of the Black Hand, also lauds Dimitrijevitich-Apis (*Nova Europa* XVI, Nos. 1, 10, 11), and dates all success from the glorious May 29th. "Already in July, 1903, komitadji bands were organised in Macedonia, and the swearing-in of Austro-Hungarian youths for revolutionary work was in full swing." He details the reconstruction of the Serbian army, "exclusively the work of the young officers among whom first place belongs to Dimitrijevitich-Apis." He tells how at patriotic meetings held in Belgrade: "the officers were present in numbers in the front rows. This especially strengthened the belief of the youth across the Drim and the Save, that war with Austro-Hungary was—so to speak—on the doorstep. Thus the first seeds of the revolutionary movement were sown . . . Vladimir Gatchinovitch, spiritual leader of the youth of Bosnia-Herzegovina and member of the Black Hand (No. 217), only became a true and hardened revolutionary after close contact with certain officers. He often said the youths of Austria-Hungary could not become serious revolutionaries till they had walked Belgrade's pavements. . . . All who say that the revolutionary work of the Bosnian youth was spontaneous and worked independently of revolutionary Belgrade are either much mistaken or wish to hide something."

"Spomenitzza V. Gatchinovitcha" (Serajevo 1921) tells how this man used to travel between Vienna, Serajevo and Belgrade inciting the students to revolution, and swearing them in. "We were once and forever bound to a great and mysterious existence. We felt it existed but knew not of what it consisted. I well remember the Browning on which one's hand was laid." Gavrilo Princip, one of the Archduke's murderers, was one of Gatchinovitch's recruits for the Black Hand. Milosh Vidakovitch similarly was Black Hand agent in Paris. Possibly his presence there was connected with M. Poincaré's firm insistence that no examination of Serbia's skeleton cupboards would be permitted by France.

Mere lads were urged to commit murder. Oskar Tartaglia (first Catholic member of the Black Hand) in *Veleizdajnik* (Zagreb-Split 1928) and in *Nova Europa*, tells how the attentat on Commissary Chuvaj was planned. In February, 1912, Tartaglia and two others went to Serajevo, where "by our temperamental speeches we inflamed the Serajevo youths." On February 21st they arranged a

bloody demonstration led by Jukitch. As participant in this demonstration Princip had to leave the Serajevo school. Jukitch was introduced to Tartaglia and said that he wanted to murder Chuvaj at Zagreb. "I advised him to ask for a private interview and to stab Chuvaj in the breast or fire some shots into him." Jukitch, craving for notoriety, insisted on a public spectacle. "When an excursion was made to Belgrade we arranged to take Jukitch. . . . In Belgrade I introduced him to Dimitrijevitich-Apis who at once agreed to an attentat on Chuvaj, and, without much more consideration, handed him to Tankositch, who taught him revolver shooting and bomb throwing." (Tankositch also trained the Archduke's murderers later.) "I visited Tankositch at his quarters next day and arranged the whole affair with him. Jukitch kept the revolver. The bombs were carried secretly to Zagreb. I told certain leaders of the Serbo-Croatian party of Jukitch's intention to commit the attentat." On June 8th Jukitch fired at Chuvaj when driving in the street, missed him and killed his secretary, Hervojitch, and also a gendarme. Jukitch was condemned to death, but owing to his youth the sentence was changed to life imprisonment. He was released after the war and lives in Bosnia. The Austrian police traced Jukitch's visit to Belgrade and found many of the Serbian arsenal bombs in the Save. Complaints to Belgrade met with protests of ignorance and innocence. The Black Hand next arranged an attentat by Dojchitch who had come from America, hoping to put the Austrian authorities off the scent. "Others by Shefer, Planinschak and others followed, but without success," says Tartaglia. Austria protested vainly. Belgrade lauded the attentators. Tartaglia, while denouncing Austrian "tyranny," boasts that his hatred was such that he would not learn German. This "tyranny" permitted him to receive his education in his own tongue—a privilege not enjoyed by the Bulgars, Albanians, and Kutzovlahs in the lands "liberated" by Serbia.

Ex-Colonel Chedo Popovitch (May Man and member of the Central Administration of the Black Hand) describes in *Nova Europa* (XVI, Nos. 5, 10, 11) the fear of the Serbs lest the Young-Turk régime should succeed and thwart their plans to obtain Turkish territory. Intensive work was started to make it impossible for the Turks to maintain order. At the end of 1910 a system of "frontier officers" was arranged on the Bosnian-Herzegovinian and Turkish frontiers. By the influence of Apis, Black Hand men filled the posts. Each had a zone across the border in which to work revolution. Popovitch was at Uzhitza, for work in Bosnia. During the annexation crisis he "had carried on a certain mission in Bosnia . . . I therefore knew our work would

find support on that side of the Drin because we were officers. The belief of the Bosnians that they would see their salvation in the Serbian officers was well known to me." He then makes an important revelation about the Narodna Odbrana, which defenders of Serbian innocence have represented as a "purely cultural society." When it was started during the annexation crisis, the revolutionary officers belonged to it. It organised a komitadji school and taught rifle shooting and bomb work. Austria's protests, when Europe recognised the annexation, caused its fires to be apparently banked down. In fact, the Black Hand was formed and worked under cover of this so-called harmless society. Says Popovitch: "The changed rôle of the Narodna Odbrana after the annexation, its turn from revolutionary to purely cultural work, was not accepted as true by our people over the border. They firmly believed it was merely the usual trick to strike any reason for complaint out of the hands of the Austrian officials. Thus, after the annexation, the Narodna Odbrana, in the eyes of the Bosnian-Herzegovinians, was the same as during the annexation crisis, i.e., a revolutionary organisation preparing war against Austria. Therefore I told my comrades it would be inopportune to introduce men to our organisation (the Black Hand), and very inopportune to say that the latter and not the Narodna Odbrana was leading the revolutionary work." It was decided unanimously that the Black Hand should work under cover of the Narodna Odbrana.

Serbia in her reply to the Austrian Note agreed to dissolve the Narodna Odbrana, knowing that the work could go on all the same under the Black Hand. The reply was "merely one of the usual tricks"—an impudent tissue of prevarication. To Popovitch's plan to work under cover of the Narodna Odbrana Dimitrijevitich-Apis replied: "You have done well. It is better not to notice small differences. For us the work is the main thing." Apis quickly combined the work of the two societies by appointing Milan Vasitch, a member of the Black Hand, as secretary to the Narodna Odbrana. As Head of the Intelligence Department of the General Staff, Apis had immense influence. The "frontier officers" adopted a password and a cypher for correspondence with Bosnia. "In order to preserve secret connection with our people over the border, 'canals' were made, by means of trustworthy people through whom we could arrange to meet, send information etc. The 'canals' were very safe, and worked undisturbed alongside of the active spying of Austria and her gendarmes." By these "canals" the Archduke's murderers reached Serajevo. The youths enticed into Serbia by the officers were sent to be trained at a komitadji school with Tankositch at its head. It was in an

out-of-the-way spot at Prokuplje. "Many recruits came barefoot and ragged. Money was needed for the school. Our pre-war Government was stingy to miserliness in this matter. The Black Hand had to give of its own means." The Government thus was clearly aware of the school's existence and made no effort to suppress it. The official report of the Salonika trial shows that the then Foreign Minister, Milovan Milovanovitch, was kept informed of the Black Hand's activities and favoured them.

Komitadji training was explained to me by Pavle Bastaitch, a Croat member of the Black Hand. It ended by his instructor, Voin Popovitch, taking him to the cellar of the Narodna Odbrana house at Vranje. Here, tightly bound, were two schoolmasters captured on Turkish territory and accused of betraying the movements of the Black Hand men, who were spying there, to the Turks. Voin swung up a hatchet and bashed in the heads of the helpless victims, saying: "This is how we treat traitors"—a hint to Bastaitch to hold his tongue. By the rules of the Black Hand money for this work was often obtained by force.

About the students in the universities who were subsidised as revolutionary agents by the Serbian Government and the Narodna Odbrana, we have a mass of information in the dossier of the trial of the Czech Klotatz and his accomplice Giunio, arrested in September, 1914, for High Treason. Both worked in connection with the Serbian revolutionaries. The dossier quotes hundreds of documents seized in Belgrade by the Austrians in the houses of Pashitch and of Pavlovitch, head organiser of spy work, and at the State Archives. Pashitch's and Pavlovitch's lists of the subsidised students include Bogdan Zherajitch (who went to murder the Emperor Franz Josef when he visited Bosnia in 1910 and, failing to find a chance, fired at Vareshanin, Governor of Bosnia, missed him and blew his own evil brains out); Gatchinovitch, whom we have already mentioned, and V. Chubrilovitch, one of those who smuggled the Archduke's murderers through the "canals." The subsidised students in Austria sent reports to Belgrade of military movements, etc. Many subsidised journalists are also on the lists. The contents of this dossier deserve a whole volume, but we have no space. Ex-Colonel Chedo Popovitch, having described the triumphant success of the Balkan wars (1912-13) and the excitement thus caused in Bosnia-Herzegovina, says: "From this we drew the necessary conclusions and at the beginning of 1914 drew up a plan definitely to prepare our people for the armed conflict with Austria which was expected in the future. . . . But our Government, fearing our work, thought fit to stop the 'frontier officers' work by transferring us to the interior. Nevertheless our comrades in Belgrade so far as possible

kept up the existing connections exclusively that Bosnia should neither know nor suspect that the work was checked at the moment when they expected the most intensive action from Serbia."

It is clear that the Government knew what was going on and thought it going too fast. Pashitch indeed is reported to have warned General Putnik about Apis' activities. The withdrawal of three Black Hand men from the frontier made no difference. Those who replaced them, when they received orders from the Black Hand, passed the murderers through the "canals" from the Serbian frontier posts. It is obvious that in June, 1914, the Serbian Government could at any moment have laid hands on the whole criminal gang. But as the whole of the Government and high military circles were involved in responsibility for the crime which was, as we have seen, the result of ten years' intensive work, it is equally obvious that only by means of foreign police agents could the criminals be traced. Members of the Belgrade police force were themselves Black Hand men and therefore useless. A Hague inquiry at which Serbian officialdom and the Serbian General Staff—"merely the usual trick"—would have sworn innocence and ignorance and France and Russia would have supported them, would have been quite futile. Ciganovitch, whose trial would probably have resulted in disclosing some of the truth, was concealed by the Serbian Government and a lying reply returned that he could not be found.

M. Grouitch similarly lied to our Chargé d'Affaires when he said (*Brit. Docs.* 80) "that of Princip the Serbian Government knew nothing," though he was well known to the Minister of Education as one of the subsidised students. Grouitch's statement that "it was impossible to adopt definite measures before learning the findings of the Serajevo Court" shows that Serbia did not intend to disclose anything not already discovered by Austria.

The Serbian Government relied on two things. One was the certainty of Russian support. Pashitch in his speech to the Radical Party (*v. Politika*, April 26th, 1926) stated: "after the Peace of Bucharest I received from Russia the formal promise that Serbia would always be defended if Austria attacked her." M. Grouitch revealed this to our Chargé d'Affaires on July 19th, 1914 (*No. 61 Brit. Docs.*) But Sir Edward Grey ignored it. The second was that, as Semiz, "Marco" and others state emphatically, it was confidently expected that the result of the swearing-in of revolutionaries would be that Austria would find herself faced with a great revolution and be unable to use her Croat and Bosnian regiments. Bitterly do these writers blame the failure of their agents to rise. With Russia behind them and Austria crippled they had feared not at all. Says Marco sadly: "the revolutionary

action had not yet ripened and had not penetrated the wide circles of the intelligentsia." It was in fact confined to a set of ignorant and irresponsible boys worked upon by unscrupulous journalists and the Belgrade gang. "Since the annexation," said the Bosnian doctor under whom I worked in 1912-13, "now that we have our Parliament and Constitution, we have little to complain of. I greatly regret that a party of hotheads keeps up agitation." So too may all Europe regret. It has cost Europe dearly. And, the Serbs having learnt that murder leads to success, it may cost yet more.

M. E. DURHAM.

THE RIGHT OF RESISTANCE TO THE STATE:

ECHOES OF A DISCUSSION IN FRANCE.

THREE years ago a discussion was set on foot in France on a question affecting the actual structure of the State, namely, the right of active resistance to (1) a law or laws reputed unjust, and (2) a State régime reputed harmful to the community. These two hypotheses correspond to two theoretical and practical currents seeking the disintegration of the French State as at present constituted, which are represented on the one hand by the more active section of the Catholic movement for the abolition of the *lois laïques*, and on the other by the *Action Française* movement for a change of régime. The two-fold discussion had thus two separate starting points and has proceeded on two distinct lines, but not to such an extent as to rule out points of contact and coincidence which have not been entirely accidental.

As far as the *Action Française* is concerned, the discussion grew interesting and created a stir in public opinion when in 1925 Charles Maurras wrote his famous letter threatening the life of Shramech, then Minister of the Interior. Charged by the Public Prosecutor, the editor of the *Action Française* was brought up for trial and convicted, the sentence being confirmed by the Courts of Appeal. During the trial the neo-scholastic philosopher, Jacques Maritain, Professor at the Catholic Institute of Paris, summoned as technical witness, defended the thesis that Maurras' threat must be taken as the extreme measure of legitimate defence of social order. An interesting controversy followed in the Press, in the course of which ancient scholastic and juridical theses on the lawfulness or non-lawfulness of tyrannicide and revolt saw the light of the twentieth century.

On the other hand, the declaration of the French Bishops in the same year, 1925, on the illegality and inacceptability of the laws of separation of Church and State and those dealing with religious bodies—the *lois laïques*—gave rise to a violent controversy. The secularising republicans and the Left declared the *lois laïques* to be "intangible" and binding on all citizens, while the Catholics defended the contrary thesis. There thus arose an old discussion, on the validity and binding force of laws on the one hand, and on the right of resistance to the law on the part of citizens on the other.

It was then that the editors of *Les Etudes* had the idea of an inquiry to elicit the opinion of leading French jurists, scientists, philosophers and theologians on the question. A number of well-known men replied, including Millerand the ex-President, Geny, Honorary Dean of the Faculty of Law at Nancy, Hauroy, Dean of the

Faculty of Law of Toulouse, Le Fur, Professor at the Faculty of Law at Paris, and Georges Goyau, of the Académie Française, who wrote the preface. These replies Father Michel Riquet, a Jesuit, collected in a volume entitled *Enquête sur les droits du droit et "Sa Majesté la Loi"* (Paris, Editions Spes., 1927), adding a preliminary study of considerable interest.

The central theme of the various replies hinges on the thesis that laws are nothing more than the practical and concrete expressions of right; that there exists an objective right over and above laws and the will of the legislator; that this objective right is based on human nature and human personality, and that all this can have no absolute bearing point other than God, the Author of nature and the laws of nature. Thus expressed, the question could either remain purely philosophical, leaving philosophers to dispute over the various terms, law, right, nature, God, and work out their theories at their ease, or it could be carried into the field of common sense and common phrasing, when all would agree that so things were and could not be otherwise. Under this second aspect the inquiry gave an answer to the political controversy in which the *lois laïques* had been declared "intangible," by replying that all laws were susceptible of amendment. Laws, indeed, are merely the crystallisation of custom, or the social expression of a collective need, or a means by which society as politically organised can attain a practical end. If this is so, and so long as this is so, the law continues and deserves to exist. If this is not so, or ceases to be, the law loses its function and should fall out of use.

But the kernel of the controversy, keenly debated in the Press and providing the main point of interest of the inquiry, was not the foregoing assumption but the following: If a law is unjust and its reform unobtainable by legal methods, may and should it be resisted? Is rebellion admissible? And up to what point? The French Catholics who sent in replies based them on two main texts, St. Thomas Aquinas and the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

St. Thomas says: "Just as the written law does not give force to the natural right, so neither can it diminish or annul its force, because neither can man's will change nature. Hence if the written law contains anything contrary to the natural right, it is unjust and has no binding force." (S. T. II. 5. LX.) And in another place: "If the people is free and possesses the legislative power, the consent of all, manifested by custom (by resistance), has more weight than the authority of the government, which has power to make laws only as the representative of the people." (L. 9. XCVII.)

The first Declaration of the Rights of Man declares the "natural and imprescriptible rights of man" to be "liberty, property,

security, and resistance to oppression" (Art. 2), while the Declaration of the Convention (June 24th, 1793) says even more explicitly: "When the government violates the people's rights, insurrection becomes for the people and for every section of the people the most sacred of rights and the most indispensable of duties." (Art. 15.)

Father Riquet, the promoter of the inquiry, after references and quotations regarding the right of revolt against tyranny and oppression, closes his exordium with the following interesting sentence:

"Thus, from Dugent to St. Thomas, from Locke to Bellarmin, philosophers, jurists, and theologians are agreed in asserting and demonstrating that, as a matter of *strict right*, the enforcement of an unjust law may be resisted by violence. The restrictions and limitations to this principle are to be measured by the requirements of the common good, probabilities of disorder or scandal, the gravity of the spiritual or temporal injury suffered by victims of the law, and finally, by the success that may seriously be expected from defensive resistance." (Page 64.)

A combination of practical prudence with open advocacy of the theory of active resistance is to be found in many of the replies, and in particular in that of Father Garrigou-Lagrange, a Dominican, and Professor of Moral Theology at the Angelico, the International Pontifical College in Rome. He writes:

"Not only is it perfectly lawful to refuse obedience to laws so gravely and manifestly contrary to justice, but . . . the right to passive resistance would be humanly ineffectual if it did not carry with it that of using all honest methods, force included, to combat the gravely abusive violence by which the authorities seek to obtain obedience to their unjust laws. Undoubtedly, as M. Geny says, such resistance to oppression should be judiciously pondered upon and wisely contained within lines, but once it is thus understood, how can one fail to admit, in the words of the same jurist, that it is 'the supreme palladium of justice and of right'?"

And, further on, Father Garrigou-Lagrange continues:

"You insist, Father, as does the Common Doctor of the Church, on the prudence necessary in such case lest passive resistance engender even graver ills than the tyranny from which it would win deliverance. But you clearly defend the Master's real thought when you add, 'This does not mean that he considers the case unreal and fanciful in which the nature of the oppression and the serious assurances of success may legitimise resistance, nay, insurrection. On the contrary, he quotes as a successful revolution that which overthrew the Tarquins.'"

While Catholics intent on religious defence take their stand on the rights of the spirit and the Church, leaving out of count the situation of the State itself, political Catholics of the *Action Française* type go the whole length, and write, like René Johannet:

"The unacknowledged conclusion of all this seems to me to be as follows. Society, in the full sense of the word, has ceased to function about us. Unwittingly we find ourselves back in a state bordering, at least three-quarters of it, on the state of nature in which it is lawful for each one to take private measures for the conservation of himself and his.

"The present French State is no longer more than a façade, a parasitic survival. Let us found a new State by force and justice."

This spirit is identical with that of Maurras, and of the promoters of all the violent *coups d'état* carried out in the various countries of Europe.

Actually, there have been Catholics in revolt quite recently, as in Ireland, and others who are so still, as in Mexico. It is interesting to check the theory by the practice of to-day and yesterday, to see what consistency the frame of modern history allows to a theory of which the mainstay is St. Thomas and one of the chief exponents that Suarez whose *Defensio fidei* was burned in London by James I. Now it is well to note that the Scholastics consider the question from the moral and not the political point of view. For them, from the morality of an act proceeds a right or a duty; from right proceeds lawfulness; from duty, obligation; from circumstances, feasibility. Applying this to the case of unjust laws, it is asserted that in a given case resistance becomes a right and a duty. But here it is necessary to understand the precise meaning of Scholastic moral theory. A law may be unjust without its observance constituting a crime, as, for instance, in the case of an excessive tax amounting to confiscation. Here resistance is a right but not a duty. Contrariwise, a law may prescribe a positive and immoral action that goes against conscience; in such case a man has not only the right to resist, before the law, but the duty to resist, before his conscience. Thus the early Christians resisted the worship of idols and apostasy, and the French priests in 1790 resisted the oath demanded by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Religious struggles have given examples in every camp of individual resistance to laws violating conscience.

But this obligation is personal and not collective. It remains within the order of private morality, and cannot pass in identical terms into the social and political order. In the political field it is preferable to speak rather of a right than of a true duty, such a right becoming a duty only for those ready to assume the responsibility of its exercise. It will always be a subjective duty, therefore, and not an objective one, whether from the moral or political point of view.

When St. Thomas considers the morality of such acts he sees in them neither duties nor special rights entailing duties, but enabling

faculties. Revolt, he says, may be lawful, as when the Romans drove out the Tarquins. The killing of a tyrant was praiseworthy (according to Cicero) when Brutus slew Cæsar, there being no other means of freeing his fatherland. Revolt against a tyrant is rational because the guilt of sedition lies not with the rebels but with the tyrant.

The terms, however, of the two cases (1) that of personal resistance to an immoral law, and (2) that of collective resistance, i.e., revolt against the powers of the State and the form of the State, must not be confused. In the first instance there is a private duty to conscience to refuse obedience to the law; in the second there is a faculty, that of organising collective resistance. Private conviction may make the exercise of this faculty into a duty, but this can never become an external and objective obligation.

Their absolute and abstract form of expression might give the impression that the scholastic theories remained outside the historical setting of their time and reposed *sub specie aeternitatis*. But this was not the case. The Scholastics gave historical and contingent values to their practical theories, conditioning them by the laws of prudence and charity, the possibilities of scandal and moral and material damage. They constantly advocated the use of the methods afforded by mediæval society amid the continual political flux of régimes, parties, princely and feudal houses—appeal to the King, to the Emperor, to the Pope. They spoke of general assent, that is, envisaged the formation of a collective conscience agreed on the need for revolt. One must remember the number of self-governing, privileged bodies enjoying immunities in the Middle Ages, the decentralisation of public powers, the growth of principalities and duchies in the hands of great or petty tyrants dominating the free Communes, the weakness of the States. Revolt was a natural outlet, a kind of periodic and sometimes salutary fever in the body politic.

In spite of this, the Scholastics, while recognising the faculty or right of revolt, emphasised the dangers of disturbances and scandals, and made a happy issue a condition. But how can such dangers be removed? And by whom? And how can a collective conscience apt for revolt be attained without disturbances and scandals? And how can it be foreseen whether an issue will be inevitably happy? St. Thomas does not solve these problems; in practice the appreciation of the justice and opportunity of revolt, and the extent of its backing in the popular conscience, must rest with the leaders. Under these conditions the moral element is implicit in the appreciation of the political necessity and opportunity of revolt, and cannot be dissociated without a disintegrating

of psychological and practical factors and a lessening of the chances of success.

This is the spirit of the theory of the Scholastics—expressed in modern terminology that the words of to-day may give a better understanding of the value of the teaching of yesterday. A question, however, is here opportune. Revolt is an extreme outlet for popular discontent under despotic and tyrannical régimes. Can this method be applied in representative régimes, where, with the lawful exercise of the rights of meeting, association, the Press, the vote, laws may be modified, and régimes and statutes varied by legal means, without the grave evils attendant on even a just revolt?

It is plain that in very many cases the free régimes of modern times prevent violent conflicts between State and people precisely because of the method of liberty on which they are based. And it is natural that, where it is possible to use easier or less perilous means to defend a right, the state of mind necessary for the outburst of revolt does not arise. Revolt is not a game of combinations, but principally a feeling, a psychology, an act of despair. The factors bringing it into being must be provided by both conflicting parties; one side alone can never create the spirit of revolt nor render a rebellious development effective. For this reason, even when there come to be political currents aiming at a change of régime, like Socialism half a century ago, under free régimes these are not sufficient in themselves to bring about a revolt unless there are other critical factors to provide the true and deep-seated causes. Among these factors two are nearly always concomitant, even in free régimes—the weakness of the State, and the oppressive domination of the ruling class over a section of the population.

The example of Ireland is most instructive. Demanded for long years by a series of legal agitations, Home Rule is promised by parties and by governments, and yet never approved and put into effect, till the population, after an accumulation of disappointments and defeats, seizes the occasion of the war and the moment of post-war weariness, and sets on foot a collective protest. Obtaining no hearing, it rebels. The rebellion, repressed, degenerates into civil war, which ends only with a compromise consecrating the self-government of Ireland.

To be sure, such cases are rarer under free than despotic régimes, for in the latter the free expression of the will of the people is wanting, and the possibility of a legal outlet thereby lessened. But even under free régimes disguised dictatorships may be formed, the oppression of ethnical or religious minorities be approved and encouraged, and parties and political currents persecuted. Then, when every other means has become useless and

methods had been tried and failed, that their position was so unbearable that they were willing to assume the responsibility of the violent methods leading to rebellion, that the collective conscience of French Catholics felt the necessity and opportunity of revolt, and that they could look for probable success.

Now in France to-day these factors are wholly absent. Only those who have till now blindly followed the *Action Française* have any illusions as to the possibility and therefore the necessity of a modification of the political and religious basis of the French State by means of a revolutionary *coup*.

On the other hand, the State to-day (i) demands the observance and continuance of the *lois laïques*, and (ii) will repress any attempt at resistance and rebellion and any possible *coup*. In the first instance the right of the State is merely formalistic, for the *lois laïques*, putting a number of citizens outside the pale of common law, are in conflict with the juridico-moral basis of law-respecting and free States. But in the second instance its right is real, for its constitution affords a margin allowing for the peaceful solution of disputes without need for revolt. The Catholic agitation is, therefore, legitimate, whereas a Catholic revolt against the State to-day would not be legitimate. The Catholics of France are not in the position of persons forced to act against conscience by an immoral law, for they are not obliged to commit any positively immoral act. The *lois laïques* are merely a privation of rights, inflicted with a show of legality, but really for ends of political dominion.

It is clear that State interference in matters of conscience and religion brings a grave disturbance to free consciences. France will never outgrow her deep-seated crisis save through religious appeasement and toleration—to-day a fundamental postulate of the free régimes of modern States.

LUIGI STURZO.

LEO TOLSTÓY.

READERS of *Anna Karénina* will remember Vásenka Veslóvsky, and how Lévin, who considered that Vásenka had taken liberties with Kitty, turned him out of the house in a fit of jealousy and watched how, seated on hay in a *tarantas* that had no seat, he went "jolting over the ruts as he was driven down the avenue" (p. 193, Vol. II, "World's Classics" edition). From Tolstóy's sister-in-law's reminiscences we know that that incident was closely copied from life and actually happened at Yásnaya Polyána. Tolstóy's sympathy is with Lévin in the matter, but one sees that Vásenka had reasonable ground to complain of the treatment he received.

A similar incident occurred when W. T. Stead visited Tolstóy in the last week of May, 1888. That visit—by a train of coincidences I have narrated elsewhere—led up to the production of the Centenary Edition of Tolstóy's works, which the Oxford Press is now issuing. I saw Stead off from Moscow when he started for Yásnaya Polyána, and on his return to Moscow a few days later he told me what had occurred. He had had many interesting talks with Tolstóy, agreeing with him on most things, particularly on the need of making the world's best literature easily and cheaply accessible to people of small means, and supplying guidance—that the time people spend on reading may benefit rather than harm them. Stead however, quite rightly to my mind, did not accept Tolstóy's theory of non-resistance. On the last evening of his stay there was romping in the big room the family generally used both for meals, for music, and for other occupations: and in some game that involved his having to catch someone, Stead caught one of the daughters of the house and, feeling rather tired, thought to finish matters up by sinking on one knee, twirling her round him, and kissing her hand—which he imagined to be an ordinary Russian practice.

He had not realised that though it was quite correct to kiss a married lady's hand on meeting her, when thanking one's hostess for dinner, or on any set occasion, it was quite improper to kiss an unmarried girl's hand without some special reason. No sooner had the thing occurred than he realised that something had gone wrong, and that he had fallen into disfavour with Tolstóy and the family generally. They all retired quickly to their rooms, but before Stead had got into bed, Tolstóy came to him with an open Bible in his hand and, pointing to St. Matthew xviii, 15, read: "If thy brother sin against thee, go, shew him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother

every hope has failed, the mentality for revolt is created among the persecuted groups, and, at the opportune and least expected moment, bursts forth and may become terrible. It must be understood that in such cases the so-called free régime is only a form, an appearance, for as regards the groups in revolt it becomes in practice a despotic government.

If oppressed peoples and persecuted minorities have the right to resistance and even to revolt, what are the true rights of the State, as the organisation of order and authority? Certainly the State, as such, has its right to existence, while admitting the margin of evolution and transformation natural to every society: it has, therefore, the right to defend itself. However, in so far as rights correspond to duties, the State in the exercise of this right cannot ignore the duty of recognising the rights of personality of its citizens, and of holding the balance between the requirements of the various interests of each. The less it observes this duty, the less right has the State to self-defence. It is clear that in an advanced stage of political society the most natural method of balancing these relations between State and citizens is the regulated but constant use of civil and political liberties, which, while affording a fundamental education, develop the forces of conservation and progress in the body politic. Thus the formation of a definite collective conscience comes about more easily, and this has wholesome effects on the evolution of public institutions and the recognition of the rights of minorities. But so long as this stage of equilibrium on grounds of liberty has not been wholly attained, and the ruling class, for fear of losing its power or from selfish motives, ignores the rights of other classes or of fractions and minorities of the population in the State, the formation of the spirit of rebellion, and recourse to violence and revolutionary *coups*, follow more easily.

This political stage—which may be called pre-civil, since it gives rise to the exercise of force and violence, an anticivil and barbarous method—cannot be said to have been wholly outgrown even by the progressive States looked upon as free. Since the spiritual balance between citizens and the State is therefore lacking, the State must take up a position of irreducibility and defence against any possible attack. From this it follows that for the State the law is something final and absolute, the observance of the law a duty for all, rebellion against the law a crime, and any attempt to fight the State to be repressed by force. All this is recognised as the State's right.

But can two antithetical rights ever co-exist? Either the right of the citizens is denied or that of the State. Logically, this is clear, but in practice there is the difficulty of making hard and fast distinctions which will determine exactly how far the citizens have

the right to resist laws reputed unjust, and to organise resistance to powers reputed tyrannical, and how far the State has the right to exact the observance of its laws and to defend itself against possible subversive movements.

Certainly, the individual conscience is precious, and no one can be forced to act against his conscience. The collective conscience is precious also, and forms the rational basis for resistance to the State. But either may be derived equally well from fanciful, mistaken, or harmful elements as from rational and moral ones. Between these the State makes no difference, and as guarantor of law and order comprises both under the same formal charge. Yet the State is not merely an external, formalistic power for ensuring order; it must have a juridical and moral basis of its own. If at any given moment of the historical process this fails to coincide with the collective conscience, the State fails to fulfil its function of order and enters into conflict with its citizens. But if this coincidence exists, then the State is the expression of an order, imperfect, maybe, and susceptible of amendment, but genuinely consistent and on a rational basis.

In this concrete, historical and contingent order there will be laws conflicting with certain given principles, and this, as we have seen, may give rise to conscientious scruples in the individual. In such cases it is impossible not to recognise the legitimacy of resistance to the State, but such resistance remains within the moral ambit of the individual conscience, and will not pass into the political ambit till the individual conscience has become a collective conscience; that is, till the conscience of the community discovers the contradiction between the juridical basis of the State and the right of the collectivity.

Applying this concept to the object of the inquiry among French Catholics, it seems that we may draw the following conclusions:

(a) French Catholics have the right to demand the modification or repeal of the *lois laiques* by the normal methods of the French constitution, that is, by the election of Deputies and Senators, by the Press, by meetings and associations. If these measures fail, it may be supposed (i) that they are in a minority and therefore unable to form a general collective conscience, or (ii) that they have not sufficient freedom in the exercise of electoral and other political rights for them to attribute to these a final value.

(b) Under these two hypotheses, either as a simple minority or as an unfree minority oppressed by a domineering political class, the Catholic citizens of France could take to active resistance, that is, to a struggle with the State, as a faculty inherent in the exercise of their rights.

(c) But for this they would have to be convinced that all legal

...", and said that Stead had grievously offended by the liberty he had taken that evening. Stead explained that he had had no evil intention and was surprised to hear that he had given any offence. After an exchange of explanations, Tolstóy expressed regret for the misunderstanding, gave Stead a kiss, and wished him good-night. Stead was leaving the following morning, but when he came down none of the family put in an appearance; only the German governess was there to give him breakfast, and immediately after he had to leave to catch his train: not, however, like Vásenka Veslóvsky, in a seatless conveyance. It is to Stead's credit that when he returned to England he wrote about Tolstóy with complete good feeling, and gave a much better account of his views and work than has generally been given by visitors who had spent a couple of days at Yásnaya and thereupon felt themselves qualified to interpret the Russian sage.

In the later part of 1905 Stead again visited Russia. He was devoting the *Review of Reviews Annual* for 1906 to Tolstóy, had enlisted my co-operation in that work, and asked me to find out whether he could again visit Tolstóy. I passed on the inquiry, and received a reply from Tolstóy, dated August 20th, 1905, in which he said: "As to Stead, I shall be particularly glad to receive his visit. It will obliterate the misunderstanding which occurred, and which probably arose by my fault." But again things went wrong. Stead, when already in Russia, wrote asking Tolstóy to contribute something, if only a few lines, to the forthcoming *Annual*; and Tolstóy, who was very suspicious of, and averse to, what he regarded as commercialism in publishing, felt repelled. He considered that a man should only write when some thought or feeling has ripened in him that must find expression, and he disliked the practice of enlisting well-known names on special occasions as a bait for the public. At any rate he replied with a curt refusal and withdrew the invitation he had given to visit him.

The reader should not, from these two instances, conclude that Tolstóy was, in general, touchy and difficult to get on with. On the contrary, during the years I knew him I was aware of hardly any other instance of the kind. It is true that he refused to make the acquaintance of Verechágín, the painter; but the reason for that was because Verechágín, when making his series of war pictures, had asked to have a couple of soldiers who were sentenced to death, executed promptly, while he was on the spot, in order that he might have an opportunity to paint the incident. Tolstóy's strong disapproval of violence, and especially of capital punishment, is sufficient explanation of his decision in this case. In general he allowed his time to be largely trenched on by callers of all kinds, from passing tramps to foreign tourists, who sometimes, having seen the

Great Bell of Moscow, wished to see Russia's great writer though they had nothing to say to him.

A difficulty in understanding Tolstóy arises largely from the complexity and many-sidedness of his character, as well as from the intensity of his feelings, which often caused him to throw off an impulsive epigram differing widely, though it expressed his feeling at the moment, from the settled conclusion at which he arrived after due reflection. Those epigrams—since, as Kipling says, "the world is governed by the liftable stick"—continued to be quoted and to remain in men's minds long after Tolstóy had carefully expressed his mature, deliberate, and quite different view of the matter; and the epigrams have often been quoted to mislead the public as to what Tolstóy really thought.

Nothing does more to hinder a true understanding of his mind, character, and opinion than the attempts, of which there have been several, to explain him by some over-simplification: accounting for his actions and opinions by attributing to him either an exaggerated fear of death, an absorption in the struggle between his higher and lower nature, or some reaction from the errors of his youth, and so on, and so on. It is easy enough to extract from Tolstóy's writings—especially if one takes the unjustifiable liberty of treating *Childhood*, *Boyhood and Youth*, *The Cossacks*, *The Kreutzer Sonata*, and other of his stories, as autobiographies—sufficient examples and quotations to make up a very pretty case for any one of these theories, or for half-a-dozen similar ones; but the way really to understand Tolstóy is to realise his extraordinary complexity, and that he threw himself ardently and whole-heartedly into a succession of activities, and dealt with a series of great problems, as though his life and the whole welfare of humanity depended on the solution of each of them in turn, and on his stating the solution he found, so forcibly and clearly that it should be "plain to every cabman."

The problem was in every case important, his treatment of it was always sincere, and his statement absorbingly interesting. But he was not infallible, and his conclusions were not always convincing. He advocated nothing more strenuously than the repudiation and moral condemnation of war, and it is appropriate enough that the signing of the Kellogg Peace Pact should take place within a few days of the celebration of Tolstóy's centenary. The deliberate intimation of his moral disapproval, made in Part II of *Sevastopol* and written during the siege itself, was a remarkable pronouncement to come from a young officer on active service. An article of his, written much later and used as a preface to Constable's edition of *Sevastopol*, indicates how much more pronounced his peace principles became as he grew older; and the Centenary Edition will

contain a series of his essays on the same subject. But it should be noted that his successful efforts to direct attention to this great evil were closely allied to what is, perhaps, the chief flaw in his teaching—namely, his belief that the use of physical force by any one, to restrain any human being, is always wrong. This principle, if accepted, condemns any government that obliges men to answer for their actions, and moreover, it was no mere crotchet of Tolstóy's—for traces of it can be found in the tenets of a long list of sects, especially peasant sects, both in the East and in the West. It lies at the root of the trouble to-day with Gandhi in India, and with the Doukhobors in Canada.

The Gospel text: "I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. . . . Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away," cannot be obliterated from man's recollection, and as long as any Government enacts anything that people object to, some will be found to interpret those texts on Tolstóy's lines, as a condemnation of physical restraint, and consequently a condemnation of a Government's moral right to enforce its laws. The trouble is a recurring one which arises century after century, now in one continent and now in another. The most futile way of dealing with the difficulty is to ignore it, and the only sound way is to find the answer to the problem. Yet there is a strange reluctance to realise this need, as is illustrated by the following occurrence:

When the Oxford Press, a few years ago, issued a new translation of *A Confession* and *What I Believe*, it sent copies to a number of leading preachers, with a note to the effect that in these works one finds the roots of an opinion which condemns all Governments that employ force, and all Churches that support such Governments; that the works had circulated for some forty years and influenced many minds, and was it not time that someone speaking with authority should reply to the indictment, and show the justification there may be for the use of physical force? The replies received—apart from one from Principal A. E. Garvie, who said that he had dealt with the matter (as indeed he had ably done) in one of his published courses of lectures to his students—fell into two groups. There were a majority who, in effect, replied that the doctrine of Non-Resistance was so absurd that no sane Englishman would consider it for five minutes, and that it therefore called for no reply; while a minority intimated that the doctrine expressed a fundamental truth, and was based on the words of Christ himself.

The amazing fact remains that on this practical and crucial question of Non-Resistance, Tolstóy's doctrine has met with no

adequate answer. At least I know of no reasoned rejoinder that shows an appreciation of the force of his case and meets it on its merits, except Principal Garvie's, which is not widely known, and the reply given in the second volume of my *Life of Tolstoy*. There again a strange thing happened: just as Tolstóy's doctrine had been before the world for more than a quarter of a century almost unanswered, so my reply, when it appeared, passed uncontroverted. The book itself was well received and appreciatively noticed, but that crucial matter, the repudiation of the theory of Non-Resistance, was nowhere mentioned. Even Tolstóy himself—who was by that time probably too old, too ill, and too harassed, to deal with the matter—only said when I submitted it to him: "I have only one thing to object to in your argument, namely, that it destroys my position at its roots." I never knew what he really meant by that remark, but I feel sure he was too wedded to the view he had made his own to be seriously shaken by anything that could be said against it. Indeed, he continued to the day of his death to reiterate his thesis.

It was in March, 1855, during the siege of *Sevastopol*, that Tolstóy had noted in his Diary:

"Yesterday a conversation about Divinity and Faith suggested to me a great, stupendous idea to the realisation of which I feel capable of devoting my life. That idea is the founding of a new religion corresponding to the present development of mankind: the religion of Christ but purged of dogmas and mysticism—a practical religion, not promising future bliss but giving bliss on earth. I understand that to accomplish this the conscientious labour of generations is necessary. One generation will bequeath the idea to the next, and some day fanaticism or reason will accomplish it. *Deliberately* to contribute to the union of man by religion, is the basic thought which I hope will dominate me."

It really was to this purpose that—after an interval of twenty-five years—he devoted the last thirty years of his life; and much that he thought and said is very valuable, but it certainly is not a purpose that could be accomplished in one generation, and it will be a pity if those problems which he dealt with and failed satisfactorily to solve do not receive attention at the hands of men of our own and the coming generations.

To his brilliant achievements in the realm of art I can here refer but briefly. *War and Peace* will be read and will delight readers for many generations after the "best sellers" of the last decades have been forgotten. It is hard to name any novels of equal merit, and in Russia, at any rate, Tolstóy's supremacy is now generally recognised. Where can one find a short novel so powerfully told as *The Kreutzer Sonata*, or a short story to match *Where Love is, God is* (in *Twenty-Three Tales*)? *The Power of Darkness*—though as yet unknown on the English stage—is as

powerful a drama as was ever written, and *A Confession* and *What Then Must We Do?* contain autobiographical material so artistically presented that they are of almost matchless interest. His *Reply to the Synod* which had excommunicated him, is a very memorable religious manifesto, while *I Cannot Be Silent*—his denunciation of Stolypin's hangings—is a philippic that one cannot, even to-day, read without being moved.

He was indeed a great artist, as novelist, story-teller, and dramatist, as well as in the eloquence of his confessions, exhortations, and denunciations; and one of his least generally-appreciated achievements, referred to below, will, I believe, be eventually recognised as among his greatest contributions to human welfare. The thoughts he expressed on Art were to some extent anticipated by Fletcher of Saltoun and by the poet Gray, in well-known lines, but Tolstóy unified and amplified those ideas to show how immensely our welfare could be increased if we but realised the influence and importance of art, and learnt to prefer good art to bad.

Fletcher wrote: "If a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." He realised that art conveys feelings—or, as Tolstóy phrases it, infects us with feelings expressed by the artist—and also that our feelings influence our beliefs, our actions, and our whole life, so that in the long run what laws legislators will wish to make, and people will submit to, may be decisively influenced by the art prevalent in a country. This covers one large part of *What is Art?* Similarly Gray's saying, that fate forbid some men

"To heap the shrine of luxury and pride
With incense kindled at the muses' flame,"

shows that he, like Tolstóy, was aware that art can, and sometimes does, convey emotions that are undesirable and injurious to the community.

When one has sucked the marrow out of these two sayings, and added that it depends on the *form* in which a work is cast whether it is really art and has this power of infecting others; and that for lack of adequate form many a well-intentioned work is but an imitation or a failure, we have gone over the main ground dealt with in *What is Art?*; except that Tolstóy reminds us also that, if we realise that the fate of humanity largely depends on the use made of art (on which in our days so immense an amount of human labour is expended, both on the maintenance of the artists, and on the production and presentation of books, plays, songs, music, pictorial art, architecture, ornaments, dancing, and oratory) and if we wish to discriminate between what does good and what does harm, we need some criterion to judge by: that is to say, we need

some perception of the meaning and purpose of life, and of our own aim in life. Such a criterion Tolstóy calls a "religious perception." It is his recognition of the fact that art is an integral and important part of man's life, not to be regarded as an isolated and detached phenomenon kept in an air-tight compartment, and his understanding of the fact that man's life in the absence of any perception of its purpose is worthless and meaningless, that arouses the strongest reaction among those to whom art is merely an amusement, an anæsthetic, or a method of earning money. That last—the commercialisation of art—the belief that that is good which "the public wants," and that "brings in money," was most abhorrent to Tolstóy. He even went to the extreme of refusing to accept payment for anything he wrote during the last thirty years of his life; except that he took a payment for the right of first publication of *Resurrection*, in order to help the Doukhobors to migrate from the Caucasus, where they were being persecuted.

One knows that there are many people who resent the suggestion that to live a sane life men need a religious perception by which to guide their course; but one also knows that the world's greatest artists have had, or have sought for, such a perception, and that though a "best seller," or a successful revue, may be produced without it, it is hardly possible for a really great work of permanent value to be so produced.

Perhaps when the final account is made up, it will appear that Tolstóy's doctrines concerning government were not of much value, but that on his own familiar subject of art he has left the world guidance we can neglect only at the cost of serious loss to ourselves, as individuals and as a community. Art, he says, should be "co-equally important with science for the life and well-being of humanity," but is now defiled by the dealers who throng the temple. He says: "Until the dealers are driven out, the temple of art will not be a temple. But the art of the future will drive them out."

He was also much concerned about the fact that the mass of the reading public receives guidance chiefly from advertising managers, whose direct aim is commercial, instead of from men whose minds are set on the higher interest of art, literature, and life. He says:

"Some twenty years ago Matthew Arnold wrote an admirable article on the purpose of criticism. In his opinion the purpose of criticism is to find among all that has been written, whenever and wherever it may be, that which is most important and good, and to direct the attention of readers to this that is important and good.

"In our time, when readers are deluged with newspapers, periodicals, books, and by the profusion of advertisements, not only does such criticism seem to me essential, but the whole

future culture of the educated class of our European world depends on whether such criticism appears and acquires authority."

The remarkable fact that year after year a series of books are brought prominently to the attention of readers and then, for the most part, are thrown upon the rubbish heap and utterly forgotten, while the masterpieces of the great writers of the past are often neglected for long periods, is an instance of the evil Tolstóy deplored; and if, as he believed, the mental health of humanity depends largely on what it reads and feels, the matter is serious indeed.

Two lines of Púshkin's form a suitable comment on the habit, which is becoming increasingly prevalent, of reading morning and evening papers, instead of reading books:

"We prize a crowd of trivial facts, above
The fiction which uplifts the soul."

Russia, with all its faults and follies, has often set us examples, and can teach us many a lesson, in the realm of literature and art; and if the Tolstóy Society has helped to revive interest in Tolstóy's work, to secure the production of a reliable edition of his writings and to obtain recognition for it, that Society will have deserved the gratitude of many readers in this and future generations.

AYLMER MAUDE.

GEORGE THE THIRD AND HIS MINISTERS.*

SIR JOHN FORTESCUE has performed a public service in giving to the world six volumes of the correspondence of George the Third. These papers were lost for nearly a century and in their present form they are incomplete, for the documents relating to Pitt's resignation in 1761 and to Bute's tenure of office perished in a fire at Bute's house at Luton. The six volumes bring us down to December, 1783, and the fall of the North-Fox Coalition Ministry. It happens that two volumes of a diary published at the same time throw some light on the events discussed in George the Third's papers. Mr. Francis Bickley has edited the *Diary of Lord Glenbervie* (1743-1823), a minor politician who was for a short time Secretary for Ireland.

Glenbervie was not himself a particularly interesting or significant person, but his wife was a daughter of Lord North, and Glenbervie reported in his diary several conversations with the King and with Addington, both of whom took some notice of him because of this connection. The King talked a good deal to Glenbervie about North in a tender and affectionate strain, and Lady Glenbervie contributed reminiscences that are interesting because the information we possess about the origin and circumstances of the Coalition is strangely out of proportion to the importance of the event. Glenbervie thought at one time of writing his father-in-law's Life, and we may well wish that he had devoted to that task some of the energy spent in preserving the scandals of a very scandalous society. His wife was one of the Ladies of the Princess of Wales and consequently knew most of the gossip of a vicious set: but what she could have told us about her father is more important than what she could tell about her lively world.

The new volumes do not owe their interest to any startling revelations. They contain little that is sensational or surprising. They are interesting because they show the working of the King's system and the King's plans from the King's side. In this respect one of the most interesting documents is the memorandum that the King left giving a record of his behaviour to his Ministers over the Repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766. If anybody is inclined to blame the reforming Whigs for regarding the establishment of Cabinet Government as the first need of politics he had better study that memorandum as an illustration of the system to which they wished to put an end. That memorandum does not add substantially to

* *Correspondence of King George the Third*. Edited by Sir John Fortescue. Six volumes. Macmillan. *The Diaries of Lord Glenbervie*. Edited by G. Francis Bickley. Two volumes. Constable.

the account given in Stanhope's *History*, but it is much fuller and it gives an illuminating insight into the King's mind.

In the summer of 1766 the King, determined to escape from Grenville's overbearing tyranny, had to accept Rockingham as Prime Minister. He did not like Rockingham, nor did he like his views; it was only his personal chagrin with Grenville that reconciled him to this alternative. The Rockinghams stood for a policy that was odious to him. They were opposed to the unconstitutional methods that had been employed against Wilkes, and they were anxious to conciliate the Colonists. It was only because Grenville's behaviour over Bute had reduced the King to this predicament ("I would sooner meet Mr. Grenville at the point of my sword than let him into my Cabinet") that Rockingham became Prime Minister.

The most important measure of that shortlived Government was the Repeal of the Stamp Act. Repeal was stubbornly resisted by the former Ministers, and the debates were among the longest and fiercest ever known in Parliament. Rockingham was in a very difficult position because the opponents included members of his own Cabinet.

"Nearly a dozen members of the King's household," says Lecky, "nearly all the bishops, nearly all the Scotch, nearly all the Tories, voted against the Ministry, and in the very agony of the contest Lord Strange spread abroad the report that he had heard from the King's own lips that the King was opposed to repeal. Rockingham acted with great decision. He insisted on accompanying Lord Strange into the King's presence and in obtaining from the King a written paper stating that he was in favour of the repeal rather than the enforcement of the Act, though he would have preferred modification to either course."

The King's memorandum was written in order, as he put it, "to exculpate his conduct in this most unpleasant affair." He explains that he had held from the first that the best policy was modification, but "if the unhappy Factions that divide this country would not permit this in my opinion equitable plan to be followed I thought Repeal infinitely more eligible than enforcing, which could only tend to widen the breach between this Country and America." Rockingham came to him and told him that "the two partys meant to push for Repeal or Enforce":

"I immediately answered that in that case I was for the former; He ask'd my permission to say so, which I freely gave: on Monday 9th of February; I saw Lord Strange and open'd to him my opinion to the following effect, that Modification was my constant but if the different partys were too wild to come into that; I clearly declared for Repeal instead of Enforcing; He said he agreed in both cases with Me: but said it was currently

reported that in all cases I was for the Repeal; I therefore authoriz'd him to declare to whoever declar'd that to be my idea, the very words I now acquainted him with."

The sequel is not surprising. The next sentence runs thus: "On Tuesday 10th Ld Rockingham came to express his sorrow that he stood accus'd of having falsely stated my opinion."

This memorandum throws a significant light on the King's political capacity, as well as on his method of rule. The whole case for the Repeal of the Stamp Act was that it was likely to heal the quarrel with the colonies. A man might hold that it was wrong, but no man who supported it, whether spontaneously or reluctantly, could fail to see that its chance of success depended on its efficacy in this respect. In the summer of 1766 there was a fierce contest between those who wanted repeal and those who opposed it. The King gave every encouragement to the second party, for not only did all his friends vote and many of them speak on that side but he himself authorised one of those opponents to use his name in that controversy. The King of England, that is, did his best to neutralise the reconciling effect of the policy of his Government; to make that gift a grudging and not a gracious gift. One would have more respect for his judgment if he had told Rockingham that he was against repeal, for that would at any rate have been a consistent policy. To accept repeal and then let it be known that you disliked it was the act of a Sovereign who was blind to the consequences of his own actions. George the Third, who wanted to be more of a King than his predecessors, was behaving in fact like a private and irresponsible person.

The memorandum illustrates also the King's own regular method. In the Rockingham Government his confidential friends are Ministers who are opposed to that Government's policy. He actually uses one of those opponents as his mouthpiece to discredit his Prime Minister. He complained and justly of the spirit of faction in politics and of the unscrupulous self-seeking of eminent men. But his remedy was to create his own faction. Lord Hugh Cecil described him as a party leader, but he was a party leader intent only on his personal ascendancy. Some will say that he found himself in bondage to a bad system and corrupt ambitions and that he had to feel his way somehow out of that bondage. The conduct of the politicians of the time would lead anybody to judge the methods of any King who quarrelled with them leniently, but the most indulgent mind can scarcely conceive of anything less conducive to good, stable and honest government than the methods of which we have a picture in these volumes. If the King got a Prime Minister who would fetch and carry for him and surrender his own judgment he would give him the utmost support in his

power. If he was less fortunate he sought to put into his Government one or more colleagues who would intrigue against the Prime Minister; advise the King how to treat his proposals; and discuss with him when it would be safe to get rid of his Ministers. And as he had personal and family interests and feelings, it might happen that the cause of difference with his Ministers was some purely domestic or family question. We get a good illustration in a letter he wrote to Northington, who acted as one of his confidants in the Rockingham Government:

"See what treatment I receive for every set of Ministers; the Rejecting General warrants because their popularity was engaged, was to be firmly pushed tho' the ablest of my servants were against the measure but because a few weak boys are unwilling this Session to pass the provision for my Brothers my word is to be set at nought; my prudence is now exhausted I am inclined to take any step that will preserve my honour."

Thus, because the Rockinghams were reluctant to propose the grants he wanted for his brothers, the King thought he would put aside the prudence that had kept him from openly attacking his Ministers.

The King doubtless believed throughout that he put the public interest first, but then he could not conceive that the public interest could be served by any arrangement that did not give him the kind of Prime Minister he wanted. When he found a docile leader in North he would watch disaster follow disaster rather than accept any Minister whom he found uncongenial or independent. Lecky said of his refusal to accept Chatham as a Minister when men of all parties agreed that nothing else could avert a national catastrophe that it was "as criminal as any of the acts that led Charles the First to the Scaffold." There is nothing in these new letters to soften the impression of petty malice that the previously published letters left on the mind, from the letter in which the King declared that "no advantage to this country, no present danger to myself, can ever make me address myself to Lord Chatham," to the letter in which he complained that the House of Lords was acting offensively to himself in voting a public funeral to Chatham. On the other hand, North's piteous entreaties to be released from office, his constant declarations that he was unequal to the difficulties of his task, the admirable advice he gave to the King about a new Government, fill letter after letter in this collection, and they fix the responsibility for the final disaster more closely than ever on the King. How little the King realised what had happened we can see from the letter he wrote to Shelburne on November 10th, 1782, now printed for the first time:

"I cannot conclude without mentioning how sensibly I feel the dismemberment of America from this Empire, and that I should be miserable indeed if I did not feel that no blame on that account can be laid at my door and did I not also know that knavery seems to be so much the striking feature of its Inhabitants that it may not in the end be an evil that they become Aliens to this Kingdom."

The influence of the King on the politics of the time was almost wholly bad. He was industrious, conscientious about his personal duty, more particular, as these new letters show, than his Ministers about appointing Bishops, and courageous. At the time of the Gordon Riots his good qualities were a great public asset. It is disappointing that the new letters do not add much to our knowledge of an episode in which the King played an admirable part. But it is difficult to see how anybody, whatever may be his views of the right sort of Government for eighteenth-century England, can resist the conclusion that the King made grave mischief in the critical years that are covered by these six volumes. Faction was powerful and the tradition that the Government of England should be the affair of the revolution families was strong and persistent. Chatham wanted to break this tradition down; Burke wanted to sublimate it.

Mr. Winstanley's study, *Lord Chatham and the Whig Opposition*, gives a lucid and illuminating account of the way in which the King used the situation created by the difference between the two schools of reformers to establish his position. The net effect of the King's intervention was that the country got the worst instead of the best out of its politicians. If the King had been able to say effectively that he wanted such and such a policy and that he would only take Ministers who would carry it out, his policy would have had its chances of success. What that policy would have been like we can judge. So uncritical an admirer as Sir John Fortescue admits that he had not the brain to initiate a constructive policy. The King was reduced to attempting to get his way by management; management of the House of Commons and management of Ministers. This meant, in the long run, using inferior men to thwart better men, and using intrigue to thwart statesmanship.

Of the men who held Cabinet office in these years there were four who would be generally acknowledged as men of exceptional ability, the two Pitts, Shelburne and Fox. In their general ideas about the way the nation should be governed, the way the colonies should be treated, the way Indian administration should be reformed, there was little cause for quarrel. They were obviously the sort of men who ought to have co-operated in a reform party. For their failure, with all its disastrous results, each of these four

men was partly to blame. Mr. Winstanley showed that Chatham made bad blunders; Shelburne's faults are notorious; so are those of Fox. But nobody can study Sir John Fortescue's volumes without seeing that the King's method was the chief cause of the calamity which kept the men who held wise and sober views about America from an effective co-operation, of the calamity which put the two ablest men in Rockingham's second Government at loggerheads, and of the calamity which made Fox and Pitt opponents for the rest of the century.

A man may argue that England would have done better if George the Third had been Henry the Eighth or Elizabeth, but it is hard to see how anyone can believe, as he follows the events of these critical years, that England would not have done better if George the Third had been George the Second. Sir George Trevelyan has said that the mutual suspicions and jealousies of Shelburne and Fox produced results more far-reaching and important than anything which ever happened before or after in the history of British party.

"Fox's obstinate refusal to serve under Shelburne, after Rockingham had been removed by death, led to a succession of consequences which altered the whole course of politics, and condemned the Whigs to an all but unbroken half century of banishment from place and power. It was the fatal and irparable mistake of Fox's life."

Most people would agree that both Fox and Shelburne were to blame for this disastrous quarrel. Fox was an impulsive man, wanting in balance and steady judgment, with reckless moods; the victim of his upbringing and his early habits, Shelburne created an impression of duplicity which was probably unjust. Glenbervie's *Diary* tells a story about Shelburne which well illustrates this. He says that the King told him that when Shelburne was Secretary of State, and we were engaged in a dispute with Spain, Shelburne instructed his Under-secretary to prepare a despatch, and that he added an instruction "to take great care not to put any points or commas in that part as he wished it to be capable of a double sense and to leave the adoption of such interpretation as he might think fit to the Minister." The King said he had told this to Pitt the day before and that Pitt had said "it had exceeded anything that he had heard even of that Lord." The King and Pitt clearly put the worst construction on this suggestion but, as the despatch was to be sent to our Minister and it was to be left to him to interpret, Shelburne might merely have meant that the Minister was to use his discretion and that he wished in this way to give the Minister some latitude. But the King's story and Pitt's comment illustrate Shelburne's well-known reputation.

Now it is not surprising that any Whig who took office suspected that the King meant to play off one Minister against another: it was the King's habitual plan of policy. That was the way he had treated the first Rockingham Government; it was certain that he would treat the second in the same way. In such an atmosphere mutual confidence is not too easy between men who have long worked together. Between men like Fox and Shelburne it was particularly difficult. When the fullest allowance has been made for the personal defects of the two men, it remains true that the King's system was the chief cause of their fatal quarrel. If the King had been anxious to help the Rockingham Government instead of anxious to thwart it, it is conceivable that Shelburne, Fox and Pitt might have carried through the reforms that the time demanded. In that case it is not fantastic to think that England might have escaped the Great War with France and would have escaped the catastrophe over the Irish Catholics. Glenbervie's *Diary* records that the King used of emancipation the very language that he used to kill the Coalition's India Bill: declaring that he would regard any man who supported it as his enemy.

These volumes end with the curt letter from the King to North instructing him and Fox to hand over the seals without an audience after the King had secured the defeat of the India Bill in the Lords. But in later years the King thought tenderly of his old Minister and too faithful servant, and he went so far as to say to Glenbervie that he believed that even in his coalition with Fox Lord North had meant well. In rejecting a petition for some favour from Auckland, the King reproached him as

"the cause of a misunderstanding between him and the ablest Minister and worthiest man who had ever conducted the affairs of this country, Lord North, by persuading him to the Coalition, a circumstance which had justly offended him with that affectionate friend and servant, whom he really believed the sense of his displeasure had affected so deeply as to contribute to his premature decay and death, without the satisfaction of a reconciliation between them."

Glenbervie was told by his wife that she had frequently heard her father say to his wife, who, like North's father, had been against the Coalition: "O Nance, it would have been happy for me if I had taken your advice. There is no action in my life I have such cause to regret." Glenbervie added that all his near relations except his sons and a few politicians were against it.

Glenbervie makes a statement that has an ironical interest, considering how much the great economical Reform associated with Burke's name has done for his reputation.

"Mr. Charles Townshend told me to-day, talking of the supposed consequence of Burke's Bill in obliging Government to reward or purchase by honours those who formerly were satisfied with sinecure places now abolished, that on an occasion when Fox in the House of Commons had mentioned some inconvenience which had attended that Bill (although with a general panegyric) Burke said to Mr. Townshend: 'They ought not to abuse me for that Bill for they know that Dunning crammed it down my throat.' This was after Burke separated from Fox on the French Revolution. I either heard Burke say or was told by the late Lord Guildford that he had said to him, 'That Bill is one of my sins.'"

Another entry gives an account of the practical difficulty of any such reform. Glenbervie says that Warren Hastings received a public despatch signed by all the twenty-four directors ordering him to abolish a number of unnecessary employments, "which he certainly would have obeyed had he not also received by the same conveyance a private letter from each of the four and twenty requiring, notwithstanding their public despatch, that the places held by particular friends of their own should not be abolished."

J. L. HAMMOND.

INDIAN VILLAGE UPLIFT—A VISIT TO GURGAON.

IT was my good fortune in March twice to visit Gurgaon, the district in the Punjab where Mr. and Mrs. F. L. Brayne have been carrying out for the last few years the remarkable work described in Mr. Brayne's book, *Village Uplift in India*, recently published by the Pioneer Press, work which I believe is destined to have a profound influence on the future of the millions of rural India.

It was in 1921 that Mr. Brayne first came as Deputy Commissioner to Gurgaon, a backward district of the Punjab containing some 1,400 villages, and he and Mrs. Brayne were struck, as so many of us have been, by the appalling dirt and drabness and poverty of Indian village life. In Mr. Brayne's own graphic words, "The degradation, the filth and the squalor in which our villagers live must be seen to be realised. . . . Imagination cannot conceive it at all and I would not believe it if I had not seen it and smelt it for years." Mr. Brayne however was not content to accept this state of things as inevitable. With most remarkable courage, enthusiasm and insight he set to work to tackle the problem, and under the general term of "Village Uplift" he has developed a scheme which touches every phase of village life, for it includes the improvement of agriculture, primary and adult rural education for both sexes, sanitation, hygiene, infant welfare, co-operative methods, the improvement of the position of women, and a widening of the villager's whole outlook on life.

It is true that various Government departments do undertake work in rural districts dealing with certain aspects of village uplift, for instance the Agricultural Department, the Civil Veterinary Department, the Co-operative Credit Department; but these different departments work quite independently, and in practice the villager is visited by a host of minor officials often lacking sympathy and the personal touch which count for so much. What is new and vitally important in Mr. and Mrs. Brayne's work is that it deals with village life *as a whole*, working through a single agency, and deals with it by personal influence and in the spirit of service.

Mr. Brayne started by trying to introduce iron ploughs instead of the usual twisted piece of wood, and from this small beginning have developed the manifold activities to be seen in Gurgaon to-day. He soon found out that to increase produce by better methods of farming and so to ease the villagers' hard struggle for existence was only a part of his problem. He came to the conclusion that there were four cardinal principles which must be

impressed on the people in order to bring about a new order of things, and that if he could succeed in teaching these four principles not only to the villager, but also to the worker who is to go to the villages, the battle of Uplift would be won. The four principles are these:

- (1) The dignity of labour.
- (2) The dignity of woman.
- (3) The dignity of service.
- (4) The dignity of cleanliness.

If once the first principle, the dignity of labour, is accepted then it follows that there is no work however menial that a man or woman need be ashamed to do. Mr. Brayne felt that the typical village, where the roadways seem to be used as latrines and rubbish heaps combined, would never be cleaned until the people learn to do the cleaning themselves instead of depending on sweepers or menial castes, as is the custom. The people must learn to do every kind of work for themselves. "All work is dignified," Mr. Brayne tells them, "it is only idleness that is a disgrace. . . . Don't rely on the *kamins* to keep your village clean or do your work, or you make them your masters. Clean your village yourself. Every villager handles manure for his fields, so there can be no harm in his collecting the stuff which will make manure and throwing it into a pit." In regard to this question of the dignity of labour Mr. Brayne has found Boy Scouting of the greatest help. Imbued with the Scout spirit men and boys will perform cheerfully any kind of work.

By insisting on the second principle, the dignity of woman, Mr. Brayne seeks to instil into the minds of the village people that woman is made to be man's equal partner, not his slave, that as a child she has the right to be educated along with her brothers, that as a woman she should not be allowed to spend her time in grinding corn, which can be so easily done for the whole village by a pair of bullocks and a simple flour mill, or in making dung cakes which should never be made at all, since the dung is far more valuable as manure than as fuel. There is no *purdah* among the villagers of Gurgaon and the women do go out and work in the fields, but as Mr. Brayne says, "from their birth they are taught that they are an inferior creation, they are treated as such and therefore they are inferior."

The dignity of service is a new idea to the villager. It does not enter into his conception of life and he does not understand it. He is suspicious of any official agency, and thinks that its aim *must* be selfish. The spirit of service needs to be taught as much as the spirit of self-help, and boys at school need to learn that they can help to put things in their village right. Without the ideal of

service little can be done for Village Uplift. It is the basic foundation of the work, and knowledge of improved methods is not enough. The dignity of cleanliness implies the indignity and shame of dirt, dirty roadways, dirty habits, dirty houses, dirty wells, dirty clothing, dirty children. Not until the villager feels shame at the lack of cleanliness in his village and his way of living, and realises that dirt brings disease, will he try to alter the state of things as they are.

Now as to the methods which Mr. Brayne has evolved to teach his four principles in the villages. His whole scheme is worked through the District Board of which he himself is Chairman, and the members of which have become infused with his enthusiasm and have taken up the work with zeal. Personal influence and propaganda naturally play a great part: propaganda through every means, pamphlets, posters, leaflets and songs, exhibitions, competitions, demonstrations and shows, magic-lantern lectures and Uplift plays. A Gurgaon Rural Community Council which includes all the members of the District Board and all the officials engaged in village work has now been formed and is in control of the propaganda work. Then at Gurgaon, the headquarters of the district, Mr. Brayne has built two schools, one for men and one for women, the School of Rural Economy and the School of Domestic Economy. Both these schools train living propagandists who are to spread the new knowledge in the villages.

When I visited Gurgaon we went first to see the men's school. The fundamental object of the course is the teaching of the dignity of manual labour and the spirit of service. The students, who are mostly primary school teachers, do all the cleaning with their own hands, and even the cowsheds were spotless. They are taught how to set about the cleaning up of a village, including the digging of pits to be used as latrines as well as for cow-dung and all village sweepings, and the cleaning of the wells, so important for the prevention of cholera. Then they learn the precautions to be taken against epidemics, the importance of inoculation against plague and of vaccination against smallpox, the value of quinine and mosquito nets against malaria, the danger of rats and flies and dirt. They all learn Scouting and with Scouting comes the all-important spirit of service. Indeed the Boy Scouts in the district, who in 1927 numbered 3,000, are of the greatest assistance in the rounding-up of the people for plague inoculation and so forth. In this connection I may mention that in the last few years there have been four bad outbreaks of plague during which the next district to Gurgaon had a mortality of 38,000, whereas in Gurgaon the loss of life was only 5,000.

The students are taught also the value of co-operative methods for

banking, stores, selling of produce, purchase of implements, etc., and they run a small co-operative stores at the School. Singing, acting of Uplift plays, and learning to give propaganda talks are also included as part of the course.

After visiting the School building Mr. Brayne took us to the School Farm where all the students get a practical knowledge of simple improved methods of agriculture. They learn in the first place the value of manure for crops, and how easily first-rate manure can be obtained by making pits in every village and putting into them all cow-dung, night-soil and sweepings. Then they learn the value of the iron plough as opposed to the country piece of wood, the value of improved seed such as Punjab 8A wheat, and the value of the improved Persian wheel for wells. The District Board has installed 800 of these improved Persian wheels during the last few years and many more are wanted.

Each student of the School has three plots which he cultivates himself for (a) crops, (b) vegetables and (c) flowers. The idea of growing flowers for pleasure and for beautifying the home and the village is an entirely new proposition to the Gurgaon villager. Last but not least, the students learn the value of an improved breed of cattle. Since Mr. Brayne started his campaign 700 Hissar stud bulls, the best strain for this part of the country, have been bought by Gurgaon district, which is as many as there are in the whole of the rest of the Punjab put together.

The men now in training at the School are the third batch of students. When they have finished their course some will go back to their schools as teachers with a new outlook on life, but the most promising will become Village Guides. Village Guides is the name Mr. Brayne has chosen for these men who are to be guide, philosopher and friend to the villager. They hold their appointments from the District Board, and it is hoped in time to have a Guide for each of the sixty-four *zails* or divisions of the district. They will take over for the group of villages under their charge all the bank work, the extermination of pests work, all public health work including cleaning of the villages and preparing the people for vaccination and inoculation, the demonstration of improved methods of agriculture, the work of the co-operative societies, and the propaganda work of Uplift generally. They will do all the non-technical work of all the different departments, and the work will be carried out in an entirely different spirit from that of the itinerant petty official, for the Village Guide will live among the people, learn to know them and be trusted by them as a friend.

We next visited the Women's School, which is now training its second batch of students. They are mostly young married women, wives of the teachers who are taking the men's course at the

Rural Economy School. The majority are Hindus but there are also some Mohammedans. They are given scholarships of Rs. 15 a month by the District Board, and this year they have all given an undertaking that at the conclusion of their training they will be willing to become teachers in the boys' schools where girls are now being admitted. It seemed to Mr. Brayne that the simplest method of encouraging the education of girls, and the *only* one ready to hand, was to induce parents to send their daughters to the existing boys' schools, where they could learn their three R's from the village schoolmaster, and then to send trained women teachers to these boys' schools as fast as they were ready and let them teach the girls the essentials of home-making. More than 1,500 girls have now been admitted to the boys' schools.

We found the pupils of the Domestic School very bright, intelligent and happy looking. Here again they are taught to do *all* their own cleaning, and there are no sweepers. The Hindus and Mohammedans have their separate little kitchens and the students cook all their own food. The subjects which they learn in the School are sewing and cutting out, knitting, cooking, washing, simple principles of hygiene and sanitation, first-aid and infant care. There are thirty-seven women taking the course this year, and as they will go back to their own homes the well-known difficulty of sending a woman teacher to a village is removed. The School has aroused great interest in the district and already women of the better classes are asking to be allowed to take a short special course.

There is also a Health Centre which forms the headquarters of the Gurgaon Health Association. There are now five Lady Health Visitors in the District and it is hoped in time to provide one for each group of two or three villages willing to join the Health Association and contribute to its support. Each health centre should in itself become a centre of uplift for the women in the vital matters of their own health and that of their families.

Lastly, before leaving Gurgaon I was taken to the Purdah Garden of the Women's Institute, where we found a group of a dozen or more ladies of the better classes sitting out enjoying themselves, and a playground for the children with swings and see-saws. First-aid classes, lawn-tennis, and lantern lectures are also being arranged in connection with the Institute. I should add that an English lady, Miss Wilson, has recently been appointed Lady Supervisor to co-ordinate and supervise the whole of the work of the district for the uplift of the women which has hitherto been undertaken as a labour of love by Mrs. Brayne.

I have given above an outline of the work in the town of Gurgaon

itself and I am going now to describe what we saw of the practical results of the scheme in a village, Melamaharajpur, some seventeen miles from headquarters. We were taken there by Mr. Kuarbhan of the Provincial Service who kindly acted as our guide, and who introduced us to the *zaildar* (the headman of a group of villages forming a *zail*). His name was Bhagwant Singh and he was a delightful, keen-faced, elderly man who told us that for five years Mr. Brayne had talked to him but his ears were closed, but that for the last two years his ears had been opened and he only wished that they had been opened before. The village was without any doubt the cleanest village which I have ever seen in India. There was no dirt of any kind on the roads, no smell, no dirty puddles, there were no flies. And still more remarkable, the cleaning up is done by the villagers, not by the menial castes. The *zaildar* showed us the manure pits dug in many different places, some of which are used as latrines, but all are kept constantly covered with earth and there were no flies and no smell. A full pit, he told us, is worth as much as Rs. 100.

We noticed at once the barred window openings, about eighteen inches square, cut in the mud walls of the houses to let in light and air, which I have never seen in an Indian village before, and the houses and yards we looked into were quite clean. He showed us the drinking well with its hand Persian wheel and covered top, and then he took us to see a little flour mill where a pair of bullocks grind the corn for the whole village instead of each woman doing it for her family by painful hand labour in her home. He pointed out with pride that they are now busy building neat walls to their yards and compounds to replace the former untidy thorn hedges, and then he took us to the central hall or meeting-place of the village and showed us how trim it was and how they had started growing flowers in front of the entrance. Some stacks of dung cakes we still noticed, but they told us that they only use them for boiling the milk, as they cannot get enough firewood at present.

I saw particularly that the children who followed us round, as children always do visitors to a village, were very bright and clean looking, and I did not see any with numbers of flies on their sore eyes, and running noses never wiped, which is such a common sight in most villages. The *zaildar* told us that the general health is much improved since the rubbish heaps and dirt were removed, and the people all get inoculated and no longer suffer from plague. There are now sixty boys and twenty girls in this village school. They have not got a woman teacher yet, but hope to have one of the batch now being trained at the Domestic School by September of this year.

Lastly, the old *zaildar* took us out to see his fields. There we

saw some of the finest wheat I have ever seen, Punjab 8A, well manured and well watered from an improved Persian wheel producing a beautiful flow of water, and worked by as fine a pair of Hissar bullocks as I have ever seen. No wonder the old *zaildar* looked proud and happy!

If as much as this can be accomplished in a village in two years, how full of hope is the future! The one stumbling block in the way of development of the scheme is lack of money. The District Board of Gurgaon is now two lakhs in debt, and for the continuation of the work even on its present scale further outlay is obviously necessary. Mr. Brayne has been cramped for lack of means at every turn and he could do far more in every direction were funds available.

But let us consider solely from the economic point of view the results already achieved. Owing to the improvement of the cattle and the crops alone Mr. Brayne told us that he reckoned there had been an increase of thirty lakhs in the revenues of the district since he started his campaign. In this increase of prosperity may surely be found the solution of the financial problem. If a small tax were levied on the increased revenue brought to the district by the Uplift scheme the debt of two lakhs would soon be wiped out and money provided for the continuation of the work. The Gurgaon people are ready and willing to pay a tax. It is obviously essential that some financial arrangement must be arrived at if work on Mr. Brayne's lines is to be taken up, as one hopes it will be, in other parts of the country. If an initial grant were made to District Boards to start the work of uplift the increased yield of the land could itself be made to repay the grant in a few years and to pay for further development.

This is the method which was adopted in the spread of rural education in the Southern States of America. Mr. and Mrs. Howard in their most interesting little book on Indian Agriculture, which has recently been published in the "India of To-day" series, point out that rural conditions in the Southern States in the early days of the present century much resembled those in the more prosperous areas of India to-day. In America a scientific survey of the conditions was made by a body called the General Education Board, who came to the conclusion that the first step was to improve agriculture and make the soil yield a higher dividend. It is interesting that Mr. and Mrs. Howard believe that what is wanted for rural India is not "multifarious uplifting agencies but a single efficiently staffed department." Thus starting from quite a different standpoint from Mr. Brayne they have come to the same conclusions after the experience of their twenty years of splendid work for Indian Agriculture.

"Till the inhabitants of the villages of India can be awakened," they write, "and till a general desire for rural uplift can be implanted in the people themselves it must take centuries to effect any real and lasting development of rural India by such means as are now being employed. . . . The people must be taught to desire better education for their children and better villages for themselves, and they must also contribute a portion of the cost. Unless all this is accomplished there can be no real progress and the tree will not take firm root in village life."

The few years during which Mr. Brayne's scheme has been working prove beyond doubt the success of his methods. With the provision of the necessary financial support on the lines I have indicated it seems to me that he has gone far to solve one of the problems most vital to the progress of India. The problem is indeed a vast one, for about 75 per cent. of India's millions live in rural areas. The possibilities of broadcasting and thus reaching far larger audiences in a far shorter time than is possible by present methods of propaganda are still untouched and may prove of the greatest importance. It is to be hoped that on no account will the Government of India allow Mr. Brayne's wonderful work to be crippled or brought to a standstill for want of financial backing, or fail to make use of his great abilities and enthusiasm to develop beyond Gurgaon the work for which he is so pre-eminently fitted.

MABEL HARTOG.

ALBRECHT DÜRER AND THE GOTHIC TRADITION.

THE work of great artists has ever acted as incentive to heated controversy among art historians and offered occasion for critics to hurl anathema at one another. None, perhaps, has supplied a better opportunity than that of Albrecht Dürer.

There was a time when it was generally speaking the custom to accept Dürer as the symbol of German art, but with the development of research and penetration into the work of such late Gothic artists as Altdorfer, Grünewald, Baldung Grien and others, it began to be acknowledged that here rather was to be found the fountain of the Germanic spirit. Not only was Dürer now pointed to as standing outside this tradition, but he was accused of having introduced traits of a formalism which had ever remained foreign to northern art. On the other hand critics (and they have usually been other than German) have deplored in him the lack of true feeling for formal beauty and design.

Dürer does in fact present a complicated problem. We cannot look at his work as the matured fruit of a long-lived tradition. On the contrary he hails us as herald of a revolution, the influence of which was shortly to be felt throughout Europe, for Dürer is indeed the pioneer of the Renaissance in Germany. His inheritance from the past was Gothic art, and Gothic art from the earliest days never aimed at perfected representation of form. It cared very little for external verisimilitude, and one might rightly say that to express not the truth of the body but that of the spirit was the ideal of northern art. Beauty and truth of form were allowed to undergo every possible distortion in order to intensify the power of pure emotional expression, whilst the restless tortured movement of the design and the nervous tension of the line itself point to a predilection for a dramatic art strangely remote from the effortless rhythmic flow of a classic epic style. With its strong inclination towards subjectivity a serene objective view of life was utterly beyond its reach.

But the German art of Dürer's day was betraying signs of a tendency towards the merely decorative, the very complexity of Gothic design affording a temptation to lesser artists to conceal any imaginative poverty under a mask of technical ingenuity and dexterity of hand. At the same time the austere, abstract grandeur of earlier art was giving way to a peculiar delicacy and grace allied to an idealised naturalism which, in its disregard of the principles of organic construction, still points to a direct outgrowth from the Gothic tradition. An analysis of Schongauer's human figures will

show that the anatomical structure of the body seems deliberately to be concealed beneath an abundance of drapery which, through the design and movement of its flowing masses (often bearing little relation to the form beneath), is made to arouse the impression of some particular emotion or "Stimmung."

It is only when we are thoroughly acquainted with the foregoing tradition that we can realise to the full the overwhelming impression the art of Dürer must have made upon his contemporaries; for a glance at his work will show that just these hitherto neglected structural problems seem to possess a special attraction for him. No doubt this is partly to be traced to Dürer's visit to Italy, and to the influence of Jacopo dei Barbari, who had caused Germany to become familiar with the new laws of perspective and anatomy as practised in the south. But a closer acquaintance with Dürer's character will show that there was something more than foreign influence at work here. From the first the young artist, gifted with quite unusual powers of observation, possessed an intense love for nature and an ardent desire to solve her mysteries, later even busying himself with treatises on the laws of proportion and geometry, so that we may truly look upon him as a northern Leonardo.

The self-portraits of Dürer with which we are best acquainted are the idealised paintings of the later years, but it is surely in the Erlanger sketch, rough as it is, that we catch the purest image of the artist's soul. Psychological truth is here rendered with an intensity that causes this sketch to impress one with something akin to horror. Almost menacing in the concentration of the gaze, the eye staring into space as though threatening to wrest a secret from the mute image in the glass, yet simultaneously turned back upon his inner self, full of dark brooding, meditative—this portrait seems to symbolise the discord within the creative mind, when the genius of imagination is called forth to transmute the impassive impression into living artistic form, and the realisation of an inevitable principle of law and limitation struggles with the consciousness of an inner compulsion urging towards unmitigated subjective expression. A reconciliation of the two tendencies is no doubt the aim of all creative art, the ratio in which they are ultimately felt to predominate over one another determining the variability of artistic form. In the south, where the instinct tends to a purer appreciation of outward form, this reconciliation takes, comparatively speaking, the shape of a harmonious and almost inevitable synthesis; whereas in the north it manifests itself as the issue of a violent struggle with, as we have seen, a decided predominance of the subjective part.

In Dürer's case this spiritual conflict presents itself with double intensity. At heart so essentially German, he nevertheless would not consent to the subordination of physical truth, yet just when one is most led to fear that through the added influence of Italy this inclination will finally lead him to lose his northern personality in the adoption of a foreign style, he once again confronts us with work so utterly northern in spirit that, thinking by comparison of the fate of Flemish art under Italian influence, one realises with awe how remorseless was the battle waged by this indomitable will.

The struggle is apparent from the first. The woodcut series of St. John, saturated as it is with the violence of Gothic feeling, at once betrays a new realisation of structural truth in the movement and gesture of individual figures (as, for example, the right-hand angel in the "Angels with the four Winds") which simultaneously has its effect of giving a new grandeur to the design. And yet one may pause to ask whether this is so new. Mantegna's influence is obvious, but an attempt at a relative clarification of design and restriction on unrestrained movement is found manifesting itself at certain times within the Gothic period itself. It is, indeed, more than anything else, the terrible force and grandeur of mediæval German sculpture that reflects itself in Dürer's early work. How thoroughly northern was Dürer's mind may be seen in his treatment of "St. Michael's fight with the Dragon." The archangel appears to us in the heat and fury of the yet undecided combat, with all the marks of direst toil and terrible endurance upon him—not in the careless exultation of victory. A St. Michael of Raphael may provide a striking contrast to Dürer's design and suggest how unendurable such a conception would have seemed to the Italian mind, but for one exception perhaps—the tortured spirit of Michael Angelo—but he was far too deeply steeped in the problems of pure anatomical construction and clarity of plastic form to have troubled about the Gothic ethos or tolerated the obscurities of its design.

Nevertheless all this time the other side of Dürer's nature was developing no less swiftly, and pictures and engravings that have the nature of veritable studies in construction and formal design are found side by side with some essentially "Gothic" work of a similar date. Is it credible that "Christmas" and "Adam and Eve" are both products of the same year? But the latter has yet another significance, mirroring as it does an adventure of the artist's mind in which he set forth on the quest of that primal beauty as conceived by God and which had gone astray since the fall of man. Ideal physical beauty as the sun of perfect symmetry and proportion! At first sight a strange contrast to the principles

force which often renders it almost blinding in its intensity. In the engraving of "St. Jerome in his Study" the light filtering through the leaded panes seems to fill the room with a warm glow, yet never seeks to produce atmospheric effects that might destroy the clear silhouette of an object; on the contrary its aim is directly to heighten it—the classic ideal, and consequently in strict antithesis of the art of Rembrandt.

By the side of Grünewald's "Isenheim Altarpiece" Dürer's work may, as has been said, appear somewhat prosaic; and yet it is by contrast with this very picture that we are brought fully to realise the greatness of Dürer's art. We may imagine what he felt in the contemplation of such work—symbol of that which all his life he had most striven to avoid—and suffered, much as Goethe on reading a tragedy of Kleist's, at this violation of constructional truth, this passionate abandon to emotional stress. And here we have come upon a momentous factor in Dürer's art: its ethos. Dürer was only too deeply conscious of the tragic significance of life. But he was at the same time equally aware of man's weakness. And to do his utmost in striving against it was his highest ideal, and to this he dedicated his art. Had Dürer actually carried out his project for a Crucifixion—for which the studies of the Women at the Cross (1521) and St. John (1523) remain—it might have been recognised as his greatest painting, and as the mightiest counterchallenge to Grünewald's ideal. The cleft between the two men is unbridgeable. The one, ultra-sensitive, imaginative, knowing no release from the torments of a too intense life-consciousness than in an utter abandonment to the ecstasy of pain; the other, a personality indomitable, heroic, a "*miles Christianus*" (one recalls his own engraving)—warring upon evil as on a tempter within his own soul.

In more than a mere regeneration of form Dürer's work appears to us as an incitement to a Reformation. It was with the sense of a definite mission that Dürer of his own free will gave his "Four Apostles" to the city of Nuremberg, whose honour he beheld threatened in the "Prozess der gottlosen Malerei." The suppressed rage upon the countenance of St. Paul and the accentuation laid upon the Bible have their immediate significance. Looking on these four one seems to grow conscious of terrific passion counteracted by a supreme will—of tumultuous dissonance beneath the austere majesty of form—as though a fugue of Sebastian Bach were here translated into visible terms. The will of German classicism made manifest. As symbols of Dürer's spirit they will go down from age to age—a rebuke to weakness and an exhortation towards endurance and strength.

H. PRIEBSCHE.

IMPERIAL HISTORY IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE recent evolution of the British Empire has peculiar interest for citizens of the United States, owing to its puzzling inconsistency with their own national traditions, which associate liberty with complete severance from Europe, and especially from its British portion. They see the Dominions now enjoying the essentials of whatever advantages their own nation won in the eighteenth century by its embittering war of independence, but without having sacrificed, as their own forefathers did, either the traditional ties of common loyalty or the benefits of organic association. For many of them the paradox in this development made it difficult to accept facts as facts, until the Imperial Conference of 1926 made the facts undeniable by achieving its descriptive formula, in which Dominion nationhood and Commonwealth partnership were reconciled in terms praised and defended both by former rebels and by life-long imperialists. The demonstrated actuality of the paradox did not remove, but rather increased, the perplexity of Americans. They have been apt, furthermore, to be puzzled by the lack of reliance, in the organisation of the Commonwealth, upon formal and rigid constitutional commitments such as their own experience has led them to believe essential for stability and safety, so tentative an attitude seeming to them both irrational and perilous.

To the growing curiosity as to how these things could have come about, history has offered the best hope of enlightenment. The history-men in the universities have found in the public interest alike opening and incentive to expand their activities. A distinction should be made between the handling of history in the schools of the United States and its treatment in higher institutions of learning. It is well known that in the former the Americans have been successful to an almost unique degree in using it as a means of inculcating conservatism and national patriotism, often of the "one hundred per cent." variety; but in the universities it has been used rather to broaden the outlook of more mature students and through them to promote open-mindedness in the public. The surprising diversification of many history curricula in American universities is largely attributable to a conscious desire among members of the historical profession to combat insularity and develop tolerance as well as understanding. It is quite in accord with this attitude that events of the last few years have been made the occasion for a rapid extension of the study of British imperial history.

One means of this extension has been found by expanding the

of Gothic art, and yet by taking on this quasi-religious complexion professing its northern nature once again.

However, this very tendency towards more accurate representation and formality in the composition often causes one a feeling of disquietude when studying the middle period of Dürer's work. For whereas symmetry and harmony of design seem in Italian art so inevitably the outcome of an instinctive æsthetic volition, they here too often appear to be the result of an oppressive law self-enforced upon a too impulsive will. Or we are sometimes tempted to regret the loss of the picturesque naïveté that characterises some of his earlier work, and the "Adoration of the Magi" of 1511, for all its nobility of design, strikes one as cold on comparing it with the quaint charm of the earlier "Christmas." But the lack of warmth which is felt in some of these works may also be attributed to some extent to the technique. For the new graphic style that Dürer introduced after his second journey to Italy, though marking an undeniable advance in the art of engraving, betrays sometimes an inclination towards harshness. In spite of its great dignity and breadth one misses the subtlety and marvellous surface quality of such things as the "Great Fortune," the "Madonna with the Pear" of 1511 striking one by comparison as unpleasantly metallic.

But there is yet another reason for being conscious often of a lack of unity in Dürer's design. In his untiring pursuit of truth, his minute investigations of the principles of construction, he too often loses himself in detail, so that a composition like that of St. Eustace, for all its quaintness and charm, yet appears rather as a combination of independent naturalistic studies. Again, this very interest in organic structure ever mingles with the old Gothic love of realistically grim expressiveness which is ill-at-ease with the calm grandeur of classic design. No more striking example of this is perhaps to be found than in the "Coronation of the Virgin" (unfortunately only a copy remains), in which a strongly marked tendency towards classic monumentality appears in strange contrast to the extraordinarily realistic characterisation and individualisation of the heads. And yet the overwhelming force that moves within the folds of the mighty draperies causes these figures to appear as direct forerunners of the "Four Apostles."

And now in the work after 1512 all these hitherto discordant elements seem at last to have found a means of reconciliation. One is at last aware of a true fusion of matter and style. In spite of the interest in detail, the unity of the picture as a whole remains undisturbed. In the engraving of "St. Jerome in his Study" all the quaint charm of Dürer's early domestic scenes has returned with new vigour, and it is only by careful analysis that we realise

that the arrangement of the composition and the distribution of light and shade play an important part in heightening the spell. Even the perfected technique has regained its old freshness and subtlety.

And withal how thoroughly German is this art! How utterly northern is the conception of the "Melancholia"—not in the figure alone, but in the arrangement of the design—the sudden violence in the sloping line of the ladder, thrust sheer against the long level of the horizon and the verticality of the wall; the sense of menace in the tense poise of the great block. And yet the consciousness of a great calm pervading all—heightening the unrest by contrast, and simultaneously demanding law; the accentuation of the vertical and horizontal; a prevailing sense of mass. But simultaneously the form—this sense of calm, of mass—is one with the emotion—paralysing gloom upon a spirit northern, tragic and burdened with the consciousness of its mortality.

This work bears testimony to the truth that the north may give birth to a "classic" style, no slavish imitation of foreign form, but one supremely its own, and how remote from the Greek ideal!

One is often tempted to wonder whether Dürer, had he never come under the influence of Italy, would not have followed more closely in the steps of the late Gothic tradition; but the more one studies his work, the more one comes to the conclusion that the overwrought phantasy and subjectivity, towards which so much of this Gothic art tended with its excessive freedom of form, were naturally alien to his spirit. It is true that in the "Revelation" he shows promise of a highly dramatic power, and later in many woodcuts we catch glimpses of the old passion. But this branch of art, being never regarded by Dürer as a medium for the highest artistic expression, was consequently allowed a greater freedom of design.

Dürer's spirit is essentially healthy, sane; perhaps in comparison with the work of such artists as Grünewald and Baldung Grien, even matter-of-fact. Dürer was no mystic. He was too deeply immersed in the study of scientific truth, and the actual physical construction of individual objects, to lose himself in a mystic, pantheistic contemplation of nature like Grünewald. Dürer seems to regard Nature as the sum of a number of definitely organised and individual parts, and his attitude towards her is on the whole objective. Grünewald, on the other hand, cares little for an accurate characterisation of individual things. For him, mountain, plant or tree seem but to be the varying manifestation of some unseen power, terrible as it is mysterious, and utterly unfathomable in its mystery—urging all things to an ultimate necessity of destruction of life. At the same time the impressionistic tendencies betrayed by an art like Altdorfer's lie quite outside Dürer's aim. None understood better than Dürer the creation of light with a

old-style English history course. The history of England has long had its devoted followers among the scholars of the United States, many of whom have made notable contributions to the literature of the subject. Already, many years ago, it was widely taught in the universities; but only the slightest attention was given, either in writing or in teaching, to colonial developments since the American Revolution. The war and its aftermath, however, resulted in a re-vamping of the old courses on English history in many universities throughout the country and in placing a larger emphasis on the modern Empire, the name of the course being sometimes changed to British history to indicate its larger content.

The chief textbooks on British history and government in use in the United States before the war gave hardly more than incidental attention to the post-Revolutionary Empire. When A. Lawrence Lowell, later President of Harvard University, published in 1908 his justly famous two-volume treatise on *The Government of England*, he devoted less than 5 per cent. of his space to the Empire. As late as 1914 there appeared the most elaborate university textbook on British history produced by an American scholar, *A History of England and Greater Britain*, by Professor A. L. Cross of the University of Michigan, in which less than 3 per cent. of the space, and that scattered, was given to the overseas Empire since the American Revolution. The change of emphasis produced by the war is illustrated in the same author's *Shorter History*, brought out in 1920; though this volume was briefer than his earlier book by nearly one-fifth, the material on the Empire in the century preceding the war was now gathered into a unified chapter and considerably expanded. Another reflection of the growing interest in the Empire, as well as a stimulus and aid to its study by American students and readers, was the appearance in 1918 of a brief and sympathetic sketch of the history of *Imperial Britain* by Professors C. F. Lavell and C. E. Payne of Grinnell College, Iowa. Besides being used in university classrooms, this was issued as a volume in the famous Chatauqua Home Reading Series. Shortly afterwards larger emphasis upon the university study of the subject was greatly facilitated by the publication, in 1922, of a more comprehensive survey of *The Development of the British Empire*, by Professor Howard Robinson, now of Miami University, Ohio. This volume, while a systematic manual of facts, at the same time gave to the facts an interpretative setting more adequate for the needs of students with the American background than that afforded by any comparable works from the pens of British writers. It was speedily adopted as a textbook in many universities, sometimes in connection with courses dealing primarily with England, sometimes as the

basic reading for courses devoted mainly to British overseas expansion. There has lately been a multiplicity of articles dealing with the recent history of the Empire, and as this is written there arrives just off the press a sizeable volume by Professor W. P. Hall of Princeton, entitled *Empire to Commonwealth: Thirty Years of British Imperial History*, which promises to be a very useful and readable combination of sound scholarship and human interest.

There is a striking growth of popularity of courses devoted expressly to the history of the Empire. Such courses, with only one or two exceptions, were unknown before the war, but since then they have steadily increased both in number and in enrolment of students. In addition it should be noticed that in several instances imperial history is studied as a phase of the larger movement styled typically "the expansion of Europe," on which a number of courses are now offered, and which is also increasingly emphasised in courses on modern European history, almost everywhere a prominent feature of the history curriculum. The British Empire also receives growing attention, often with an historical approach, in connection with the study of modern governments; the Dominions, in particular, attracting American interest as examples of federal government as well as in regard to their new and startling powers in external relations. One finds an occasional course offered specifically on the government and politics of the Empire and in one instance a course devoted wholly to the governments of Canada and Australia.

In the history also of various outlying parts of the Empire there is a surprising increase of interest, even distant sections such as Australia and India being subjects of special courses. Naturally that part which attracts chief notice is Canada, the Republic's most important neighbour, with which there has always been an interchange of goods, of population, and of ideas. General American interest concerning Canada was slight until the war put the Dominion on the front page of current journalism. Since then it has been largely increased by an unprecedented dependence upon Canadian resources in foodstuffs and the products of mine and forest, accompanied by enormous investments in the Dominion of America's surplus capital. The extension and improvement of roads have resulted lately in an annual influx over the border of hundreds of thousands of motoring tourists of all classes from all sections of the States. The visitor goes home with a holiday regard for his newly-discovered northern neighbours, and often bitten by a wondering curiosity over what it can be that makes these obviously democratic and free people, who in many ways are seemingly so like himself and who flaunt an eager nationalism before the world, continue, despite all that, to cherish monarchical institutions.

and to express devotion to an imperial connection which he always supposed to be inherently coercive and inevitably burdensome. It should be remembered, moreover, that Americans in general see the new puzzling developments in Dominion international activities chiefly through their own government's dealings with this nearest member of the Commonwealth. It is not surprising that of all the Dominions Canada should interest them most.

For many years some phases of Canadian history have been familiar to American students in connection with their study of the colonial period of their own country's development and certain aspects of its later external relations, but it was only eleven years ago that the first regular course in the history of Canada was inaugurated. Hardly a year since has passed without the initiation of one or two such courses, the climax being reached last year, when the new ventures, including those at summer school as well as winter term courses, numbered six. Publishers of university textbooks appreciate the significance of this trend and show eagerness to enter the field with books adapted to use in courses on Canadian history. Edward Porritt's *Evolution of the Dominion of Canada: Its Government and Its Politics*, published by the World Book Company in 1918, while primarily a textbook on government and politics, approached the subject historically. Macmillan, two years ago, brought out a syllabus and bibliographical guide to the subject, and Mr. Knopf has announced for publication this year a volume on *Canada*, by Professor Carl Wittke, of Ohio State University, in the "Borzoi Historical Series." At least one other university textbook on this theme is now in preparation for another American publisher. There has also been a growing tendency during the past decade to treat American history as something more comprehensive than the history of the United States. In a number of universities students are being introduced to their own country's history by the initial study of that of the whole of North America, or in some cases rather of both the Americas. In all such courses the Dominion naturally receives large attention. In economic history and in economic and commercial geography similar tendencies are resulting in a growing attention to Canada.

Much might also be said concerning the growth of advanced or professional study of various phases of both the history and the institutions of the modern Empire in the graduate schools of American universities, as a result of which several important monographs have recently been completed and others are now in preparation. Collections of material in university libraries for the advanced study of the Empire and particularly of Canada are growing, both in number and importance, to such an extent that

dealers in out-of-print books in these fields are now finding American universities among their best customers.

The growing interest in the Empire manifested in the universities is not limited to any section of the country. The institutions in which these striking developments have taken place are scattered widely, from New England to California, from Maryland to the State of Washington, from Ohio and Wisconsin to Louisiana and Texas. And they include all types: large universities with famous professional and graduate schools, and smaller undergraduate colleges; state universities, and those supported by private endowments; men's colleges, women's colleges, and co-educational institutions. A wide-reaching inquiry recently conducted by the writer elicited the interesting fact that nobody participating in the movement was aware of its extent or of the rapidity with which it was growing. More important than the example of the teaching programme of any university, both as incentive and by way of suggestion and assistance, has been the appearance of books such as have been noticed, capable of use as the nucleus around which to organise the work of a course. Such books have been invaluable to that large proportion of the teachers introducing such courses who, having received no special training in their own graduate school days to handle this subject, yet found themselves drawn to it by public interest and their own conviction of its importance. Men in this position have sometimes availed themselves of the opportunity for advanced study and discussion of imperial problems at the summer Institute of Politics established at Williams College in 1921, where, in several seasons, an important part of the programme has been study of the Empire under the leadership of British scholars and publicists of the first rank. Last summer the similar Harris Foundation Institute was inaugurated at the University of Chicago, where likewise important sessions were devoted to the Empire.

And so, as a result of this whole development, an influential and growing section of the American public is acquiring as never before a well-grounded acquaintance with the history which has made the modern Empire and an understanding of its structure and spirit. The knowledge must carry with it a full appreciation of the fact that the British Commonwealth has actually become a very different thing from the Empire from which their forefathers broke away a century and a half ago, and withal a recognition that, while the Dominions have now attained a national status essentially as free as that of their own country and are insistent upon its full recognition in practice, there is nevertheless a solid basis of past circumstance and present interest preserving and reinforcing the organic bonds of a common British loyalty. Even the possible usefulness of

monarchical forms, often questioned when viewed, as usual in the past, in terms of George III, is generally admitted in the light of their adaptability to modern imperial necessities.

And what, in particular, of the United States and Canada? Geography and a human background in many respects similar have made them very much alike, so much so that in the past many citizens of the United States have concluded that the manifest political Utopia for Canada was absorption by her neighbour. But a study of Canada's history as a part of the Empire is calculated to dispel that view by revealing the strength of the traditions, the reality of the interests, and the reasonableness as well as the power of the loyalties which have nurtured in Canada a distinctive national genius and at the same time bred in her very bone a determination to continue as a member of the British family of nations. As Canadians become aware of the flattering measure of intelligent attention now paid to the study of their country, and conscious of the growing American recognition of their distinctive genius and loyalties, they can well afford to cast off the ill-concealed and often quite indiscriminating antagonisms to things American, which many of them have harboured in the past, largely, if one may be frank, owing to a feeling that their great neighbour was hardly aware of their existence except when assuming their ultimate annexation. The abandonment of an air of aggressive condescension on the one hand and the emancipation from a disquieting obsession of inferiority on the other pave the way for the advancement of friendly intercourse and co-operation as equals. Canada's historical position as a British Dominion on the North American continent casts her for a rôle of unique importance in furthering sound relations between Commonwealth and Republic, the possibilities of which can be fully realised only upon a basis of good-will founded upon thorough mutual knowledge and understanding.

If it be so good for all concerned that Americans should have taken up with such seriousness the task of acquainting themselves with the historic foundations and the existing structure of the British Empire, must not a similar line of argument lead to the conclusion that this is a matter in which Britishers can well afford to reciprocate? British universities have made a beginning in sponsoring the study of the history of the United States, but if we are to keep up with our American cousins in this friendly rivalry at unearthing each other's family skeletons, worshipping in each other's Valhallas, and exploring the past for an understanding of each other's present peculiarities, there must be continued expansion from these auspicious beginnings.

REGINALD G. TROTTER.

TRANS-ATLANTIC MIGRATION.

CAN a bird, without human aid, cross the Atlantic? This question has been discussed by many generations of ornithologists, and the reply of that cautious but sound naturalist, Howard Saunders, is the one which perhaps has been most acceptable. Commenting upon the occurrences in the British Isles of American cuckoos he says: "Admitting that these occurred at the time of migration, I cannot believe that they crossed the Atlantic without human assistance." Since 1912, when I was still sceptical, I have become increasingly a believer in occasional trans-Atlantic flight, and in 1926 wrote: "I believe that not only is it possible for many species, but that it is repeatedly undertaken, though probably not willingly." Baird, more than sixty years ago, stated that the transfer of American birds to Europe is entirely due to the agency of winds carrying them from their courses, and last year we had evidence which surely will convince the most confirmed sceptic. A lapwing, ringed by Dr. H. J. Moon in May, 1926, at Ullswater, was recovered at the end of December, 1927, at Bonavista, Newfoundland.

Unless we know all the facts the critic may, justly, ask why should not this bird have been carried across by human agency, either as a captive, or as an unwilling refugee on some passing vessel, for it is common knowledge of all regular ocean travellers that birds do board vessels at immense distances from land? The reply is that "hundreds" (one report says "thousands") of lapwings appeared suddenly in Newfoundland in December, and the largest numbers at the end of that month. The lapwing is not an American bird, though it is included in the A.O.U. list on the strength of a few stragglers which have been met with in the States and Canada; it is on a par with several American wading birds which have been included in the B.O.U. list as stragglers to our shores. One bird, one lapwing that is, was shot in Newfoundland in 1905, but there was, of course, no evidence as to how it got there, nor by which route it travelled. There is every reason to believe that the December birds last year were carried over on those fierce east and north-east winds which caused so much disaster in Britain. But before we consider the methods by which these particular birds crossed, it is well to look into the pros and cons of oceanic migration.

Many birds, waders for the most part, nest in Greenland and winter in Europe or Africa, and a few passerine birds have a similar range—the Greenland wheatear, a larger race than our familiar bird, for example, and probably some white wagtails. Passage from Greenland to Iceland, and thence by the Faroes to Shetland,

and so to Britain or Scandinavia, would not require much more than any cross-sea journey of 300 miles. From Cork to St. John's is about 1,730 miles, but wind-borne birds would not often hit the shortest crossing. A less direct Atlantic route, but one with much shorter oversea travels, is by Spain or Portugal and the Azores. By whatever route they travelled the fact remains that many American and non-European birds have occurred in Europe, and many European species in America. These have been, in most cases at any rate, wide of their normal migration routes, and we can but agree with Baird that they have been unconsciously drifted in the wrong direction. Realisation of the effect of wind-driftage is, apparently, still but little grasped. A bird flies in one direction, but without knowing it may be—frequently is—carried on or in the moving body of air in quite a different direction; it can have little idea that it is going astray if it is unable to sight land or if it is travelling at night.

An autumnal Greenland-Iceland route has been discarded by some on the assumption that certain species which have been met with in Europe do not normally nest in Greenland or Labrador. But even in autumn birds are met with north of their breeding area, and these are said to have lost themselves and wandered. May they not have been carried north on some strong wind, and later westward by another air-current? Again, though many American and European ornithologists have studied the avifauna of Greenland, the immense size of Greenland compared with the limited area in which these naturalists worked must not be overlooked, nor the fact that the "lost" or wandering birds are comparatively few in number be forgotten. The chances of these few wanderers being observed are very small. For one bird which is fortunate enough to hit the possible way, thousands are probably carried out to sea and never make land.

Newton was struck by the fact that more American stragglers were recorded from the east coasts of England and Scotland and the Continental shores of the North Sea than from the west coasts of Scotland and Ireland. He argued that the explanation might be that the birds were storm-blown, as it used to be called, or wind-drifted, as I prefer to explain it, eastward from America or Greenland, and reached Scandinavia. There meeting with the Arctic or northern European south-bound migrants, they travelled with their new companions along the western shores of Norway, some crossing to Scotland, but others still passing south until the shorter passage of the North Sea from Holland to Norfolk meant an easy westward flight. That, he thought, might explain the occurrence of many of these lost Americans in East Anglia and on Heligoland, whilst others which were recorded from the southern

and south-western English counties may have coasted further south and west. He admitted that there were few observers on the west coasts to keep an eye on the complicated bays and inlets, skerries and islands of this wave-indented shore. That undoubtedly is an important factor, for the bird would have far more chance of escaping notice in Ireland or the western Scottish isles than if it landed on the eastern or southern shores of England, where every strange bird is welcomed by the usual collector's method.

Supposing, however, that a bird is carried out from America on a westerly wind and that it can sustain flight for many hundred miles, would it not be more likely to strike the south-west of Ireland, England, Brittany or the Peninsula than the north-west of Ireland or Scotland? Nevertheless, if the records of the numerous wading birds which are normally American migrants be examined it will be found that very many are from the well-watched Scottish islands, from Ireland, and southern and especially western England. The A.O.U. (American Ornithologists' Union) list gives for numerous passerine as well as limicoline species "casual in Greenland," and one bird, the Greenland redpoll, seems, from the numbers which have been obtained in the Scottish northern islands, frequently to take a south-eastern direction instead of its usual migration pathway to the south-west. After all is it more remarkable for a bird like the American water-pipit to be obtained on the remote island of St. Kilda, than for a weak-winged, sedentary species like the southern European subalpine warbler to occur on the same northern island? Lucanus suggested that American birds which occurred in western Europe might have travelled steadily *west*, crossing from Alaska to northern Siberia; there is some possibility of this, when we consider how many Siberian birds have found their way as stragglers to Britain, but it seems far more reasonable to accept an eastern sea journey than the half-world traverse with its innumerable dangers.

To return to the British records of the two American cuckoos which Saunders refused to credit as birds which had come unaided. The yellow-billed cuckoo is a bird of the south-eastern States, but it also occurs in south-eastern Canada; in winter it is found in South America, migrating thither through the West Indies and Central America. It has been recorded from Greenland, Italy and Belgium, and doubtfully from France. About a dozen examples are said to have reached the British Isles, and are accepted as genuine; most of these reports are from the west and south-west; the localities are Pembroke, Cardigan, and Anglesey, Cornwall, Devon (Lundy), Dorset, Somerset, Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, Colonsay (Scotland) and Cork and Dublin in Ireland.

The black-billed cuckoo has an eastern American range and

winters in South America. An example which was taken in Antrim is now accepted as a straggler to Ireland. That it migrates oversea occasionally is proved by its occurrence at the Bermudas, and that it can accomplish a long cross-sea journey by its appearance in the Azores.

That migrating wading birds may, and sometimes do, rest on the water has been proved; Canon Raven tells in his *Ramblings of a Bird Lover* how he saw two knots swimming lightly not far from the Irish shore, and photographed them before they rose, perhaps to continue their journey. To imagine, however, that a cuckoo would rest on the waves and then rise to continue its journey, is difficult, and there are other less likely swimmers which have been included in the British list. Without knowing all the evidence brought before the Committees and other critics of reputed British occurrences of American birds, it is unfair to question why some were included and others excluded. In Ireland, where we should expect these wanderers, there are specimens in existence of birds which were thrown out even by the Irish naturalists. Examination of the evidence was most difficult, but some records were condemned because the evidence was insufficient though not necessarily incorrect; it was discovered that certain unscrupulous dealers found that there was a market for American birds if they could persuade the customer that the birds had been obtained on British ground. The discovery of fraud in certain cases was responsible for the caution in accepting records which may have been correct.

Another reason for suspicion has been and still is the fact that large numbers of birds are introduced by aviculturists; a few escape from captivity, others are intentionally released, and the origin of any individual at once becomes uncertain. This is particularly the case with a bird now excluded from the British list, the American robin, a migratory thrush. It breeds in Labrador and Newfoundland, and perhaps in Greenland; on migration it has been carried so far out to sea as the Bermudas. There are several records—one from Ireland, another shot when with redwings, birds with which it would be likely to consort, and it has struck the light on Heligoland. But it is a "cage-bird," and in 1910 a deliberate attempt was made to introduce it in Surrey. True, many records are prior to this date, but other unrecorded introductions may have been tried, and because of this doubt all records are suspicious.

Another species about which there is grave doubt is the red-winged starling. Newton, when editing Yarrell, included the bird with evident reserve, although there are over a dozen apparently reliable records for the British Isles, the first being a bird shot near London, and figured by Albin in 1738. The bird takes well to captivity, and from Albin's remarks it is evident that he thought

that it might have escaped. The most damning evidence is that every example obtained in Britain was a male, but even that need not necessarily exclude it, for not only would the less showy females be more likely to be overlooked, but Coues tells that like the chaffinch the sexes are frequently found in separate winter flocks. Probably if we could now probe the evidence it would be found that some were escaped birds and others—for example one caught at the Nash Light in the Bristol Channel in October—were genuine migrants which had got astray.

Similar doubtful origin must be attributed to comparatively weak-winged British and European species which have been met with in America, but when we come to such long-distance travellers as the sandpipers and plovers the case is very different. The habit of marking birds with a numbered ring has proved the destination of many individuals and supports the notion that these were not lost wanderers but indicated normal migratory movements. Until the ringed lapwing was discovered in Newfoundland the only British ringed birds that had been recovered in America were two kittiwakes, both of which were ringed on the Farnes, off the Northumberland coast; the first, marked as a nestling in June, 1923, was reported from Newfoundland in August, 1924; the second, also ringed as a nestling in June, 1924, was shot in Labrador in October, 1925. That a kittiwake, and perhaps many kittiwakes, should wander across the Atlantic is interesting, but there is no suggestion of difficulty for a pelagic gull which habitually rests and sleeps on the water.

Dr. A. L. Thomson in *Problems of Bird Migration* gives the following interesting examples of American "banded" birds which have been recovered after crossing the Atlantic. A common tern marked in Maine as a chick was recovered three years later at the mouth of the Niger, and another of the species travelled to Trinidad. This last, however, like the Sandwich terns marked in Michigan and found in South America, are examples of long oceanic travel rather than trans-Atlantic migration. But other than British ringed birds have been recovered, for black-headed gulls marked in East Prussia reached Barbados and the eastern shores of Mexico. That the Azores may be a convenient refuge is shown by the occurrence of a Yorkshire black-headed gull and a Dutch spoonbill.

Cooke, who did wonderful work in studying American migrants, shows that the American golden plovers annually cover immense oversea distances. The eastern form in autumn may fly from Nova Scotia to the Guianas without a rest on land; when gales blow from the south-east the Barbados gunners look for the birds to be drifted to the island, but when westerly winds prevail the birds have been

seen passing 400 miles east of the Bermudas; contrary winds hold them up on these islands, and many are shot. Apparently taking advantage of suitable winds the birds cover well over 2,000 miles of sea, and the suggestion of intention is supported by the fact that when the spring winds would give no advantage they return more leisurely by Central America, a direct crossing of the Gulf of Mexico of some 600 miles, and an overland journey through the States. The western form of the bird covers 2,400 miles between Alaska and the Sandwich Islands, and there are no islands on which the bird can rest. Admitting that these plovers could if they wished rest on the water, there is the fact that no one has seen them do so, and that it is reasonable to say that a stop in mid-ocean would, even if it gave temporary rest, lengthen the time in which they would be without necessary food.

Having seen what distances plovers can accomplish, and the golden plover is by no means the only species which uses the cross-sea route to South America, we may safely reckon that another member of the same order could travel as far. The actual time taken for any journey depends entirely upon the force and direction of the air current in which the bird is flying; that will be evident to every airman. Lapwings were seen and many shot early in December in various parts of Newfoundland, and all will remember that there were strong north-east winds, rising to gale force in many parts of Britain, in the first half of the month. In Anglesey, on the 8th and 10th of that month, Dr. K. Orton saw "vast flocks" of lapwings arriving on the north coast of that island, and departing from the west shore; they were flying steadily in a south-westerly direction; the largest numbers passed on the 10th, when the gale was exceptionally severe. On the night of the 25th there was the extraordinary blizzard which caused so much trouble in the south of England. During these December gales gusts were measured of 50, 60 and even 80 miles per hour.

In addition to the ordinary seasonal migration movements of birds there are what are known as winter weather movements, when large numbers of birds migrate towards the west or south-west when seeking refuge from severe frost or heavy snow, either of which cut off the normal food supplies of ground-feeding species. Lapwings are early affected by these threats, and cross the Irish Sea to seek milder conditions in Ireland. Probably what happened was that the birds seen in Anglesey were striving to find a refuge, but travelling in an air-current which greatly accelerated their normal flight they unconsciously passed over or beyond Ireland. Such accidents no doubt happen frequently, but in most cases the birds fly until exhausted and are then drowned. Rocks have been met with beating east on the west coast of Ireland, having appa-

rently gone out to sea, but taking advantage of a lull or getting into a less rapid air-current had been able to return.

If we take Meinertzhagen's estimate of the ordinary speed of flight of the lapwing—between 40 and 45 miles per hour—and add this to the 40 mile per hour gale, we have the reasonable argument that the crossing from Ireland to Newfoundland could be accomplished in under 24 hours. But we do not know at what height or on what speed of wind the lapwings which accomplished the journey were flying. The gale which was gusty, but was measured at 42 miles per hour in several stations, may have been raging at 80 at 5,000 feet or more. When collecting evidence of the height at which birds had been observed by airmen, Meinertzhagen found that lapwings were the birds most frequently noticed at great altitudes; his highest record was for birds at 8,500 feet. If the lapwings flying at their highest speed of 45 miles per hour had chanced into a steady hurricane of over 80 at a great elevation the journey could be managed in about 12 hours, which would greatly lessen the fatigue of the travellers. The birds, so long as the wind was in one direction, would not feel its force; they would be travelling with the normal amount of exertion on a moving current.

How long Dr. Moon's ringed lapwing had been in Newfoundland before a sportsman brought it down we cannot say, but birds were shot in all parts of the island, in the south and west as well as on the east coast during the month. Where they came from we do not know except that this one example carried its identity label. Never before had so large a number of European migrants or lost wanderers arrived in Newfoundland, or, indeed, so far as is recorded, in any part of America. The circumstances were undoubtedly exceptional. Probably huge numbers which started on this perilous journey failed to reach land; probably many another flock has gone out west to "go west." There are stranger records of lapwings, but not of flocks, for the bird has reached the Bahamas and even Barbados. What does that mean? Probably that one or two out of a wind-borne flock have managed to keep themselves on the wing for a much longer time than would be required for a direct crossing to Newfoundland. These stragglers may have rested on a ship or on the water; we do not know, but we do know that a European bird landed on these islands far remote from the normal migratory track.

The first information that the ringed lapwing had been recovered was received by me in a letter from Dr. F. A. Bruton, enclosing details from Dr. J. L. Paton, President of the Memorial College, St. John's, Newfoundland, who had been asked to identify a number of the shot birds. By the same mail Mr. H. F. Witherby, editor of

British Birds, and head of the "B.B." ringing scheme, received the ring and leg of the marked lapwing from Canon A. G. Bayley of Bonavista.

And when we have finished wondering at the trans-Atlantic crossing, we can turn to the map published in his *Problems of Bird-Migration* by Dr. A. L. Thomson, and see the spots where lapwings ringed in Britain, Holland, Hungary and other countries have been discovered—Ireland, very many, France, Spain and Portugal, Italy and northern Africa. We realise then that the custom of ringing birds has brought remarkable results, throwing light, though as yet but half-light, on the behaviour of migratory birds. Comparatively few of the many birds ringed are ever again heard of, but each one recovered helps. Since 1909 no fewer than 9,286 lapwings were ringed with "B.B." rings and up to the end of 1926 the number recovered was 222, or a percentage of only 2.9. The percentage sounds small, but over 200 located birds is highly satisfactory. Yet, how little we do know; how much there is to learn; and how foolish it is to say that a bird cannot do this or that when any day we may discover that it is our knowledge, not the bird's power of flight, which is at fault.

T. A. COWARD.

THE INTERNATIONAL RELIEF UNION.

THE human family, prompt enough at organising its own defences against the eventual hostilities of man, is much less prescient and ready at organising its own defences against the sudden furies of nature. Almost yearly some part of the inhabited globe is afflicted by a calamity producing enormous loss of life and property, yet each year we see anew the verification of the fact that not only is there inadequate preparation beforehand in each country for its own internal organisation against possible catastrophes, but also that, when these catastrophes occur, the most urgent first aid to the populations affected has been delayed or insufficient or, in cases, absolutely lacking. And even when private or public philanthropy comes to the rescue, there are no existing means of controlling the employment of the money, etc., given, or of guaranteeing that the aid sent be suited to the needs of the country afflicted, or that the relief squadrons have had a technical preparation adapted to the work to be done. There is, in fact, no preparation for catastrophes, as we have recently seen in America, where the floods produced by the Mississippi gave endless proofs of the necessity for a provident and inter-State preparation, in order that similar catastrophes might be met by preventive impediments and adequate relief organisations.

Those who regard this problem seriously have followed the fortunes of the "Ciraolo Project," which embodies an attempt to supply a great want. This project, submitted by Senator Ciraolo, reached its goal last year, when the International Relief Union was formed, and approved by the League of Nations and a consensus of forty-three governments. But though the fortunes of this project of humane and international utility are being widely published in other countries, and though the English Government closely followed and assisted its progress, nothing but the bare news of the approval of the Convention has been published in England. A study of its inception and scope will, therefore, not be out of place now.

In 1921, Giovanni Ciraolo, Senator, barrister and political writer, and a sufferer by the earthquake of Messina, became the promoter of an international movement for the creation of a work of mutuality between States to relieve populations afflicted by natural calamities. His experiences as President of the Italian Red Cross had made evident how far-reaching would be the advantages of an international organ which, centralising the technique and management of relief, should ensure international solidarity in first-aid to those populations suffering from calamity which prove unequal, either in consequence of the modesty of their own resources or of the

enormity of the disaster, to the task of saving themselves or of recovering unaided from the effects of the calamity.

Senator Ciraolo took up this mission in the beginning of 1921, and has since continued his endeavours without ceasing, carrying his project from one international meeting to another, although from the very beginning he came to realise the difficulties of the task and the resistance opposed to human ideals as soon as an attempt is made to turn them into realities. Determined, however, to devote his whole life to this effort if necessary, he remained undaunted by the difficulties that cropped up almost daily, and changed and remodelled his project as the exigencies of the situation required.

In March, 1921, he presented his first Report: "The Necessity of an International Organisation for the immediate relief of populations afflicted by Sudden Calamity," to the Tenth International Conference of the Red Cross, and in May, 1922, a motion to the Economic Conference at Genoa, urging the convocation of an International Conference to study the question. In 1922 and 1923, he presented the articles of a project of statute to the League of Nations, for "a State federation for mutual aid to populations afflicted by calamity." The various proposals are the basis of what is now known as the "Ciraolo Project."

These proposals, and others presented by a Preparatory Commission charged by the League of Nations to draw up concrete suggestions, were discussed by the fourth, fifth, sixth, and eighth Assemblies of the League, whose Council submitted the various schemes to all the governments, on three occasions, calling upon them to give their opinion by referendum on the project of the Commission and the proposal to call together a Diplomatic Conference. Most of the governments agreed in both cases, and the National Societies of the Red Cross and their international organisations promised their enthusiastic collaboration.

The various scientific bodies were prompt in collaboration. A scientific research Review was founded at Geneva, to act as a rallying point, scholarships were offered and commissions appointed to prepare a historico-geographic atlas of calamities; and during these seven years twelve great assemblies, in collaboration with the diplomatic representatives, dealt with the question, in addition to the continuous activities of Preparatory Councils, the propaganda to governments and technical organisations and collaboration with Preparatory Committees.

In 1927 the preparatory phase closed with the Diplomatic Conference convoked by the League of Nations, and the *International Relief Union* came into being. The Conference met at Geneva from July 4th to 12th, 1927, under the presidency of a German, Herr

Kuelz, of the Reichstag; forty-three governments adhered and sent their respective delegates. It was an important Conference in many respects: the first for many years to be convoked for the study of a project of Italian origin; the first since the war to be held under German presidency; the first to aim at realising the most profound and humane articles of the League—the 23rd and 25th—and at instituting a great organ that should be a concretion of universal solidarity.

Taking as its basis the project submitted by the Preparatory Commission, the Conference, in accordance with the proposal of the British Delegation, whose contribution to the preparatory work was of considerable importance, drew up two drafts: a Diplomatic Convention which founds the International Relief Union, fixes its aims and establishes the adhesion of the State-Members, the collaboration of aid societies, administration of finances, etc., and a Statute determining the attributes of the Executive Committee, General Councils and experts of the Union, regulating the financial and technical working of its central and executive organs, etc.

The Convention was open at the Secretariat of the League at Geneva for government signatures until April 30th. The following governments have already adhered: Albania, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Colombia, Cuba, Dantzig, Egypt, Ecuador, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, India, Italy, Lettonia, Monaco, Nicaragua, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, San Marino, Soudan, Spain, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela. Governments which adhere from now onwards will not be charter members.

The Convention is an admirable document. Its object, in calamities that are due to *force majeure* (famine, disease, floods, earthquakes, etc.) and the exceptional gravity of which is beyond the resources and faculties of the people afflicted, is to furnish first-aid to the populations affected, to collect gifts and resources and co-operation of every kind to this end, to co-ordinate the efforts of relief organisations, to encourage research and study and preventive and preparatory measures against calamities, and to ensure that all nations practise mutuality in international relief. The I.R.U. will act in favour of all populations afflicted, irrespective of race or social, political or religious distinctions, in calamities occurring in the territories of the High Contracting Parties of the Convention, or in those countries whose calamities might be injurious to the said territories. Its action in any country is, however, subordinated to the pleasure of the government of that country, whether member of the I.R.U. or no.

The Red Cross Societies and similar institutions will act in free collaboration with the Union. The I.R.U. will act through its General Council, formed of the Delegates of the State-Members

(the Red Cross or similar Societies may act as delegates); its headquarters will be in the city that houses the League of Nations. The Initial Fund, divided into parts of 700 Swiss francs, will be formed of the contributions of the State-Members, who will each subscribe a number of parts equal to the number of units that compose or would compose his particular quota to the League. Each State-Member will accord to the Union and its affiliations those immunities, facilities and exemptions most favourable for their installation, for the circulation of their staff and material, for their relief operations and the publicity of their appeals. This Initial Fund covers the obligations of members, but they and private individuals and bodies are at liberty to make any and every kind of offering, now and in future.

The Permanent Court of Justice is competent to settle controversies between the members. The Convention which creates the Union is the Charter of World Mutuality. The Union will come into force when the Convention has been ratified by at least twelve States contributing six hundred parts—about two-thirds—of the total sum fixed at 625,000 Fr. gold for the Initial Fund. The representatives of the Member-States—one delegate for each—will meet half-yearly in General Council and nominate an Executive Committee of seven members for the administration of the normal activities of the Union, to be executed through the International Red Cross Societies. Having previously obtained the consent of the government interested, the Committee will send out aid in cases where the energies and means of the afflicted people are insufficient for their needs. The practical administration of the Committee will use every means to ensure the efficacious realisation of the ideal aims of the Union, and to procure for it a universal co-operation of sympathy and gifts. It is urgent in the general interest that the Convention of July, 1927 and the Statute of the Union be put on a working basis without delay.

The Statute regulates the functions and powers of the Council and the Executive Committee, the administration of funds, control of the balance-sheets by the League of Nations, and so forth.

The Union does not intervene unless welcomed by the country afflicted; it encourages private generosity by ensuring proper control and publicity for all gifts; it does not restrict the liberty of collaborating associations nor diminish their importance: they are its executive organs, and therefore its supporters, and under its protection; and it stimulates and directs the providence of public administrations, so that the experience of the whole world in the field of a preparatory organisation of relief to afflicted populations is put into a common crucible. By making use of existing aid organs and perfecting and co-ordinating them, it avoids useless expense.

A pledge to this effect was given by the executive body, the two international Red Cross organs, before the Diplomatic Conference.

A valuable contribution to the work of the Preparatory Commission was given by the English experts: the first being Sir Claude Hill, who, on being appointed Governor of the Isle of Man, ceded his task to Mr. Algernon Maudsley, member of the British Red Cross Society. Mr. G. H. S. Pinsent and Mr. W. E. Beckett, of the Treasury and the Foreign Office respectively, represented Great Britain, the North of Ireland, and other parts of the British Empire that are not separate members of the League of Nations. Towards the end of the Conference, Mr. Pinsent made the following declaration:

"He would like to congratulate the members of the Preparatory Committee on the work which they had done during the Conference. They might well be appalled by the flood of amendments which had been submitted. They had, however, taken up the work of re-drafting the scheme, and had succeeded in making it more practical in many respects.

"The position of the British Government was identical with that of the French Government. . . . All the British amendments had been adopted and it was most gratifying . . . that these amendments had been accepted, not out of a spirit of compromise, but in the conviction that they were in the best interests of the Union itself. He was confident that he could induce the British Government to accept the present draft as an instrument. That, however, did not mean that the doubts of the British Government had been set at rest in regard to the scheme itself. The British Government felt that its success in practice must necessarily depend on the almost unanimous support of the more important countries of the world, and especially of the more important Members of the League of Nations. The British Government could not itself adhere to the scheme till that unanimity had been achieved.

"The Conference had taken the best possible measures to secure that unanimity by means of a provision that laid down that relief should only be afforded to members of the Union, and that, before the scheme would come into force, subscriptions representing 600 shares must have been deposited."

The British Government will adhere, in fact, when the Union has already come into force on its own. The conditions mentioned were already practically complied with by the middle of April, for no less than thirty countries had signed at that date for a total contribution of 570 shares out of the 600 stipulated; but in May the Government was still reluctant to proceed to the ratification of its approval. On May 17th, in the House of Commons, Mr. Thomas Griffiths asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if the

British Government meant to contribute to the Ciraolo Project for a permanent International Organisation of Assistance, and if, in that case, a part of the funds of this organisation would be used to aid the victims of the earthquakes in Greece and Bulgaria.

Mr. Locker-Lampson, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said that "from the beginning the British Government had declared that its signature to the I.R.U. would depend on the practically unanimous acceptance of the project by the State Members of the League of Nations. As this state of things has not come about yet" (1), "the British Government has not signed the Convention. The question will shortly be under consideration again. The Convention is not yet in force" (*little more than a fourth part of England's share would have enabled it to enter into force at that date*) "and therefore the funds to be collected on the basis of the Ciraolo Project cannot be used in aid of the victims of the Greek and Bulgarian earthquakes. The Hon. Member knows," said the Secretary of State, "that the entry into force of the Convention does not depend on the British Government. It will enter into force as soon as it has been ratified by twelve signatory Powers whose contributions amount altogether to 600 shares."

Does the Secretary of State not know what has been done so far in the matter of the Convention? Could he have made the above statement if he had been aware that at the time he spoke thirty Governments had signed for a total contribution of 570 shares?

In any case, to delay still further would not seem to be in accordance with the usually generous attitude of the British Government. If the I.R.U. is a useful bond of solidarity between the nations, it would have been as much to the interest as to the credit of a great country to become one of the charter of that bond; it is difficult to understand why England has chosen to be a mere resigned imitator of others. Especially as Great Britain is a very strong supporter of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the I.R.U. is a practical illustration of two of the Covenant's most humane articles, viz., 23 and 25.*

Nor can this reluctance be due to the amount of the financial burden, which is restricted, as an obligation, to the one first payment. The sum of 70,000 Fr. gold is not a sum to cause serious preoccupation to His Majesty's Treasury, nor to make legitimate the absence of England from the mutualistic society of the nations

*Art. 23. Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of International conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League: . . . (f) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease. Art. 25. The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised voluntary national Red Cross organisations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

for the organisation of their common experience against great calamities.

For it must be kept in mind that the aim of the I.R.U. is international solidarity in a field where it is possible and cannot by anyone be considered undesirable. In the preparation of urgent relief for afflicted populations, it renders possible more fraternal relations among the peoples and more positive factors of peace among the States. This is the first attempt to be made at an unitarian bond between all peoples, who up to now have been kept separate and armed one against the other by politics, by interests, and by religion.

The I.R.U. has been so constituted as to ensure an indispensable minimum of urgent relief: it is left to the spontaneous liberality of Governments and private bodies and individuals to conduct any further assistance they may desire. There is, therefore, no diminution of public and private generosity.

Each State is free to give or not to give its co-operation in the case of a calamity in another country; just as each State is free to accept or not the intervention of the I.R.U. Nothing is compulsory: but there is a co-operation of experience, a putting in common of instruments of relief, a standardisation of organs and systems which render necessary the greatest possible collaboration of all countries, and especially of the best organised countries. That is why it is asked that Great Britain, one of the most generous of States in aiding afflicted populations, should not refuse and should not delay its participation in a positive work of international solidarity and humanity. England cannot stand aside from an ideal and yet realistic movement which has gained such a wealth of approbation and sympathy throughout the world; which has aroused such hopes in a large number of modest countries that are but too unhappily tried by nature, and that know but too well how capricious and often ineffective is the aid they may expect under the old conditions.

Any doubts that the development of this great organisation will dry up the sources of public generosity for other relief institutions should be set at rest by this study of the Union. The gathering in of funds is part of the scope of the I.R.U., it is true, but it is not by any means its main scope. Also, all those aid societies which are sufficiently serious and sound may, in conformity with the Geneva Convention of July 12th, 1927, become collaborators of the Union in its relief work; they will lend their specialised aid to the I.R.U. and through it to the afflicted populations. Only—and here we come to the main scope of the Union—there will be a sound preparation and co-ordination of forces, and the final control of the League of Nations for the expenditure of the I.R.U., including the expenditure made through the co-operation of specialised societies.

But such control could not possibly be objectionable to any respectable English aid society; it would, probably, be a reason the more for them to join forces solidly with the I.R.U., a body which has the supreme authority derived from the international treaty creating it and from its position as a federation of sovereign governments.

We are sure that in England, which was the first country to establish the right of the poor and unhappy to the aid of collective civilisation, both Government and people will appreciate the great virtue of the ideal embodied in this Union; and that not only will the Government soon sign and ratify the Convention, but that societies and individuals, sloughing off the shell of sceptical indifference, will at last strengthen with their sympathy and co-operation this presage of a more fraternal civilisation which is realised in the International Relief Union.

M. D. BYRNE.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

"JIX" AND THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

THE effect of Sir William Joynson-Hicks upon the Church of England, upon Scotland Yard and its methods, upon those who enter Hyde Park, upon those who drink after midnight, upon the supply of two-seater taxi-cabs, is an interesting study for other pens. Inasmuch however as the kaleidoscopic catholicity of Sir William's outlook has on some occasions directly or indirectly played upon the province of one of his colleagues, namely Sir Austen Chamberlain, he is qualified, to the extent of that transgression, to be commented upon in this place.

There is a certain grandeur in Sir William's courage. It is a courage which leads him into fields unfamiliar to him, fields which a more cautious spirit would instinctively avoid. Whenever he has burst, for instance, into the field reserved by Cabinet tradition to the competence of the Foreign Secretary, he has on each occasion done harm both to himself and to the Foreign Office, but has not thereby been daunted from doing it again.

The last excursion of the kind was undertaken by him on July 14th, when he made a speech at Evesham. It happened at that time that Sir Austen Chamberlain had just finished drafting with Sir Cecil Hurst the British answer to the last Kellogg Note about the Peace Pact. The British answer had been delayed because Sir Cecil did not return from Geneva to London till July 9th. The delay had produced some criticism of the Foreign Office, some suggestion that the Foreign Office lacked that spirit of enthusiasm which so noble a proposal as that of the outlawry of war ought to have excited in noble minds. The Foreign Office therefore was engaged in a speeding-up process. Sir Austen's draft of the British Note was complete on Saturday, July 14th, ready to be submitted to the Cabinet on Monday, July 16th. It consisted of a whole-hearted acceptance of the plan. Now Sir William, when he spoke at Evesham, chose as his subject the big question of peace and disarmament. The date of his speech was precisely July 14th. "We desire," he said, "to appeal to the great United States, when our signature, in the course of a few weeks, is placed alongside that of the other nations of Europe, and say to them: 'We are signing the pact at your request—a pact to end war—and yet we understand that you are increasing your Navy.' I think we are entitled to comment, quite respectfully and in quite a friendly fashion, and say to America and to the whole world that deeds speak stronger than words."

Short as that passage was, its author contrived to do three things in it: (1) he ranged Great Britain with Europe, as against the United States; (2) he gave the impression of reluctance in signing, of signing at America's "request"; (3) he mentioned the American Navy. His triple achievement was remarkable more for its spontaneity and originality than for its sense of the diplomatic situation; but his bacon was partly saved by his being wrong in his facts about the American Navy. He presumably had not yet heard that the American Navy Bill had been rejected by Congress. It might therefore reasonably be hoped that American opinion, on observing Sir William's ignorance, might discount Sir William's diplomacy; but neither American nor any national opinion is logically accurate in its calculations. It was therefore necessary for Whitehall to do something about it. The British answer to Mr. Kellogg was delivered with all speed. It was put into the hands of Mr. Ray Atherton in London on the morning of July 18th, and published the next morning. In the House of Commons on July 23rd Mr. Baldwin, in answer to questions about Sir William's observations at Evesham, gently confessed "that had I been speaking on that matter I might have expressed it somewhat differently," and in answer to the Opposition cheers with which that rebuke was greeted, proceeded defensively to refer to "the wisdom and reticence of most of my colleagues in most of their speeches."

A former important occasion on which Sir William intervened in foreign policy was marked by a somewhat analogous misconception of the relevant facts and an even more serious embarrassment for Sir Austen Chamberlain. On Thursday, May 12th, 1927, a contingent of Metropolitan and City police raided Soviet House in Moorgate, the offices of Arcos Ltd. On the following day they began to use oxy-acetylene apparatus and pneumatic drills to open the safes they found in that building. Now it happened that Soviet House was the headquarters not only of Arcos Ltd. but of the Russian Trade Delegation, which enjoyed, or was entitled to enjoy, diplomatic immunity under the express terms of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement. By forcing the safes of the Trade Delegation Sir William's men were in effect breaking off diplomatic relations between the Russian and British Governments, because such relations were thereby made impossible. On May 13th, the very day when the oxy-acetylene drills began their doubly destructive work, Sir William was asked a question in the House of Commons about the effect of his action on the Russian Trade Delegation, and all he could say was this: "I cannot answer a question as to the exact portion of the building where the Trade Delegation is. I shall have further information in regard to that

on Monday." It was a well-known secret that Sir William, when he gave his orders to the police, simply did not know that the Trade Delegation was housed in the same building as Arcos. It was in short an unintentional blunder. The importance of the diplomatic result was due to the fact that the Foreign Office's policy was precisely not to break with Russia. Sir Austen himself had expressed the case in this way: "All Europe is perplexed and harassed by economic and social problems. It is subject to political uncertainties and a sense of political insecurity which react upon economic conditions in a disadvantageous manner. And it must be the object of statesmanship in all countries to alleviate, and, if possible, to remove, such difficulties. If we broke off relations with Russia we should not only introduce a new and disturbing issue into British domestic policy, but we should introduce a new and disturbing issue in Europe." The rupture with Russia was announced eleven days after Sir William's first oxy-acetylene drill had been applied to the safes of Soviet House. Sir Austen's Russian policy had to be suddenly and completely reversed as a result of Sir William's unconscious intervention in foreign policy.

There is probably something to be said for the argument that it would better suit the purposes of the British Government if Sir William Joynson-Hicks not only avoided what he knows to be foreign issues but took the further precaution of submitting his projected acts and words to a special examination designed to discover if unwittingly he is likely to be putting his foot into the province of the Foreign Office.

A NEW TANGIER AGREEMENT.

An agreement was initialled in Paris on July 17th and signed on July 25th whereby the Four Powers hoped to remedy some of the proved defects of the Tangier Statute. The Statute itself had been signed by only three Powers, Great Britain, France and Spain, on December 18th, 1923. The new signatory was Italy. The 1923 Convention had never been regarded except by certain French commentators as a comprehensive settlement of the problem. When Lord Curzon, who had worked hard since 1918 to reach an Anglo-French understanding about Tangier, was able to announce in December 1923, that a tripartite Convention had been signed in Paris, he frankly admitted that the solution fell short of his ideal, and merely claimed that half a loaf was better than no bread. The omission of Italy from the 1923 conference was responsible for the chief weakness of the work then done, but before the culpability of that omission can be assessed one has to remember certain circumstances. Something like a diplomatic Einstein Theory must be

invoked as a criterion, for the time when the agreement was made is a necessary element in the assessment.

Let some of the circumstances of the 1923 conference be recalled. It had been a principle of British policy for many years that no single first-class Power should usurp predominant control of Tangier. Tangier was one of the chief gateways to North Africa and to the East, and British interests therefore postulated that it should be kept permanently open and permanently neutralised. That was the reason why every Moorish Treaty signed or recognised by the British Government since 1904 provided for a special régime to be established at Tangier.

After the signature of the Franco-Moorish Protectorate Treaty and the Franco-Spanish Agreement of 1912, negotiations were started between the British, French and Spanish Governments for the constitution of such a special régime at Tangier. There followed a prolonged dispute, but the negotiators did succeed in drawing up a Statute which provided for the genuine internationalisation of the Tangier zone. In the summer of 1914 the British and French Governments declared themselves ready to sign that new instrument, but the Spanish Government, which then as now adopted the principle of never doing to-day what can be put off till to-morrow, procrastinated; and the outbreak of the Great War then intervened.

As the Dormouse in the telling of its story went to sleep, and on being pinched by the Hatter woke up and continued the story from the middle of a sentence, so the Spanish Government in 1919 imperturbably suggested to the other Powers that the Tangier negotiations be resumed at the point where they had been broken off in 1914. It was that same Spanish quality that made Madrid ignore, and not even recognise, the radical change that had come over the problem in the intervening five years: a change in which Spanish and British interests alike had suffered from the somewhat single-minded opportunism of French diplomacy. The post-war discussions about Tangier had to be based on the new hypothesis that France was there, and there she remained. Not only had the French consolidated their hold over the French Protectorate, but had seized the opportunity presented by the war of assuming control of Tangier itself. In 1914 the French Protectorate authorities took it upon themselves to expel the German and Austrian Ministers from Tangier, to sequester enemy property, to put down Spanish as well as German intrigue against the Allies, and in other ways to assume an authority which Great Britain, being a good ally of France, not only accepted, but applauded. It was one of the belligerent principles of the British Government to take off its hat to France, whatever France did or did not do.

When therefore the war came to an end, the French Government, giving rein to that particular type of realism which has distinguished its post-war policies, promptly and simply repudiated the 1914 statute, that statute which it had declared itself ready to sign in the summer of 1914, but which had been based upon the principle of internationalisation. Instead the French Government now adopted the simple principle of appropriating Tangier permanently and exclusively to France. It was therefore not a matter for surprise that the rôle of procrastinator, which before the war had been filled by Spain, was now assumed by France: with this moral difference, that whereas the Spanish procrastination of 1914 was a normal national characteristic, the French procrastination of 1919 was a calculated policy based upon the special calculation that the longer a discussion of the Tangier problem could be delayed, the deeper the French hold on Tangier could be driven, and the stronger therefore the front that could be presented when the negotiations could no longer be evaded. The public services of Tangier were being administered, when the war ended, by French officials; and that condition of affairs still obtained in 1923 when Lord Curzon succeeded in forcing the matter to an issue. The administration of the natives, customs, public works, and post office (except the British and Spanish postal agencies), was in the hands of officials nominated by the French Protectorate authorities. At the end of 1923 the only non-French authority left in Tangier was that of the diplomatic body, which, however, had not met for two years owing to a Franco-Spanish dispute about the Presidency.

Let those who now criticise Lord Curzon take upon themselves the enterprise of disputing with any Frenchman his possession of something to which he is not entitled, but which happens to be in his hands. Let them remember the comparative fate of all those men, including Mr. Philip Snowden and Mr. Winston Churchill, who have tried to dispute with France the possession of the funds borrowed by France from Great Britain.

Lord Curzon was faced with three alternative policies: (1) he could try and dislodge the French from the position they had usurped at Tangier; (2) he could connive at a continuance of the existing state of affairs at Tangier with all its consequences and dangers to British interests; (3) he could attempt a compromise. Most fair-minded people will concede that No. 1 was beyond diplomatic power. No. 2 could not be accepted by any British Foreign Secretary. In accepting No. 3 and carrying it through to what may fairly be regarded, within the limits imposed, as a successful end, Lord Curzon achieved something that deserved, not condemnation, but a measure of praise. He could have insisted on Italy's being invited to take part in the conference, but if he had so insisted, he

would merely have been insisting that the conference should never take place at all. In that event alternative No. 2 as described above would have been the effective result, an all-French result.

Moreover, the 1923 Convention did secure on paper a provision for the open door to commerce, for the permanent neutrality of Tangier and for an international administration. It is true that the administrative responsibility was not fully internationalised, for Italy was not a signatory of the Statute and France retained a disproportionately large, if no longer dictatorial, influence. The Sultan of Morocco, for instance, who in effect was a French official, was to be represented at Tangier by a "Mendoub." That stipulation was demanded uncompromisingly by France and grudgingly conceded by Great Britain. It was an open secret that France would have smashed the conference rather than give way on that point, and that Lord Curzon regarded the concession as so serious that at one point he considered whether the break might not prove to be the lesser of the two evils. Another serious limitation to the internationalism of the 1923 Statute was that France was given four, to Great Britain's three, representatives in the International Legislative Assembly. On the other hand France was assigned only one vote, as were each of the other eight signatories of the Algeiras Act, on the Committee of Control. As the Sultan was not to be represented on the Committee of Control, it was thought that the French influence in the International Assembly might thereby to some extent be counter-balanced.

The two main executive instruments set up in 1923 were the Assembly and the Committee of Control. The Assembly was to consist of twenty-six members, four French, four Spanish, three British, two Italian, one American, one Belgian, one Dutch, one Portuguese, six Moslems and three Jews; it was to have complete legislative authority over the native and European population. The six Musulmans and the three Jews, representing the native population, were to be nominated by the "Mendoub." As the Mendoub was virtually a French representative, it followed that at any moment the French would be able to control thirteen out of the twenty-six votes in the Assembly, and would thus be in a position on the one hand to thwart any legislative proposal of the other Powers, even if those Powers were united, and on the other hand to impose their own ideas whenever those Powers fell short of complete unanimity.

From the moment the Convention was signed on December 18th, 1923, Spanish and Italian diplomacy began to work for its revision. Spain wanted to reduce the French, by increasing the Spanish share in the administration, and Italy wanted to become a signatory of the Convention, after the Convention had been revised

in such a manner as to recognise Italy's position as a Mediterranean Power. For three years—1924, 1925, and 1926—the revisionist diplomacy worked underground. The Spanish Government was unable to excite any sympathetic interest in Paris.

In the spring of 1926 Spain's Tangier diplomacy became oddly involved in the crisis which then enveloped Geneva over the question of permanent seats on the League Council. Tangier was incongruously used by Spain as a pawn in the diplomacy which preceded Spain's secession from the League. It happened that Brazil seceded from the League first. The complacency with which that secession was accepted at Geneva robbed the Spanish threat of secession of some of its sting. San Sebastian therefore explored the tactic of bargaining conciliation at Geneva against the concession of her demands at Tangier, of consenting to remain at Geneva in return for being given a predominant influence in Tangier. The Spanish Government indeed made the formal claim either for a permanent seat on the League Council or for the administrative control of Tangier. A memorandum to that effect was sent to Italy, Great Britain, France and the United States, suggesting that if the second of the two alternatives were adopted, effect might be given to it either by the incorporation of the Tangier zone in the Spanish zone in Morocco or by the granting to Spain of a mandate to administer the Tangier zone. On the face of it there appeared to be some confusion of principle in the mind of the Spanish Government, which on the one hand was threatening to withdraw from the League of Nations, and on the other hand was asking for a "mandate"—presumably a League mandate. The Spanish Foreign Minister, whose attention was no doubt quickly called to the nature of the ice on which he was skating, issued from San Sebastian an official explanation to the effect that it was not a League mandate he wanted and that moreover there was no connection between the Spanish demand at Geneva and the Spanish demand at Tangier. It was therefrom to be inferred that Spain wanted a mandate from the signatories of the Tangier Convention of 1923.

At the end of August, 1926, just before leaving Geneva for London, Sir Austen Chamberlain announced that the British Government could never agree to the incorporation of the Tangier zone in the Spanish zone—an expedient which would be as incompatible with British policy as would French predominance—but would be willing to discuss with France and Spain the possibility of giving to Spain an increased influence at Tangier. At the end of 1926 Sir Austen made the revised suggestion that France and Spain should directly and bilaterally attempt to reach an understanding about their respective interests at Tangier, so that a new

four-Power conference, that is, inclusive of Italy, could meet with the Franco-Spanish issue virtually removed. The plenary conference would in that case have to agree only on Italy's share in the new administration. As part of that plan Sir Austen asked Rome in 1926 to formulate her exact claims, a suggestion which, it was understood, was adopted, although no statement of the Italian case was ever published.

France and Spain having in their turn adopted Sir Austen's suggestion, the Franco-Spanish delegates first met on February 15th, 1927. They prolonged their discussions till the summer, but failed to achieve any result. They met again in December, 1927, and this time after three months' work agreed on a plan. That plan was forthwith made the occasion for convening the plenary conference. The Franco-Spanish agreement was signed by M. Berthelot and Signor Quinones de Leon, the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, on March 3rd, and the first meeting of the Four Powers took place on March 30th, 1928.

The situation of March 30th was that agreement had already been reached in principle both about the Franco-Spanish and about the Italian aspect of the problem. The work of translating the principle into detail was at once handed over to the experts, who between then and July 16th met no fewer than thirty times. By April 5th the plenary conference registered agreement about the Spanish demands, and launched the experts upon an examination of the Italian demands. The experts drew up the outline of an Italian solution by May 24th, and then addressed themselves to the remaining part of their work, namely the financial problem that would be raised by the working of the revised Statute.

The final Protocol of the conference was initialled on July 17th. It embodied three instruments:

(1) An agreement whereby the Four Powers decide to modify certain of the Articles of the Convention of December 18th, 1923; that convention to remain in force and the Italian Government to become a contracting party.

(2) An agreement by which the Four Powers agree to recommend to the Sultan certain amendments to the Shereefian Dahirs, such amendments being made necessary by the application of the Convention. The Dahirs concerned were those which deal with the administrative organisation of the zone, the international jurisdiction, and the penal code to be applied to the zone.

(3) An agreement whereby are to be settled certain questions arising out of the new Statute, particularly the general question of juridical reform.

The administrative changes incorporated in the amended Statute

were substantially the following, Nos. 1 and 2 being changes resulting from the Spanish demands for increased responsibility, Nos. 3-9 resulting from the Italian claims: (1) The international police force, which by the 1923 agreement will replace the two French and Spanish military divisions (*tabors*), will be commanded by a Spanish officer holding the rank of major. The Spanish commander will be assisted by a French captain, the remainder of the force to consist of an equal number of French and Spanish officers and non-commissioned officers on the one hand and Moroccan policemen on the other. The strength of the police force will be 400 men during the first year, and thenceforward 250 men. The French and Spanish Governments will in equal proportions contribute towards a subsidy to help the international zone in the maintenance of the force.

(2) A Franco-Spanish information office will be created, the two Governments to be responsible for its work. The director of the office, who will have the title of Inspector-General of Security, will be a Spanish officer. He will be assisted by a French officer. Their business will be to study the security of Tangier in relation to the surrounding country. They will be competent to call attention to transgressions of the law, but will not be competent to take any other action.

(3) Italy will have three, instead of two, members in the International Legislative Assembly. Italy will therefore have the same number of representatives as Great Britain.

[The importance of the additional Italian member, however, lies in the fact that the 50 per cent. "French" vote is thereby reduced, and the voting balance disturbed: see description above of the effect of the 1923 arrangement on the Assembly votes.]

(4) The Assembly will continue to be presided over by the *Mendoub*, but there will now be four, instead of three, Vice-Presidents, the new Vice-President to be an Italian.

(5) An Italian will be appointed as an assistant administrator to take charge of jurisdiction; the other two assistant administrators are to be Spanish and English, in charge respectively of health and finance. The administrator is to be French.

(6) An Italian judge is to be added to the bench of the Mixed Court.

(7) It will be possible for Italy, as it is for the other Three Powers, to attach to her Consulate an officer whose business it will be to supervise the observance of the neutrality clauses.

(8) In cases of suspected contraband of war the Italian navy may be called upon in addition to the British navy for patrol duty.

(9) In the form of a letter attached to the Protocol, documentary confirmation is to be given to Italy of her status of economic

equality in the zone, by virtue of which she will be able to take her share in all works carried out in the zone.

(10) Henceforth a Belgian magistrate will be added to the bench of the Mixed Court.

THE KELLOGG PACT.

Owing partly to Sir William Joynson-Hicks' influence, the British answer to Mr. Kellogg's Note of June 24th matured earlier than Sir Austen had given us to expect. Sir Austen had just been promising that the answer should be sent "before the end of the session," when Sir William made his speech. The speech was made on a Saturday (July 14th). Whitehall does not function on a Sunday, but on Monday, July 16th, it was made known that the British answer would be delivered within two days. The Note was duly handed to the American Chargé d'Affaires in London, Mr. Ray Atherton, on the Wednesday morning, July 18th, and issued as a White Paper the following evening (Cmd. 3153). It contained only about 600 words, was friendly in tone, and had for its simple object the clinching of the whole matter.

If only it had been written, as it could have been written, a fortnight earlier, British policy would have escaped criticism, both here and in the United States. In the event, however, Sir Austen struck the right note by stating in his first sentence that he was "happy to be able to inform" the United States that "His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accept the proposed treaty in the form transmitted and will be glad to sign it at such time and place as may be indicated for the purpose by the Government of the United States." He referred to the chief point made in the British Note of May 19th, and characterised as "sufficient" Mr. Kellogg's revised preamble prescribing that a State resorting to war be denied the protection of the Pact. He stated that "after mature reflection" H.M.G. did not regard the fulfilment of their Geneva and Locarno obligations as incompatible with the new Kellogg obligation; he noted "with peculiar satisfaction" that all the signatories of the Locarno Treaty were now invited to become original signatories to the Kellogg Treaty and "that it is clearly the wish of the United States Government that all members of the League should become parties either by signature or accession." He went on to make a formal suggestion in that sense: "In order that as many States as possible may participate in the new movement, I trust that a general invitation will be extended to them to do so." In another passage he stated that he was "entirely in accord" with Mr. Kellogg's view expressed on April 28th "that the proposed treaty does not restrict or impair in any way the right of self-defence, as also with his opinion that each

State alone is competent to decide when circumstances necessitate recourse to war for that purpose."

The last-quoted phrase, it is true, might be interpreted as widening the loop-hole for war; and the French Press, with the unanimity that often characterises it when the Quai d'Orsay has taken the trouble to inspire a decided view, attached a gleeful and unholy importance to that reservation. It was frankly argued by some French organs that if a signatory can decide for itself when circumstances demand a war of self-defence, then little would be "lost" by signing the Pact. One did hear on many sides the question: now that the Kellogg Pact is certain to be signed, what difference does it make, and what is the practical point of it? It was argued that every single extant treaty remained unaffected, that the nations of the world were as free as they ever were to make war except "as an instrument of national policy" in an aggressive sense; that no nation ever had or ever would make war except ostensibly as a defensive war; that the Kellogg formulæ prescribed no sort of criterion of what was to constitute aggressive war, and by leaving each signatory free to declare one-sidedly, and consistently with the Pact, that any war it might engage in was defensive, the Pact had no inherent practical value whatever. One heard such an argument. One recognised its force, if only because the unregenerate people drew courage from it; but the argument was stale. Any Government will make war if it wants to, and no formulæ will prevent it, if the circumstances appear to be propitious; but it is something that the leading nations of the world will have committed themselves to the notion, even if only the implied notion, that war is a disreputable form of diplomacy. It is as likely as not to contribute to the formation of an international standard of good form about peace and war; and atmospheres are more powerful than treaties.

In ten years we have seen the foundation of such a standard. The forty-odd signatories of the League Covenant "in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war . . . agree to this Covenant. . . ." The seven nations who met at Locarno "in order to seek by common agreement means for preserving their respective nations from the scourge of war and for providing for the peaceful settlement of disputes of every nature which might eventually arise between them . . ." undertook in their various treaties to settle their disputes by pacific instruments therein created; and by Article 2 of the Security Pact "Germany and Belgium, and also Germany and France, mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other." By the Kellogg treaty at

least fifteen nations in the first instance and probably many more in the further instance, "persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made . . ." will categorically by the terms of the treaty undertake such a renunciation. At any rate most of the governments of the world, the most civilised, have been cumulatively protesting their pacifism. It seems reasonable to suppose that the first step towards living up to something is to have something to live up to.

A BRITISH MONROE DOCTRINE.

There emerged incidentally and as it were haphazard from the Kellogg-Chamberlain correspondence a more definite formulation of a certain British diplomatic principle which in the past had been understood rather than expressed. The *Manchester Guardian* detected in it a matter of some importance. It certainly did appear that the British Government now formally claimed in a generalised way the right to reserve certain parts of the world's surface to its own protection in the event of British interests being endangered. A quasi-Monroe doctrine appeared therein to be launched from London.

The new fact consisted in the generalised nature of the claim. The British Government had already enunciated what may fairly be described as a particularised Monroe doctrine. It is for instance an essential feature of the diplomatic instrument which has regulated Anglo-Egyptian relations since 1922 that third-party intervention is ruled out, and that as a corollary to that exclusion the British Government is responsible for the security of third-party lives and property in Egypt. There certainly appears to be a distinction, potentially an important distinction, between a particular arrangement of that kind applied to a particular region and a generalised claim to the principle of it. It would not cause much surprise to those who follow the course of British diplomacy, and have learnt how casual are some of its evolutions, if this development had been unforeseen by Whitehall. How it happened was in this way. The British Note of May 19th (§10) made this observation: "The language of Article 1, as to the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, renders it desirable that I [i.e. Sir Austen Chamberlain] should remind your Excellency that there are certain regions of the world the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety. His Majesty's Government have been at pains to make it clear in the past that interference with these regions cannot be suffered. Their protection against attack is to the British Empire a measure of self-defence. It must be clearly understood that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accept the new treaty upon

the distinct understanding that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect." So ran the first part of the paragraph. No specific mention was made of Egypt or of any other region. As if to make still clearer the intention behind the declaration, the British Note went on to allude as by analogy to the American Monroe principle. "The Government of the United States," it continued, "have comparable interests any disregard of which by a foreign Power they have declared that they would regard as an unfriendly act. His Majesty's Government believe therefore, that in defining their position they are expressing the intention and meaning of the United States Government."

When Mr. Kellogg on June 24th submitted his revised proposal, and in his covering letter examined the points made by Sir Austen on May 19th, he refrained from any mention of paragraph 10. It was therefore assumed in Whitehall that Mr. Kellogg had tacitly accepted the contention. None the less in the further British Note dated July 18th Sir Austen apparently thought it well to reaffirm the principle. "As regards," he wrote, "the passage in my Note of May 19th relating to certain regions of which the welfare and integrity constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety, I need only repeat that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accept the new treaty upon the understanding that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect."

No doubt therefore is left that a definite British principle comparable to the Monroe doctrine has been formulated.

CHINA AND THE POWERS.

On July 25th Mr. Kellogg made it known that he was prepared to enter a conference with the Nationalist Government at Nanking and to discuss complete tariff autonomy for China. On July 26th an American Note in that sense was presented to the Nationalist Government and on the very same day a Treaty was signed to give China full autonomy over tariffs.

The British authorities in Nanking were at that time already in touch with the Chinese authorities, it being the view of the British Government that Nanking had achieved a position of *de facto* authority wide enough to satisfy the British criterion, and that an arrangement could be made with Nanking as soon as Nanking had made amends for the outrages of last year. In the British case all that had to be done was to remind the Nanking authorities of the standing British offer, published on February 3rd, 1927, of customs autonomy, the abolition of the concessions and of the extra-territorial system. Those eager American commentators who claimed on July 25th, 1928, that Mr. Kellogg had "got in first" had forgotten that Sir Austen Chamberlain was "in" two years

ago, and further in than Mr. Kellogg even now proposed to go. It is always a pleasure to British commentators when America gets in first, and when Whitehall can be made to suffer from the comparison, but we have not had as much of that pleasure as we have wanted since the war. The peace pact was ten years, and American policy in China was three years, behind the British fair. That however is of no matter, and the comparison would not have been made if it had not in the first instance—herein they did get in first—been made on the other side of the Atlantic.

It seems likely that the Powers' diplomacy in relation to China will be brought back into court. It looks as if the completely stultifying aspect of the Chinese civil wars is over and that Nanking can now speak for China. The main threads left at loose ends in 1925 have therefore to be taken up again.

Even before the Tariff Conference met in Peking in 1925 the British Government informed Peking of its willingness to discuss full tariff autonomy for China, its willingness that is to go further than the Washington policy of 1922. Great Britain and the Dominions ratified the Washington Treaties in 1922, and the Tariff Conference might have met in Peking, and have succeeded in its object, had not the French Government delayed its ratification of the treaties. France quarrelled with Peking by insisting that the balance of the Boxer Indemnity quota payable to France by virtue of the 1905 protocol be paid in gold and not in paper francs: an ironic controversy of which the diplomatic interest was that, being prolonged till April, 1925, it delayed the French ratification of the Washington Treaties till August 5th, 1925. By then the Chinese civil war was in full blast and the delayed Tariff Conference met with the odds against it. The odds were lengthened when the conference discovered that the United States and Japan continued to insist that the granting of the extra customs be made conditionally on the proceeds being earmarked to secure certain of the unsecured Chinese debts.

Sir Ronald Macleay by contrast, who led the British delegation at the conference, issued a statement (July 3rd, 1926) to the effect that the British Government desired to grant the Washington surtaxes "with the least possible delay." By that time the Tariff Conference proper had been suspended by the Chinese chaos. The final proposal put before the Chinese delegates was that the Washington surtaxes should begin to operate in 1929. The British Government wanted them to operate at once, in 1926, but could not move without the concurrence of the United States and Japan. Paradoxically Great Britain was at that time the chief victim of Chinese xenophobia, partly because the British journalists then operating in China were of the kind who suggested as the best

solution of the Chinese problem that Great Britain should annex China. As American and Japanese trade with China benefited in proportion as British trade was boycotted, the American-Japanese proposal that the existing state of affairs should continue till 1929 had an equivocal background.

At the beginning of 1927 a climax was reached in China's relations with Great Britain. It was on January 3rd, 1927, that the disturbances took place in Hankow, and that the British blue-jackets saved the situation on the Bund by refusing to fire on the mob. The fear of further outbreaks in Shanghai, however, led to the sending of the famous Defence Force, the effect of which was largely to discount the value of Sir Miles Lampson's attempt to discuss the British proposals with Mr. Wellington Koo in Peking, and Mr. O'Malley's attempt to approach Mr. Chen in Hankow. Mr. Wellington Koo issued a strong protest from Peking against the sending of the British troops, Mr. Chen similarly protested from Hankow, and General Sun from Shanghai. To show to the world that there was an important distinction between the diplomatic policy of the British Government and the determination of the Government to protect British lives against danger, the text was published on February 3rd of the proposals which Sir Miles Lampson and Mr. O'Malley had been attempting to discuss in Peking and in Hankow. The extreme nature of those proposals made it appear odd that neither Mr. Wellington Koo nor Mr. Chen showed any disposition to accept them. Yet by offering tariff autonomy and the abrogation of the concessions and of extra-territoriality the British Government offered more than even Mr. Chen had at that time ever asked for.

The full detail of the British proposals about China had been communicated in the form of a memorandum to the other Treaty Powers on December 18th, 1926. (See CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, February, 1927, pp. 237 to 249.) Their purpose was a complete revision of the treaties. The policy of the British Government has remained unchanged from that time, and when the Nanking authorities are ready to negotiate with the Powers it will be found that the British Government has only to repeat what it wrote on December 18th, 1926. One of the sentences in that Memorandum read thus: "H.M.G. propose that these Governments [i.e., the Washington Treaty Powers] shall issue a statement setting forth the essential facts of the situation; declaring their readiness to negotiate on treaty revision and on all other outstanding questions as soon as the Chinese themselves have constituted a Government with authority to negotiate; and stating their intention, pending the establishment of such a Government, to pursue a constructive policy in harmony with the spirit of the Washington Conference, but

developed and adapted to meet the altered circumstances of the present time." The proposal was not accepted by the other Powers at that time; but in effect the United States has now after nearly two years accepted it by making a substantially same proposal on her own account. We may therefore expect to see the beginning of an attempt to bring Chinese relations with the Powers up to date.

The treaty made by Mr. Kellogg on July 26th was important because it embodied the first recognition by an outside Power of the Nanking Government. Although the terms of that treaty did go as far in satisfying Chinese aspirations as the British Government offered to go two years earlier, little doubt could be nursed that the first step having been taken Mr. Kellogg would take the further steps.

It was assumed in London that Mr. Kellogg's treaty was provisional in competence, for a full and satisfactory arrangement about tariffs, about the concessions, and about extra-territoriality must be a general arrangement agreed to by the Protocol Powers and China. In 1925, for instance, Sir Ronald Macleay's attempt to effect precisely what Mr. Kellogg has now promised to China had to be abandoned because neither the United States nor Japan was disposed unconditionally to agree. British policy in China has been consistently dogged by bad luck. When after the Nanking outrages of March 24th, 1927, the British authorities tried to negotiate a settlement with the Nanking authorities, they were met with the somewhat irrelevant counter-demand for a British apology and for a simultaneous revision of all the treaties. The second counter-demand was tantamount to asking Great Britain to recognise the supremacy of South China before that supremacy was established. When the United States came to negotiate with Nanking, the reaction from the intransigence shown to Great Britain had set in to such an extent that the United States was granted the redress that had been denied Great Britain. It is the official view of London that before the offer of February, 1927, can be discussed material reparation must be made for the damage suffered by British Nationals on March 24th, 1927. The policy of the British Government has not changed since Sir Austen Chamberlain defined it in the House of Commons on May 9th, 1927.

August 15th, 1928.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. REVIEWS	389
THE RIDDLE OF THE UNIVERSE; BASIC CHRISTIANITY; THE ROTHSCHILDS; SIR ROBERT PEEL; WESTMINSTER SCHOOL; FROM A CORNISH WINDOW; THE LETTERS OF ROBERT BURNS.	
2. SHORTER REVIEWS: "The Coming of Christ"; What Remains of the Old Testament"; "The Mixed School: A Study of Co-education"	405
3. NOTICES OF BOOKS: "Reminiscences of a Harrow Master"; "Art in the Life of Mankind"	408

THE RIDDLE OF THE UNIVERSE.*

Sir James Jeans in this great work on astronomy and cosmogony gives the intelligent reader a survey of the objective universe as eye and mind in subtle combination apprehend it in this year of grace with the aid of marvellous instruments that search the physical soul of what may almost be called the infinitely great and the infinitely little. That the survey in its remoter apprehensions of the nature of an electronic universe will not change cannot be expected or desired, but Sir James co-ordinates in stately structural form the knowledge that astronomers and physicists have accumulated, largely by quite modern investigations, but investigations that owe everything to the giant minds among which that of Isaac Newton stands out.

The author of this book frankly faces the inquisitiveness of the human mind.

The task of the observational astronomer is to survey and explore the universe, and to describe and classify the various types of objects of which it is constituted, discovering what law and order he may in their observed arrangement and behaviour. But only the dullest of human minds can rest content with a mere catalogue of observed facts; the alert mind asks always for the why and the wherefore. How comes it that these various classes of objects exist, but no others? What is the relation between them? Does one of them for instance, produce, or

* *Astronomy and Cosmogony*. By J. H. Jeans. Cambridge: At the University Press. 31s. 6d. net.

transform into, others? If so what is the sequence of these changes? How did this universe of objects begin and what will be its final end? If the heavenly bodies can no longer be regarded as having been created merely to minister to man's pleasure and comfort by illuminating the earth, what purpose, if any, do they serve? And if life, and human life in particular, can no longer be supposed to be the central fact which explains everything, what is its relation to the magnificent, stupendous, almost terrifying, universe revealed by astronomy?

Sir James Jeans gives first an astronomical survey of the universe in which our Sun is a mere speck of dust and the earth less than a millionth part of such a speck. So vast are the distances that the human mind staggers at results that are yet not doubtful. The solar system ends when we reach the planet Neptune at a distance of 2,800 million miles. Then there is a great gap, the nearest object, *Proxima centauri*, being 8,000 times the distance of Neptune. Sirius, the brightest star in the sky, is 51 million million miles away. "The nearest stars are almost exactly a million times as remote as the nearest planets."

In order to deal with these distances various units have been invented, and the unit popularly used is the "light-year," namely, the distance which light travels in one year. The "light-year" is equal to 5,880,000 million miles. Dr. Hubble of Mount Wilson has shown that the remotest of the spiral nebulae brings us to distances of the order of 140 million light-years. What are these stars, and why do they exist in binary or multiple shape, what is the significance of the huge nebulae that haunt regions almost infinitely remote from our galactic system of stars? "And behind all looms the fundamental question: What changes are taking place in the complex system of astronomical bodies? How did they start, and how will they end?"

Sir James Jeans discusses in fascinating detail the problems associated with the light of the stars, and we see groups of stars, Giants and Dwarfs, and one especially strange group, the White Dwarfs, which may be usual in space but which are difficult to detect because of their low luminosity. These White Dwarfs form probably the deepest mystery of the universe. Their density is so great that it is likely that most of the atoms have been stripped bare of electrons. They have a very slight radiation of energy, but the temperature is inconceivably vast, rising to thousands of millions of degrees. Some atoms remain, however. To what extent the process of absolute annihilation of atoms goes on in space is unknown, but Sir James tells us that in the case of the White Dwarfs the great majority of the atoms are immune from annihilation, and apparently our sun is entering this final stage. But if it is a final stage the end of the universe cannot come by the process of annihilation

due to the collision of positive and negative elements of electricity cancelling each other. But the further question arises, what is the real nature of an electron? and until this has been made clear no finality of conclusion as to the future of the starry host is possible.

Sir James Jeans in his concluding chapter says something of Life in its relationship to the physical universe. Life he tells us can only exist on a planet some distance from the star's surface. The outpouring of radiation from the star itself makes the maintenance of life on the star impossible.

At a rough computation, about one star in a million may be surrounded by planets, but probably only a small fraction even of these planets are possible abodes of life. Thus life is perforce limited to an amazingly small corner of the universe; whether it even exists where it can we have no means of knowing. . . . What is the meaning, if any there be which is intelligible to us, of the vast accumulations of matter which appear, on our present interpretations of space and time, to have been created only in order that they may destroy themselves? What is the relation of life to that universe, of which, if we are right, it can occupy only so small a corner? What, if any, is our relation to the remote nebulae, for surely there must be some more direct contact than that light can travel between them and us in a hundred million years? Do these colossal incomprehending masses come nearer to representing the main ultimate reality of the universe, or do we? Are we merely part of the same picture as they, or is it possible that we are part of the artist? Are they perchance only a dream, while we are brain-cells in the mind of the dreamer? Or is our importance measured solely by the fractions of space and time we occupy—space infinitely less than a speck of dust in a vast city, and time less than one tick of a clock which has endured for ages and will tick on for ages yet to come.

The answer to these various questions may be made simpler if we reflect that the nature of Space and Time is not yet realised. Can Space exist apart from the medium (the ether) that carries light and electrical and other waves, and what is that medium? Another point is that the power of understanding or partly understanding the structure of the universe places the thinker apart from the thing-thought-about. Personality may be independent of Space and Time; it may create Space and Time; it may be extra-temporal. If the possibility of Creation is conceded it is not at all absurd to suppose that the Creator wills to have other personalities like to Himself which in the exercise of free will can work out their likeness, their relationship to the Creator, can even be creators themselves. Man is a creative force in so many fields that he may be a creative force in an electronic world, a force that draws upon the energy that seems running to waste in the outer nebulae, in the appa~~rent~~ wilderness of the universe. We are only at the

beginning of things. That is the stirring note that Sir James Jeans finally strikes. Mankind "has only just begun to notice the cosmos outside itself. It is, perhaps, hardly likely to interpret its surroundings aright in the first few moments its eyes are open." The hopeful fact is that its eyes are open, and that they have at once seized for solution the Riddle of the Universe.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

BASIC CHRISTIANITY.*

Mr. John R. Clark-Hall in his volume *Is our Christianity a Failure?** writing from the point of view of "an old-fashioned Evangelical lay member of the Church of England," declares that "the success of a Church as a corporate body depends not only on the virtues of its members but also on the purity of its doctrine." This he thinks accounts for the failure of Roman Catholicism despite the conspicuous self-denial of the priests and nuns and monastic orders, and he deprecates the Romeward tendency of the Anglo-Catholic Party which, small in number and unpopular, has won by sheer tactics a considerable position in the Church of England.

Mr. Clark-Hall has no doubt of the failure of Anglo-Catholicism: "Can we honestly say that with all this return to pre-Reformation doctrines and practice we are a more Christian nation? The answer must, I feel sure, be in the negative. Leaders of both sections of the Church have been deploring the decline of religion all over the country . . . the Bible was never less read at any time since the Reformation . . . Sunday observance has weakened everywhere in the land to an alarming degree." Moreover, the apparent inconsistency of the Anglo-Catholics in defying the Thirty-Nine Articles and yet claiming the privileges of the Church of England "cannot but weaken the ethical influence of Anglo-Catholics on the general population." Mr. Clark-Hall pleads for some definite pronouncement from those in authority as to what the doctrine of the Church of England is. "Whatever beliefs the Church may have, there must be some limits to them, both in the direction of Romanism and of Dissent, or there can be no reasonable ground for its separate existence." But Mr. Clark-Hall also dwells on "the Failure of Protestants," and he quotes the warning of Canon Baines of Huddersfield: "There is nothing so dead in the whole religious world as a dead Evangelical; others have various paraphernalia wherewith to retain a semblance of life; we have not."

Yet there is a Basic Christianity that underlies or should underlie all the sections of Christianity. "Wherever Basic Christianity

* Marshall Brothers. 3s. 6d. net.

is found in action there is, in the long run, no question of failure. . . . In subsidiary matters of dogma and ritual, let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind and allow everybody else to be fully persuaded in theirs. With that, and a firm adherence in theory and practice to the few and simple foundation truths of our religion, it might be far less of a failure than it is. What, after all, is the alternative, if Christ (Who is Christianity) is not the hope of the world? I know of no other. . . . On some date—possibly in the near future—the kingdom of this world will become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ, and it is our privilege to prepare, and it may be to hasten, the coming of that day." This earnest, fair-minded book, written with judicial weight of mind, deserves close attention from all sections of the Church. The solution suggested, however, can only come with universal education built on Basic Christianity.

* * *

THE ROTHSCILDS.*

Count Corti's book fully deserves the warm welcome that it has received both in the German original and in the excellent English translation; for it is a skilful and scholarly record of an achievement unique in history. The family records still remain a sealed book; but there is plenty of material scattered about in printed sources, and in the archives of the great cities where they worked, for a biographer to reconstruct the lives of Meyer Amschel and his five sons. Count Corti won his spurs by his life of Prince Alexander of Battenberg, and followed up his success by a study of Leopold I of Belgium and a massive work on the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico; but never has he written with greater power than in his latest production. He justly describes his theme as "an unseen but infinitely powerful influence which permeated the whole of the nineteenth century," and his pages form a definite contribution to history. The present volume ends with the French Revolution of 1830, and leaves us impatiently awaiting the sequel.

The founder of the House was born in 1743 and died in 1812. The Jews of Frankfort were confined to their Ghetto and were subject to many humiliating restrictions; but several of them rose to wealth, and Rothschild turned to good account the greed of the Prince of Hesse-Cassel and the convulsions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. Beginning as a dealer in coins and curios, he quickly extended his field to include loans and investments. In the last decade of his life he was manfully aided by his sons,

* *The Rise of the House of Rothschild*. By Count Corti. Victor Gollancz. 25s.

and the firm worked with the harmonious precision of a first-rate orchestra. Count Corti explodes the legend that its wealth was almost wholly due to its stewardship of the Elector's treasure during the Napoleonic domination; but the relations of Meyer Amschel with the greedy and dissolute ruler for a generation form one of the most interesting parts of the narrative.

The founder's will, signed on his death-bed, enjoined his sons to unity, and never was an injunction more faithfully observed. The eldest, Amschel Meyer, remained in Frankfort; Nathan, the cleverest, had settled in Manchester in 1798, whence he moved to London in 1802; James pitched his tent in Paris, Solomon in Vienna, and Carl, the least gifted, sojourned for a time in Naples. We hear less than we should like of the doings of Nathan, but the account of James and Solomon is admirably full. The huge financial undertakings necessitated by war gave the House abundant opportunities, and after the fall of Napoleon the problems of war-debts and reconstruction required to be solved. The most striking feature of the later portion of the volume is the formation and exploitation of the connection between Solomon and Metternich, the most powerful man in Europe after Waterloo. The path was prepared by Gentz, "the pen of Europe" and in particular the pen of Metternich, whose chronic need of cash rendered him peculiarly accessible to the attentions of a Rothschild. Gentz puffed the family in print, and was rewarded by presents and "loans" which were never repaid. In the early days of their association he described them as "vulgar, ignorant Jews, gifted with a remarkable instinct"; but their wealth and influence gradually opened the doors of the aristocratic salons of Vienna and Paris, and their good dinners brought return visits to their own sumptuous palaces. The story breaks off with the expulsion of Charles X from France, caused by his attempted *coup d'état* of the reactionary Ordinances. James, who knew most things, was for once taken unawares, and for a time there was something nearer a panic than the House had yet known; for not only were the Rentes badly shaken, but the revolutionary wave which surged east from Paris seemed likely to provoke a warlike response. We take leave of the House busily engaged in working for the maintenance of European peace, upon which at that time their prosperity to a large extent depended.

G. P. G.

SIR ROBERT PEEL.*

In this life of Sir Robert Peel Miss Ramsay has given us a biography which is both fair and moderate. Unlike the violent

* *Sir Robert Peel*. By A. A. W. Ramsay. Constable. 4s. net.

critics and supporters of the great Conservative statesman, she is a diligent but quiet defender. Moreover, there is a delightful intimacy, combined with a wealth of detail, which makes the book additionally valuable. The general reader can read it from cover to cover as an interesting story of a great man and of a number of institutions which affect our modern life. To the historian studying either the political or economic history of the first half of the nineteenth century, the book gives food for thought. Miss Ramsay's theories, the problems of the age, and the relation of each to the work of Sir Robert Peel, provide an important addition to the historical research of the period.

In 1822 at the age of thirty-four Robert Peel became Home Secretary in Lord Liverpool's ministry, and immediately undertook a series of reforms, the effect of which is felt to-day. Peel was not the first to point out the injustice of the law. But when the opportunity came he at once began to get rid of a legal barbarism which men like Jeremy Bentham and Sir Samuel Romilly so ruthlessly condemned. Peel always had the welfare of the people at heart. "What struck me most," wrote Guizot (whom Miss Ramsay quotes), "was his constant and earnest solicitude with regard to the condition of the labouring classes in England." He realised that the law, so far from securing civil peace, raised up a spirit of antagonism and desperation among the masses. What order had the Six Acts brought? Peel, therefore, took the useless severity out of the criminal law and simplified its procedure.

In a period of office which lasted almost continuously from 1822 to 1830 the other outstanding and correlative reform was the efficient organisation of a police force. The industrial depression of 1826-9, insignificant though it was compared with that of 1816, showed Peel that an adequate police force was necessary. The existing police system was rotten to the core, as Miss Ramsay well shows. "One side of a street might be in a different parish from the other, and a policeman on the left-hand pavement might have to watch helpless while a burglar robbed a house upon the right." Peel displaced the parish system by an organisation which rapidly became national; the highly-trained constable took the place of Verges and the aged pauper. The new force was violently attacked as being an encroachment upon the liberties of Englishmen and as a threatening weapon in the hands of the Government. This could not have been further away from Peel's intentions. "The new police were intended for the purpose of preventing, not merely detecting, crime. . . . In the old days the Government had relied upon a bloody criminal code to terrify law-breakers, and it had proved useless. Peel comprehended the principle that certainty of detection is a far greater deterrent from crime than severity of punishment. Viewed

from this point of view, the establishment of his police force is the necessary correlative of his reform of the criminal law." The success of his reforms may be found in the fact that they have become a fundamental part of English society.

Catholic Emancipation and the Repeal of the Corn Laws must always be associated with the name of Peel. He has been and is continually accused of betraying his party for the sake of power. It is held that he should have resigned and given his unofficial support instead of pledging a whole party to a policy which it loathed. Miss Ramsay defends his action admirably. She makes no allowances, but shows that his actions were absolutely necessary to ensure Catholic Emancipation and the Repeal of the Corn Laws. Sir Robert Peel was never a party minister. He was essentially a national minister carrying out perhaps party policy, but never allowing it to interfere with what he considered to be necessary to his country's welfare. Brought up as a strict Tory, Peel had always been a determined opponent of emancipation. In fact, he refused to join the short-lived Canning Ministry in 1827 on the ground that the Prime Minister favoured emancipation. But when, as Home Secretary in the Duke of Wellington's Cabinet, he realised the probable consequences of the Irish crisis, and when he saw that O'Connell had a whole nation behind him and not merely a party, then he decided to disregard his personal feelings and those of the Tories and carry through a measure which alone would meet the crisis.

His failure to resign and to support emancipation as a private member has been generally condemned. Critics held that he could have done all he did in office fully as well by giving Wellington his unofficial support. "Such critics seem to forget that the problem is not one of addition—what is the value of the Wellington Government plus Peel's unofficial support?—but subtraction. Take Peel from the Wellington Government and what is left? Anyone who troubles to read the list of Cabinet Ministers will readily reply—nothing." Peel's official support was indispensable to the Government and therefore to the success of emancipation. Peel's second great reversal of policy was due, in part, to the same reasons which prompted him to support emancipation. He believed, during his six years of office from 1841-6, that Britain was on the verge of social revolution. He believed that the only solution to such a state of affairs was to enable the lower classes "to live cheap." In his great financial and tariff reforms he had endeavoured to avert that danger and had shifted "the burden of taxation from the poor to the wealthier classes and he had cheapened the necessities of life." Peel's first thought was the people, and in their interest in 1842 he altered the sliding scale for the import of corn. He was

thus following the reforms of Huskisson and Robinson. But at first Peel did not believe in the free import of corn. He was influenced by the old fallacy that wages vary with the price of corn. Moreover, he felt the necessity of England being a self-supporting country. In 1842 he realised the impossibility of this, and, perhaps more important, "that Protection was for the benefit of the landlord and the farmer, but not for the country labourer." In 1843, during the revival in trade, he saw that "the price of food had fallen and wages had risen," and began to be convinced that wages did not vary with the price of food.

The failure of the Irish potato crop and the bad harvest in 1846 gave rise to great social distress and the grave possibilities of revolt. He saw the only hope of saving the situation by allowing the free import of corn. The crisis gave him positive satisfaction by proving the fallacy of protecting corn. Peel, in a national emergency, was prepared to disregard party policies. The repeal of the Corn Laws, he saw, was the only method of providing cheap food for the people. Moreover, he intended it to be permanent. He has often been criticised, as in 1829, for not supporting repeal out of office. Peel, in office, was the only man who could secure a majority for repeal in the House of Commons.

Miss Ramsay sums up the case for Sir Robert Peel in memorable words:

It has sometimes been said that Peel legislated only for the emergency of an hour, and that he did not foresee the ultimate results of his policy. . . . No one can say that the man whose sympathy was so boundless, who so conceived and comprehended a nation's need, who first grasped the meaning and nature of modern industrialism, and transformed the policy of the State to meet it, was lacking in imagination. When he legislated for the need of a moment, it was because the need was supreme, not because he failed to foresee that circumstances might alter to-morrow. . . . It is as the statesman who set the interest of the nation above every class or individual, that Sir Robert Peel stands out as the noblest figure of his time.

* * *

WESTMINSTER SCHOOL.*

This patient biographical list of the alumni of perhaps the most consistently famous school in England is a model, and is a monument to the labours through many years of the late Mr. George Fisher Russell Barker, who was admitted to Westminster School in 1862, became a Queen's Scholar the next year, and was elected

* *The Record of Old Westminsters: A Biographical List of all those who are known to have been educated at Westminster School from the earliest times to 1927.* Compiled by G. F. Russell Barker and Alan H. Stenning. In two volumes, with a Supplement and Appendices. London: Printed at the Chiswick Press.

to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1867. He compiled the greater part of this work—which all Old Westminsters should possess—but he was admirably seconded by the surviving editor, Mr. Alan H. Stenning, who was admitted to the School in 1869.

The story of this famous Whig School is a remarkable one, so remarkable that the forged chronicle formerly attributed to Ingulf, Abbot of Croyland, declared that the school belonging to the monastery of St. Peter at Westminster was one of the three Schools of London mentioned by Fitzstephen in the twelfth century. It was not in fact one of those schools—they were St. Paul's, the Arches and St. Martin's—but Westminster was not London in those far-off days, and there is no reason to doubt that there was a school at that date attached to the Monastery of St. Peter. The school was certainly in existence in the fourteenth century as the Rev. H. F. Westlake showed in 1925, and the close relationship of the monastery both to Oxford and Cambridge renders it certain that the monks who went from Westminster as youths to the Oxford and Cambridge colleges were in many cases educated in the school.

At present no names of these early mediæval scholars have been discovered, but they surely must be recorded somewhere, and the patient research work now going on, in many fields, among mediæval manuscripts renders it probable that from time to time lists of mediæval names of Old Westminsters will be found. Finders should communicate at once with the School, and this should be done also by all private owners who possess manuscripts that will supplement the information obtained from the extant school lists and admission books. Almost into recent times various headmasters have claimed their admission books as their private property. In the preface to this work we are told that

“the original Admission from January 1884 to April 1896 was taken away by Rutherford when he left in 1901. He had previously entered in Scott's old Admission book a copy of the admissions for the period but the information about the parentage of the boys, and the dates of leaving, were omitted. The copy of the entries used in this work was made while the original book was still at the School.”

Probably the original book will be returned to the School, but it is of importance to note this instance, since other schools will perhaps be induced to look now into the whole question of admission books, and not leave the matter until the time comes for printing lists of alumni. Presumably a great deal of work of this type has been done in the case of the very ancient schools of Canterbury, Rochester and York, but there are schools of great antiquity at which little has been done. A detailed history of an ancient school is the best stimulant to the maintenance of great traditions, and

such a history is impossible unless the records of the alumni are made available.

In the case of Westminster School incomplete lists of names go back to the sixteenth century. The undated Buttery Book

“gives the names of the successful Major Candidates who were elected from the School to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge from 1561 to 1822, the names of Minor Candidates who were elected into College from 1663 to 1822, and occasionally, names of unsuccessful candidates. The Parentelæ, or Indentures of Election of Scholars, contains the names of Minor Candidates from 1708.”

There are admission books from 1715 to 1753 (these books were long lost, but have been retrieved), with gaps, including the period from 1788 to 1805—a specially important period—but from 1806 the admissions are continuous. School lists are available in some cases: there is a list for 1656, lists from 1715 to 1732, and a good many other lists that partly cover the blank period from 1788 to 1805. There is, therefore, room for much research on the part of old Westminsters and others, and it is possible that some day a supplementary volume will appear that will supply much material for the mediæval period as well as for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By a happy chance we have the date of Edward Gibbon's admission into the Second Form in January, 1748, apart from the long-lost admissions of 1715-1753, as it was supplied to Gibbon himself by the headmaster, Dr. Vincent, in July, 1793.

It is impossible here in this brief notice to deal with individual scholars, but it is interesting to recall the fact that Jeremy Bentham was born on February 15th, 1748, was admitted to the School in 1755, and obtained his election on the foundation in 1759 but remained a Town Boy. Bentham's reminiscences of Westminster School (as indeed of Oxford) were certainly not flattering, but he became a good classical scholar, as his Latin verses on the death of George II prove. Dr. Johnson thought highly of them. A number of his school and college exercises survive in the Scott Library and are perhaps a better testimony to Westminster and Queen's College, Oxford, than his acrid remarks on his school days. His famous brother Samuel, the naval architect, who rebuilt the British Navy in the crucial Napoleonic days, was admitted to the School in 1763, and this points to the fact that the shrewd old father, Jeremiah Bentham, was well satisfied with the School.

He well might be. There is issued with these volumes a little summary of famous names associated with the School. It is stated that the *Dictionary of National Biography* has “already preserved the memories of nearly nine hundred old Westminsters,” while this volume (the result of forty years' labour and research) contains a

biographical list of some sixteen thousand men educated at Westminster. Halifax, Harley, Newcastle, Pelham, Mansfield, Jeffreys, Warren Hastings, Lord John Russell, were there; Ben Jonson, George Herbert, Southey; Charles Wesley; Gibbon and Froude; the mighty Howe; Camden, Busby, Hakluyt, Wren, Locke. Great names in Church and State occur almost on every page. But it has always been a democratic school and a sporting school. Edward Hussey, who left in 1765, played cricket for Kent from 1773 to 1797, and is almost as famous a figure as W. G. Grace. He is celebrated in the old cricket song as "Hussey of Ashford Town." Yet Westminster has never been a large school. It has rarely, until recently, exceeded three hundred boys, the ideal of Thring of Uppingham. In such a school the headmaster can know personally every boy.

The great figure in the series of headmasters is Richard Busby, who was born on September 22nd, 1606, and was entered at Westminster School, where he was the captain of the King's Scholars. He was elected to Christ Church in 1624 and took his B.A. in 1628 (and was incorporated at Cambridge the same year). He became headmaster of his old School in 1638-40, and during the Commonwealth was allowed to retain the post. He had prayers for the King in school on the morning of the execution of Charles I. He was a great schoolmaster and a terrific personality. Steele tells us that "the soil which he manured always grew fertile." He was loved despite the birch, and he loved the school dearly, wrote books for its use and bequeathed books to it. He died on April 5th, 1695, and is buried in the Choir of the Abbey in front of the steps leading to the Sacrament "under the black and white marble pavement of which he was the donor." Busby is more than a tradition, he is a religion.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

FROM A CORNISH WINDOW.*

"Q" prefaces this volume with an apology to the reader for "letting the following pages stand as they were written years ago for the *Pall Mall Magazine*, on the instance of its editor, the late Lord Frederic Hamilton." No apology is needed for this welcome reprint to which is added a new edition of "Adventures in Criticism," also most welcome. The present volume is a delightful book to pick up at random from January to December. Open where you will, you are instantly arrested and are loth to put the book down. It treats of all sorts and conditions of men and matters. The author is fully aware of the medley of these monthly musings, but trusts

* *From a Cornish Window*. By Sir A. Quiller-Couch. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1928. Pocket edition. 5s. net.

that the gentle reader will perceive "that he has a sense of the beauty and seriousness of life as well as of its humours." Humour is truly the salt of life, and it keeps it fresh and pure and wholesome, and woe be to the man or woman who lacks it! Children mostly have it, and have it abundantly.

The months as they come round in this cycle of days often suggest the topic. The Cornish window lets in the light, equally with the outlook, and Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch as a Cornishman takes the reader into his confidence. In the early months weather plays its part; Cornwall is a tricky county, luring with hope one minute, and the next drenching and drowning the cherished bed of violets past recovery. It is a land of saints, and perchance they know what is best for their birthright; in nature the end justifies the means, in this case by the flowers in field and hedgerow in early spring.

In this diary of the months—if it can be so called—the author illustrates his criticisms by selections of verse from poets known and less known. Some topic of interest will be found to appeal to each individual taste. The book deals with a wide range of subjects, and as the seasons change, so does the topic to the mood of the moment. The author expresses his views either in the first person, or through the imaginary colloquies of people whom he meets, or overhears, and so the reader gets at the root of the matter in an easy and pleasant fashion, humour of the right sort pervading the criticism, and satire wounding with a touch that is at first neither felt nor seen.

The month of November is of a more serious nature than the other months, but none the less interesting. Being the birth month of the author, he reviews life and its possibilities, and he calls this his birthday sermon: Youth and Education. By education Plato means

that education in virtue from youth upwards which makes a man eagerly pursue the ideal perfection of citizenship, and teaches him how rightly to rule and how to obey. This is the only education which, upon our view, deserves the name; and that other sort of training which aims at the acquisition of wealth or bodily strength, or mere cleverness apart from intelligence and justice, is mean and illiberal, and not worthy to be called education at all.

Plato wrote this when he was seventy. Have we of the twentieth century made any advance on his teaching, or even realised in a small degree what that teaching involves, or the results which would accrue from the realisation of such an ideal? Platonic it may be called, and the pattern is laid up in heaven, but none the less to be sought after by Jacob's Ladder.

VOL. CXXXIV

The subject of Education brings our author in touch with the children, and he quotes from William Canton's poem, "The Invisible Playmate," which has given him true pleasure, and for which he tenders his thanks and appreciation. William Canton's work is always worthy of gratitude. This small book is worthy of gratitude too, and is just the one for a holiday of earned rest, but one that needs at the same time refreshment for the mind as well as for the body. It is refreshing always to read Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's prose, and it is pleasant to see with his eyes these views "From a Cornish Window."

* * *

S. DE M.

THE LETTERS OF ROBERT BURNS.*

The life-story of Robert Burns is sad enough, though not sadder than that of a good many other poets of his rank. Yet he achieved in his lifetime what few poets have won: the indisputable title to the Laureateship of the Scottish people, a Laureateship that death and time cannot displace. He was born on January 25th, 1759, the son of a proud and severe farmer who, amidst the harsh struggle of wringing a meagre living from scanty inhospitable lands, still found time to encourage his children to love both literature and philosophy. Such a phenomenon in England in the mid-eighteenth century would have been impossible.

William Burnes divined the genius that dwelt in his son. The schoolmaster who taught Robert and other farm-boys declared that William Burnes was "by far the best man he ever knew." These boys owed much to John Murdoch, but Robert's gift of song showed early—at the age of fourteen—and in the easier years of family life, from 1777 to 1784, the gift of song developed, but at that very time his friends played havoc with the morality that the father had taught. William died in 1784, and the family affairs proved to be desperate. It was about this date that Robert's secret marriage with Jean Armour was disavowed by her father, and in despair the poet determined to emigrate, and to raise the passage money published what Mr. Brimley Johnson calls "the immortal Kilmarnock volume," and (such are the eccentricities of fortune) he became at once famous.

In 1786 he was fêted in Edinburgh, an experience that was not good for him. But there were financial profits, and these set the family affairs in order, and the poet was able at last to marry publicly Jean Armour, and settle down in a new farmhouse at Ellisland. This was in the summer of 1789. The poet had been given an

* *The Letters of Robert Burns*. Selected with an Introduction by R. Brimley Johnson. John Lane. 6s.

Excise Commission that brought in a small regular income, and all might have been well in the happy home had it not been that "the old temptations and the old weaknesses were no less active than the old homely ways." He drank a good deal, though never to an extent that interfered with his official work, talked a great deal of nonsense as to visions of freedom and equality that might have been forgiven in William Wordsworth, but were looked on sternly in Robert Burns the exciseman. He did not fail either in enthusiasm for literature—he founded the first rural subscription library in Scotland—or in the work of a poet—some of his finest work belongs to this period, including *Tam O'Shanter*—but he could not stand "the combined strain of constant poverty and convivial outbursts of intemperance." In the autumn of 1795 he lost his beloved and only daughter, and in the following summer, after a long illness, he died on July 21st, 1796, at the age of thirty-seven. Thomas Carlyle says of his fellow-countryman, "the largest soul of all the British bards came among us in the shape of a hard-handed Scottish peasant." Mr. Brimley Johnson describes his spirit as "immortally enshrined in the heart of the world."

The whole story of his life is tragic, a continual struggle between whole-hearted goodness and whole-hearted and reckless wildness. He was sincerely religious, and declared that an "irreligious poet is a monstrosity." But sheer bad fortune, bad friends, a bad father-in-law, fought on the weak side of a pleasure-loving nature. He was ever a worker, whether on his farm or in his official duties, or at his creative work. The extent of his poetry was very great—though probably he lives by a comparatively small number of exquisite lyrics. But the fierce energy of his life was not only baffled by poverty, which with the help of his wholly admirable wife he could have borne with equanimity, but spent in follies that ill became a man on his magnificent intellectual powers.

The letters reprinted by Mr. Brimley Johnson begin in 1781 and end in the year of his death. These letters reveal the man. Two years before his death, in a notable letter to Alexander Cunningham, he complains that his "constitution and frame were *ab origine* blasted with a deep incurable taint of hypochondria, which poisons my existence," and that domestic financial anxieties had added their toll of misery, but "there are two great pillars that bear us up amid the wreck of misfortune and misery," namely, Courage and Faith in "an all-powerful and equally beneficent God, and a world to come, beyond death and the grave." He pictures in amazing words the possible power of religion on his little son:

Let me flatter myself that this sweet little fellow, who is just now running about my desk, will be a man of a melting, ardent, glowing heart; and an imagination delighted with the painter,

and rapt with the poet. Let me figure him wandering out on a sweet evening, to inhale the balmy gales, and enjoy the growing luxuriance of the spring; himself the while in the blooming youth of life. He looks abroad on all nature, and through nature to nature's God. His soul, by swift, delighting degrees, is rapt above this sublunary sphere, until he can be silent no longer, and bursts out into the glorious enthusiasms of Thomson:

These, as they change, Almighty Father, these
Are but the varied God. The rolling year
is full of Thee;

and so on, in all the spirit and ardour of that charming hymn. These are no ideal pleasures—they are real delights; and I ask, what of the delights among the sons of men are superior, not to say equal, to them? And they have this precious, vast addition, that conscious virtue stamps them for her own, and lays hold on them to bring herself into the presence of a witnessing, judging, and approving God.

There is a pathos in the words, for in his son he witnesses the growth of character which he would have longed to have known himself.

In 1781 he writes to Miss Ellison Begbie of the nature of love and says that "married life is only friendship in a more exalted degree," and the foundation of friendship is "the nobler faculties of the mind, with kindred feelings of the heart." Burns was only twenty-two when he wrote these profound truths. In a letter to his father at the end of the same year the religious note is struck with dignity and feeling, while a year later, in a letter to John Murdoch, then in London, he writes sensibly and well and tells his old schoolmaster "the joy of my heart is to study men, their manners, and their ways." In the same letter he claims economy "in tavern matters," and the expression cannot be supposed to be the expression of a hypocrite. In 1786 fame had come, yet he could write to Sir John Whitfoord, "I have an independent fortune at the plough tail."

Burns is an easy letter writer, suiting the style to the recipient. His application to Lord Glencairn for his interest in procuring a post in the Excise is an ideal letter. His letters about his wife to Mrs. Dunlop and Miss Chalmers are amazing. The frank description of her virtues and her capacities is something that nobody who was not a poet or a Scotsman could write, but the phrase "a once much loved and still much loved female" hides half the tragedies of his life. If Robert Burns had relied upon his wife a little more and written about her a great deal less he would have been a wiser and a better man. But some of the phrasing of the letters on all the many subjects upon which the poet writes is the formalism or the passing form of a century and a half ago, and for that reason what seems almost to suggest insincerity in some cases is

merely mannerism. When he is wholly natural the poet is extraordinarily modern in his free fashion of writing, but there is a certain turgidity in some of the letters, such as the letter of September 16th, 1788, to Miss Chalmers, that is rather repellent, and yet it is an aspect of formalism and not mere humbug. On the other hand, the business-like letter of January 4th, 1789, to Dr. John Moore, is a pleasure to read. But all the letters throw light on the very mixed mind, ideals, and character of the greatest of the Scottish poets, and they explain much that seems inexplicable in his life. For one thing we see quite clearly that "my Jean" was never absent from his heart, and that his wife was indeed to him "dearer than my deathless soul." Jean Armour saved Robert Burns's soul alive.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Mr. John Masefield in his play "The Coming of Christ"*** strikes a chord in things that is unexpected if not absolutely new. The series of scenes in this mystery play for a cathedral give us first what might be called the preliminary temptation of the spirit of Our Lord in non-temporal regions, the temptation that consists in the essential unwillingness to put on the garments of flesh. The beautiful spirit of Christ overcomes the spirit-world and passes to his task. We next see the good forces of the world, the Three Kings, that wish to protect the child from the wickedness of the world, and then we see the humble folk in the shape of the shepherds quarrelling among themselves as to the existence, even, of God, in the light of the war of 1914—among other things—the scene being made notable by the simple godliness of Rocky, the frank materialism of Earthy and the social independence of Sandy. The characters are essentially Shakespearean, and none the worse for that, as the early scenes are essentially reminiscent of Shelley's methods. To these poor shepherds the heavenly vision is vouchsafed, just as Sandy declares, with a vigour that recalls the late Mr. Hume or the late M. Comte, "there never was a God and never will be." Sandy, in Mr. Hume's Macbethian mood, then declares "He's coming down to blast us," while Earthy finds refuge in spiritism. The angels reassure the shepherd-folk and then the Three Kings visit the Manger and offer their gifts in old familiar fashion. But Rocky, Earthy and Sandy show that after all they are Tommies of the best and Englishmen. Rocky, of course, welcomes the child with such gifts as he can give, including a cradle, but Earthy and Sandy are the more interesting. Earthy cries:

"And I, my little King of peace,
Will line it with a carded fleece
Where you will lie both warm and soft";

* William Heinemann. 3s. 6d. net.

and Sandy, good Sandy who has quite put off the manners of Mr. Hume and M. Comte, cries:

"And we've a room down home at croft
Where you'd lie snigger, King, than here,
And O so welcome with good cheer";

and Rocky adds:

"For this most little lad is one
Who comes to save folk under sun
And bless us all and be our Lord";

and, last of all, Sandy cries:

"Take up, now, lads, with good accord";

"and the three take up the litter of Mother and Child and bear it straight down the steps to the middle stage (9 steps) and on to the Nave." Take it all in all Mr. Masfield has written an excellent and living mystery play, almost as alive as the mediæval plays which meant so much in the lives of the people. These famous passages in the New Testament have had many fruits of this kind and they are useful tender fruits. No writer has ever reached the essential simplicity of the Biblical text, but in his conception of the shepherds Mr. Masfield has struck an obvious but new note though it is really inherent in the narrative. He answers the question of why the shepherds were afraid in a new reverent and hopeful fashion and for this we may be thankful.

* * *

Professor Gunkel is well known to Biblical Scholars for his important work in the Criticism of the New and still more of the Old Testament. As Professor James Moffatt remarks in his preface to the volume entitled *What remains of the Old Testament** now before us, "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." Dr. Moffatt adds that "in both departments he has been a pioneer, and in both his historical imagination and spiritual intuitions have been richly displayed." It is well, therefore, that some of his work should be made accessible to English readers, and to which the first of them gives the title. The other chapters deal with Fundamental Problems of Hebrew Literary History, the Religion of the Psalms, the Close of Micah, and Jacob, the last being a critical investigation of the story of the Patriarch contained in Genesis. The volume deserves study, not merely because of the eminence of its author, but because the Essays illustrate the methods of Biblical Higher Criticism, and still more because of the way in which the author presents the spiritual values of the Old Testament as abiding whatever the result of such criticism may be. Indeed the title hardly does justice to the substance of the book, for it suggests that the Old Testament has been subjected to a process of stripping, which has only left a reduced minimum behind. As a matter of fact, the author

* *What remains of the Old Testament*, and other Essays. By Hermann Gunkel. Translated by the Rev. A. K. Dallas. George Allen & Unwin. 6s. net.

shows how much that is of priceless value is left behind when the most rigorous processes of criticism have been applied to the Old Testament and the most far-reaching conclusions from them have been drawn. Moreover the placing 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" is, in reality, a clothing and enrichment of the whole, and not its denudation. It is impossible within the limits of a short notice to deal either with the methods used or with the conclusions reached in the particular discussions contained in this volume. It must suffice to recommend it as a valuable statement of the conclusions reached by one of the foremost of German Biblical Scholars.

J. S. L.

* * *

Mr. B. A. Howard, the headmaster of the Addey and Stanhope School, in his volume *The Mixed School: A Study of Co-education*,* tells us in his preface that there are now over 350 secondary schools that cater for both sexes, and states the surprising fact that "two boys out every seven receiving secondary education in England and Wales in 1926 received it in schools to which girls were also admitted." Mr. Howard admits that there are many opinions about mixed secondary schools; probably the most usual attitude that is taken by English people is that there are practical difficulties which make them less likely to be successful than other schools. In any event it is desirable that the mixed school should be studied. In a succession of chapters we are told about the evolution of co-education, co-education abroad, "the moral question," "the school and society" (in this connection Mr. Howard argues "the world has changed; the schools must change too"), the curriculum (Mr. Howard deprecates further differentiation), sex-differences (in two chapters). In the chapter on evolution the suggestion is made that "in one sense, co-education can claim to be the most ancient of all systems of education, since education in the home is usually co-education." But the answer is that in the home the students were and are brothers and sisters while in the school proper they are not. That makes a fundamental difference. The attempt to assume that they are brothers and sisters is certainly undesirable. The most difficult problem, probably, is the mixed boarding school. It can hardly be met by attacks on the morals of boarding schools for boys. The headmaster of Harrow recently swept away the lies told about such schools with withering scorn. The difficulties to be faced in mixed boarding schools, some of which are very successful, are probably not worth the tremendous effort unless it can be shown that such schools are substantially better in all ways than the non-mixed schools. The best pineapples in the world are grown in England but they are not an economic product. Still, in the case of human beings, cost should not count if the product of the mixed school is really substantially better than is the case with other boarding schools. It is admitted that such mixed schools can be very bad. But it is important to have the whole case for mixed secondary schools argued by an advocate. The British parental jury will decide.

* University of London Press. 6s. net.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

All old Harrovians will welcome Mr. C. H. P. Mayo's "Reminiscences of a Harrow Master" with its preface by the Dean of Durham, Dr. Welldon, who declares that "Mr. Mayo has, I think, in a large measure revealed the spirit of Harrow; its sense of discipline, its liberality of educational view, its perseverance in the attainment of its high object." The Dean adds, "I do not know that any Public School has ever played a greater part in the national life than Harrow is playing to-day." Mr. Mayo played his part in the training of boys who to-day are illustrating in many fields the influence of Harrow. The chapter on the earlier days of Harrow shows one of the features that has disappeared or is happily disappearing in the greater schools, the independence from central control of the house-masters—a wholly evil thing. But the Masters that Mr. Mayo himself recalls were of a very different type: the great Edward Bowen, great as a man and as an educationist; Freddy Searle, who recalled the spacious faith of an earlier and famous Master, John Smith, Dr. Welldon himself, Bosworth Smith, Dr. Wood who succeeded Dr. Welldon as headmaster, I. Duhamel and B. Minssen (pioneers in the revolution of modern language teaching). Mr. Mayo tells a good story of Mr. Winston Churchill then aged fifteen. The occasion was a beginners' algebra class. Mr. Mayo found the class irresponsive and muttered to himself, "what am I to do with boys who know nothing?" The reply came "in gentle lisping tones from a young fair-haired boy of about fifteen; with a winning smile he looked up at me and said, 'Please, sir, teach us.' " That boy was the present Chancellor of the Exchequer.

* * *

Mr. Allen W. Seaby in his two volumes entitled "Art in the Life of Mankind: A Survey of its achievements from the earliest times"† devotes the first volume to "a general view of Art: its nature, meaning, principles, and appreciation"; while the second volume deals with Art in ancient times: Prehistoric, Sumerian, Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian and Ægean. Each volume is notable for the excellent character of the illustrations and reproductions of famous pictures and works of art. The frontispiece to the first volume reproduces the Chevalier Gaspard Fossati's amazing picture of the great church of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople, while the frontispiece to the volume on Ancient Art is the bust, almost a living thing, of Queen Nifretiti. The significance of modern art, the educational bearings of art, the sense of proportion, the qualities of rhythm and convention, are all brought out in simple but striking manner. The proper place of Art in education is discussed. Why do the Universities not give it its proper place?

* Rivingtons. 6s. net.

† B. T. Batsford. 5s. net per volume.

CRITICS AT GENEVA.

WITH no outstanding issue of the first importance before it, the Ninth Assembly of the League of Nations has been marked by discussions sensibly more critical in tone than most of its predecessors. That beyond any doubt is a salutary change. Too often the speeches delegates bring in their pockets to Geneva consist in the main of a string of compliments to the League linked with dissertations on the loyalty of their particular country to its ideals. This time the note was much more business-like. Delegates had examined the twelve months' record of the League and found it not uniformly good. Hence a succession of speeches devoted as much to exposing the weaknesses of the League as to commending it for its virtues. As usual the critics were found in the main in the ranks of the smaller States, particularly Scandinavia, Holland and Switzerland, though several others expressed disappointment and regret that in the matter of disarmament in particular the last twelve months had been to all appearance completely barren of achievement.

The disarmament problem in all its aspects is still under discussion as I write. Its most important outcome so far is the disclosure of full accord between France and Germany on the desirability of fixing an early date for a further meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and a strong declaration by Great Britain on the undesirability of such a course. Lord Cushendun's arguments for postponement were not impressive. He dwelt on the dangers of a further unproductive meeting and urged that the Chairman of the Commission should be left to judge when the situation had so developed as to make the prospect of a successful reunion good. The situation is in fact likely to change only as a result of discussion in the Committee itself or of interchanges between certain of its individual members, and in spite of any satisfaction that may be felt at the conclusion of the Anglo-French compromise it may well be doubted whether the manner in which the negotiations regarding it have been handled, and the facts about it given to the world, are such as to encourage a further development of this system of private compacts. In any case it has taken over sixteen months for two members of the Commission to reach agreement on a single one of half-a-dozen important issues regarding each of which complete unanimity or something approaching it is necessary. A simple mathematical calculation would indicate the number of decades or generations that might elapse before the complete agreement Lord Cushendun desires outside the Commission can be reached.

In point of fact the Anglo-French compromise has figured quite

VOL. CXXXIV

28

as much in its political aspect as in its technical, even though in actual fact it appears to have no political aspect at all, apart from the suspicions to which it has given shape in the minds of the credulous. But what mankind in general thinks about an agreement such as this may matter quite as much as the prosaic truth about what the agreement really is. For one reason or another—and unquestionably the speculations, most of them baseless, about the content of the compromise had a good deal to do with it—there developed at Geneva in the earlier part of the Assembly a great deal of vague and unprofitable talk about some new Anglo-French Entente. Ententes, of course, may be admirable in themselves, but the relations between the two countries on either side of the English Channel have not been such as to render any greater intimacy necessary, and it is not surprising that in German quarters the impression gained ground that an old dividing line, with Britain and France to one side of it and Germany to the other, was beginning to emerge with its original distinctness just when the world was believing and hoping it had been obliterated altogether. At this moment the private conversations about the evacuation of the Rhineland were begun in a Geneva hotel. Out of mere convenience of phraseology we got back to talking of "Germany and the Allies." That might be inevitable, and in some sense it was, but it meant the resurrection in the latter part of 1928 of forms of language which seemed to have been abandoned, and fortunately so, when signatures were set to the Locarno Treaties three years earlier. The upshot of these conversations has still to be revealed and in any event, even if more was known about them than is in fact the case, they belong to an order of relationships different from those in which the League States are associated, and they concern directly only four or five out of the fifty governments represented at the League Assembly.

In one aspect indeed the Franco-German relations did figure definitely in the debates of the Assembly. The speeches which stood out in the general discussions of the opening week were those of the German Chancellor and M. Briand, the latter being of a character which provoked some perplexity, and a lively controversy, in the corridors. Herr Muller, coming to Geneva for the first time in the place of his Foreign Minister, observed, in the course of many unexceptionable remarks, that it was no use talking about mutual confidence between nations if national policies reflected no such confidence and that, in fact, it was necessary to decide quite definitely and once for all which road to take. It may be that the remark did not commend itself to M. Briand. It may be that he resented some tendency on the part of his colleague to make capital out of the fact that he (Herr Muller) was a Socialist. It may be

that he was at pains to be a little uncompromising in public with a view to being a little more compromising in private. At all events the Assembly was taken very much by surprise by the reminder that delegates came to Geneva to speak as representatives of a nation, not as men of party, and that it was all very well for Germany to plume herself on her disarmament when that disarmament was barely two years old, when she possessed an army of highly trained men with a reservoir of competent fighters outside it, and when the development of her industries was such that war material in unlimited quantities could be turned out in the course of weeks. The Germans sat silent while the rest of the Assembly applauded a performance which in form was flawless, whatever may be said of the content, and Lord Cushendun came along a day or two later with some wisely emollient words about not merely talking of confidence but displaying it. The episode enlivened the Assembly and a good deal more than enlivened the German Press, but on the whole the impression prevailed that plain words do less harm in the end than insincere and conventional phrases.

Here the Franco-German problem may be left aside and attention concentrated on the League Assembly and its doings. Much more in 1928 than in previous years the League was occupied over what may be termed its private and personal concerns. Was its slightly distended budget a sign of prodigality or merely an indication of expanding needs proportionate to enlarging tasks? Were the criticisms that gained open expression shortly before the Assembly met regarding the deterioration of standard and morale within the Secretariat itself to be accepted as just, and if so what steps could be taken to counteract the evil? And finally, was the League to submit yet once again to a further postponement of the plans for the erection of its permanent buildings?

Of these internal problems the latter is intrinsically of the least importance, though no one who has grilled summer by summer on the comfortless benches of the Salle de la Réformation can regard the construction of an Assembly Hall worthy of the League as anything less than an imperative necessity. The elements of this year's minor housing crisis are well-known. The League had acquired an admirable lakeside site consisting of two contiguous properties, with a third immediately adjoining, likely to become available when needed for extensions a few years hence. For the moment enough land had been obtained for the Assembly Hall and Secretariat buildings it was desired to construct. Then came Mr. Rockefeller's gift of money for an international library, and the site adequate for two buildings was by no means adequate for three. Hence the necessity for securing the remaining property forthwith. That, however, could only be done with its owner's

consent or as a result of its expropriation by the Swiss authorities. The consent was not forthcoming and the Swiss were reluctant to expropriate. And here again so far as this article is concerned the end of the story must be left untold, for no final solution had been reached when this manuscript was sent on its way from Geneva. The matter is not one precisely of the first moment, but seeing that the buildings now to be erected may reasonably expect to have some centuries of life before them a due sense of proportion would suggest that any legitimate means should be adopted to secure a site befitting such an enterprise and such a future.

A question with a much more important bearing on the future of the League is involved by the suggestions put forward in various quarters, notably in two articles in *The Times* by Professor Mada-riaga, that the Secretariat of the League is in danger of losing, and has indeed to some extent already lost, the admirably disinterested and fundamentally international character which marked its earlier years. These suggestions found expression in the plenary meetings of the Assembly, notably in the speeches of the Prime Minister of Norway and the Minister of Finance of the Irish Free State, and they gave rise to a more detailed discussion within the Fourth Commission, which deals with the League's budget and with what would be termed, in the language of domestic politics, the civil service estimates. The charge made is a definite one, but it is an essential feature of it that no criticism whatever is directed against the Secretary-General himself. Sir Eric Drummond has rendered the League inestimable service, and the only purpose of the delegates who raised the question of the Secretariat was to strengthen Sir Eric's hands against pressure which has notoriously been brought to bear on him by certain countries and may quite well be brought to bear again.

Under the Covenant the Secretary-General himself appoints members of his staff, subject only to confirmation by the Council, and under a memorandum approved by the Council in 1920 the men and women so appointed are to regard themselves specifically as servants of the League alone and not as servants of the country of which they may be citizens. During the first half dozen years of the League's existence at any rate that high standard was maintained with remarkable consistency, partly it may be because the earlier servants of the League were not chosen mainly from the ranks of national diplomats whose whole life training predisposed them to think first of the interests of the country of their birth. The gravamen of the criticisms of to-day is that the higher posts in the Secretariat have become the monopoly of the Great Powers, that thereby the promotion of deserving younger men, trained in the

Secretariat and imbued with its spirit, is impeded, and that individual governments are endeavouring, sometimes successfully, to secure appointments in the Secretariat for their own nationals, particularly their own diplomatists, on the ground that the Secretariat is now so important a body that a Government is well advised to have eyes and ears inside it.

These charges must not be pressed too far. Sir Eric Drummond, in his speech to the Fourth Commission, had little difficulty in showing that most of them could be refuted, and his definite statement that no individual appointment had ever been forced on him by a government must be accepted. At the same time certain facts are a matter of fairly common knowledge. The vacant directorship of the Minorities Section of the Secretariat has just been given to a Spaniard. On the face of it that was undesirable, for Spain has at least one minority, the Catalans, which gives her considerable trouble, and it is an accepted principle that just as the Mandates Section of the League should not be directed by a national of a mandatory power, so the Minorities Section should be in the hands of a director from a country with no minority problems of its own. But Spain made the creation of Spanish directorship a condition, or an implied condition, of her return to the League and the appointment was made accordingly. The new Director has an excellent reputation and it is manifestly a very much lesser evil to have a Spanish Director of the Section than for Spain to remain outside the League. But the incident has its unfortunate aspects and has made an unsatisfactory impression. So and much more markedly did the recent Italian Government order requiring Italian subjects to hold posts in any international body only at the will of the Italian Government. And Italy, it may be said quite openly, is the country whose pressure on the Secretary-General the delegates that have raised this issue most desire to resist.

There is, of course, another side to the question. If the Secretariat is to operate effectively it must be staffed by men who enjoy the confidence of their governments and can in case of need put the League's point of view with force in their own capitals. Between the necessity of avoiding appointing to the Secretariat a man who is *persona ingrata* to his Government, and the danger of having forced on him the appointment of a man who is *persona grata* to that Government, the Secretary-General may sometimes be placed in a delicate position. His own handling of the situation has come under no criticism at all, and the action of the delegates who have raised the question in the Assembly is designed only to make his position less difficult in the future. The discussion has undoubtedly done good.

The third of the League's domestic problems was its budget.

Economy is nowadays the fashion in public declarations whatever it may be in the actual practice of governments. Even so there was to most British spectators of the debates in the Fourth Commission something a little humiliating in the criticisms made by the representative of a country with an £800,000,000 budget, of proposals that would increase that country's £800,000,000 burden by the amount of just £6,000. There was talk of stabilising the budget of the League at a definite figure (the total last year for the League itself, the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice was £1,013,351)—an obviously fatal policy for a developing institution. Stabilisation, as the Norwegian delegate observed, spells stagnation, and unless the impossible principle that the League has reached the limits of its utility in the world is to be accepted, it is fantastic to suggest that it has reached the limits of its budgetary expansion. The Secretary-General was abundantly justified in his observing that when he surveyed the various chapters of the budget and reflected on the multiplicity of the tasks the League was discharging throughout the world, he was astonished at the moderation of the estimates.

The proposed increase amounted to 1,500,000 Swiss francs (£60,000) of which Great Britain will be called on to pay about one-tenth. A substantial part of that increase arises out of the recommendation of last year's Economic Conference and this year's meeting of the Economic Consultative Committee. The whole of that expenditure may be regarded as indirectly but quite definitely productive, in that it is directed towards the removal of trade barriers in many fields and will, therefore, unless the League's efforts end in total failure, mean to traders who are also taxpayers a return out of all proportion to the relatively trifling expenditure involved. It is worth recalling that the Advisory Committee on which some of the most representative British economists were represented (including Sir Sydney Chapman of the Board of Trade), foreseeing such criticisms as have actually been uttered in the past month, laid it down in a strongly worded resolution that the programme mapped out was the minimum essential and that it would be fatal if short-sighted professions of economy frustrated its execution.

These Fourth Commission discussions need not be taken too tragically. They are a feature of the Assembly year by year and it is, of course, altogether desirable that the budget of the League, be it great or small, should be scrutinised with rigour, and every tendency to avoidable extravagance corrected. Such difficulties as there are arise partly from bad staff work in the different national delegations. While, for example, a British delegate is giving his vote on one of the other five Commissions for some new

expenditure in the field of mandates or minorities or disarmament or health or some other League activity, the British delegate on the Fourth Commission may be, and frequently is, attacking the estimates without which the proposals in question could not be carried out. On the whole, matters right themselves pretty much in the end, but the League is getting dangerously near the point at which some necessary conference is vetoed on the ground that League finances cannot run to the amount required for the expense of delegates and printing and secretarial work. In actual fact it could almost certainly be shown that the League one way and another is lightening national budgets by much more than the amount of each nation's annual contribution to it, and the more efficient it becomes the more effectively will that process work. The economists have their proper function, but if they were given too much rope the result would be that very extravagance they are most anxious to obviate.

Altogether, therefore, the League this September has gone in for a kind of autumn spring-cleaning, with results that promise to be satisfactory. It is no bad thing to have had for once a quiet Assembly, for that only means an Assembly free from the domination of some one overshadowing issue. The League's routine work has gone forward as it should and many developments of importance in their own particular field are in progress. The entry into force on September 25th of the 1925 Opium Convention lent considerable importance to the discussions of the Fifth Commission and the Council in regard to the Central Board which must now be constituted to keep check on the exports and imports of narcotics everywhere. Evolution of an effective machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prevention of war was carried a stage or two further in the course of discussions in which the able speech of Mr. Mackenzie King, the Canadian Prime Minister, played a notable part. In that connection it is worth observing that what at first sight appeared a rather visionary proposal by the Finnish Government, for the mobilisation of financial credits from any country made a victim of unprovoked attack, has received the whole-hearted blessing of members of the League Financial Committee like Sir Otto Niemeyer and Sir Henry Strakosch, who with others of their colleagues have been steadily putting the proposal into a practical shape.

In all such discussions as this the signature of the Kellogg Pact has, of course, figured prominently. As M. Motta, the representative of Switzerland, observed, it is not sufficient merely to renounce war; it is necessary to organise peace. Whatever responsibilities the League had in that direction before remain with it undiminished. How to face the situation thus created is not

entirely clear, for some States, notably Great Britain, have so profound a faith in the value of conciliation that they decline to accept any commitment regarding compulsory arbitration even in justiciable disputes. That attitude leaves the situation still vague, for conciliation may quite well break down. What in that case is to follow? Under the Kellogg Pact nations are pledged to submit their disputes to peaceful settlement—not merely to peaceful discussion. It might appear, therefore, that if conciliation failed recourse to one of the two other alternative means, arbitration or judicial settlement, became *ipso facto* necessary. If that is so there can be no good reason why the British Government should fight shy of a League Convention involving one of those methods of settlement in the last resort. Such, however, is the situation and there is little prospect of developing the League's jurisprudence at present into a theoretically water-tight system. That may be no great disaster. The peace of the world will not be preserved merely by paper agreements symmetrical and nicely rounded off, but by the growing force and authority of an international body like the League. It may be regretted on many grounds that the inevitable advance towards comprehensive arbitration is so slow, but meanwhile there is encouragement in the knowledge that the League is in fact playing the pacific part that a statesman of the experience and sagacity of M. Briand ascribed to it in a recent Geneva speech.

The Assembly itself each September provides a rough and ready test of what may be termed the morale of the League. Judged by that criterion the situation to-day may be regarded as satisfactory. Freedom in criticism, when the critics are friendly and not destructive, is altogether a good sign. The League is no longer so fragile as to need tender handling and soft speech. Plain speaking means a sense of realities, and on the whole the distinguishing mark of the Assembly of 1928 has been a disposition on the part of most delegates to cut short the fine phrases and put their backs into the League's daily work.

H. WILSON HARRIS.

THE RETURN OF VENIZELOS.

GREEK politics are full of surprises, and in the Near East it is usually the unlikely which happens. After repeated and categorical statements that he had no intention of returning to political life, Mr. Venizelos suddenly changed his mind one May evening, and resumed, although out of Parliament, the leadership of the Liberal Party, held for the last four years by Mr. Kaphandares. The precise reasons for Mr. Venizelos' sudden decision to re-enter politics have never been clearly explained. He has himself said—to the present writer among others—that he retook the Liberal leadership because Mr. Kaphandares had resigned and the party could not be left without a head; but he did not inform the public why Mr. Kaphandares had taken that step, after an extremely successful tenure not only of the Liberal leadership but of the Ministry of Finance. Diligent inquiries, however, led to a reconstruction of the situation along the following lines. On May 5th the walls of Athens were covered by a manifesto by General Kondyles, giving the Chamber a limited time within which to pass various measures, including that for the election of the Senate, after the expiration of which the Greek "Cromwell," as he is called, reserved to himself the right to take what steps he chose. No one at the time paid the least attention to this manifesto; it was published on the back pages of the newspapers; indeed, the "National Democratic" party, of which General Kondyles was the chief, was small and at that time had not even an organ in the Press; and the Minister of War told the writer that there was no cause for alarm. Later on, however, the danger of a Kondylist *coup d'état* was given as one of the reasons for Mr. Venizelos' re-appearance on the scene as a *deus ex machina* who could stop it.

But there were other and more cogent influences at work. On March 4th a defunct newspaper was revived with a Liberal programme but with marked hostility to the Liberal members of the Cabinet. This journal rapidly increased its circulation, and a larger number of readers daily devoured its philippics against Messrs. Kaphandares and Michalakopoulos. When Mr. Venizelos returned from Crete to Athens with the avowed intention of leaving Greece in a fortnight for France, he wrote a letter to the proprietor of this journal, a friend and former colleague, deprecating these attacks upon the Liberal chiefs. But the attacks continued, while the paper demanded the return of Mr. Venizelos to power. Other discontented Liberals poured their complaints into his ear, and he is said to have read to Mr. Kaphandares a long list of more than "fourteen points," containing their grievances against the Minister of Finance. Such a proceeding could end in only one way. Even

during his brief premiership in 1924 Mr. Kaphandares was understood to have been embarrassed by the unofficial guidance of his great predecessor, who was then living as a private citizen at Kephissia, but a private citizen who, as such, claimed, and exercised, the right to express his views on public affairs.

Since 1924 the position of Mr. Kaphandares had greatly altered. He had obtained not merely a Greek, but a European reputation as a successful Minister of Finance; his name was a household word in the Council Chamber at Geneva and in the parlour of the Bank of England. His character is not of the willow; with rare courage in these days, when most Ministers everywhere bend before the "popular breeze," he had steadfastly refused to sacrifice the balance of the Greek budget to the not unreasonable demands of the civil service for an increase of salaries in view of the largely increased cost of living since they were last raised. Responsible officials never like advice from private individuals, however eminent, and not least when those individuals are the medium of other persons' complaints. Consequently, on May 22nd Mr. Kaphandares resigned the Liberal leadership and the Ministry of Finance—a step which involved the resignation of the Zaïmes' Cabinet. The Cabinet was, indeed, reconstructed on May 28th, Mr. Kaphandares remaining at his former post but as the leader of a new "Progressive" party, while Mr. Venizelos nominated as the deputy-leader of the Liberals the well-known Samian politician, Mr. Sophoules, who had been premier in the summer of 1924. To British parliamentarians this selection would have seemed extraordinary; for Mr. Sophoules was at the time Speaker of the Chamber, and had therefore to assume two inconsistent parts—that of an impartial chairman and that of a party leader. But this double personality evoked no criticism in Athens. Meanwhile, Mr. Venizelos from outside Parliament directed the Liberal Party. Soon this unreal situation ended, when on July 3rd he became, for the fifth time, Prime Minister. The fact that he had no seat in Parliament made no difference, for Mr. Zaïmes had been also an extra-parliamentary premier. Besides, he immediately declared his intention of dissolving the Chamber elected in November, 1926, and of standing at the forthcoming General Election. Seeing that what Greece wanted was a strong government, relying upon a majority sufficiently large to make it independent of the smaller parties, he persuaded the President of the Republic to allow him to change the existing electoral system, substituting the British method of election for proportional representation, which, in Greece as elsewhere, has tended to the multiplication of groups. The Opposition protested that this action of the President was unconstitutional; but, in the present condition of things in

Greece, it is not easy to say what is constitutional and what not. Anyhow, Mr. Venizelos got his own way, after some hesitation on the part of the President, who had been placed in a difficult position.

The return of the Cretan statesman to political life met with a mixed reception at home and abroad. The Royalists, who are more anti-Venizelist than in favour of George II, have no violent feelings against the other Republican leaders. Royalists sat in a Pangalist Cabinet; the two Royalist chiefs, Mr. Tsaldares and General Metaxâs, were members of the "Œcumenical" Government of 1926-7, in which all the Republican leaders collaborated, and General Metaxâs, a Royalist *rallié* to the Republic, continued to sit in the two Coalition Cabinets which followed it. Even Mr. Papanastasiou, the first Republican Prime Minister, was personally on friendly terms with Mr. Tsaldares. The Royalists had put him in prison, but he had never incarcerated them, for in his genial character there is no place for vindictiveness. But with Mr. Venizelos the case was far different. The Royalists felt that now that one of the two protagonists of the historic struggle for the mastery, King Constantine, was physically dead, the other, Mr. Venizelos, should be politically dead. On these conditions, which were realised between March, 1924, and May, 1928, they were willing to moderate their attitude, and "reconciliation," the greatest need of Greece, made marked progress. Royalist and Republican ladies—the fair sex were usually more intransigent than the men—played bridge together, and, just as the Jacobites were seen at the levées of George III, so Royalists appeared at the Presidential receptions in what had been the palace of George II.

The re-appearance of Mr. Venizelos in public life immediately revived the smouldering fires of controversy. One Royalist newspaper headed its leading article "The Assassin"; another chose "The Murderer" as the title of its diatribe against him, while a third published a caricature depicting him as shooting "the Six"—the five ex-Ministers and General Hadjianestes, who were shot in 1922. A prominent Royalist refused an invitation to a luncheon, given by the head of the British Naval Mission to celebrate the centenary of Frank Abney Hastings, because Mr. Venizelos was to be present. Thus "reconciliation" was inevitably retarded. It must be remembered that in Athens the leading families are mostly related to each other, and that an event like the shooting of "the Six" of which Mr. Venizelos was not the author, and which Sir Gerald Talbot was sent to prevent, had wide ramifications in Athenian society. Our Jacobites and Hanoverians did not fraternise immediately after 1715 and 1745. As recently as 1886 the Home Rule controversy led Liberals and Liberal Unionists to blackball one another at Liberal clubs and to refuse to sit down

together at Mayfair dinner-parties. And in the Near East politics are a much more serious matter than in England; in south-eastern Europe an unsuccessful statesman may be exiled or shot; in London he is promoted to the House of Lords, or given a chance of making a muddle at another department.

The inevitable check to "reconciliation" was regretted also by British Philhellenes, while financial circles in London were alarmed by Mr. Venizelos' criticisms of Mr. Kaphandares' finance and his possible attempts to revise accepted financial arrangements at Geneva. All his British friends recognised his great services in the past; but the other great men of the war are now all out of office, and a less heroic breed has taken their place. On the other hand, enthusiastic Greek supporters declared that he alone could reform Greek administration and transform the country into a model State. Those who had doubts about his health, remembering his collapse in 1924, were reassured by the energy with which he "stumped" the country in the burning heat of July and August. It is the fashion of his opponents to describe him as a very old man; but, as a matter of fact, he is only sixty-four—an age at which Gladstone and Pashich had several premierships before them. Like all active men, he is happiest, and probably healthiest, when hard at work at his natural occupation, which, in his case, is politics. For just as Sir Robert Walpole in retirement found no distraction in his library, and Gladstone in the seclusion of Hawarden found Homer an inadequate substitute for Home Rule, so Mr. Venizelos must have found the translation of Thucydides into modern Greek a sorry compensation for the lack of power. To an ex-Premier who had played a great part in the Great War the combats of the Peloponnesian War must have seemed a very small affair. No system has been devised for providing ex-Premiers with occupation, and that was probably one of the reasons which prompted Mr. Venizelos to quit a sedentary life of study for the agitated and uncertain career of Greek politics.

The General Election of August 19th not only reversed the verdict of November, 1920, but has given Mr. Venizelos a majority far larger than his most sanguine supporters expected. The late Chamber consisted at its birth of 286 deputies, reduced by deaths and resignations to 273 at the date of its dissolution. Of these 273, there were 157 Republicans (including the Communists) and 116 Royalists. Both of these great parties were split up, in accordance with the fissiparous tendencies of Greek politics, into several personal groups. The Republicans comprised 87 "Liberals," 27 "Progressives" under Mr. Kaphandares (who were to the main body what the Liberal Unionists were to the Liberals in 1886), 19 members of the "Republican Union"—the

Extreme Left—under Mr. Papanastasiou, 7 "Conservative" Republicans—the Extreme Right—under Mr. Michalakopoulos, 9 Communists, who, though opposed to the middle-class Republic, were more hostile to the Monarchy, 4 "Agrarians," and 4 "National Democrats," or followers of General Kondyles, not himself, however, a deputy. The Royalists included 64 members of the "Popular" party under Mr. Tsaldares, 42 of the party of "Free Opinion" or moderate Royalists, under General Metaxâs, 6 Extreme Royalists under Mr. Vozikes, and 4 Independent Royalists acknowledging allegiance to no leader. The General Election, held in conditions highly favourable to the Venizelists, resulted in an overwhelming Royalist defeat. Besides the change in the electoral law, the Minister of National Economy, on the eve of the polls, increased the salaries of civil servants, except the officials of the Foreign Office, the Chamber and a few others, as from the previous month, while the Minister of War cancelled the decree of November 3rd, 1927, which had taken 7 per cent. off the army officers' pay. A bid was also made for the votes of the refugees by the decision to pay them a percentage of the money claimed by them as compensation for their lost property in Turkey.

Simultaneously, Mr. Venizelos, in an electoral tour, developed in glowing language his plans of reform. On the other hand, the Royalist forces lacked cohesion and a positive programme. Their real leader, who would have inspired enthusiasm in large parts of "Old" Greece, Constantine, lay in his Italian grave. Mr. Tsaldares, the leader of the largest Royalist party and the representative of the late chief Gounares who was shot with the rest of "the Six," is a very able lawyer, extremely popular in his Corinthian constituency, but with an insecure hold over the more advanced members of his party. Besides, at the time of the election he was prone with the *déngue* fever, which was devastating Athens. General Metaxâs is one of the rare exceptions to the maxim that eminent soldiers are never successful statesmen. But, where the Duke of Wellington and General Grant failed, General Metaxâs had succeeded, for to his conciliatory policy and timely initiative the success of the three Coalition Cabinets under Mr. Zaïmes was largely due. But he is an opportunist, who has shown little sympathy with "the King over the Water," and between his party and the followers of Mr. Tsaldares there had been polemics, which augured ill for close collaboration. The arrival of Dr. Streit, an ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs and Constantine's privy councillor, from abroad, to form a Royalist *bloc*, did not save the party from defeat, for all the Royalist leaders were rejected by the electors except Mr. Tsaldares, saved by his faithful Corinthians. General Metaxâs' party was annihilated, and he took his own defeat in his native island of Cephalonia so much to heart, that he an-

nounced his definite retirement from public life—which will be a loss to his country. The Communists, at the other end of the scale, have disappeared—a proof that Bolshevism has no attractions for the individualistic Greek mentality, especially as in Greece there are no longer large landed estates.

The total results showed that out of the 249 deputies composing the new Chamber 223 are supporters of the Premier (viz., 184 pure Venizelists, 17 members of Mr. Papanastasiou's "Republican Union," 8 Kondylis, 5 followers of Mr. Zairtsianos of Corfu, 4 "Conservative Republicans" whose leader is the late Foreign Minister, Mr. Michalakopoulos, and 5 Independents), while only 26 make up the Opposition, consisting of 20 Royalists, 4 "Progressives" whose chief is Mr. Kaphandares, and 2 Pangalists, including the ex-Dictator's henchman, Mr. Tavoulares, elected in his native island of Zante in his absence—*pour cause*—abroad. One of Mr. Venizelos' first acts as Premier was to release General Pangalos, who had remained for twenty-two months untried, to the scandal of everyone. The ex-dictator immediately rushed into the electoral arena, with the result that his influence has been proved to be almost nothing. Thus Mr. Venizelos has a large majority, independent of all parties; the Greek people has given him an absolutely free hand. It now depends upon himself to make use of this second opportunity, such as rarely comes to once-defeated statesmen.

No time will be lost in setting to work; for, if the fever epidemic permits, the Chamber will meet on the 17th, and proceed immediately with the Bill fixing the elections to the new Senate for November. One of the charges brought against the last Parliament was that it had delayed the formation of the Senate, a body which has not existed since 1862, but which formed an integral part of the Constitution of 1927. This delay has caused considerable inconvenience; opinions differ as to the practical value of a second Chamber in a country so democratic as Greece, and the example of the Athenian Senate is not encouraging. But, according to the Constitution, the President of the Republic must be elected on the French system, by the Chamber and Senate together. Consequently, as there has hitherto been no Senate, a constitutional difficulty arose whenever Admiral Kountouriotis threatened to resign the Presidency. When the Senate has been formed, a Presidential election should follow in January. Then the young Republic will be faced with the problem of selecting a suitable Head of the State. The area of choice is limited, because the political leaders, whose career would seem to disqualify them for the post of umpire (*πυθμωτής*), do not usually desire the colourless part of the Chief Magistrate, for the Greek Presidency is modelled on French, not American lines. If Greeks are asked who would be the most

suitable successor of Admiral Kountouriotis, a great patriot, who at seventy-two yearns for his ancestral home in Hydra, they usually reply, "Mr. Zaimes." But that invaluable statesman, who ever since 1898 has been summoned to office in difficult moments, is only a few months younger than the Admiral. Political experience without party feeling is hard to find, and in the choice of a President, as of an Ambassador, it is desirable to select a man whose wife, like that of the present President, possesses great social gifts. Possibly, a President may be found in some ex-diplomatist whose lack of intimate touch with Greek life would be counterbalanced by his detachment from recent controversies, and who would, therefore, be the accepted head of all Greeks.

Mr. Venizelos' speciality is foreign policy, and in that department, with the collaboration of his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Karapaxos, he may be expected to continue in the path laid down by Mr. Michalakopoulos. He has expressed his desire for closer relations with Italy; his victory was publicly acclaimed at Belgrade, where he has always been popular; official Turkey has welcomed his return; he has declared his willingness to grant to Bulgaria trading facilities not only at Dedeagatch, but also at Salonika, where the Jugoslavs already have a "free zone." While this is his attitude towards Greece's immediate neighbours, he has always been a warm admirer of England and, during his exile, made his home in France. In domestic affairs, after having combated the *déngue* fever by the creation of an Under-Secretariate of Health, the Premier has been faced by the urgent need for the suppression of brigandage in Epeiros and the adjacent part of Macedonia, of which the daring seizure of the two Kaphandarist candidates, Messrs. Mylonas and Melas (a grandson of Schliemann), during the electoral campaign, and of the Dutch Consul from Salonika and his wife, were recent examples, recalling the famous arrest of the ex-Minister Soteropoulos in the 'sixties (the theme of Bagden's novel, *The Brigands of the Morea*) and that of Lord Muncaster and his party in 1870. Then there are burning questions of finance, the touchstone of all sound policy in Greece, the modification of the dangerous current introduced by the "Power and Traction" Company, and the urgent necessity of settling the long-pending problem of the relations between the British-trained "Town's Police" and the *gendarmérie*.

Mr. Venizelos has "his second chance"; his friends await with interest to see what he will do with it. He has wisely refrained from public jubilation at his victory, and the inclusion in his Cabinet of two Ministers of Royalist antecedents, Messrs. Zavitsianos and Chrestomanos, is a good omen for a policy of moderation towards the Monarchists, which they, in the supreme interests of Greece, would do well to imitate.

WILLIAM MILLER.

LORD HALDANE.

THE death of Lord Haldane removes one of the last of our scholar-statesmen who combine high academic distinction with conspicuous public service, and who, though habitually attached to one or other of our political parties, are never afraid to rise above party ties. Lord Balfour and Lord Rosebery are still with us; but in the last decade we have lost Courtney, Bryce, Morley, Curzon, Milner and Trevelyan. It is a notable list to which no other country can offer a parallel. Of such men we may well be proud; for democratic communities require knowledge and hard thinking no less than enthusiasm and faith.

The obituaries have rightly laid stress on the many-sided achievement of the veteran statesman who passed away in the fullness of his powers at the age of seventy-two. No other man of our time, or perhaps of any time, has attained eminence in law, politics and philosophy, and few, if any, of his contemporaries exerted a deeper influence. Like other men of strong character and tenacious opinions, Haldane aroused sharp antagonism at certain periods of his career; but he outlived all animosities, and old foes join old friends in the recognition that he was a great citizen and an almost unrivalled national asset. He enjoyed the inestimable privilege of shaping his life in accordance with the ideals of his early manhood, and of living long enough to realise that his labours had not been in vain. His supreme ambition was to apply ideas to life, and hence a purely political or a purely academic career would have failed to satisfy him. Democracy without leadership, he used to say, is a mob; and leaders without intellectual training, we may add, are apt to be very treacherous guides.

Like many of our successful statesmen Haldane entered politics from the bar; but with him the law was much more than a means to a public career. It is for lawyers to appraise his work as Lord Chancellor and his judgments in the Privy Council and the House of Lords; but it was impossible to enjoy his friendship without realising his devotion to legal studies, the satisfaction he derived from helping to clear up such controversial problems as the frontier of Labrador, and his conviction of the immense importance of the Privy Council as a bond and symbol of Imperial unity. His share in the reform of the Law of Real Property, though scarcely known to the public, was one of the keenest pleasures of his closing years; for no one was more convinced of the wisdom and necessity of blending tradition with renovation and experiment.

Entering Parliament in 1885, at the same time as Sir Edward Grey and only a few months earlier than Asquith, Haldane caught the public eye less rapidly than his two friends, both of whom

received office when Gladstone returned to power in 1892. He was more successful at the bar than Asquith and therefore less able to give continuous attendance; and his Parliamentary oratory was too diffuse to catch the ear of the House as his friends had quickly caught it, the one by his classic perfection of phrase, the other by his grave simplicity. It was not till the Conservative Parliament of 1895 attempted to grapple with the thorny problem of educational administration that Haldane's wide knowledge and independence began to be generally recognised; and his active support of Mr. Balfour's unsuccessful effort to solve the problem of a university for Irish Catholics revealed his capacity to rise above the discordant battle-cries of religious faction and prejudice.

The South African War, like the Home Rule crisis of 1886, the Tariff Reform movement of 1903 and the World War of 1914, was a landmark in the history of parties and individuals alike; for on such grave issues, arising as they usually do without much warning, every man who is fit for a seat in Parliament must follow his reason and conscience wherever they lead him. There was general regret among Liberals that our relations with the Dutch Republics had not been in the cool and experienced hands of Salisbury or Lansdowne, and general agreement that Chamberlain's handling of the situation from the Raid onward had been utterly deplorable. But a minority of the party, Haldane among them, declined to join in the outspoken condemnation of the Government's action, before and during the struggle, expressed by Campbell-Bannerman, Ripon, Spencer, Harcourt, Morley, Bryce and other leaders. The Liberal Imperialists found a leader in Lord Rosebery, who emerged like Achilles from his tent and founded the Liberal League to embody his principles. It was a painful time for Liberals, and we may read in Mr. Spender's *Life of Campbell-Bannerman* what the recently-elected leader thought and said of "Master Haldane" and other rebels who flouted his authority and voted against him in the lobby. The worst of the tension ended when the Boers laid down their arms, and Milner's preposterous proposal to suspend the Constitution of Cape Colony opened the eyes of his Liberal champions to the dangers of his uncompromising temperament. The healing process was accelerated by the Education Bill of 1902 and completed by the revival of the Protectionist cry in 1903; and when Campbell-Bannerman was called to office at the end of 1905 the Liberal Imperialists fell into line. Lord Rosebery had renounced his support of Home Rule in any form and by this time was a Liberal in nothing but name; moreover, the country was ripe for a period of advance. The Triumvirate, Asquith, Haldane and Grey, closely bound by friendship and community of ideas, desired the Prime Minister to retire to the Upper House and leave them to

dominate the Commons; but Campbell-Bannerman, following his wife's unhesitating advice, "No surrender," very properly resolved to reject such dictation, and the overwhelming Liberal victory of January, 1906, made him one of the strongest as well as one of the most beloved Leaders of the House. It is creditable to both sections of the party that the Cabinet proved more harmonious than either had expected, and the great qualities of its head came to be fully appreciated by the Imperialist wing.

Haldane's celebrity had grown rapidly during the opening years of the century, and his appointment to the War Office in 1905 ushered in the most fruitful decade of his career. He was acknowledged to possess one of the most powerful and acute brains of the country, and the reform of the army, in the light of the bitter experience of the Boer War, was long overdue. As a member of the new Parliament I listened to his expositions of his policy and witnessed the satisfaction, not by any means confined to our party, that the War Office had at last found a capable head. It was in vain that Arnold-Forster, whose own scheme had been a failure, endeavoured to convince me and other newcomers that the plan of his successor was crazy and impracticable. The Prime Minister, himself an old War-Minister, whom Haldane described to me as "very shrewd," gave him his full support; and King Edward, as we may read in the official biography, approved the scheme and heartily liked its author. The creation of an Expeditionary Force, the Territorial Army and the formation of a General Staff, as recommended by the Esher Committee, quickly provided ocular demonstration that the reign of muddle and drift was at an end. An endeavour has been recently made in the *Life of Sir Henry Wilson* to diminish the importance of this incomparable achievement, and to transfer the larger part of the merit of preparedness from the civilian Scot to the Irish soldier. The attempt has failed, and most people will be satisfied with the reiterated testimony, public and private, of Lord Haig to the "greatest of our War Ministers." Haldane continued and supplemented the work of Cardwell, and his six and a half years' reign in Whitehall are not only the most important chapter in his life but an inseparable part of the history of the World War.

The European situation gave a dread actuality and urgency to the problem of army reform. We had made up our age-long quarrel with France in 1904, on the basis of a deal in Morocco and Egypt, and in 1905 Germany had stridently proclaimed that she could not allow France to swallow Morocco before her eyes as England had swallowed Egypt. Scarcely was the Liberal Government formed than the French inquired whether we would support them if the Conference at Algeiras, then about to meet, were to fail,

and if Germany pushed her antagonism to the point of war. The story of this inquiry and of our cautious reply was briefly indicated in Sir Edward's speech of August 3rd, 1914, and described at greater length in the *Life of Campbell-Bannerman* and Lord Grey's *Twenty-five Years*, and may now be studied in detail in the third volume of the *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, edited by Gooch and Temperley. By an error of judgment, for which Lord Grey has handsomely expressed his regret in his apologia, this momentous transaction was not brought before the Cabinet; but the Foreign Secretary consulted his friend and colleague at the War Office, as well as Asquith and the Premier, and military conversations between French, Belgian and British experts were authorised on the understanding that the resulting arrangements were in no way to limit the freedom of the respective Governments if a crisis arose. Thus the new War Minister was confronted by the double task of reorganising the British Army and of conditionally arranging for it to take part in a Continental conflict.

To those who, like Lord Roberts, regarded a European war as almost inevitable, the Expeditionary Force and the Territorial reserves appeared ludicrously inadequate; and from 1908 onwards, when the naval competition began to dominate and darken the diplomatic situation, the War Minister was sharply assailed by the advocates of Compulsory Service. The attack left him unperturbed. Aided by his friend Sir Ian Hamilton and other experts, he replied that the navy must remain our chief defence; that the prompt dispatch of an efficient Expeditionary Force would be of immense assistance to France in the event of hostilities; that the introduction of a revolutionary change, even were it supported by public opinion, would involve a prolonged dislocation of our military machinery; and finally that, if Germany were indeed waiting for a favourable opportunity to attack, such a period of transition would constitute a direct invitation to strike. The defenders of the voluntary system triumphed; for the campaign for compulsory service was opposed by the General Staff and never countenanced by the official leaders of the Opposition, while its supporters could not pretend that the nation was behind them.

The Minister of War is at all times in close touch with the Foreign Secretary; but Haldane and Sir Edward were the closest of friends and the latter, like the two Premiers under whom he served, knew very little of the country which formed the centre of his anxieties. Thus Haldane, as the only member of the Cabinet with detailed knowledge of Germany, became the chief Ministerial adviser to the Foreign Secretary in all problems in which Germany was concerned, and almost every move in the game was discussed between them. This is not, however, to say that he would have

pursued an exactly similar course had he himself been Foreign Secretary; for Sir Edward had his own departmental advisers, among them men of such calibre and experience as Sir Charles Hardinge, Sir Arthur Nicolson and Sir Eyre Crowe, whose attitude to Germany differed widely from that of the Minister of War. Haldane used to say that the Foreign Office was anti-German but that the Foreign Secretary was not. We shall visualise the situation if we understand that Haldane, like our veteran Ambassador in Berlin, Sir Frank Lascelles, was cautiously sympathetic; that the higher officials of the Foreign Office were filled with dark suspicions and forebodings; and that Sir Edward stood somewhere between the two. With the greatest admiration and affection for the Foreign Secretary, Haldane lamented his ignorance of Germany and never pretended to approve every move of British policy.

Actuated by a sense of special responsibility, the Minister of War exerted himself to the utmost to keep the two countries from drifting into open hostility, and his two visits to Berlin, in 1906 and 1912, temporarily diminished the mutual suspicion which hung like a cloud over the North Sea and paralysed the efforts of peace-makers on both sides. The first was in response to a friendly invitation from the Kaiser to the new Minister to study the methods of the Prussian War Office. The second took place when the mistakes of the French, German and British Governments during 1911 had allowed the Moroccan problem for a second time to bring Europe to the edge of the abyss. The Haldane Mission of February, 1912 has been described by Haldane himself in his book *Before the War* and by Bethmann, Tirpitz and the Kaiser in their respective apologies, while the relevant papers in the Wilhelmstrasse fill scores of pages in the thirty-first volume of the great edition of German Foreign Office documents. The envoy's task was to survey, explain and report, not to sign documents or make binding promises. On Bethmann's accession to office in the summer of 1909 he had at once invited us to discuss an arrangement by which we should be relieved of the fear of German battleships, and Germany would be delivered from the spectre of Great Britain joining France and Russia in a European war. The Chancellor worked with all his might for an accord; but he was not master in his own house, and Tirpitz, backed as a rule by the Kaiser, opposed any serious concessions in regard to the fleet. We on our side, moreover, with a suspicious France pulling at our elbow, rejected any formula of conditional neutrality which it was worth Bethmann's while to accept. The attempt was renewed at Berlin, and continued after the envoy's return; but the old difficulties remained insurmountable, and the formidable *Novelle*, or supplementary Naval Bill, appearing at the very moment of the Mission,

gave the death-blow to the negotiations. Though the Mission is accurately described as a failure in a technical sense, it was successful in its larger object of restoring a considerable measure of confidence between the two Governments. In the friendlier atmosphere thus produced it became possible to reach complete agreement in regard to the Bagdad railway, which had baffled every effort for a decade, to arrange a new partition of spheres in the Portuguese Colonies, and to co-operate in localising the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. It was part of the tragedy of 1914 that the storm broke when the two countries were on better terms than they had ever been since the challenge to our maritime security had driven us into the arms of France and Russia.

Haldane never regretted his mission and never ceased to believe in the sincerity of the German Chancellor. On the other hand he had returned from Berlin alarmed by the obvious inclination of the Kaiser to prefer the counsel of Tirpitz to that of his civilian advisers. Never for a moment, as has often been ignorantly or maliciously alleged, did Haldane suggest to the Cabinet or to his countrymen that the German danger had ceased to exist, or that we could afford to abate a jot of our readiness for war. He was rightly convinced that neither the Kaiser nor the Chancellor had any desire for war with us or anybody else; but he was well aware that there were dangerous elements in the country, and that the grouping of the Powers might at any moment drag us into battle on opposite sides. And when the crisis arrived he supported without hesitation the section of the Cabinet led by the Foreign Secretary, who believed that both our honour and our safety compelled us to prevent the annihilation of France and the domination of the Continent by an omnipotent Germany. He had always told his German friends, official and unofficial, that we should support France if she were attacked, and in the hour of decision he did not flinch. During the days when the issues of peace and war hung in the balance, Sir Edward was the guest of the Minister of War, who opened the dispatch boxes brought at all hours of the night to Queen Anne's Gate, and decided when it was necessary to wake the tired Foreign Secretary.

War paralyses the critical faculties of nations and individuals, and by a curious irony the Minister who had done most to prevent a German victory in the West was singled out for rancorous abuse. When the first Coalition was formed in 1915, the Conservatives insisted on his exclusion and Asquith reluctantly—and most Liberals would add weakly—obeyed. Haldane would have been more than human if he had not resented the surrender, and the relations of the two men cooled off in the remaining years. I never asked his opinion on the matter, though we discussed other inci-

dents in his public life with the utmost freedom. No one who knew him would suggest that wounded pride was the cause of his subsequent migration to Labour; but his dismissal undoubtedly increased his natural tendency to independence, and diminished the reluctance with which he parted from his old political friends. The satisfaction of victory was marred in his eyes by the seething passions of the General Election of 1918 and by the vindictive Treaty of Versailles. He did not know how to hate, and his book *Before the War*, published in 1920, breathed a serenity that was peculiarly welcome in a time of storm and stress. He wished the new Germany well and was not afraid to say so.

Haldane's transfer of political allegiance was frequently discussed between us, and I never concealed my regret at the step that he took. The decisive reason, he always assured me, was the comparative indifference to the cause of popular education displayed by the Liberal leaders. When Asquith replied to this charge by sending a quotation from a recent speech, Haldane rejoined that one swallow did not make a summer. He felt, moreover, that Liberal leaders lacked both the energy and the ideas so sorely needed for the arduous task of national reconstruction; and indeed we must remember that the Summer School Liberalism, which has effectually removed the reproach of sterility, was then in its infancy. In my view the undoubted defects of Liberal leadership rendered it the more desirable for him to remain and to use his great influence within the ranks; for he had in no respect altered his political opinions and was no more a convert to Socialism than any of his old Cabinet colleagues. But he drifted out of the party, and the thread was definitely severed when he declined Asquith's invitation to a Liberal rally at the Central Hall.

Comrade Haldane, as he was satirically dubbed by Lady Bonham-Carter, was glad to return to the Woolsack in the Labour Government of 1923; but like most other Cabinet Ministers, he was not always satisfied with his colleagues or his Chief, and after the defeat of his party in 1924 he had no desire for a further spell of office. Though he remained Leader of the Opposition in the Upper House to the end of his life, his speeches were not always to the taste of his new friends. There was never any suggestion of a breach, but there was equally little trace of intimate cordiality. Meanwhile he remained on terms of undiminished affection with Lord Grey, and enjoyed his quiet talks with Mr. Baldwin. The return of the Conservatives to power in 1924 with an overwhelming majority suggested that his active political career was over, and gave him greater leisure for the studies which had provided him with many of the happiest hours of his life.

Haldane's interest in philosophy began unusually early, and became a ruling passion during his residence at Göttingen. Lotze

was at the height of his reputation, and his Scottish pupil never ceased to speak of him with affectionate veneration; but though he shared the Professor's broadly idealist outlook, he enlisted under the banner of Hegel, whom he always regarded as the strongest brain that ever devoted itself to philosophy. The Hegelian School was no longer in the ascendant in Germany, and had not yet experienced its wonderful second flowering in the Oxford, the Cambridge, and the Glasgow of the 'eighties and 'nineties. At home Mill, Bain and Spencer were in fashion, and in Germany Schopenhauer and Hartmann were acclaimed as oracles. The Positivist schools never appealed to Haldane, and though he helped to translate Schopenhauer's principal treatises he was never in the least attracted to his gospel of a blind will and spiritual despair. Pursuing his studies at Edinburgh, where he won every possible distinction in philosophy, he made his début in 1883 as part author of *Essays in Philosophical Criticism*. Twenty years later he proclaimed his message to a wider world in his Gifford Lectures, *The Pathway to Reality*, the most important and the most comprehensive of his books. By this time the neo-Hegelians had come to occupy the centre of the stage, the Positivists were a back number, and the neo-Realists were only trying their wings. In the following decade the authority of German idealism and its British interpreters was sharply challenged from different angles by Bertrand Russell, Bergson and William James; but Haldane's Hegelian allegiance remained unshaken. Unlike most philosophers he had some knowledge of science and mathematics, and he attempted to connect the discoveries of Einstein with his own life-long conviction that reality is knowledge. The success of *The Reign of Relativity*, published in 1922, gave him keen pleasure, as indeed his acquaintance with Einstein was one of the major events of the closing years of his intellectual life. His next work, *The Philosophy of Humanism*, aroused less interest; but the little book published in 1926, *Human Experience*, summarising his message in simple terms, was very widely read. A briefer statement of his doctrine of the foundational character of knowledge and of degrees of knowledge and reality appeared in the series of booklets entitled *Affirmations*, published by Ernest Benn only a few months before his death. He accepted none of the theological creeds, which he regarded as merely provisional embodiments of human speculation and aspiration; but he enjoyed the society of broad-minded and scholarly divines such as Archbishop Davidson, Archbishop Lang, Dean Rashdall, Dean Inge, and Dr. Jacks.

When the war broke out the Yellow Press took good care that everyone should know that Germany was Haldane's "spiritual home." •Since this phrase seems likely to be quoted as long as Haldane's name endures, it may be worth while to place on record

the circumstances of its origin. Finding himself seated next to Professor Oncken at a dinner-party given by the Humphry Wards during the International Historical Congress in London in 1913, Haldane discoursed at length on his favourite theme of German philosophy. The two men met again in the hall at the end of the evening, when Haldane observed, "Germany is my spiritual home." These incidents were related to me by Professor Oncken on the following morning, and have been orally confirmed to me by him since Haldane's death. The words, he assured me, were spoken with such impressive deliberation that they were as impossible to forget as to transform. But for the raging passions of war, moreover, they would have been accepted as a commonplace. Germany was to the idealist philosopher what Greece is to the sculptor and Italy to the artist. In Haldane's quiet little study in the house in Queen Anne's Gate, which the Kaiser jokingly christened the Doll's House, pictures of Kant, Hegel and Goethe occupied places of honour. Next to Hegel, indeed, Haldane owed most to Goethe, of whose life and writings he possessed a specialist's knowledge. For many years in succession he journeyed to Weimar and its neighbourhood with his delightful friend Professor Hume Brown, whose *Life of Goethe* he saw through the press, and to which he added the chapter on the Second Part of *Faust*, which alone was lacking at the author's death. When the Goethe Society was revived after the war, Haldane became its President in succession to Sir Adolphus Ward, and at the inaugural meeting delivered a thoughtful address on Goethe as thinker. He presided at the last meeting of the session of 1927-8, when Professor J. G. Robertson read a paper in German on Hebbel, and the Chairman followed with a brief address, fluent and well-expressed, in the same language. He was one of the first to hail Gundolf's massive treatise on Goethe and Emil Ludwig's brilliant volumes, and he keenly enjoyed the German translation of the biography by the veteran Danish critic, Brandes. He was never tired of reading, and of reading about, Goethe or Hegel.

Haldane's affections were as keen as his intellectual interests. A picture of his wonderful old mother lying in bed occupied a place of honour over his mantelpiece, and his contribution to the exquisite little volume *Charlotte Elizabeth Haldane*, edited by his sister, reveals something of a unique relationship. To his sister Elizabeth, who kept house for him in London, he was bound by their common interest in philosophical studies. His kindness to younger men was inexhaustible; and Lord Morley, critical though he was of his colleague's politics, once told me that if he were in trouble he would rather go to Haldane than to anyone else. No man of our time had a fuller, richer or more useful life, and few have left a larger number of friends and causes to mourn their loss.

G. P. GOOCH.

THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.

THE most important event affecting Europe in the current year is the Presidential election in the United States. That event is, it is true, a matter of internal politics. Nevertheless it is of great moment internationally as well as nationally, and the campaign of the rival candidates will be watched with much concern on this side of the Atlantic. Upon its issue depends in no small measure Europe's as well as America's prosperity for the coming four years.

Will the next President of the United States be prepared to take measures essential to the prosperity both of America and of Europe?

The fortunes of the two Continents have been intertwined for many decades. Up to the Great War the rapid expansion in the wealth and population of America could not have taken place but for Europe's assistance, while the steady improvement in the well-being of Europe during the past century arose in no small degree from the increase of American productive power. Europe supplied America with capital and immigrants; America provided Europe with a large part of the foodstuffs and raw materials necessary for the maintenance of her growing population.

In 1914 this mutually advantageous policy had to be changed suddenly. Europe then required all her capital in order to prosecute the war in which she had become engaged, and not only stopped the supply of fresh capital to America but began to withdraw the capital she had previously furnished. Moreover, during the war her need of money became so great that she was compelled to withdraw nearly all her capital and to borrow heavily from the United States in addition. These financial operations were the result of Europe's urgent need of American products and her inability to pay for them by any other means than by using the capital she had previously placed in America and by borrowing large additional sums. By this process America was able to sell to Europe her surplus products at profitable prices during a period in which Europe had few goods to send her or services to render in payment. Indeed, Europe's purchases of American products during the war were so great that America greatly expanded her production and increased her prosperity.

By accepting payment for her products in securities of various kinds and by making large loans, America rendered Europe a great service. Had she refused to grant the necessary financial assistance, the European countries could not have obtained adequate supplies of food and raw material and would have suffered much more severely than they did.

When war broke out America's first impulse was to refuse to

buy Europe's securities or to grant new loans, and it was only after the American Government realised the consequence of such refusal to America, as well as to Europe, that the necessary steps were taken to open the New York market to the sale of Europe's holdings of American and other securities and to the issue of loans in America for European countries.

Fortunately for Europe this wise policy was maintained after the conclusion of the war. Indeed, it still continues. Europe even now is unable to pay in goods and services for all the food and material she needs from America and, if the New York money market did not grant the necessary loans, Europe would be unable to purchase supplies of essentials in anything like the required quantity, while American farmers, cotton-planters and others would not find a market for a large portion of their products.

How great was the benefit to America of Europe's willingness in pre-war days to supply her with capital and immigrants was evident from the extraordinary development of American production and population in consequence of the construction of her immense railway system as well as of many of her industries by the help of European capital and European labour.

On the other hand, one cannot easily exaggerate the advantage to Europe of the rapidly increasing supplies of necessities which came to her from America in payment for her exports of manufactured goods, her services, and the interest upon the capital she supplied. Nor is it possible to over-estimate the benefit to Europe of her ability to obtain from America, largely on credit, adequate supplies of necessities both during and after so great a war, supplies which, at times, were made available only by the self-denial of the American people.

Thus in peace and in war the interests of America and of Europe have been closely united to their mutual advantage.

What are to be the future relations of America and Europe? This is the vital question which the next President of the United States will be called upon to assist in deciding, and which renders the coming Presidential election of so much moment to the peoples of America and of Europe. Hitherto it has been assumed that America will continue the policy she has pursued since 1914 and will meet the situation in future, as in the past, by granting credit to Europe to buy her products. Unfortunately, this policy no longer meets the situation. Europe is not at war and is not willing to mortgage her future regardless of consequence as she did during her great struggle. The European nations, apart from Russia, have now repaired their war damage, have recovered their productive power and have restored their currencies. Europe's need to-day is to pay for what she requires to buy and to meet the very heavy

obligations she has already incurred by selling her goods and services, not by getting deeper into debt. If Europe were to continue to borrow from America she would now do so in order to meet her daily necessities, not to expand her productive power, for that is already large enough to pay for all she needs to buy, provided her productions can find a market. To expand productive power still further by means of borrowed resources when markets cannot be found for existing capacity would be unwise and unsound and, instead of overcoming the difficulties, would render them greater. Moreover, it is by no means assured that America will be able to continue to create credit for both home and foreign borrowers after the manner of the last fourteen years. Her power to grant loans in this period has been largely adventitious. It has resulted from the change in her banking laws in 1914, which gave her National Banks power to create more than twice as much credit as formerly without any addition whatever to their cash reserves, and from the import of an immense amount of foreign gold, which the borrowing nations sent to her in order to permit her to grant fresh credit to home and foreign borrowers to the extent of something like ten times the value of the gold sent. But this new fund of banking credit which the change in American banking law and the immense imports of gold rendered available has now been largely utilised, and credit expansion in the United States must for the future be on a much more modest scale than it has been in the last fourteen years. Whatever new credit is available will be almost entirely needed to finance America's internal requirements.

The present condition of the New York money market, where very high rates of interest are now current, is in itself a warning that the period of unlimited banking credit in America is drawing to an end. These high rates are in some measure the result of unprecedented loans to the New York Stock Exchange, but America could not have furnished such immense credits to both American and foreign borrowers but for these loans, and the continuance of the present high rates of interest together with curtailment of credit against Stock Exchange collateral will seriously affect America's capacity to place new loans. The present stringency of the New York money market may be relieved for a time by the release of money from the Federal Reserve Banks through the discount of a greater quantity of commercial bills or by the purchase of government securities. But this will not alter the fact that American bankers have now utilised the whole of the vast new resources of lending power which they derived from the change in American banking law and from the immense imports of gold, that they are now reborrowing their own cash reserves and that the present stock of gold in the country, great as it is, has fallen to a

very small ratio of bankers' liabilities to their depositors. Thus, if America's present benevolent policy of granting credit with the utmost freedom to both home and foreign borrowers to enable them to increase or to maintain their power to purchase American products be examined, from the point of view either of the borrower or of the lender, it is obvious that it cannot be continued indefinitely, that the force of circumstances is now causing it to be modified, and that the growing pressure of these circumstances may cause it to be discontinued in the not distant future.

Therefore, whether the American people wish to maintain their present policy or not, circumstances will not permit them to do so and, unless a new policy can be evolved, they will be unable to find a market either at home or abroad for anything like their present output.

Should a policy of drift be resorted to, Europe would be forced to become much more economical in her consumption even of necessities, and the living standards of her people would fall to a still lower level. On the other hand, American farmers, cotton-planters, mine-owners and manufacturers would be left with large quantities of their products on their hands, which they would offer at very low prices without finding buyers, and American prosperity would completely collapse. In these circumstances it is obvious that a new policy must be evolved whatever may be the platform upon which the new President of the United States is elected. The consequences of failure to do so cannot be borne either by the people of the United States or by the peoples of Europe. America must sell the great quantity of produce she is now producing and, in order to do so, must buy the products and services of other nations. On the other hand, Europe must sell her products if she is to buy what she needs and to meet her obligations.

By the aid of the loans obtained from America, Europe is to-day buying American products to the extent of nearly twice the value of the products America is buying from Europe. Europe wishes and needs to buy American products. America wishes and needs to sell her products. How will Europe be able to buy and America to sell if Europe does not borrow or America cannot lend, unless America buys from Europe both directly and indirectly as much as she sells to Europe and, over and above this, buys enough European goods and services to permit Europe to pay interest and sinking fund upon the large loans America has granted to her in the past fourteen years of tragedy?

Which of the two candidates before the American people for the high office of President of the United States possesses the statesmanship to recognise the facts of the situation and to initiate whatever policy is needed to preserve both America and Europe from great misfortune?

GEORGE PAISH.

THE THREATENED NEW ENTENTE.

IT would be necessary to go back a long time in order to find a fitting parallel to the consternation and alarm which were caused by the disclosure that a secret naval agreement had been concluded between Great Britain and France behind the backs of the other Powers. Not only in the two countries principally concerned, but throughout Europe and in America, the disclosure and the anxieties to which it gave rise, coming just at the time when the Kellogg war renunciation pact was being signed, damped the jubilation which had heralded that auspicious event. For, interpreted as the transaction naturally was—and in many quarters still is—as a further *étape* on the way to a new and more formal Anglo-French *entente*, it set the world wondering again whether, after all, the elusive peace to which it had been painfully groping its way must not be regarded as a will-o'-the-wisp or a mirage.

Happily public opinion was not slow to assert itself. This it did in the form of an impressive manifestation of disapproval not only of the idea of new political groupings of any kind, but of the obscure and underhand methods which still persist in European Foreign Ministries and Chancelleries. There has been much pointless gibing at the use made of the phrase "the old diplomacy," and not long ago Lord Grey of Falloden asked us to believe that he did not know what it meant. Well, here was "the old diplomacy"—for the convenient idiom needs no apology—hard at work again, and plainly identifying itself as a clandestine species of political chaffering which loves darkness rather than light because its deeds are dubious and do not play a straight and fair game. If the practitioners and defenders of that sort of diplomacy never knew before what the after-war world thinks of it and of them, they know now.

Even to take the most charitable view of the treaty-making which led to this emphatic protest, the apparently hurried completion of the transaction was singularly ill-conceived both as to time and purpose. As to time, because the episode struck a harsh and dissonant note just when the nations were being drawn together in devotion to a great idealistic attempt to place their relations on a new, more trustful, more hopeful basis. As to purpose, because there is only too strong reason to fear that the effect of the incriminated pact will be to add to the reservations which already limit so seriously the potential influence of the Kellogg agreement. Moreover, sectional bargaining over questions in which other Powers are equally concerned is bound to give rise to suspicions of malign intent, and for that reason alone should be ruled out of court as tactless and impolitic.

Is it possible, however, to admit the innocence of this secret docu-

ment, for the substance of which we are chiefly indebted to French sources—a fact not very complimentary to the British Parliament and nation? For though, in the hope of allaying public apprehension, and no doubt by prior arrangement, both Lord Cushendun, the absent Foreign Secretary's under-study, and Monsieur Leygues, the French Minister of Marine, gave simultaneous public explanations, the former contributed little to the general enlightenment. Lord Cecil has never spoken truer words since he threw off the shackles of official position than when he said that "no Government (he meant British) thinks it in keeping with its position and reputation to say a simple 'yes' or 'no' to anything." Lord Cushendun's cloud of words rather obscured than clarified the atmosphere. He told us of some things that the agreement is not and does not do, but in no sentence of his statement was there the slightest indication of what it really is. We have his assurance that the agreement is "no agreement in the ordinary sense," and indeed is "an agreement of a kind for which diplomacy as yet has no verbal description." That can well be believed, though the cryptic words are more likely to alarm than compose the public mind. These secret agreements can generally be so described, and that is the reason why Ministers, when driven into a corner, are able to disown them with a few off-hand phrases bearing at least the appearance of truth. The conversations which bound us to give military support to France if she came to blows with Germany over a question of little or no concern to us as a nation materialised in an extraordinary and totally informal arrangement of the kind, yet without ever assuming the form of a documented contract it had that effect, and in consequence led us step by step into an unavowed alliance and ultimately into the Great War. It is just these indefinite agreements which are most dangerous, and it would hardly be cynical to suggest that they are purposely left indefinite because their authors are aware that if their implications were known and understood the nations concerned would repudiate them at once before harm could be done.

For the rest, all that Lord Cushendun would say about the naval pact was that it consists of "four or five short but very technical clauses," explaining what the British and French Governments are prepared to do in consort in order to facilitate the further deliberations of the Preliminary Disarmament Commission, which broke up over a year ago because these Governments could not agree. For the purport of these clauses it is necessary to go to the more informative though not exhaustive statement of Monsieur Leygues. It will be remembered that while the French Government demanded that each country should have a free hand in using its apportioned tonnage, building just such and so many

vessels as its special interests might dictate, always subject to the limitation of capital ships stipulated by the Washington Convention, the view hitherto tenaciously held by our Admiralty and Government, and by them pressed to the point of breaking off negotiations, has been that both the size and the number of vessels, whether cruisers, destroyers, or submarines, should be taken into account.

Now we are told that all the fears, scruples, and misgivings of our Admiralty have suddenly disappeared, for the secret agreement gives to France everything she has contended for, without, so far as is known, any concession whatever to this country in return. Nor does the British capitulation stop at the acceptance of the French naval claims, for we are to make concessions of the utmost importance in regard to land forces, again abandoning our former position. As to these France is not only to be free to continue the system of compulsory enlistment, though it is prohibited in the peace treaties which were forced on the enemy nations, but she is to be entitled to train her entire efficient manhood to arms by applying the principle of short service with the colours, and, of course, still to militarise her black subjects and use them where she will.

To put the matter concretely, the agreement, if given effect, would allow France to create just as strong sea and land forces as she liked (capital ships excluded), so enabling her not only to menace our shores and shipping by an unlimited fleet of submarines, but, acting in conjunction with her allies in the East of Europe, to establish an invincible military domination over the entire Continent. Lord Asquith said that it was to be the object of the late war to replace "a precarious *equipoise*" of power in Europe by "a real European partnership based on the recognition of equal right." The *equipoise* has gone with a vengeance, but where is the "real European partnership" and where is the "equal right"?

But that is not the full story. The American naval experts are convinced that the agreement will have the effect of placing their country at a great disadvantage, by neutralising the purpose of the Washington Convention, and some of them, and most of the politicians, believe this to be deliberately intended. It is true that both Lord Cushendun and Monsieur Leygues profess a touching concern for the letter of the convention, which they would not violate for worlds; yet the ingenious piece of wangling in which they have been engaged does unquestionably violate the spirit and purpose of that pact. France has hitherto complained that the convention left her a third-rate naval Power. She wants to be in the very first rank, and this agreement would allow her to gratify

that ambition. The convention, of course, applied only to capital vessels, as to which it created a position of parity between the British and American navies. The ratio of these vessels will remain as before, but the position would be altered potentially to America's disadvantage if under, or behind, this agreement there were any arrangement or understanding that in actual warfare the British and French navies should be regarded as complementary. Any idea of naval co-operation between the two navies has been repudiated by both the exponents of the agreement, but that is not the view taken by the French Press. Indeed, if one thing more than another is calculated to excite misgiving it is the boast of Monsieur Leygues that "the labour and responsibility of drafting the agreement belong to the French navy." Precisely, for now as ever France knows what she wants and means to have it if possible. Even if the American suspicion of a disingenuous ruse should be unfounded, it will now be difficult wholly to remove it, and in any event it is regrettable that any justification for it should have been given at a time when the big navy idea appeared to have been discredited in America and moderate counsels were more and more asserting themselves. Let us be clear on another point. Any attempt, or reasonable supposition of it, to "queer the pitch" of the Coolidge Government, after it has made the question of naval disarmament so directly its own, would deal a heavy blow to American pride and provoke just and deep resentment, boding infinite harm to the cause of Anglo-American friendship.

America, however, can be trusted to look well after her interests and reputation. The first concern of this country is the security of its own. Has the naval agreement a deeper and graver significance? Is it an attempt to pledge Great Britain and the Empire to a new defensive *entente* with France? That is the question which has aroused everywhere the greatest suspicion and anxiety. Not explicitly though by suggestion Lord Cushendun has disavowed the idea, but it is unlikely that he can know everything that resulted from the diplomatic and naval discussions which are said to have taken place. It is significant that the French Press, which first made known the existence of the agreement, and has told us most of what we know of its content, holds a contrary opinion, and even talks from day to day of the "New *entente*." What is the bare truth? When the old *entente* was formed there was the same conflict of statement as to its military significance. But the French view proved the accurate one. Will it prove accurate again?

Let us clearly realise where we stand. With but a short intermission the entire course of our relations and dealings with France since the end of the Coalition Ministry has been in the

direction of renewing and strengthening the intimate ties which grew out of the merely diplomatic understanding of 1904. We have arrived at the present dangerous stage by many and various steps, all of which have been of the nature of capitulations and concessions on our part to our late ally, unaccompanied by corresponding advantages of any kind. In effect we have allowed our entire European policy to be determined primarily by consideration for France and her supposed interests. Occasionally, no doubt, other interests have been served concurrently, as in the case of the Locarno Pact, but invariably France has piped and our Government and Foreign Office have danced, more or less awkwardly, to her tune.

As a result of our attitude of exaggerated deference to her, France has gradually gained something like a free hand in controlling the execution of the Treaties of Peace and the treatment of the conquered countries, greatly to the discomfort of the latter and the injury of Europe as a whole. Our Government stood aside while the Upper Silesian question was settled to her liking and that of Poland, and contrary to the wishes of the population concerned. It contented itself with a whispered legal ruling, which was not even an expostulation, when under Poincaré France, in violation of law and right, invaded Germany, and for nearly three years imposed upon the large and cultured population of the Ruhr region a drastic military *régime* which will leave bitter memories for centuries.

The much-lauded Locarno Treaty, while it has the merit of guaranteeing peace amongst the greater Powers of Europe for a time, was essentially a capitulation to the French plea for security, for of any reciprocal security for Great Britain and her Empire the treaty says not a word. Even to the Kellogg Pact our Foreign Office dared not give an independent assent, but felt compelled first to come to an agreement with France, whose objections and reservations, together with our own, have created so many loopholes for evasion that for the present the document does little more than affirm an abstract if noble principle. And now, as a crowning act of subservience, we have capitulated unconditionally to France on the naval disarmament question, indifferent to the fact that by the method as much as the effect of our action we have aroused America's deep distrust.

At the moment of writing the most deplorable of all the results of our repudiation of the honourable rôle here mentioned is again a subject of controversy: I refer to the occupation of the Rhineland. After the war of 1870-1 Bismarck, the man of "blood and iron," but also of unequalled sagacity and common sense, went out of his way to make it easy for France to free her occupied territories at the earliest possible date, and the last of the German troops had

gone within two years and a half of the ratification of the Treaty of Frankfurt. To-day, ten years after the end of the Great War, 67,000 French, British, and Belgian troops—mostly French—are still quartered upon one of the fairest, most populous, and most industrial regions of Germany, and that in direct violation of the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles. Germany has long and justifiably claimed the relief contemplated by Article 431 of the treaty named, which provides that "If before the expiration of the period of fifteen years Germany complies with all the undertakings resulting from the present treaty *the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately.*" By the unqualified admission not only of the supervisory Inter-allied Commissions but of the Foreign Ministers both of this country and France, the "undertakings" implied have been faithfully observed—indeed, speaking in the House of Commons over a year ago Sir Austen Chamberlain gave Germany a handsome certificate to that effect—yet still the huge alien garrisons remain, a source of intense aggravation, humiliation, and bitterness, indescribable discomfort, lavish waste of substance, as well as lamentable social demoralisation. The signing of the Kellogg Pact offered a unique opportunity for a humane "gesture" on the part of France and our own country in the shape of a complete and immediate evacuation of the occupied territory and thereby the ending of the worst of the wretched "sanctions." We do not know whether British official influence was used to this end or not, though the Geneva correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* assures us that it was not. What we do know is that the Army Council deemed the time opportune for allowing a British cavalry regiment to take part in French manœuvres on German soil.

And why is France so unwilling to move in the matter? The old excuse of want of security is no longer advanced, and indeed is discredited, for Germany, restricted to a skeleton army barely strong enough to meet domestic demands, could not be aggressive even if she wished, and it is an undisputed fact that no European Power, little or great, has made equal efforts and sacrifices of *amour propre* equal to hers in the service of the causes of arbitration, disarmament, and the outlawry of war. The true reason of the French attitude, long known, has of late been divulged with brutal candour: France is determined to barter her withdrawal for financial concessions, meaning better reparation terms and a further reduction of her war debts to Great Britain and America. One can only hope that if the French Government should really invite London and Washington to buy her out of the Rhineland, so converting what should be a clean act of justice into an indecent act of barter, it will be made to understand clearly that such a proceeding is blackmailing of the basest kind. The French call us a nation of shopkeepers; but our shopkeepers would never descend

to transactions of that sort, and moreover they have in general an exemplary reputation for paying their debts.

Those students and observers of public affairs whose only or foremost partisanship is a partisanship in the difficult yet urgent enterprise of giving real settlement and peace to the world will do well to give vigilant attention to every phase of our diplomatic relations with France. For the same people who most applauded the *entente* of twenty-four years ago, which eventually cost the Empire nearly a million lives and this country alone three-quarters of a million, and left us with a debt of nearly eight thousand millions sterling, are actively working for the prolongation of that disastrous arrangement. Many of us cherished the belief that, having paid the terrible bill which the *entente* and *entente* policy cost us, our indebtedness was finally liquidated; but the contrary would prove to be the case. We are asked to continue in an even more outspoken way the association which cost us so dearly, and enough has been said to show that for a long time the trend of our foreign policy has been towards that end. Already this "new course" has gone far, and it will continue indefinitely to the point of catastrophe unless Parliament and the nation resolutely determine to apply the brake, whatever might be the consequences to the equilibrium of the Ministerial car and its occupants.

Gradually there has been allowed to grow up, under the nurturing influence of our far too outspokenly Francophile Foreign Office, the belief that the maintenance of ties of the most intimate character with France is a supreme and vital British interest. Not only is this not true, but history proves that such a relationship to France has never been obtained on the basis of parity of advantage; for while a ready receiver of favours, France was ever a bad giver. Lord Rosebery was backed by long experience when as Foreign Secretary—perhaps the most truly British in spirit since Palmerston—he wrote of France to Lord Lyons, then ambassador in Paris, "She is always wanting something of us which it is impossible to give her, and she then says plaintively, 'You never do anything for me.' She is quite oblivious of the fact that she never loses the opportunity of playing us a trick." How many readers of these pages know that France during the war raised with Spain the question of the British occupation of Gibraltar?

Our greatest interest in Europe at the present time is that we should restrict our political liabilities of every kind towards both France and all other Continental States. When I read of our Foreign Secretary, whose sincerity and honesty of purpose I have never questioned, publicly professing, with more than Christian magnanimity, how he "loves" a country which was our traditional enemy for centuries, was nagging at us, pin-pricking us, and almost at war with us as late as thirty years ago, and then offered

us friendship only because she had political ends to serve in Morocco and Spain refused to go partner with her, I recall those words which Uncle Toby in Sterne's novel *Tristram Shandy* addressed to Corporal Trim, after that warm-hearted soul had done a deed which, though kindly meant, was irregular and out of place: "Thou didst very right as a man, Trim, but certainly very wrong as a soldier." Let "statesman" be put for "soldier" and the admonition applies. For in foreign relations sentimentality is dangerous, and when lavished upon a nation endowed richly with the exuberant temperament of the harder and more exacting sex, it is invariably expected to mature into more substantial favours. I for one refuse to believe in both the value and the reality of effusions of that kind. Let any normal person analyse his feelings towards other countries and nations, and he will be forced to confess that while he may like some, admire others, and perhaps bear only goodwill to all, it would be sheer affectation and make-believe to talk of "loving" any one of them. Always Paris and France will have a special lure for the world of fashion and pleasure, Italy for the art enthusiast, Germany for the musician, the scientist, and the devotee of the strenuous intellectual life. But all such temperamental interests and foci of attraction appeal only to small groups of people, and leave the mass of any nation untouched and unresponsive. It is the broad currents of national feeling, as influenced by public policy, home as well as foreign, far more than personal likes and dislikes, that in these days determine the good and bad relations of peoples.

So long as British foreign policy is consistently peaceful, equal-handed, and free from provocation, Great Britain and the Empire at need can stand alone without propping, particularly when the props themselves are unsound. Our best allies are a spirit of sympathy, fairness, and justice in ourselves and the goodwill of other nations which the exercise of that spirit will win for us. If, however, it is desirable to lean to—not upon—one Power and nation more than another, let us take to heart the warning both of the present and the past, and remember that the cause of Anglo-American friendship is vastly more important for our country and the Dominions than a European *entente* ever was or ever can be.

WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON.

P.S.—Since this article was written M. Briand, no doubt for the sake of appearance, has gone back to the security argument, unsubstantial and unreal though it is. Nevertheless, there is the less reason to modify any opinion expressed above, since the negotiations which are to be opened, as a result of the diplomatic conversations which took place at Geneva on September 16th, will admittedly deal with the reparation problem, and in consequence with the war debts.
—W. H. D.

REMINISCENCES OF NICHOLAS II.

TEN years have elapsed since the Emperor Nicholas II died. During his reign I had been privileged to approach His Majesty more than once as a representative of Russia in foreign lands, and also, in 1908 and 1909, as his Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs. I shall try to set down here briefly some of my reminiscences of those days, and add a few authentic political and biographical facts to those which will serve some day to draw a true picture of that best-intentioned, gentle, patriotic, unselfish and most unfortunate of Russian Monarchs.

BERLIN, 1893. THE EMPEROR WILLIAM'S UNWELCOME HOSPITALITY.

In the summer of 1893 the Grand Duke Nicholas Alexandrovitch, who was to become in the following year Emperor of Russia, had to return to St. Petersburg from England through Holland and Berlin. I was then Councillor of our Embassy and Chargé d'Affaires in that city, and my duty was to meet His Imperial Highness in my court uniform at the Central Railway station. From there the usual daily express left for St. Petersburg at 11.8 p.m. The Grand Duke arrived on time, not from the Dutch frontier however as we expected, but from Potsdam, in His Majesty's personal train and accompanied by the Emperor. I learned the reason for this sudden change from Prince Kotchubey, the Grand Duke's aide-de-camp. His Highness had no wish to stop in Berlin and had timed his journey so as to spend there only the few minutes needed for passing from one express to the other. Now the Emperor sent his own train to meet the Grand Duke at the Dutch frontier, and as the Imperial train outstripped the Dutch express by one hour and a half, it brought His Highness to Potsdam at 9 p.m. just in time for dinner; and only after having enjoyed this enforced hospitality was the Russian heir-apparent able to continue his journey. German public opinion had to understand that this informal visit pointed to the cordial character of Russo-German relations, which were however at that time far from good in consequence of the recent conclusion of the Franco-Russian alliance. The Grand Duke found this proceeding most unpalatable, and I believe that the incident did not diminish his personal dislike to his overweening German neighbour.

HOW THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS II WORKED WITH HIS MINISTERS.

Before I became Acting Head of our Foreign Office I had two exceptional occasions to report personally to His Majesty on certain

difficult and delicate political questions: in 1896 when I was Diplomatic Agent in Bulgaria, and in 1899 as Minister-Resident at Rome at the Court of Pope Leo XIII. The questions, being of importance for Russia alone, lie beyond the scope of this article. All I need mention here is that the Emperor approved, but only after mature study and reflection, the plans submitted to his decision.

I began to work regularly with His Majesty when the Minister of Foreign Affairs, my friend and school-fellow Alexander Isvolsky, went abroad in August, 1908, to start unexpectedly the serious pre-war crisis provoked by the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and once more in May, 1909, when Isvolsky had to go abroad for his health. Each of the Tzar's Ministers had to report in person to His Majesty once a week. The Foreign Office day was Tuesday, and when my turn came the Emperor was, owing to the autumn manœuvres, at his military headquarters, about forty miles west of St. Petersburg, in his palace of Ropsha. I had been informed in good time by the Court Department by what train I was to leave in a reserved carriage, and a Court motor-car—then a new and welcome appearance—waited for me at a certain station to take me by road to Ropsha. The Palace, built in the eighteenth century, is small and remains unchanged since Tzar Peter III, the husband of Catherine the Great, was killed there in 1762. My report was to begin at 6 p.m.; but the Emperor, who was always admirably punctual, was a few minutes late, having returned from the field-day on horseback. When working with his Ministers the Emperor was usually seated in an armchair before a big writing-table, to the right of which was a smaller and narrower table on which the Minister could place his portfolio and spread his papers. In front of the Emperor always lay a row of red, blue and black pencils with which he made his annotations. These were always clear, calm and concise, and never contained any of the passionate and violent expressions often used on such occasions by his father. There was also always a small pocket-book in which His Majesty wrote down his engagements, and which he consulted before making any. I shall never forget the attentive and kindly look of his big, wistful brown eyes which seldom expressed joy or amusement.

My report on that day was concerned with current political affairs and lasted as usual something over an hour. I experienced at once how pleasant and easy it was to work with His Majesty. His memory was marvellous. He remembered in detail all the diplomatic news, telegrams and dispatches which were sent him daily from the Foreign Office, and also the orders he had given in consequence. He was equally well acquainted with the past and present state of each of the questions which were submitted to his

appreciation. The Emperor invariably addressed his Minister by his Christian name and the name of his father, according to Russian usage, and as there were more than fifteen Ministers even this required a considerable effort of memory. When reporting to His Majesty, Ministers wore the undress uniform of their office—a dark blue swallow-tail coat with gilt or silver buttons, a white tie and the insignia of the highest Russian Order they possessed. I have been told that the Emperor liked seeing on my breast the star of the St. Vladimir Order next to the soldier's cross of the Military Order of St. George. After my report I dined with the foreign Military Attachés and the Emperor's suite. It was a fine and animated sight. The manœuvres were to continue some days longer, and then the Emperor would go on board his yacht *Standard* with his family, and spend part of the autumn among the islands of the Finnish coast, without interrupting the routine work with his Ministers.

THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS II AND THE ANNEXATIONIST CRISIS.

According to the Constitution which the Emperor had granted Russia in consequence of the revolutionary movement of 1905, all foreign affairs were reserved to the sole will and discretion of His Majesty. Thus when Isvolsky set out to negotiate confidentially with Austria-Hungary, Italy, France and Great Britain about compensation for Russia in case Austria-Hungary proclaimed the annexation of the Balkan provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which the Treaty of Berlin of 1878 had allowed her to occupy, the Minister, having obtained the Emperor's consent, had formally the right to proceed on his mission without the ken of any member of the Cabinet and even of the Prime Minister. Our Premier was then Stolypin, one of the great statesmen of modern Russia and Isvolsky's and my personal friend, whose presence at the head of the Government was our last and only hope of avoiding for Russia the cataclysm of a revolution. Isvolsky had actually done this without my knowing it. So when he telegraphed Austria-Hungary's consent to our proposals I, being in complete agreement with his policy, obtained the Emperor's permission to prepare a circular *à la Gortchakoff* (as Isvolsky said) to the Great Powers signatories of the Berlin treaty, inviting them to a Conference for the modification of that treaty on the basis of our agreement with Vienna. Our proposals were formulated in a memorandum of seven points of which one concerned the opening of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to Russian men-of-war, as had been stipulated by our direct treaties with Turkey in 1798, 1805, and 1833.*

* See *Le Bosphore et les Dardanelles*, by Serge Goriainoff, Paris, 1910, chapters IV and VIII.

Before, however, proceeding any further, I thought it my duty to let the Premier know of the new phase of this diplomatic campaign, and telephoned to Stolypin by his private wire that I wished to see him. On arriving at the Winter Palace, where he lived after his villa had been blown up by revolutionaries, I found in Stolypin's study also the Minister of Finance, Kokovtzeff (now Count and a "White Russian" refugee in Paris), and the Minister of War, General Riediger. These two and the Minister of Foreign Affairs formed at that time the Inner Cabinet Council which met only to discuss particularly important and secret business of State. When I laid before this Council Isvolsky's plan, the Emperor's approval and the further steps to be taken, I learned to my extreme surprise that none of these gentlemen had even an inkling of the matter. Then, as Count Kokovtzeff can corroborate, Stolypin declared that he refused absolutely to agree with Isvolsky's plan. He said, with great force and eloquence, that Russia should not give her consent to the annexation of a Slavonic land by a Germanic State, whatever political advantages this might bring to Russia, and added that if Isvolsky's plan was persevered in, he, Stolypin, would resign. Kokovtzeff fully supported the Premier's opinion. General Riediger abstained from expressing any view, saying that this was a purely political matter. And there I stood alone, weighed down by a sudden responsibility for the fate of a European negotiation of historical importance, successfully begun and repeatedly approved by the Emperor, and having to face a Cabinet crisis the issue of which would depend on the decision that had at once to be reached.

The decision rested, in my opinion, solely with the Emperor, and Stolypin agreed to ask His Majesty's permission for him and myself to submit a combined report on this question. This was done in a couple of days. Stolypin, the Naval Minister, Admiral Birileff, and I travelled together to the Finnish skerries, where the *Standard* lay at anchor, in a Government dispatch-boat having on board a wireless telegraphic apparatus which was then a novelty. During this journey of about three hours, I persuaded Stolypin not to speak to the Emperor of his resignation, since I had decided to give up Isvolsky's plan rather than bring about Stolypin's retirement. For I knew full well that this would have brought about the immediate inception of a reactionary policy and the consequent menace of revolution. The latter was happily staved off for three more years, till Stolypin was assassinated in 1911 and reaction began its fatal course. I kept also in mind the British Parliamentary custom—never to let a Cabinet crisis develop out of a question of foreign policy. The Emperor listened in silence to Stolypin's arguments against Russia giving her approval to the annexation of Bosnia and

Herzegovina. Then I concurred with the Premier's opinion and added that new instructions might be sent to Isvolsky. This the Emperor sanctioned, and the necessary telegrams were dispatched to reach Isvolsky in Paris. During this audience I could not help noticing the frigid reserve with which the Emperor listened to Stolypin, so different from the warm and sympathetic attention he showed to me, and I suppose to Isvolsky. I feel sure that had the Prime Minister offered his resignation it would have been accepted.

What happened after this has been well described by Sazonoff in the first chapter of his *Recollections*, as also the circumstances under which Isvolsky chose to accept, in the annexationist crisis, his final personal humiliation at the hands of Austria-Hungary and Germany on March 10th to 23rd, 1909, the date of the German ultimatum. But in all these cases the Emperor's authority and prestige were well shielded by his servants, and when Isvolsky came back in October and approved all I had done, he bore the brunt of his personal failures and soon resigned his Ministerial post, passing it on to Sazonoff.

After the above-mentioned combined report, Stolypin and I were invited to lunch with Their Majesties on the upper deck of their yacht. At table there were only about twelve persons: the Imperial family and their suite. The Emperor was seated at the head of the table having the Empress on his right. Next to Her Majesty sat Stolypin. On the Emperor's left was seated Admiral Birileff, the Naval Minister, who had also to make a report, and I was placed on his left. The four young Grand Duchesses were there also. They chatted merrily and laughed among themselves without joining in the conversation of the grown-ups. The Lady-in-Waiting, the aide-de-camp on duty, and three or four other members of the household occupied the rest of the table. The Heir, the Grand Duke Alexis, was only four, and too small to be admitted. Sitting there, one seemed to be in the country seat of a simple and happy Russian noble family. Only the unceasing whirl of the propeller on the guard boat circling day and night round the Imperial yacht reminded one of the importance of that family and of its perils. The fare was simple, and wine was served in the usual way. The Emperor had before him a small bottle of what seemed to be Crimean port, and drank a wine-glass of it. The Emperor and the Empress spoke to each other, as they always did, in English, and to the Ministers in Russian. Conversation was free and animated and touched on no embarrassing theme. I had the occasion to mention the Emperor's former English tutor, Mr. Charles Heath, an Oxford man who had been previously a teacher at the Imperial Alexander Lyceum, where I graduated, and of whom the Emperor had a pleasant remembrance. I noticed that

the Empress, whom I had not seen for five years, looked thinner and less joyful than in 1903. The day was warm and sunny. The islands round the yacht were of a beautiful green, and one could forget, if only for an hour, that beyond this horizon lay a world of strife, suffering and danger.

THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS II AND THE QUESTION OF THE STRAITS.

The Emperor Nicholas II had always taken a great personal interest in the question of the Straits, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. These are, as Bismarck said years ago, "the keys to our house," and this unchangeable geographical fact establishes for Russia special interests of a political and military kind, as great and as important as Great Britain possesses in the Suez Canal, and America in that of Panama. These interests had been recognised from time to time by Turkey, as has been mentioned above, but never by the Great Powers. Isvolsky's recent diplomatic miscarriage had again put off a European settlement of this question. So I made bold to propose to His Majesty to negotiate once more directly with Turkey on this subject. The Emperor took my report so much to heart that he said to me when it was ended: "I shall remember the 8th September"—the day it was made. Nor did he forget, even after many years. I began the negotiations at once and, so to speak, under His Majesty's eyes, with the Turkish Ambassador in St. Petersburg, Tourkhan Pasha. I continued them in 1911 as Ambassador in Constantinople with the Grand Vizier Said Pasha on the same lines as all my predecessors, differentiating carefully, however, the question of the Straits from that of Constantinople. For certain weighty political reasons Sazonoff interrupted this negotiation with Turkey in 1912, but three years later, during the Great War, he began it again with the Western Powers. When Great Britain and France agreed at last that the Straits, with the (to my mind) dangerous and unnecessary addition of Constantinople, were to become Russian property, Emperor Nicholas II told him that this was the happiest day of his life, as we read in Sazonoff's *Reminiscences*: and then the Emperor wished me to partake of his joy. At the annual meeting of the Imperial Russian Historical Society held as usual in his Palace at Tzarskoye Selo, with His Majesty in the chair, the Emperor said to me privately and trying not to be overheard: "It is coming true," meaning the idea which had impressed him on September 8th, 1908. I may add that he had long desired to have a look at the Straits and Constantinople; first, when he was Heir and intended going to Jerusalem. This journey was countermanded because of an acute conflict which had then sprung up

between the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople and the Porte*; then in 1909, when I was taking leave of the Emperor as his Ambassador to Turkey, His Majesty asked me what I thought of his going to Italy on his long-deferred visit to King Victor Emanuel II by sea, from the Crimea through the Straits? This idea was new, and admirably suited to our interests in Turkey, and I did not hesitate to say so. The Empress spoke to me also on the same subject, but so that I could see that she was opposed to His Majesty's plan. On arriving in Constantinople, I received instructions to negotiate with the Porte about the Emperor's passage and was assured, with expressions of great pleasure, that all would be done just as we wished. The Sultan, when he received me, said how glad he was to learn about the Tzar's approaching arrival. In spite of all this, Isvolsky's further instructions became more and more hesitating. Difficulties of a ceremonial character were raised on the Russian side till at last it was clear that the Emperor had given up his original intention, and he finally travelled from St. Petersburg to Racconigi and back with Isvolsky by rail. This was a very long, complicated, roundabout and dangerous journey, passing through Germany because the Emperor objected to touching on Austrian territory after the Bosnian crisis, and then through France and Northern Italy, remaining all the while exposed to the risk of an attempt on the Tzar's life. The reasons for this change of itinerary must have been very serious. I am sure they were suggested by Russian reactionaries, in whose eyes the recent Young Turk revolution was a heinous crime, and the new Sultan, though the legitimate heir of Abdoul Hamid, a Red usurper not fit to consort with the Tzar. There is now no reason for secrecy in this matter, though, as far as I know, the Emperor's plan to pass through Constantinople and the Straits in 1909 has never been divulged. And I am convinced that had the Emperor been allowed to follow his natural bent and his personal idea, the relations of Turkey, Russia, France and Great Britain could have become so assured that Turkey would not have joined our enemies in 1914.

There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.

Russia missed that flood at Constantinople in 1909, and her friends did the same in 1910, principally because the "Triple Entente," as Sazonoff told me later, did not then extend to the Near East. This is also one of the cases in which, as so often, an unrelenting hostile fate pursued the Emperor Nicholas II.

*See the *Diary of Count Lamsdorff* (1886-1890), Moscow, 1926.

THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS II ON "RETRIBUTION."

In one of my verbal reports to the Emperor in 1908 I happened to speak of "retribution." His Majesty asked me: "Do you believe in retribution?" And when I answered, "I do," the Emperor said: "If I did not believe in retribution I could not live." Thus, I looked unexpectedly and only for a moment behind the veil which concealed from the common eye certain unknown painful inner workings of the Emperor's mind. I dared not probe this wound, and do not know what were the vitally important experiences which were echoed in the Emperor's words. They meant, I think, that Nicholas II was ready to endure much in the belief that his good intentions would find in time their retribution. What seemed to pain the Emperor most was his unsatisfied and, perhaps, subconscious craving after enlightenment and guidance, and his feeling of insuperable spiritual isolation. The veil was particularly impenetrable because of the Emperor's extraordinary self-control. I have never seen him looking vexed or angry or even emotionally affected. He was invariably calm, kind, and considerate. The nearest approach to displeasure I have seen him manifest was his extreme reserve towards Stolypin when listening to the report I have mentioned concerning the annexation crisis.

The Emperor's sincere and deep Russian patriotism was upheld by his thorough knowledge of Russian history and of the Russian language. How well he knew the latter may be seen from his numerous autographic writings in that tongue, always short, pithy, and grammatically faultless, which have survived him, and of which two short notes of April 19th and May 7th, 1909, on diplomatic business addressed to me, are in my possession. I remember also how pleasurably surprised the Emperor was on learning incidentally that Isvolsky and I corresponded in Russian, our diplomatic predecessors having usually done so in French. As to Russian history, this was a subject of the Emperor's special interest and study, and I remember being told by him once that he had come to understand clearly the very complicated relations of the Russian mediæval appanage Principalities only after reading the *History of Russia* of Professor Pavloff. This is a very good textbook published in Moscow in 1906. The book contains also a sufficient account of the original Russian system of political self-government called "vetche" or popular State Assemblies, such as those of Novgorod and Pskoff. These republics invited a Prince of the House of Rurik not to govern them, but to be their military defender and impartial judge. This system has been maintained through a thousand years in its embryonic form in the Russian village community or *mir*, which was modernised, legalised and developed when Alexander II freed the Russian serfs.* This

Tzar Liberator renewed also the Russian form of self-government, the "Zemstvo," which corresponds to British County Councils, and had decided to crown his liberal reforms by admitting elected representatives of these councils to the labours of Imperial legislation when a Nihilist bomb stretched him on his death-bed where I saw him lie in March, 1881.

This crime stopped all progress in the government of the people by the people in Russia for twenty-five years; for the Emperor Nicholas II, like his father, spurned from the beginning of his reign all suggestions of continuing and completing the great liberal reforms of his grandfather, until the revolutionary upheaval of 1905 forced him to grant the Russian Empire a "Constitution," which came too late. He will ever be remembered in the history of Russia as a Sovereign who sincerely loved his country and remained true to his Allies; who, like his father, was always bent on doing his duty even if he sometimes misunderstood it; who was untiringly intent on doing what he believed best for Russia, but lacked independence of character; was never sure of himself, and was persecuted by a relentless fate from the beginning to the frightful end of his life.

N. V. TCHARYKOW.

THE EUROPEAN PROBLEM IN AFRICA.

MR. RAYMOND BUELL gives us in *The Native Problem in Africa** a survey invaluable for a balanced appreciation of African history during the last forty-five years. In its appendices it reprints the most important international acts and conventions, treaties, dispatches and administrative memoranda, together with extracts from judicial decisions relative to that history, and many very instructive and useful statistical tables.

Dealing successively with the territories which he visited Mr. Buell in each case reviews their history and deals with the topics of economic organisation, labour supply, and recruiting, industrialisation of natives, the colour-bar, the rural native, special experiments such as the (Cape) Transkei system, native administration by European Governments, native discontents, General Hertzog's recent schemes of native policy, Indian settlement, Native Protectorates, the settlement of Rhodesia and East Africa, the arbitrary dealings of Europeans and their Governments with native interests in land, the "Dual policy," the theory of European supremacy, the claims and qualifications of local white men to govern black, the system of indirect rule and the development of native self-government, the operation of labour laws, the operation of mandates, the East African and French African projects of federation, European trusteeship for natives, the improvement and development of native institutions, native agriculture and production for export, education, missions, native politics and religion, native Church movements, native French citizenship in Senegal, French military policy and the black soldiery, the modification of French native policy in the direction of indirect rule, the system and results of concessions to "development" Companies in all the different national areas, the dealings with ex-German property and missions, the story of the Congo Free State, its scandals, its liquidation and its bad heritage, pressure, deficiency and diminution of population, the astonishing phenomenon of the recent Firestone agreements for exploiting Liberia, and much besides.

The book, endowed with balance and catholicity by its parallelisms of the treatment of fundamentally similar problems according both to the different conditions of different regions and also to the characteristic points of view, national temperament, experience and practical aims of the several Powers participating in the handling of Africa, impressively conveys a general appreciation of what the accredited agencies of "European civilisation" have been doing in Africa since that Continent was scrambled for and

partitioned, of the actual motives and causes of what has been done as well as the reasons and pretexts that have been promulgated for doing it, and the theories and beliefs about those purposes and explanations commonly current among the home-dwelling publics of the European nations concerned. Valuably too it surveys its subject, not from the general European or any particular nation's point of approach, though these are clearly presented, but rather, as the title suggests, from those of the natives, examining what they are, how they live, what they have done and what has been done to them under the impact of Europeanism, and indicates how these experiences present themselves to them and to those Europeans who have been accustomed to deal with natives not merely as "labour" or "man power," but simply and directly as human persons—for the most part the missionaries, a minority of able and independent-minded administrators, and many sympathetic minor officials who do what they are told in pursuance of the national policy of the moment, but nevertheless have consciences and independent humanities of their own.

It soon grows obvious as we read that most of the problems dealt with are not "native" at all but imported problems of Europeans, as to how they are to discipline Africans according to what they regard as "European" ideas or to induce them to allow themselves to be managed and made use of for white men's purposes. For Africa and its natives these questions rather appear as constituting "the European Problem in Africa." That is one reason of the complexity of the subject. The character, or European ideas of the character, of "The Native Problem" varies conspicuously according to the character of the purposes, incentives and theories with which Europeans have got into contact with Africans. It differs for the merchant, the miner, the planter, the rancher, the missionary, the Imperialist who views these territories as "undeveloped estates," the administrator who views them as human societies, the Nationalist who views them as his own countrymen's property (as Continental and British judges have demonstrated them sometimes to be and sometimes again not to be, in singular coincidence with the purposes for which Europeans approached them), the Internationalist who regards them as held in trust for their native inhabitants, the intelligent Frenchman or Englishman immune from colour prejudice, or the Afrikaner-indoctrinated South African whose outlook is stultified by it. Such distinctive points of view, each framing the native problem in a different perspective, are many and incompatible. Their multiplicity and their inconsistencies make the white man, to the native, a problem truly bewildering and unintelligible. One tells him that the will of God is freedom and justice, and another that it is his duty to work

* *The Native Problem in Africa*. By Raymond Leslie Buell. Macmillans. New York. Two vols.

for the white man and right that he should be deprived of his land and his most obvious elementary liberties in the interests of Christian civilisation. Here are problems indeed, and the sooner we Europeans realise, as Mr. Buell's book so greatly helps us to do, that the "native" problems of Africa are problems chiefly arising from the unprincipled and recreant proceedings of Europeans, the better for the future peace of the world. To appreciate this it is necessary not only to distinguish the operations of those different types of enterprise in which Europeans have come into contact with Africans, but also to recognise that during the development of those contacts there have successively prevailed three distinct phases of European colonial policy.

First, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for the development in the newly discovered countries of the production of things desired by European communities, the foundations of an exploiting Imperialism were deliberately laid on a basis of financial capitalisation. Joint stock enterprise was in fact more early developed in this sphere than it was in that of home manufacture and industry. Excluding small emigrations, such as that of the Pilgrim Fathers or Huguenots, refugees from domestic oppression seeking to build for themselves new homes by their own industry, European colonisation of America, the Antilles, West Africa, the Cape, India and the Malay Archipelago was initiated by the establishment of chartered or licensed companies in England, France, Holland and Portugal. In the Antilles and in America, exactly as in our generation in Africa, the land was granted out by European Governments in large estates or concessions, and by the concessionaires to planters, agents and colonists. Associated companies organised and conducted the slave trade. West African trading posts furnished the slave market. Merchandise was exchanged for slaves with the native tribes, the slaves were marketed to the planters established upon the assigned colonial lands, and their produce shipped back home to the merchants financed by the home investor.

Under the influences associated with the French Revolution and in England with those of Protestant liberalism, the peoples of Europe repudiated this economy. They stopped the slave trade and progressively freed the slaves. There followed the second period of colonial policy, that of Liberal Imperialism, characterised by greatly increased emigration of European workers fleeing from the oppressions of the industrial revolution at home. Thus were founded the free societies of our present white dominions, whilst during the same period Britain especially, being most active in suppressing the slave trade and earnestly libertarian in temper, acquired a special repute as the friend of African peoples. It became an axiom that wherever the British flag flew there liberty,

equality and justice were granted to all races and all colours. For two generations the policy of the British Colonial Office was resolutely and aggressively liberal, establishing these principles even in the Cape Colony in the face of the sullen obstruction of the inheritance of the slave régime. In all British Colonies the expropriation and even the alienation of native land was forbidden, forced labour and child apprenticeship were tabooed and extinguished, and administrative means devised to prevent or to mitigate the oppression of freed slaves by their former masters. On this foundation the policy in our old colonies and in their extensions in West Africa remained, as it still does there, consistently liberal: at the Cape and in Natal the new native territories were protected from white exploitation and a soundly inspired, if slackly pursued, native policy was instituted.

The policy of the third period, that in which we survive, is a deliberate reversion to the capitalised exploiting policy of the first. Joint stock companies were created to exploit the Congo territories and the lands to the north of the Cape Colony (including those of the Transvaal) and East and Central Africa as rapidly as access could be obtained by railways and roads into those territories. The character of much of the process is familiarly scandalous. Its excesses in the Congo State were specially virulent and circumstances conspired to make them widely notorious: but their essential method was in no respect different from that of similarly inspired operations in all the territories made the subject of the later Imperialism. British policy has the least odious record in these operations: but its record is replete with scandals. Public opinion in England, still generally dominated by the complacent tradition established during the period of colonial liberalism, remained serenely passive, and indeed, for the most part completely unaware of what was proceeding.

Those however who, with historical colonial knowledge, were in touch with the facts at the time, realised quite clearly and with concern that about 1890 British colonial policy was breaking away from its traditional principles, founded not only on axioms of Christian civilisation, but on the results of a century of experience in our older mixed communities, and selling the national soul to the exigencies of the new system of capitalised exploitation which inspired the partition of Africa. That breach was resisted strenuously both inside the Colonial Office and by governors and public officers of the Colonial service: but their resistance was ineffectual. The Charter, for example, of the British South Africa Company was drawn with the conscientious intention of safeguarding native rights. Scottish Dukes were placed on the board as a guarantee of high principle. The safeguarding provisions were

from the outset grossly ignored, and the Dukes achieved no function more impressive than that of tobaccoists' Highlanders. For the policy of capitalist exploitation has its own essential methods, identical, fundamentally, with those of the first colonial period. It aims at enabling white men to thrive on the labour of black. All native rights in Rhodesian land were extinguished and first the Chartered Company, by a usurpation later declared illegal, and then in their place the British Crown by a judgment of the Privy Council, constituted themselves exclusive absolute owners. Forced labour, stiff taxation and rents were imposed on the natives: the pressure was not so savage and so unscrupulous as it was elsewhere in Africa, for the British traditions remained of some avail, if not to restrain, at any rate after the Matabele rebellion, tardily and imperfectly to approach reform and justice.

Mr. Buell's book offers the aspect of an aerial survey of the field of African life as affected by European penetration and influence. One recognises the various shades and colourings of the several national policies and methods of economic attack, extending from their original points of origin. Most clearly of all, in the history of the recent period we have presented to us the methods—in varieties of atrocity, cynicism, hypocrisy and complacent self-deception of this attack of the capitalist or European system upon Africa from the characteristically cynical exploiting point of view—succinctly immortalised in that heart-cry of Kenya's leading statesman, worthy to be inscribed in letters of brass on a tablet of mud in the Council house, "If the policy was to be continued that every native was to be a landowner of a sufficient area on which to establish himself, then the question of obtaining a sufficient labour supply would never be settled." And thus surveying the map, and including in our survey the history of the dealings of white men with black on precisely similar principles in our older colonial possessions, we are able to recognise that the distinction sought to be drawn between what is narrowly and ignorantly called the "West African Policy" and the policy preached as suitable for what are called white men's countries in Africa is entirely fallacious and inappropriate. Such a survey, too, disposes of that last refuge of apologetic complacency, the "educational contact" theory, influentially popularised by Lord Milner, and rather muddle-headedly supported by some African educational "experts" to-day, that in order to educate and civilise Africans, and to obtain a prosperous mixed community, it is necessary to compel or induce the native to work on European estates, or at least, to compel him to work. The West Indies are white men's countries, but the outcome of that theory, which dominated public policy there for a generation or two after slavery,

was to make it necessary for planters to introduce indentured Indian labour because the negro was useless, whilst at the same time, notwithstanding all the pressure of land monopoly and taxation, the island of Jamaica was saved from economic and financial collapse by the fact that when Sir Henry Norman's and Lord Grey's Commission visited the West Indies, more than half the island's exports were the produce of negro holdings, with the result that that Commission recommended that what was needed for the prosperity and civilisation of these mixed communities was not the bolstering up of estate cultivation so much as the development and encouragement of the negroes' own agriculture. This is a "white man's country," to say nothing of the fact that without any white estate cultivation at all, West African natives are building up their own prosperity and borrowing European civilisation on the basis of their own production.

In short, Mr. Buell's book, which cannot be summarised, will enable any reader to recognise, examining the conditions of one district after another, that the real distinction of policy in Africa is not between a West African policy and a "white man's country" policy but between the principles of the second period of European colonial policy, which are as applicable to white men's countries as to West Africa, and the scrapping of the principles of traditional British policy, in a reversion (most conspicuous in some particulars outside of British territories but still active in those of the latter in which Capitalism and Afrikanerism coalesce) to the philosophy of the first colonial period, which regarded the black man as intended to work for the white and as having, against the white, no rights in his own land, his labour or his liberty. It enables us to summarise from its incontrovertible records the characteristic methods by which the policy of the current period of "development" has created the European problem in Africa.

Here is a brief extract, true in almost every particular of the administration of British territories, and not only of those of other nations with less enlightened antecedent traditions.

Europeans have declared their own governments the owners of much of the land of these territories and have either dispossessed and evicted from their homes resident natives or exacted high rents from them for permission to continue in residence.

They have enforced agreements purporting to convey vast areas of lands or minerals at absurd prices to European adventurers.

They have exacted heavy tasks of portage, and forced labour on works of "development" undertaken for the purposes of the European, and have legalised or permitted outside the law compulsion to work for private employers. They have, by various means, constrained or suborned native chiefs in order to utilise their authority for the exaction of such forced labour from their tribesmen.

They have imposed upon the natives direct taxes with a view to compelling them to work for the European. With the same object, namely that of ensuring a regular and docile labour supply, they have made laws for the registration of natives and forbidden them to move freely about their own countries. The deprivation of land or the restriction of its use have frequently been utilised to serve the same end.

They have imposed by many laws discrimination against natives as such; they have forbidden the employment of natives in skilled industries operated by machinery; they have rendered it a criminal offence punishable by fine or imprisonment for natives to absent themselves from work without leave, thus depriving them of the right to strike for better conditions; and they have prohibited meetings of natives or the discussion of opinions regarded by Europeans as likely to create disaffection of the natives against their employers or against the above-described proceedings of governments.

The iniquitous and disastrous results of the philosophy of the third period, superimposed on survivals of that of the first, are indeed beginning to be more generally recognised; and although those who realise them have still continuously to resist and expose its encroachments—as we have seen in the history of Kenya (where, fortunately, one of its latest examples—the conscript “Burgher Force” to keep the natives contented—appears, as I write, to have ignominiously crashed)—it is, it may be hoped, not extravagant to share Mr. Buell’s conviction that “Africa is the one continent of the world where with the application of intelligence, knowledge and goodwill, it is not too late to adopt policies which will prevent the development of the acute racial difficulties which have elsewhere arisen and the evils of which have been recognised only after they have come into existence.” But that depends upon the recognition of native rights and liberties in accordance with the principles of the second colonial period.

OLIVIER.

VILNA AND KOVNO: A CONTRAST.

THE Polish-Lithuanian dispute, which again forms a prominent feature of the League’s deliberations at Geneva, is one of those international disputes which assumes rather a different aspect when viewed from the surroundings of its birth-place. Indeed, this dispute has now become so bound up in questions of “Haute Politique” that the more local considerations are apt to become obscured by the larger political problems, of which it forms a factor of no small significance. Yet the local aspect is at the present moment of the greatest importance, partly because it directly affects the more immediate aspect of the question—the frontier *impasse* and the future of diplomatic relations between Poland and Lithuania—and partly because it indicates the lines of thought behind the stubborn policy of M. Valdemaras. If my recent visit to Vilna and Kovno did not inspire any great degree of hope, it was instructive in many new directions and showed that important influences exist, which tend to explain what would otherwise seem to be a wholly unreasonable and uncompromising attitude on the part of the Lithuanians.

A comparison of Vilna, the capital of the Polish province of that name, with Kovno, the *de facto* capital of Lithuania, and of the conditions at present existing in these two centres, brings out into bold relief the mental attitude of the opposing peoples. Not only is Vilna an ancient and a very beautiful city, but it is a holy city. Beautifully situated on a series of prominences overlooking the bends of the River Vilja, and rich in architectural treasures and historical associations, Vilna is a city with well-defined characteristics and with a distinct atmosphere of its own. Although it is situated in the north, its nature is essentially of the south, and its mediævalism differs widely from that usually encountered in Western Europe. The Russians made determined attempts to give Vilna the character of a Russian provincial town, but the Latin influence was so strong that it overcame all resistance and remains to this day the dominating feature of the city. This is reflected in the large number of very beautiful churches with which Vilna is adorned. While it is unnecessary to go into any architectural details, it is significant that some of these masterpieces of the Gothic and Renaissance styles are considered to be among the finest examples of their kind in the world, and are greatly treasured by the local inhabitants.

Besides being an archbishopric of the Greek Orthodox Church and a bishopric of the Church of Rome, there is an ancient university, founded by the Jesuits about A.D. 1570, which is equal in status to the University of Krakow, so that Vilna may be regarded

as a centre of religious and educational culture of some considerable standing. But, apart altogether from this cultural aspect, the city has long been a centre of religious devotion to Poles and Lithuanians alike, and the miraculous image of the Virgin situated over the Ostra Brama Gate is greatly venerated by Greek Catholics as well as by followers of the Church of Rome. Indeed, the street leading up to this gateway is usually thronged with people kneeling before the shrine, while all passers-by, irrespective of creed, take off their hats while walking or driving along this thoroughfare. On the southern wall of the gateway—that which is not occupied by the sacred shrine—the heraldic devices of both Poland and Lithuania are displayed over the gate itself, as may also be noticed on the walls of the University and elsewhere. Yet there is no doubt whatever that, although Vilna was once the capital of Lithuania in mediæval times and was a centre of Lithuanian culture, the outward and visible signs of culture in the Vilna of to-day are entirely Polish in character and construction. But the Poles are not unreasonable over the religious aspect of Vilna, and readily acknowledge the right of the Lithuanians to share in the devotions connected with the Virgin of Ostra Brama. In fact, at the recent ceremony of the "Coronation of the Virgin" they opened the frontier to the Lithuanians, who availed themselves of the courtesy to a certain limited degree, although there was no doubt a feeling of satisfaction in the Polish mind that the Lithuanians were coming to honour "Our Lady of Poland."

This, however, is not the only sense in which Vilna may be regarded as a holy city, for it is a religious centre of eight different religious communities. Besides the followers of the Roman and Greek Churches, there is an ancient Orthodox sect, a large community of Jews headed by a Grand Rabbi, a sect of Jews which is notable for its rejection of the Talmud, a moderate number of Lutherans and Calvinists, and a settlement of Mohammedans with a Grand Mufti, who are of Tartar origin and are descended from prisoners introduced into Poland by the Russians after the Russo-Turkish War. Vilna must, therefore, be regarded as one of those cities which possess, as most holy cities do, certain features scarcely conducive to political peace; and this influence, together with the city's natural dignity and cultural associations, makes it a pride of the Poles and an object of natural envy on the part of the Lithuanians, whose capital it is claimed to be on grounds which are not altogether unjustifiable. The Lithuanians do not merely want to possess Vilna as their capital city, but they feel that a centre with so strong a religious and cultural influence would be a national asset of no small significance. For the same reason the

Poles are equally anxious to retain the city within the frontiers of Poland.

Although Vilna has a strong Jewish element in the population, which is very noticeable amongst the townspeople and shopkeepers, it is obvious even to the casual observer that it is a Polish city. The Polish language is predominant, French, German or Russian being spoken by a very small proportion of the people, while Polish history has left its mark deeply engraved on most of the buildings of any importance. While it is true that the period of union between Lithuania and Poland in the middle ages is represented to some extent in the ancient buildings of Vilna, it is equally true that there are to-day few traces of anything that was definitely Lithuanian.

Yet Vilna has the air of a decadent city. Its glory and prestige belong to the past, and its present appearance is that of a town commercially and economically dead. In ancient times Vilna was an important trading centre between the Baltic and the Black Sea, and fifteen years ago it derived most of its trade from the main railway lines connecting St. Petersburg with Warsaw and Libau with Rostov; but the Great War practically killed Vilna.

Before the war it was the headquarters of a Russian army corps, and to-day it is a Polish military centre, but to describe it as associated with great military activity is to indulge in exaggeration. When I was in Vilna, certain military exercises of a very ordinary nature (corresponding somewhat to our brigade training) were in progress, and there were a good number of Polish officers in evidence, but there was certainly nothing to justify the reports of mobilisation which appeared in sections of the European Press and brought special correspondents from afar to ask the Governor for war news. Judging from the conversations which I had with the Governor of the Province of Vilna and other prominent Poles, the Polish attitude seems to be essentially pacific; and there is even a feeling of sympathy for the Lithuanians, provided that the question of Vilna is left out of account. Poland's position in Europe is such that she could not possibly afford to embark on any aggressive venture, apart altogether from any obligations which she has undertaken, and there is even a distinct feeling in well-informed quarters that the circumstances in which Vilna was annexed have proved detrimental to Polish interests.

Kovno, on the other hand, has sprung from humble origin and, in spite of grave difficulties, is showing signs of some progress. A Russian fortress before the war and, therefore, limited to buildings not exceeding one storey in height, Kovno was until six years ago little more than a large village. Even to-day it has a distinct Russian atmosphere, which is only relieved by an equally striking

likeness to an agricultural town in Western America. The streets are straight and paved with cobble-stones, and primitive trams drawn by one tired-looking horse make their periodical appearance. There are few buildings of any prominence, except the Russian garrison church, yet new buildings and improvements generally are beginning to show themselves in several directions, which seems to indicate that the Lithuanians regard Kovno as a capital with some degree of permanence. Although at present M. Valdemaras governs as a dictator and personally settles even the most minor details of the administration, a Parliament building (which is not shown to visitors) is in course of construction; an imposing edifice has been built to house the Bank of Lithuania; and a new bridge is being built over the Niemen. Besides this, good progress is being made in the development of a residential area on the high ground overlooking the river, and Kovno generally is beginning to assume the characteristics of a small, and perhaps rather primitive, European capital. Although the Lithuanians prefer to build their houses of wood, the Government has decreed that in certain areas only stone or brick buildings are allowed, and in course of time it is hoped that all the wooden houses in the city proper will be replaced by solid stone edifices.

It is impossible to visit Kovno without realising that Lithuania is a very poor country, but there are distinct signs of industry and of a determination to make the best of circumstances. But Lithuania is devoting the best part of her energies to defence. But Lithuania as if the greater proportion of her resources in men and money is being given to the army to the detriment of internal progress. The question of defence occupies the minds of government officials to an abnormal degree, and there is little doubt that efficiency has reached a much higher standard in the army than in any other department of the State. The reason of this is not far to seek.

M. Valdemaras firmly believes in the Polish policy of creating a greater Poland, incorporating Ukrainians, White Russians and Lithuanians, and he regards the Polish occupation of Vilna as merely the beginning of a general Polish movement supported by France, who wants to see a strong Power between Russia and Germany. He is duly alive to the fact that the Lithuanians are a people with little or no culture of their own, who only too readily absorb the cultures of their neighbours, and he fears that, with an open frontier, the Poles would not be slow to take advantage of this weakness for their own benefit. M. Valdemaras further believes that cultural aggression would be followed by economic penetration, which would finally result in Kovno and the remainder of Lithuania being absorbed by Poland. In order, therefore, to protect his country from Polish influence, he insists on keeping the frontier

closed, while he stirs up a strong national enthusiasm over Vilna in order to counter-balance the low culture and economic backwardness of the Lithuanian people. M. Valdemaras apparently still entertains the hope eventually of securing Vilna, but his immediate object is to prevent the Poles from penetrating further into Lithuania and to avoid doing anything which would constitute an admission of Poland's right to Vilna. The foregoing circumstances, added to a natural desire to render Vilna as useless as possible to the Poles, constitute the chief reasons why M. Valdemaras refuses to come to terms with Poland over the frontier question. But for reasons for his supreme obstinacy one has to look further afield.

Although it cannot definitely be stated that Russia and Germany are supporting Lithuania, there is reason to believe that Russia is not disinterested in Lithuania's opposition to Poland, and that Germany would be glad to see the question kept open for some years, in order that she may use her influence when her position is stronger and thereby promote her interests in other directions. While it is a mistake to think that M. Valdemaras is relying on external support, yet he feels that his policy of obstinately refusing to consider the question of re-opening the frontier and of delaying any form of settlement regarding Vilna is acceptable in certain quarters, which may be in a position to help him later on if it is in their interest to do so. Meanwhile, the Lithuanians expect Polish aggression in some form or another, not necessarily in the immediate future, but as opportunity occurs, and they have persuaded themselves that no one will protect them in the event of such aggression. This feeling is particularly noticeable in Kovno, where the Lithuanians give the impression that they have no friends in the world and that they consider themselves doomed to fight a forlorn hope. Certainly, up to date, they have no reason to expect that any Power or Powers would protect them, and the fact that Poland succeeded in breaking the previous line of demarcation without any serious consequences to herself, and has not been requested to evacuate Vilna as a preliminary to negotiations, makes them very apprehensive of the future.

As far as Vilna is concerned, M. Valdemaras has stirred up a marked enthusiasm among the politically-minded classes and throughout the schools, and he is now in a position from which he cannot draw back. Indeed, he has carried his Vilna policy so far that it is doubtful whether his life would be safe, if he compromised with Poland. He has taught the Lithuanians to hate the Poles, and he related to me himself in Kovno how Poland had resolutely opposed Lithuanian independence, how the Poles had betrayed his people during the war to the Russians and Germans, and that animosity was the result. Yet, while it seems quite

possible that M. Valdemaras's hopes of attaining the object of his ambition are not at present very high, he believes that time is all on the side of the Lithuanians, and he is following a policy which he believes to be for the good of his country by doing everything in his power to safeguard what remains of Lithuania. This fear of Polish aggression, which seems to be the keynote of the present situation, has become an *idée fixe* almost obscuring the question of recovering Vilna, but it is sapping all the energies of the Lithuanians, who trust no one and, therefore, cannot see the world in its proper perspective. There is a certain tragedy in the atmosphere of Kovno to-day, and there is a feeling that the people are slowly bowing to some inevitable fate which has no connection with Vilna. It is difficult to analyse one's impressions in this direction. The Lithuanians are good-natured, religious, hard-working and patriotic, and there seems no apparent reason why with time and perseverance they should not succeed in building up a nation. They need help, and there is little doubt that this would be forthcoming, if M. Valdemaras were to change his general attitude. Formerly, the Lithuanians had many sympathisers both in this country and elsewhere, but now M. Valdemaras has succeeded in turning nearly all his friends against him. His uncompromising attitude threatens to place the League in an exceedingly difficult position, and it is hard to conceive what action the League Council are in a position to take in the matter. Yet M. Valdemaras says that the present impossible situation is likely to continue indefinitely, and he has the thinking people of Lithuania behind him.

Perhaps in recent years there has been a tendency to overestimate the cultural qualities of the Lithuanians, and to believe too readily that they could weld themselves into a homogeneous whole. Their weakness in absorbing foreign cultures as easily as they do does not hold out any very hopeful prospect for the future, and it seems that they are now struggling to achieve their cultural independence with materials which scarcely exist. With the best will in the world it is impossible to construct an edifice without materials, and it almost seems as if the League of Nations should consider whether some sort of advisory system would not be beneficial from several points of view until such time as Lithuania has advanced sufficiently to thrive as an independent State. The Lithuanians themselves are inclined to look back on the past and consider the standard of their culture in the Middle Ages, ignoring the fact that for centuries they have lived under the heel of Russia. Unless they are prepared to face the perhaps rather unpleasant reality of their position, and submit to the advice of those who are honestly anxious to help them, there seems little hope that they will be able to resist absorption by their neighbours.

THE LAWS OF HOWEL THE GOOD.*

(HYWEL DDA.)

THE code which bears the name of Howel the Good, a Welsh Prince of the tenth century after Christ, is one of a group of codes which mark a well-defined stage in the evolution of law in Western Europe. This group is known collectively as the Laws of the Barbarians (*Leges Barbarorum*), and is subdivided into racial sections—Keltic, Anglo-Saxon, German, Scandinavian, and West-Gothic. The Code of Howel belongs, of course, to the first of these groups, the Keltic, which is one of the smallest, including only (in addition to the Welsh Laws) the extremely interesting Irish Laws (the great *Senchas Mór*, the Book of Aicill, and the *Corus Bescna*), and the tiny fragment, all that survives of the scanty Scottish section, the *Leges inter Brettos et Scottos*. The poor showing of Caledonia in this connection is accounted for in various ways, upon which it is not necessary to dwell. Suffice it to say that, as usual, the blame is laid on England.

Let it be premised at once that the term "barbarian," applied to this group of laws, is in no sense a term of reproach. The "barbarian" is a definite, or, at least, a well-marked, stage in social evolution, which is by no means without attractiveness. The barbarian (a name invented by the cultured Greek to describe what he deemed to be the babbling gibberish of the peoples with whom he came into contact) is, in many ways, an attractive person. A child of the open air, rather noisy, rather quarrelsome, indifferent to the pursuit of gain but devoted to sport and the chase, loyal to those whom he considers to be in his "set" but cherishing a deep contempt for "outsiders," he resembles a good deal the modern public-school boy; and who shall deny that the public-school boy is a lovable personality? If he inflicts a good deal of unnecessary suffering, it is largely from excess of animal spirits, and, perhaps, somewhat from lack of mental resources. Frankly, he is bored by the "civilised" person—the thinker, the speculator, the prudent calculator, the careful accumulator of wealth, the staid citizen—and thinks it good fun to make life a burden to such a person. Well, we all have our little weaknesses.

The Barbarian Codes date, of course, from an epoch long anterior to the days of printing; and one of the chief difficulties in the study of them lies in the fact that the earliest records which survive take the form of manuscripts of various degrees of obscurity. In some instances this obscurity is due to purely physical causes. Parchment, or sheepskin, the universal record material of the Middle

* Delivered as an Address before University College, Cardiff, at the Howel Commemoration on May 9th.

Ages, was costly; and the supply was apt to run short. In these circumstances, a scribe, anxious to indite new matter, would often seize a parchment which had already been used, hastily attempt, by the use of pumice stone or other rough detergent, to obliterate matter for which there had ceased to be a demand, and write his own production on the obliterated text. A superimposed writing of such a kind is known, technically, as a "palimpsest." This process might be more than once repeated, with the result that the same parchment in the end contained three or even four totally different texts, wholly unrelated to each other except by physical contact. Here was a fine field for the future Dryasdust; and some brilliant discoveries in the deciphering of buried texts were from time to time made.

Of these the most famous amongst lawyers is the discovery by the German historian Niebuhr, who, on a journey to Rome in the year 1816, passed a night at the ancient city of Verona. Having an hour or two on his hands after dinner, he dropped into the Cathedral Library, and, whilst there, was shown a manuscript which professed to contain a copy of the Epistles of St. Jerome, a theological production of no particular interest to him. His trained eye soon discovered that the theological treatise was a "palimpsest"; i.e., a later work which had been superimposed on an earlier inscription, clumsily erased in the manner above described. Pursuing his researches, Niebuhr became interested to find that, underneath the theological treatise, there could be traced passages which reminded him of a famous, but long-lost, work of the great Roman jurist Gaius, extracts from which had been preserved by quotation in the works of later Roman jurists, but all complete versions of which were believed to have wholly perished. Now thoroughly excited, Niebuhr, through a friend whom he had acquainted with his discovery, obtained from the Cathedral authorities of Verona permission to make a scientific treatment of the manuscript; and his perseverance was ultimately rewarded by the recovery of the bulk of the long-lost Commentaries on the Roman Law of the second century of the great jurist Gaius, a recovery which revolutionised the study of the History of Roman Law. It was, perhaps, fortunate that there were no cinemas or other modern attractions in the Verona of 1816; so that Niebuhr was, as it were, almost compelled to devote his evening's leisure to the comparatively uninteresting pursuit of dabbling in cathedral manuscripts.

The study of the Barbarian Codes has not, perhaps, been attended by any such dramatic incidents as that which brought to light the lost Commentaries of Gaius. But if there have been no physical palimpsests among these Codes, almost every one of them

may be described as a mental palimpsest; that is to say, scarcely one of them, as known to us, represents a definite creation, the work of a single mind, of a contemporary picture of legal conditions. On the contrary, they represent (and the Code of Howel is no exception) a series of contributions by different persons, living at different epochs, in some cases speaking different tongues, and, often, obviously ignorant of the meaning of their predecessors. The most vivid illustration of the truth of this statement is to be found in the great synoptic edition by Hessels and Kern of the famous *Lex Salica*, or Law of the Salian Franks, one of the oldest, if not the oldest, of the surviving Barbarian Codes, known to the general public chiefly by one of its provisions (grossly misunderstood) which, as it was once put by a candidate in an examination answer, "prevented a woman sitting on the Crown of France." This great synoptic edition ranges in parallel columns some ten or twelve manuscripts of the famous Salic Law in order of their dates, thereby bringing out the alterations from time to time made in the Code as circumstances changed and rules of conduct altered, until the final version, when compared with the oldest, rather suggests the well-known parlour game of our youth, in which a story, whispered from ear to ear round a circle of players, is found in the end to differ so strikingly from its earliest form as to be hardly recognisable as a version of the original.

Unfortunately, we have no such wealth of material for the study of the Code of Howel as we have for the Salic Law; nor, still more unfortunately, has there been devoted to the study of the texts of the Welsh Code which do survive, anything like the minute and careful scholarship of Drs. Hessels and Kern, or that of Dr. Liebermann, in his classical edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws. By long and, on the whole, probably authentic tradition, Howel's Code was drawn up in the first half of the tenth century after Christ, at the White House, or Hunting Lodge of the King on the Taw, near Whitland, in Caermarthenshire, by representatives from all the commotes and cantreys of Wales; and it is this composition, and the publication of it which followed thereupon, of which we are, in this year, celebrating the thousandth anniversary. But the Code itself, in at least one of its versions, tells us expressly that it was founded on the older code of one Dyfnwal Moelmud, a legendary Welsh Prince of five centuries or thereabouts earlier; and, though the name may be a myth, it is quite clear that Howel did not begin to write on a clean sheet, nor did his assembly invent new laws out of their own heads. Moreover, our earliest surviving manuscripts of the Code of Howel date only from the twelfth century, and are in Latin; while the oldest Welsh versions which survive are from the early thirteenth. Finally, there are different

versions for different parts of Wales. Evidently we are, therefore, in the Code of Howel, dealing with a mental palimpsest of the most pronounced kind; and it would be dangerous, as well as unprofitable, to attempt any dogmatic summary of the Welsh Law of Howel's day. All that we can hope to do, in the light of present knowledge, is to draw from the versions of the Code which we possess, some hints as to the various stages of history which had resulted in the creation of the Welsh nation, as it was in the last epoch of its separate and independent political existence.

It is now generally agreed (the evidence being well summarised in the excellent little book by the late Sir John Rhys and Sir David Brynmor Jones, entitled *The Welsh People*) that the Kelts arrived in these islands in two distinct waves of migration; the first, known as the "Goidhels," perhaps about a thousand years before Christ, the second, about eight or nine hundred years later, known as the "Brythons" or "Gaels," destined to prove the more influential in moulding the national institutions, and achieving the triumph of imposing their name, not merely on the largest island of the group, but, ultimately, on the British Empire of to-day. The Keltic migrations seem to have followed from the East the river valleys of the Danube and the Rhine, in preference to the more northerly and rugged route adopted by their successors and destined rivals; and those who have studied the important question: "*Comment la route crée le type social*," propounded by a very interesting group of French geographers (dispersed, unhappily, by the late war), may draw their own inferences as to the effect of this route upon the Keltic character.

More important, at least more obvious, would appear to be the effect upon the invaders of the presence in these islands of a race wholly foreign to their own, of unknown antiquity, often called "Iberians," believed to have migrated northwards from Mediterranean lands along the Atlantic coast, leaving vivid traces of their passage in the dolmens and menhirs of Brittany, the cromlechs of Wales, and the huge trilithons of Stonehenge. Probably they reached what afterwards became Britain by land, ere the shallow Channel which now separates that island from the Continent was made; though they may have crossed to Ireland, on which they have bestowed their Latinised name of *Hibernia*, in those light coracles which are still found on the western coasts of Britain. Of course this pre-historic invasion links on to the famous legend of a lost Atlantis, submerged beneath the sea, of which Lyonesse, famed in Arthurian story, is a fragment. But on that there is no time to dwell.

What, however, is fairly clear is, that the oldest and most genuine parts of the Code of Howel are concerned with maintaining

that purity of blood which is always deemed to be essential by a conquering race ruling over a subject population considered to be of an inferior type. Probably the invading Brython treated his Keltic cousin, the Goidhel, when he did not drive him west to Ireland, more or less as an equal; though he by no means admitted him into the sacred caste of the "innate bonheddig," or true Kymry. The *aillt* and *alltud*, of whom we read so much in the Code, may have comprised both the kinless Brython or Kymry and the Goidhel. But the *taeog*, or serf, who dwelt with his kind in a *taeog-trev* governed by principles far different from those of the free-born *gwely*, is the dark Mediterranean man, who trembled before the Druids and their mystic rites, the nature-worshipper, who reckoned kinship through the mother alone, and held strange converse with the birds and beasts. He has left not a few traces in the Code; for example, in the legality reluctantly conceded to certain irregular marriages which Howel's priestly advisers evidently considered to be relics of heathendom. We are also, probably, not far wrong in tracing to him the mysterious statement of the Laws, that "a hare has no legal worth fixed on it, because during one month it is male and during the other female."

The Keltic foundation of Howel's Code is, then, the strict organisation of the free Kymry on the basis of blood-relationship through males. This passing from maternal to paternal descent—"agnatic kinship" as it is called—appears to have been a step taken, at one time or another, by all progressive societies, at any rate in the West; and evidently by the Brython it was regarded as the Ark of the Covenant, the more especially as Brythonic society had been reconstructed anew, after the shock of the Roman invasions, by a group of kinsmen known as the "Sons of Cunedda," who, in the early fifth century after Christ, came from the northern part of Keltic Britain, known as Strathclyde, and founded at Aberffraw, in Anglesey (Mona), what was destined to become the nucleus of the Welsh State. These men called themselves "Kymry," or, as an Englishman would say, "comrades"; the modern terms "Wales" and "Welsh" ("stranger") being terms of opprobrium conferred upon their enemies by the hostile Saxons.

The two essential units of society which Howel's Code reveals to us are the *gwely* and the *cenedd*. The former is a land-owning group, representing three descents from a common ancestor or *pentuleu*, each male member becoming entitled, on attaining his majority, to a share in the land of the group, which group remains intact until the fourth generation, when it is split up into as many new *gwelys* as the founder had sons whose issue survive. Thus the *gwely* is a group which is constantly dissolving and reforming:

but its dissolution does not sever the tie of kinship, which continues to the ninth degree, within which all the male descendants through males continue to form the *cededl* or kindred, under its chief, or *pencedl*. The main object or purpose of this larger group is of deep interest to the student of social history; and a word upon it must complete all that space allows for the oldest stratum in Howel's Code.

It is well established that, historically speaking, the whole of what we call the administration of justice has grown out of the appeasement of the blood-feud, i.e., the organised vengeance of the kindred of the slain against the kindred of the slayer. In a debased form, this practice survives to the present day among the backward races of southern Europe; and it is, of course, widely spread among the less civilised peoples of the East. But in those societies which have made their way from anarchy to order, it has been superseded, at first tentatively and optionally, afterwards compulsorily, by the blood-fine—the *galanas* of the Kymry, the *wer* of the English, the *cro* of the Scots—and, ultimately, by the ordered dispensation of State justice. In the Code of Howel, we are shown the second stage of this process, in which the feud is bought off by the *galanas*; and the *cededl*, or kindred, is the group which receives, or, as the case may be, is liable to pay, the *galanas*, according to minutely regulated proportions. This is a deeply interesting and important principle, for it has much to do with the early stages of the laws of inheritance of a deceased person's property. Here we can only refer to one special feature which distinguishes the Welsh Code from other cognate collections in this matter; and this will bring us to the second stratum of our palimpsest.

It has been acutely remarked by a learned Welsh historian, Professor J. E. Lloyd, that "*galanas*," the word used by Howel to signify the blood-fine, is not the earliest Welsh word for that institution. The earliest is *dirwy*, equivalent to the *coirp-dire* of the ancient Irish Laws, where it is used for the fine paid by the kindred of the slayer to the kindred of the slain. But in Howel's Code, the *dirwy* has become the penalty or forfeiture paid to the Prince or State as punishment, not as compensation or composition; and this change from its original meaning is attributed by the historian named to the influence of the brief but efficient Roman administration of the first four centuries of the Christian era, which certainly penetrated far into Wales, and which, of course, as a civilised system, could not tolerate such barbarous practices as buying off the feud. But, when the Roman legions were withdrawn, the old practice revived—and the word *galanas* was adopted to describe it; the *dirwy* remaining as an ideal, to be enforced just

whenever there was a ruler strong enough to enforce it. It thus duly appears in Howel's Code. Whether it was actually enforced by him, it is difficult to say. The arrangement corresponds exactly to the Anglo-Saxon "*wer and wite*."

The circumstances in which the tottering Roman Empire, hard pressed on its Eastern frontiers, withdrew, at the beginning of the fifth century after Christ, from its control of Britain, are well-known. In the year 410, the Emperor Honorius uttered the ominous words: "Let the cities of Britain defend themselves." Thirty-six years later, after the treason of Vortigern, came the despairing cry of the British chiefs recorded by Gildas: "The barbarians drive us to the sea. The sea drives us back on the barbarians. Thus we are left with the choice of having our throats cut or being drowned." The cry was in vain; and the Britons, who had learned for four centuries to lean on the might of the legions for protection and the Roman pro-consuls for government, were left alone to carry on the defence of their country against the swarms of heathen—Saxons, Danes, and Norsemen—who swept round their coasts, east, south, and even west, harrying, pillaging, and, what was even worse, pushing on with dogged tenacity the settlement of the eastern and central parts of the island by their townships and hundreds, driving the ancient inhabitants ever further towards the west. From the fact that the eastern invaders are, almost invariably, described in the British records as "Saxons" (*Sayson*), we gather that the earliest and severest struggles were with the growing power of Wessex; though, later, the consolidation of the great midland power of Mercia left a permanent reminder of the long drawn-out agony in the huge Offa's Dyke (*Clawdd Offa*), stretching north and south from the Dee to the Wye, of which fragments still remain. It was just at this period that the migration from Strathclyde of Cunedda and his sons, from whom Howel himself, and his great ancestor Rhodri, derived, appeared upon the scene. But the romance of the struggle centres round the heroic Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table, the basis of whose widespread legend is to be found in the desperate attempts of the British hero to stem the invading tide of heathens, the worshippers of Odin and Thor. It is with him, the *dux bellorum*, that the centre of the struggle moves to the south; and his crowning victory at Mount Badon, in Wiltshire, powerless as it was to stay permanently the march of events, left behind it a new nation which, despite defeat and disunion, never lost its ideal as the representative and successor of the Roman Empire, till the disastrous defeat of

Cadwaladr, the last "King of Britain," in A.D. 650, and his death fourteen years later.

On the romantic legends which gather round the name of Arthur, it is impossible to dwell here. The native version is to be found enshrined in the fascinating pages of the Mabinogion, preserved in the Red Book of Hergest, whose stories of the days when "Arthur was at Cærlleon-upon-Usk," the great Camp of the Legions in south-eastern Wales, are familiar to students of Welsh literature. After all allowance made for poetic license, they reveal a character of great beauty and high ideals, which inspired the pen of an English Laureate who, with the eye of imagination, saw the figure of the British hero riding forth to the fatal field of Camlan, the "dragon of the great Pendragonship" blazing on his helmet. It is significant that Arthur met his death, not in battle against the heathen foe, but in civil war against his own nephew Mordred. Nor is it without irony that the united kingdom of the long-divided heathen (then heathen no longer) was formed under a "Bretwalda" who borrowed his title from the race against which he had waged relentless war. Strangest of all, if we may believe the author of a recent much-discussed historical novel, *The Ugly Duchess*, the swashbucklers of Bavaria, so late as the fifteenth century, formed the wild scheme of ruling the Holy Roman Empire of the later Middle Ages through a revival of Arthur's Round Table of Knights, a reminder of which freak of history remains to this day in the magnificent tomb of Kaiser Maximilian I at Innsbruck in Tirol, where the silver statue of Arthur appears under the astonishing title of "König von England."

All this is, doubtless, to be received with caution. On the other hand, there is danger in too great scepticism. Who knows but that some future historian of our own time, confused by studies in the Party Press of the early twentieth century (carefully preserved in the Bodleian Library), may not conclude that Mr. Lloyd George was a solar myth, and Lord Grey of Fallodon a legendary All-Father of the Birds and Little Fishes? At least the vision of a great all-powerful kingship leaps to the eye in the opening chapters of Howel's Code, which contain an elaborate description of the King's Household, his officers and their duties, visibly modelled on the semi-Oriental Court of Byzantium, which had, by Howel's day, taken the place of the ancient City of the Seven Hills, as the centre of the Roman Empire. This, we may suspect, was the special contribution of Howel himself, who had succeeded, temporarily at least, in uniting in his own person the kingdoms of Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth, and made himself Prince of all Wales. But we find it difficult to believe in the genuineness of his Twenty-Four Officers of the Household—his Falconer, his Page

of the Chamber, his Silentary, his Groom of the Rein, his Candle-bearer, his Footholder, and the host of others, their perquisites and their duties. In truth, the contribution of Rome to what may be called the working chapters of the Code is small, as has been well pointed out—exception being always made of the transmutation, before alluded to, of the barbaric *dirwy*, or blood-money, into a punishment for breach of the King's Peace by the murderer. Scarcely does the *gwlad*, or country, even in the Code, supersede the older *cenedd* or kindred, as the political unit; though a Triad or commentary of later and suspect origin alleges that "three things are common to a *gwlad*; an army, and pleas, and a church."

In truth, beyond the vague and feebly realised vision of a united State, the contribution of Rome to the building of Welsh nationality seems to have been rather in the domain of the arts and crafts than of law. According to the evidence of language, as studied by the eminent French philologist, M. Joseph Loth (*Les mots latins dans les langues britaniques*), the Welsh farmer owes to the Roman corn, hay, the horse, the mill, the ditch, the hurdle, the reaping hook, and the market—in other words, the outfit of agriculture as distinct from pastoral pursuits; the Welsh scribe owes to him his alphabet, and the letters or script which replaced the old ogam or runic writing of the Kelt; while the Welsh householder has to thank him for the window, the fireplace, the drain-pipe, the mantel-piece, the roof-tile, the table, that useful article soap, and the doubtful boon of the tavern. But the third and last stage in the building of Welsh nationality comes from quite another source.

"First the natural, afterwards that which is spiritual," or, as the Senchas Mór puts it: "The Law of Nature prevailed until the written law penetrated it." The "written law," for the Kelt, was not, as has been said, the Roman Law, but the Gospel of the Book, the Law of Christ. Though the Vulgate of St. Jerome did not reach Wales till the mid-sixth century, a striking and powerful missionary effort had been at work there since the fourth. Saint Patrick, though he may well have been born in Wales, devoted his chief labours to Ireland, of which he became, as all know, the patron saint. But Saint Illtud, and, after him, his disciples, Saint David and Saint Gildas, came upon the scene soon after the Battle of Deorham had cut off from Wales the Keltic country which we now call Cornwall, and the Battle of Chester had severed from it its northern limb, Strathclyde. This narrowing of its political boundaries seems only to have intensified the passionate religious life of Wales, so well described in the recent penetrating and learned

study of M. Jacques Chevalier, of the University of Grenoble,* which has received far too little attention. Under the gentle sway of Saint David, and the stern admonitions of Gildas, Wales was covered with crowded abbeys in which the faithful gathered together to lead the religious life apart from the stormy world of wars and politics. Saint David's own church, in the far south-west, became the centre of Keltic Christianity, with the Keltic lands of Galloway, Cornwall, Ireland, and Brittany (colonised from Wales) almost in view; and the Keltic Penitentials of these lands penetrated far and wide through Europe. These are, emphatically, the Lands of the Saints; and such picturesque place-names as St. Just in Roseland and Uny Lelant in Cornwall, and such quaint survivals as the "Pardons" of Brittany, testify to the influence of Keltic missionaries. If Arthur fought with carnal weapons against the heathen Saxon, Saint Aidan and Saint Adamnan wrestled for the souls of the heathen Angles in Northumbria; and, though the quarrel between the Keltic churches and the later Roman "obedience" of Saint Augustine ended in a victory for the latter at the Conference of Streonalesch Abbey, near Whitby, in the seventh century, the Welsh Church preserved its independence till the twelfth, though it is to be observed that Howel sought the approval of his work from the acknowledged Head of the Western Church at Rome.

The circumstances of the dramatic meeting near Whitby, and the manner in which the controversy was closed by the prosaic common-sense of the Northumbrian Oswy, are well known. St. Columba and his friends insisted on the superior antiquity of their Church. The successors of St. Augustine relied upon the well-known text: "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church; . . . And I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven" (Matt. xvi, 17, 18). The last argument was conclusive with King Oswy. "And I say to you because Peter is door-keeper, I will not contradict him, but will obey his commands to the utmost of my power, lest peradventure I coming to the gates of heaven, he who holds the keys may turn his face from me." Perhaps, after such a notoriously prejudiced decision, it is not to be wondered at that the question of the date of Easter, one of the points of dispute at the famous meeting of the Churches at Whitby in 664, should, in this present year of grace (1928), actually be the subject of a Bill before the Parliament at Westminster. Howel's Code is, of course, full of Christian influences on every page.

Thus the bond of blood, the bond of a common country, and the

* *La Formation de la Nationalité et les réveils religieux au Pays de Galles.* Paris, Alcan, 1923.

bond of religion, are the three great influences which have gone to the making of Welsh nationality. The Code of Howel was drawn up on the eve of great changes which were to subject Welsh and English alike to a common conqueror, but, after a period of stern alien domination, to see them both emerge as free and self-respecting peoples, widely different in character and ideals, but united now by many centuries of growing friendship. The Welshman is imaginative and idealistic, the Englishman prosaic and practical; the Welshman is hasty and volatile, the Englishman slow and plodding; the Welshman is careless of details, the Englishman tidy and orderly; the Welshman is a land animal, the Englishman has the sea in his blood; Wales is the "Land of our Fathers," England, as her poet sings, is "England my own." In old, unhappy times, these differences made for wars and conflicts, in which each side strove to stamp out the special characteristics of its rival. The world, after much suffering, is growing wiser now. For, surely, the lesson of history is, that the union of diverse virtues tends to make a finer whole. The Welsh have, at their great gatherings for poetry and music, a picturesque ceremony which takes the form of a dramatic question: "Is it peace?"; and it is not without significance that the great Welsh law-giver whom we celebrate this year visited the court of Edward and Athelstan of England in the spirit of friendship. He was before his time. Long centuries of struggle and conflict lay before the Welsh and the English. But for many a generation now, as each has learned to appreciate the virtues of the other, the answer has come, with ever-growing heartiness: "It is peace."

EDWARD JENKS.

MAX WEBER

SCHOLAR AND POLITICIAN.

MAX WEBER'S fame rests on his achievements in the social and historical sciences.* As a student he impressed his teachers by his outstanding talents, and Mommsen closed a public discussion with the young graduate with these words: "There is no one on whose shoulders I would rather place the burden of this science when I have to go." His later development was to surpass the expectations of his teachers. The versatility of his mind was wonderful. He was as much at home in Roman agriculture as in the history of modern capitalism, the connection of which with Protestant ethics he so cleverly illustrated. One day he wrote about the social ethics of the religions of the world, another about the sociology of music or the organisation of the stock exchange. His genius embraces every aspect of social life from the remotest past to the present time.

This craving for knowledge was, however, but one element in Weber's nature; for he was not only contemplative but active, not only receptive but endowed with a creative attitude towards the life of the community. In fact, Troeltsch declared that Weber's researches, despite their depth and power, were only as it were the outworks of his life. At heart, says Troeltsch, he was a politician, a glowing patriot seeing his country on the wrong road, passionately wishing to take the lead; but existing conditions prevented him from achieving his wish. He had in fact wavered for a long time whether he should embrace the academic career for which he was predestined by his talents. Especially in his younger years he seems to have considered scholarship a secondary occupation rather than his main interest. Political and social questions were in the foreground. His temperament craved for stormy fights and formidable tactics. He always envied a captain's responsibility for human lives. He finally turned to the academic career, where he was destined to great success, but without relinquishing politics. At this time he said to Brentano: "The success which I attained in my academic career I neither strove for nor demanded. It leaves me fairly cold, as it does not answer my question whether this particular career is really my special line." All the same he postponed his attempt to enter practical politics. In 1897 he refused to stand as liberal candidate for the Reichstag, a new sphere of work being thrown open to him in Heidelberg. At the decisive moment the contemplative elements triumphed over the active side of his nature. At last, in 1919, a meeting of the Frankfurt Democratic

* See Marianne Weber, *Max Weber, Ein Lebensbild*, 1926. An English translation of his *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* was published in 1927.

Party placed him at the head of their list as their candidate, and Weber accepted their choice. Some of the big-wigs of the party, however, disregarding the plébiscite of the members, put his name further down on the list. He was so disgusted with these intrigues that he withdrew from the candidature and accepted a professorship at Munich, though still refusing to believe that teaching was to be the one and only form of his activity. His wife once expressed her opinion that the nation would surely call him. His solemn words, "Yes, I have the feeling as if life has withheld something from me," are a proof of his secret hopes. However, in 1920 he died without having been called by his nation.

Of Weber's writings the best and deepest are those bearing on "Politics as a Profession" and the "Call" to politics. He could never give himself up to politics entirely; had he, in spite of this, the vocation for politics? The specific ethos of the politician, he explains, consists of passion, sense of responsibility; and proportion. Passion as an absolute devotion to a cause, to the god or demon who is its master; responsibility as the will to consider the consequences of his actions coldly and deeply; proportion as the feeling of distance towards men and things which enables him to judge them correctly. And above all, whatever end he may be serving, he always needs the faith in it, if the curse of human nonentity is not to weigh on him. If there was anybody in existence it was he who was filled to the brim with this ethos. Yet he lacked something of the real politician. He himself pointed out that not only the motives of the politician himself, but also those of his adherents, decide the success of his endeavours. The politician, since he is forced to influence the world as it is, has to count with the foibles of mankind and, indeed, has to make them serve his own purposes. The actions of the politician, he declares, are in this sense ruled not by conviction but by responsibility. He therefore cannot reject, as the man of ethical convictions should do, all actions involving morally dangerous means: on the contrary, he must take them upon himself and place his own soul at stake, being burdened by the responsibility of the success of his cause. Only he who is sure not to go under if the world, seen from his standpoint, appears too stupid or too vile for what he is going to offer—only he who is still able to say: "I shall do it for all that"—has the real vocation for politics in his soul. Weber seems to have lacked this ultimate strength. He could not and would not avail himself of the intellectual and ethical weaknesses of men to gain a position at the wheel, but expected their rational and ethical insight to carry him to power. In spite of all his eminently political qualifications he had not the real vocation for the politician because he desired to be

"called and chosen." The absolute activity, unencumbered by speculations, was missing.

As a subtle sociologist Weber was fully conscious of the difficulty, the very hopelessness of his fight. Clearly perceiving the distinct tendency to turn back to the social groups of the Middle Ages, the fear of a democratic preponderance was incomprehensible to him. In 1905 he expected from the first Russian Revolution a favourable effect on the home politics of Germany, and one of the last opportunities for the foundation of a thoroughly liberal culture. Everywhere he perceived signs of growing illiberality. In the organised industrial life he detected chains of bondage. "In view of these aspects they may rest at ease who live in the constant fear that there may one day be too much democracy and individualism but too little authority, aristocracy and respect of office. From experience we know that history inexorably brings forth aristocracies, authorities to which may cling whoever thinks it necessary for himself or for the nation." This conviction was one of the reasons for Weber's passionate advocacy of democracy during the world-war.

Was Weber for this reason a democrat in the real sense of the word? If one were to classify him politically, one would call him rather a liberal. Throughout life he adhered to liberalism as the political expression of a world philosophy which considers the development of autonomous personality as of supreme value, and regards this development not as the sole but as the most important goal of the institutions of society and the State. He was, however, free from certain illusions of the older liberalism. He was far from believing that the free play of economic and political forces would establish happiness on earth. He did not believe in a future paradise from socialism or anything else. He who wishes to work in politics must be free from illusions and must know the fundamentals of the eternal struggles of mankind.

He rejected the idea of creating the happiness of the masses. When he advocated social politics he was not moved by infinite longing for men's happiness. "We desire something else and can desire only something else. We wish to cherish and to support what seems valuable in mankind, the feeling of responsibility for themselves, their deep longing for elevation, for the intellectual and ethical good of humanity, wherever it appears to us in its most primitive form. As far as it is in our power we wish to shape the external conditions not only for wellbeing, but despite the needs of the inevitable struggle for existence, to protect and preserve their best qualities, physical and psychical, for the nation." Weber advocates social politics not only on the plea of human dignity and justice. Social and political justice are a guarantee of

national power, which was for him a positive dogma. The nation and its strength were to him of highest importance, and therefore in all questions concerning the form of a State he was a pure relativist. The existing form was only what it could achieve for the political interests of the nation, and particularly for its external position.

When Weber was born in 1864 United Germany was but a hope. In the eighties, when he was able to take in the first decisive impressions, the nation had not only completed its union of States but also, through Bismarck's skill, had become the dominant factor of European politics. The Berlin Congress had shown him as the arbiter of Europe. No wonder that he looked in reverence and admiration to Bismarck as the creator of the realm—not only then but throughout his life. Yet for all his admiration he was able to stand at a certain distance away from Bismarck. Unlike so many others, he not only saw his genius but also his limitations. It was clear to him that Caesarism only suited a genius, and for this reason the question of succession was the vulnerable point.

In Bunsen's words: "Bismarck made Germany great, but the Germans small." Weber had this instinctive feeling when a young man and voiced it; turning against the uncritical worship of Bismarck. He thought his insatiable lust of power fatal, because it prevented any other important personality, who might have succeeded him, from asserting himself, and accustomed the nation to subject itself to official authority. The education of the nation for independent political thinking seemed to Weber, when still a student, the indispensable foundation for world politics and power. He repeatedly says that the wish for impotence at home, which the enemies of democracy are preaching, is incompatible with the will for power abroad which the very same party so emphatically expressed. "Only master-nations are entitled to work the wheels of the world." This will to impotence, however, was systematically bred by Bismarck who, towards the end of the seventies, changed front in home politics and led to the destruction of German liberalism. In this breakdown Weber saw the root of all the later evils of German politics.

Weber has shown what fatal consequences this system was to produce when Bismarck was succeeded by the Kaiser as his own Chancellor. He was not anti-monarchical, and even after 1918 he maintained that a Parliamentary monarchy was the best guarantee of a stable policy. But he considered a monarchy compromised if governed by a ruler of the type of William II, and at his accession to the throne ruthlessly criticised him. In 1889 already he says: "These Boulangist-Bonapartist manifestations are really most undesirable. One has the impression of sitting in an express-train,

doubting whether the next points have been turned correctly." In 1892 he says that William II treats politics from the point of view of a lieutenant. He foresees that his policy must be leading to a diplomatic *débâcle*. Weber, however, was no adversary of the *Weltpolitik* inaugurated by the young Emperor. He, too, believed in the necessity of the nation's taking a new course in foreign policy, though he believed that this policy was being handled too noisily and would therefore miss its aim.

Weber was clever enough to recognise that the person of the Emperor alone was not responsible for all the disasters. At the time of the *Daily Telegraph* crisis in 1908 he writes to his friend Naumann: "Do not overrate the importance of the quality of the person; the institutions and our lack of temperament are to be blamed for it; both are the consequences of Bismarck's influence and of the political immaturity which it increased." He demands an extension of the Parliamentary functions, but is fully aware that the conservatives are strong enough to counteract such a reform. He clearly perceived that the real beneficiary of the personal régime was not the monarch but the conservatives and the vested interests represented by them. "The King of England has power and ambition; the Kaiser has vanity and is satisfied with the semblance of power, which is a consequence of the system, not of the person. Seen from the historical point of view, the Kaiser is the mock-ruler, not the English king."

The outbreak of the war increased Weber's political activity. He had never been a pacifist. Even during the *débâcle* he maintained that the struggle had to be fought to the bitter end. "We have averted the Russian knout; this is our glory." Yet he never lost his sense of proportion. As early as September, 1914, he urged the German Government to disclaim any intention of annexing Belgium. He knows the weaknesses of the political situation and of the political system in Germany too well not to see through the madness of the extreme parties. In articles and "leaders" he attacks it passionately, but at the same time objectively and accurately, as for instance in his memorandum against submarine war. But all his words of warning were in vain.

In the summer of 1917 Weber's famous series of articles on "Parliament and Government in the new Germany" began to appear in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. The propositions contained therein became the party programme of the Left. He demands the abolition of red tape in politics and of the Prussian class-franchise; he demands parliamentarism for the governments and democratisation of all institutions of the State. Parliamentarism and democratisation are for him not a model derived from some kind of state-metaphysics, but spring from the necessity of the hour. He sees

in parliamentarism the guarantee for a better foreign policy by removing uncontrolled influences, and in equality of political rights the best way of maintaining internal peace.

The breakdown did not take Weber by surprise, and he was far from attributing it to the "faithless nation" which finally succumbed to starvation and exhaustion. Wherever he hears this reproach he passionately refutes it. He rejoices in the faith in a socialistic future but cannot share it; for faith can move mountains but cannot restore ruined finances and lack of capital, and he sees no leader amidst the chaos to coerce and rally the confused forces. He fully recognises the sobriety of the trade unions and the councils, but they cannot avert the danger of mob-rule. The doings of Liebknecht's partisans make the revolution seem to him "a carnival of bloodshed."

Some of Weber's propositions were adopted in the Weimar Constitution; for instance, the direct election of the President. His last service to Germany is his contribution to the White-book on "war-guilt." He returned from Versailles to Munich foreboding evil for Germany's immediate future, but he never lost his faith in her destinies. His nationalism, which had always differed from what he called "purely zoological nationalism," became idealistically transfigured. To a friend he writes: "I am, like Till Eulenspiegel, optimistic on the way up-hill; one hundred and ten years ago we showed the world that, under alien rule, we could remain one of the great civilised nations. We are doing it again; and history, which gave us a second youth, will grant us a third." It was not long after this that Weber died, a victim to a tragic fate. For he had always wished to become a political leader, but had remained a political mentor to the end.

ERICH HULA.

PROUST REVISITED.*

ONE cannot hear a voice from the dead without being singularly moved. We realise it with a certain shock, when from the index of a review springs to our sight the still sentient and unquiet name of Marcel Proust.

A review is not a collection of dried plants, a dead collection, it is a freshly gathered bouquet. Miracle of the principles of analogy and contiguity: among these living men the dead man comes to life, speaks, continues. And now, under his name there appears a new volume, the last of his complete works: *Le Temps Retrouvé*. Irresistible destiny of this work, which goes on living like, in Cocteau's fine simile, the watch on the wrist of a dead soldier.

From the beginning, this man seems to be marked with a sign. Oh, nothing fatal: we are no longer in 1830. Even by a strange caprice, his strength is enveloped and as if swaddled in *gentillesse*. It deceives everyone, even the subtlest: "Ah, Proust, gentil compagnon! quel phénomène vous étiez! et moi, alors, quelle désinvolture à vous juger!" It is Barrès who speaks. Proust, son of an eminent doctor, is rich, worldly; one might even think him frivolous. Take the testimony of Barrès, doubly interesting from the authority of its source and because he seems hardly to have known Proust except as a young man, while others see him through his work. "He attached an importance which seemed to me quite irrational to the life of the salon, to personal relationships, to correspondence." And lazy—with passion! like Figaro. He flits as if haphazard through the fields. But this bee, whose buzzing is sometimes tiresome, is already storing up, perhaps unconsciously, the richest honey.

He is to be met at this time, both before and after his military service, on that subtle borderland where the aristocracy of race meets and sometimes mixes with a certain aristocracy of mind: the Comte de Montesquiou, the Marquis de Flers, Armand de Caillavet, Maurice Barrès, Anatole France. Into this world with its two doors, he seems rather to enter by the social one. He is so little a man of letters, or at any rate, only an amateur. However, a few "studies"—such is the modest title he generally uses—are beginning to circulate. In 1896 he publishes a collection of them at his own expense, under the name of *Les Plaisirs et les Jours*, parodying *gentiment* that of Hesiod, *The Works and Days*.

He is twenty-five. From the age of nine, he has suffered from

* This essay dealing exclusively with the personality of Proust, with the creation and the æsthetic explanation of his work, no reference has been made to the moral aspect of this work. But whatever may be the legitimate licence of a great satirist, it is to be regretted that there are some features in the writings of Proust which render him unsuitable for a wide class of readers.

nerve and heart attacks, and already his fragile existence is dimmed, enveloped in precautions as in a cloud. After a long stay in Venice, in 1909, the mists thicken about him. Sometimes they lift, and there emerges a translation of Ruskin, a preface, a pastiche. Only a few friends take any notice of these princely pastimes. About 1910, Proust becomes invisible. He has left the world of men. Noise, light, scent are banished from his life. Sometimes, at the hour of dusk and silence, his phantom appears, charming as ever, to fade again with the first light of dawn. He moves already in a nimbus of legend. People begin to talk of his room with its cork-lined walls, where mysterious manuscripts are accumulating. But, beyond his personal friends, no one ever mentions his name.

In 1912, into this obscurity there falls and immediately sinks, almost without a ripple, this strangely titled book: *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu. Tome I. Du Côté de chez Swann*.

One must distinguish from writers proper certain rare and singular individuals who have *one* work to give to the world. They do not always give it. They feel it in them, seek it, sometimes fail to find it. Stendhal was perhaps a man of one work, and dispersed it in several directions. Others grope, hesitate, and, their way at last discovered, throw themselves into it with a kind of frenzy. So Montaigne begins his *Essays* without really knowing in what direction they will lead him, certainly without foreseeing their magnificent development of the second period. To others, it comes by chance. Glancing through Dangeau's *Journal*, Saint-Simon begins his implacable commentary by furious annotations in the margin.

Montaigne, Saint-Simon, Stendhal. Add Balzac, and we have all the names that Proust's work can evoke. Evocation, not imitation, nor even influence. Like them, Proust is predestined. He has been visited by the spirit. A work is in him, seeking the light, and, merciless as a newborn child, will exact even to the life of him who shall bring it forth. What do his faults matter, or his mistakes? An invisible star guides his unconscious destiny.

Still, his setting forth is so uncertain that he can hardly stand alone. *Les Plaisirs et les Jours* is dedicated to Anatole France, and not only by the preface. Most of these essays are steeped in the harmonious light of the Master.

It is worthy of notice, at this point, how sterile and useless that influence proves to be. It leads immediately to dullness and pomposity. For Anatole France has not a new way of *seeing* things, but only of *showing* them. In this lies all his charm, and all his weakness. A mind of no profound originality, but of extreme

erudition and refinement, the purest and most harmonious prose, have enchanted a few generations. Hardly anyone has noticed the fundamental vice of this seductive work: its artifice. Everywhere, in his purely intellectual and almost mechanical psychology, in his often too facile subtleties, and even in his music, flattering but without novelty, artifice has insinuated its corrosive poison. We salute in Anatole France a perfect stylist. The title of great writer will perhaps not be accorded to him.

It is easy to understand that this influence should have vitiated the earliest writings of Marcel Proust. Their value is very uneven. Some are the exercises of a promising pupil. But already they shine with a heralding light. In this game of chance, advancing gropingly, his eyes still blindfold, the young beginner sometimes "gets very warm." The attentive scrutiny of M. André Gide distinguishes in this first work "in the bud," "everything that later is to blossom splendidly in his long novels." This judgment goes perhaps a little further than it is meant to: to show up a nuance, an almost brutal light is needed. But it is true that we can hear more than once in some chord or movement the tone and timbre of the great work.

Still, these are only fugitive impressions. The successes never last for more than a few pages. It is the charming period of the "temps perdu." The period also of great enthusiasms, which later will become less exclusive, without losing their intensity. One of his friends shows him to us plunged in a veritable ecstasy over Francis Jammes and the *Roman du Lièvre*.

At the moment it is Ruskin who takes possession of his wandering spirit. The study undertaken by Swann and never finished, on the work of Vermeer of Delft, is certainly a reminiscence of his own works on the great English writer. They are fragmentary studies, but of an extreme penetration, which often goes farther than the text itself. The religious and sentimental æstheticism of Ruskin touches in Proust deep chords which are soon to give forth all their music. Nothing is farther from him than the "objective" doctrine of Art for Art's sake. The heart is for him the universal criterion. It is doubtless by this common ground that the spirit of Ruskin entered into him and filled him with an ardour that manifested itself in two translations: *The Bible of Amiens* and *Sesame and Lilies*. And above all, by the flood of prefaces, notices, introductions, forewords and remarks, in which the text is practically submerged. But the star still shines, and suddenly on all this flood it sheds a beam of light. Of the preface to *Sesame and Lilies* (1906) was born *La Recherche du Temps Perdu*.

Under the title *Journées de Lecture*, Proust sketches his

delicious evocation of childhood at Combray. The village itself is not mentioned. But we find Mereglise, which afterwards becomes Méséglise by a substitution in conformity with the ordinary rules of phonetics. The legendary Françoise is there also, under the name of Félicie, and the adorable grandmother, incarnated as a great-aunt. And the reveries, and the church, and the bells, and the "climbing paths of hawthorn and honeysuckle. . . ." And all the infallible and circulatory subtlety of the merciless analyst: "He or she 'who stayed in to write' was surrounded with a particular deference, and was asked, 'Vous avez fait votre petite correspondance?' with a smile combining respect, mystery, a playful naughtiness, and solicitude, as if the 'petite correspondance' had been at once a state secret, a perspective, an intrigue, and an illness."

Has the great work already been conceived? That is the secret of the gods. We have, however, some reason to think it has not. Firstly, this premature sketch would be difficult to explain. Why deflower a subject which is to blossom later with such a magnificent wealth?

And then, it is so easy to see the work slowly taking shape, crystallising, progressively engendering itself. Doubtless he has already seen it as a possibility. But diffidence, laziness, keep him from it. Hardly has he brushed against it in passing. And now, by a ruse, under the mask of a preface, he finds himself abandoned to it.

He will never escape again. He is possessed by it until death.

The work does not appear at once in all its development. The fly-leaf, in 1913, foresees only two volumes more: *Le Côté de Guer-mantes* and *Le Temps Retrouvé*. With *A l'ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs* two volumes of *Sodome et Gomorrhe* are announced. At each new volume the list lengthens, develops, branches out. Perhaps that is partly due to his publishers, after the success of the second book, *A l'ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs*, which won the Prix Goncourt in 1918. But it is also the growth of a living thing, whose different parts increase and multiply. In hunting through the forest of his memories, so magnificently diverse, new perspectives, new avenues, new pathways offer themselves, which had not been foreseen, and the tireless traveller would not leave one thicket unexplored.

He has gone "à la recherche du Temps perdu," a title which for some unknown reason has not always been understood. Some see in it a poetic equivalent of *Memoirs*. Poetic, but also philosophic, and so rich in meaning that it ceases to be a mere equivalent. The problem of memory, the problem of time, is here attacked. This *recherche* is not only of the spirit. The whole

being gives itself up to it, including the body. There is no question of *recalling things past*, but of *finding* them again: finding again above all a few rare moments of our life, when a purely accidental sensation—the taste of a *madeleine* soaked in tea, a sound, a scent, reviving suddenly the soul of a past liberated from limiting contingencies—allows us for one moment of supernatural illumination to catch a blinding glimpse of celestial reality, of which normally we see, like the prisoners in the cavern, but the fleeting material shadow. But these few moments, which are not of Time, can be seized upon only if one recreates the enormous surrounding mass of the Time in which one has lived one's daily life.

Is it then a new *confession*, after so many others? No; here Balzac collaborates with Saint-Simon. The past which is shown to us is a past recomposed, remoulded, systematised, though without losing the inimitable colour of truth. A novel? Memoirs? Neither, and both.

Like that of Saint-Simon, this work is the picture of a society. Some—adversaries or admirers—have tried to restrict its scope. They have seen in it only the aristocracy, and of that only the highest, the rarest. It is here, but not alone, not chosen to the exclusion of the rest. Proust paints all, both men and things, that come before his sensibility. And the supernatural power of that sensibility is beyond argument. Like certain insects, he seems to be endowed with mysterious and subtle senses. Through walls and streets he perceives the approach of a friend. He goes one evening to the opera and sits down right at the back of a box, in a place from which one could see very little of the auditorium and nothing of the stage.

"Throughout the performance he never stopped conversing in low tones with the people in front of him, as with myself. . . . The scanty attention he appeared to pay to what was going on made me reproach him a few days later with being *distracted* and inattentive to the performance. . . . With hands raised in protest, in tones of false indignation but true mockery, he accused me of harshness, and by means of a speech containing allusions to Shakespeare, Mme Rubinstein's acting, an intonation of M. de Max, the lighting in the banquet scene, scraps of conversation in the adjoining boxes, and sundry small incidents among the audience, he gave me at the same time a lesson and the proof that he had taken in every smallest detail of the evening."*

It was to him that a clairvoyante replied, "What do you want me to say, Monsieur? It is rather for you to tell me my character."

Everything registered by this prodigious sensitive plate is to be found in his work. The aristocracy of the Guermantes, its

* Henri Bardac. *Nouvelle Revue Française*, Jan. 1st, 1923. P. 104.

various aspects, but also the rich bourgeoisie of the Verdurins, with all its concomitant elements, and the almost provincial, old-fashioned bourgeoisie of Proust himself, or more exactly which he attributes to himself. And with the same scrupulous minuteness, all the personnel in the service of this wealth, from Françoise the *cuisinière bourgeoise* to the lift-boy at the hotel at Balbec, every shade has been retained by his many-faceted eye.

Retained, amalgamated by a subtle dosage, and reconstituted in a form at once recognisable and new. It is nothing new to compose a character with traits taken here and there. La Bruyère did not otherwise. That is not Proust's procedure, which corresponds to a purely modern—one might almost say a purely Proustian—conception of personality.

Dual personality has long been common talk. Proust sees personality not dual but innumerable, and in all dimensions. An idea very cleverly exploited to-day by Pirandello, but of which Proust had already explored every corollary. Surface multiplicity, in the opinion of others: everyone constructs for himself a different character from the same person. Thus are explained so many misunderstandings and apparently causeless enmities.

Multiplicity *en profondeur*. Any circumstances may bring to life in us a man hitherto unknown, and often the opposite of his predecessor. Above all, age modifies us, not only in developing certain traits of our character, but in discovering new ones which sometimes even efface the old. Proust has succeeded in expressing in his work continuity, a continuity concrete and palpable. The work has *thickness*. He does not tell that so-and-so is ten or twenty years older. We see him change slowly before our eyes. His face alters, his character evolves. As in reality, it is almost insensibly that, minute by minute, accumulates the terrifying mass of months and years. There is in his work an effect of perspective, of depth, that is incomparable.

It takes more to satisfy Proust. He adventures even into the submarine countries of sleep. Through its glaucous opacities he watches the confused agitations of the monstrous spectres of our dreams, distorted but impartial reflections of our realities. He does not seek, like Freud, rigorous interpretations. But with the same untiring attention he examines this "second degree of nature" that sleep offers us. "I who knew many Albertines in one, seemed to see still others lying beside me. . . . Races, atavisms, vices slept in her face. Each time she moved her head she was another woman, often one unsuspected by me." An equally complete development of personality invades everything. The "paysage—état d'âme" of Amiel takes on its widest sense. The representation of the world becomes purely sentimental—and with what intensity!

Objects, colours, sounds become animated and live as easily as men. The bells

"reached the end of the park faint and soft and not addressing themselves to me but to the whole country-side, to all the villages, to the peasants isolated in their fields, they did not make me raise my head, they passed close by me, carrying the time to far-off countries, without knowing me or disturbing me."*

"The clock . . . continued without a moment's interruption to make in an unknown language remarks which seemed to be disparaging to me, for the purple curtains listened without answering, but in an attitude like that of people who shrug their shoulders to show that the sight of a third person irritates them."†

Sunbeams alight on the wall like butterflies. Hawthorns carry on adorable conversations.

It is we who give things this soul. It is we who create the world, and modify it according to the lights vouchsafed to us. In the dark, Proust "reconstructs" his room.

"But hardly had the day," he adds, "traced in the darkness, as if with chalk, its first rectifying white line, than the window with its curtains left the frame of the door where I had placed it by mistake, while to make room for it the bureau, which my memory had maladroitly installed there, retreated at full speed, pushing the fireplace before it and moving away the wall of the passage; the well of a yard reigned in the place that the *cabinet de toilette* had occupied a moment before, and the dwelling which I had rebuilt in the dark had gone to join the dwellings glimpsed in the whirlpool of waking, put to flight by the pale sign that the raised finger of day had traced above the curtains."‡

Thus we reconstruct landscapes, and an artist of genius like Elstir can give to the commonest aspect of things a new form which, after having first shocked everyone, then appears to be the truest expression of reality.

What remains then of Beauty? Not, at any rate, the capital B. Beauty also is only the vassal of our feelings. "Moralities," says Nietzsche, "are only the metaphorical expression of passions." Proust adds thereto all the manifestations of personality. The *leit-motiv* of a sonata awakes in Swann ineffable sweetness, through certain movements of his heart, of which it remains the infallible mechanician. Nothing escapes this law, not even the brutality of a motor-horn, "which displeases us by its stridency and its monotony, but which like everything else may become beautiful if impregnated with emotion." And, by a bold and admirable development, Proust does not hesitate to compare to this motor-horn two

* *Pastiches et Mélanges*, p. 237.
† *A l'Ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs*, I, p. 217.
‡ *Du côté de chez Swann*, I, p. 175.

of the most beautiful passages in *Tristan and Isolde*, in which Wagner, by "the strident, indefinite, and ever more rapid reiteration of two notes" or by "the growing intensity, the insatiable monotony of a meagre song," attains "the expression of the most prodigious anticipation of bliss that has ever filled the human soul."*

This æsthetic, moral and psychological conception illuminates the relations of his work with reality. "Keys" have been demanded and supplied. Names are quoted; as always, several for the same character. As always, also, everyone is right, but this time in a new sense. Thanks to his system of multiplicity, Proust was able to compose his heroes from several real personalities, according to their ages and circumstances. "For one moment, when she is walking near the *Tir aux pigeons*, I thought of an admirably beautiful *cocotte* of that time called Clomesnil, for Mme. Swann. . . . But it is only at that moment that Mme. Swann resembles her."†

Things follow the same law: ". . . for the church at Combray, my memory gave me as 'models' (made to pose) many churches." Even the most subtle notations are thus constituted; "in such measure as I have used reality, a very limited degree, to tell the truth, the *leit-motiv* of this sonata . . . is . . . at the Sainte-Euverte evening, the charming but rather mediocre phrase of a sonata for piano and violin by Saint-Saëns, a composer I do not care for . . . At the same evening a little further on, I should not be surprised if in speaking of this phrase I had thought of the *Enchantement du Vendredi-Saint*. The tremolos which fill the phrase at the Verdurins were suggested to me by a prelude from *Lohengrin*, but this in turn by something of Schubert's. At the same Verdurin evening it is an enchanting piano piece by Fauré."‡

Here one can see the difference of his procedure from that which consists in composing a whole by means of fractions borrowed from different objects or individuals—a method which Proust does not disdain on occasion but which is not his *essential* method. Besides, let us not forget his own words, "in such measure as I have used reality, a very limited degree, to tell the truth. . . ." Reality supplied the foundations. But the creator drew from his own riches the marble and the architecture that his edifice raises to heaven.

"In spite of all its charm," writes René Boylesve, "I did not read *Du côté de chez Swann*, or its sequels, all through; the writing irritated me." The *writing*: Boylesve, afterwards completely won

* *Pastiches et Mélanges*, pp. 98-99.
† Marcel Proust quoted by S. de Lacretelle, *Nouvelle Revue Française*, Jan. 1st, 1923, p. 202.
‡ *Ibid.*

over to Proust, did not dare to say the *style*. But we must speak frankly. It is the style he means. It has surprised and sometimes shocked people. Irregular, unpreoccupied with considerations of lightness and harmony, and with sentences of twenty lines and more, it seems obscure and heavy.

It is meant to be so. It is an *integral* style, which neither makes nor admits any appeal. To attribute it to the weakness of the author would be to fall into a strange error. *Les Plaisirs et les Jours* is written in a perfectly limpid and harmonious style. The *Pastiches* bear witness to a complete mastery of form. Proust could clothe his thoughts in the richest apparel. His progress was to strip them of it. His style is merely a transparent veil, an intermediary indispensable but reduced to a minimum. He seems to have adopted the doctrine of Alain: "Prose, which is the art of expression in artificial writing, should seek its strength within itself, and remain prose, as sculpture remains sculpture and painting painting."* A certain psychological richness excludes a certain lightness. Proust's sentences advance to capture a fact, a movement, a moment, meet on their way with ramifications, then again with sub-ramifications, make a loop to right, to left, sometimes carry out an immense enveloping movement, in which the reader loses his way, tires, revolts; and at last, by an inexorable curve, reach their objective and embrace it with a decisive completeness, with a royal majesty.

His style is devoid of hypocrisy. It never deceives, never flatters. It is sincerity itself. Where the thought is difficult, the sentence also is difficult. It loses by this a certain seductiveness, entirely superficial, which often decorates the emptiest works. "It is not surprising that a form which contains so little thought should be light and graceful."† It gains a probity, a sovereign strength, the strength of those who do not lie.

And thus the musical power of his style is incomparable. The poetry is not on the surface. It rises from the deepest sources, and wells up in phrases of an indefinite resonance:

"The places we have known belong not only to the world of space. They were only a thin slice in the middle of the contiguous impressions that formed our life at that time: the memory of a certain vision is only the regret of a certain moment; and houses, roads, avenues are fugitive, alas! like the years."‡

Now Proust knows a sleep profounder and more mysterious than that of Albertine. "Dead for ever? Who can say?" Let us read again the admirable pages on the death of Bergotte, which this heroic consciousness corrected by the impressions of its own agony.

* Alain. *Système des Beaux-Arts*, X. I.

† Marcel Proust. Preface to *Tendres Stocks*, p. 24.

‡ Marcel Proust. *Du côté de chez Swann*, II, p. 190.

While he is perhaps conquering the rarest of secrets, his words still come back to us like so many luminous replies.

A strange coincidence: this work, in which snobbery in every stage of society has been so ingenuously shown up, owed to snobbery its first success. The movement, it is true, was started by a few of the clearest minds, and also—a valuable test—the most unlike each other.

Another test, which inevitably evokes the greatest names: while excavating deeply enough in the human soul to reach that which is unchanging, Proust has nevertheless created the most exact, the most "historical" evocation of a period, with all its individual nuances, down to the details of dress and furniture. Because he has captured the ephemeral, he himself will remain.

Some have tried to father on him scientific and physiological discoveries. The names of Einstein, of Freud, have been pronounced. One can indeed distinguish certain observations which are not unworthy of this connection. But it would be to strain, and unprofitably, the scope of this work of art, to consider it from such a point of view.

Let us be content to take it for what it is. It is enough to provide the most fastidious with the rarest joys and most fertile meditations. The luxuriance, the profound life of the English and Russian novels are here combined in a wholly classical composition, in a sure and noble tradition. A new alloy, whose radiance is daily spreading. A truly masterly work, final, revealing a world and suggesting a universe.

MARCEL A. RUFF.

WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT MARS.

MARS, the one among our neighbour worlds which is capable of arousing a genuine interest among the intelligent public, is yet one of the least important bodies in the Solar System, so far as size is concerned. It is, in point of fact, the second smallest of the eight primary planets. Its diameter measures 4,260 miles, little more than half that of the Earth: its volume is just three-twentieths that of our planet, and its mass one-tenth. Yet we know more of this insignificant body than of any other world in the Solar System, with the single exception of our own Earth.

It so happens that we upon this Earth are in a specially favoured position for observing Mars. Mars is an exterior planet, revolving round the Sun in an orbit which encloses that of the Earth. Consequently, when Mars approaches us most closely, it is seen under very favourable auspices. It is in opposition to the Sun, with a fully illuminated disc, and shines from sunset to sunrise. Every two years and two months Mars is in opposition to the Sun. Once in about every fifteen years there is an exceptionally favourable opposition, when the planet comes within about 35 million miles of the Earth.

The history of Martian astronomy falls into three well-defined periods: firstly, from Galileo to Herschel, 1610-1777; secondly, from Herschel to Schiaparelli, 1777-1877; and thirdly, from Schiaparelli to the present day. In the first period, observations of Mars were more or less sporadic; only a few of the outstanding facts about the planet were ascertained. Galileo in 1610 looked at Mars for the first time through his newly-invented "optic tube." The view was disappointing. All he saw was a little red disc which varied in size according to its distance from the Earth. But after four months' observation he suspected indications of a slight phase, similar to that of Venus, and arising from the same cause—the relative positions of Earth, Sun and planet. No further observations of Mars appear to have been made for over a quarter of a century, and it was not till 1638 that Fontana of Naples caught glimpses of dusky markings on the minute disc. One of these—now known as the Syrtis Major—was sufficiently well seen by the Dutch astronomer Huyghens to enable him to make the first drawing of the planet on November 28th, 1659. Huyghens noted that this outstanding marking changed its position from hour to hour, and he formed a strong suspicion, almost amounting to a certainty, that the planet rotated on its axis in about twenty-four hours. Seven years later G. D. Cassini, the Italian astronomer who became the first director of the Paris Observatory, fixed the

length of the day at 24 hours 40 minutes, which was a remarkably close approximation to the truth; for the most accurate modern determinations give 24 hours 37 minutes $22\frac{3}{4}$ seconds. This determination of Cassini was verified over half a century later by his nephew, Maraldi, who also noted for the first time the presence of two brilliant white spots, one at the north pole and another at the south, which have ever since been known as the polar caps.

Knowledge of Mars was therefore somewhat slender when in 1777 William Herschel, then an enthusiastic amateur, first turned one of his reflecting telescopes on the planet. On April 17th, 1777, he noted, "There are two remarkable bright spots on Mars." Apparently he discovered the polar caps independently of Maraldi, of whose observation he seems at that time to have been ignorant. During the next few years Herschel discovered a periodical fluctuation in the size of the spots, and he was not long in concluding that this fluctuation was connected with, and indeed dependent on, the Martian seasons. "I may well be permitted to surmise," he wrote in 1784, "that the bright spots are owing to the vivid reflection of light from frozen regions, and that the reduction of these spots is to be ascribed to their being exposed to the Sun." Herschel's final conclusion was that "the analogy between Mars and the Earth is perhaps by far the greatest in the Solar System. . . . The planet has a considerable but moderate atmosphere, so that its inhabitants probably enjoy a situation in many respects similar to ours."

Herschel's study of Mars was incidental to his pioneer work on the structure of the Universe, and after 1784, when he became more and more deeply engrossed in stellar astronomy, he does not appear to have done any systematic work on Mars. Accordingly, Martian astronomy languished; and it was not until 1830 that progress was resumed. In that year, two German astronomers, Beer and Mädler, commenced a study of the planet. Their instrumental equipment was somewhat slender, for their telescope was but four inches in diameter, and consequently only the more prominent markings could be seen. Mädler, however, was a most skilful and painstaking observer, and he was ably assisted by his pupil Beer. The upshot of their nine years' study was the construction of the first map of Mars, on which the chief markings were carefully charted. The blue-green areas were assumed at this early stage to be oceans, while the ruddy areas, forming the larger part of the planet's surface, were believed to be continents. Perhaps the most important discovery made by Beer and Mädler was that of a blue band surrounding the north polar cap. The significance of this observation was not realised until many years had elapsed.

The example of Beer and Mädler was soon followed by a number

of the most careful observers, including Kaiser in Holland, Secchi in Italy, and Dawes, Lockyer, Green and Proctor in England; and by the middle of the last century a large number of observations had been made and valuable drawings secured. Following Beer and Mädler, other astronomers constructed more or less reliable charts of the planet. Perhaps the best was drawn by Proctor, and reproduced in his *Other Worlds than Ours*, published in 1870. Proctor's chart was based upon twenty-seven drawings by Dawes, whose keenness of vision earned for him the appellation of the "eagle-eyed." To the "continents" and "oceans" thus carefully mapped, Proctor gave the names of the astronomers who had devoted special attention to the planet. Thus, in Proctor's map we find such names as "Herschel Continent," "Mädler Continent," "Secchi Continent," "Dawes Continent," "Dawes Ocean," and "Beer Sea." Proctor's conclusion concerning Mars was generally endorsed by his contemporaries. He recognised in Mars "all that makes our own world so well suited to our wants—land and water, mountain and valley, cloud and sunshine, rain and ice and snow, rivers and lakes, ocean-currents and wind-currents"; and he inferred that such a world was most likely the abode "either now, or in the past, or in the future, of many forms of life."

The third and most fruitful period into which the history of Martian astronomy may be divided began in 1877, when the late Professor G. V. Schiaparelli, director of the Brera Observatory in Milan, commenced his epoch-making series of observations on the planet. In the course of his work, Schiaparelli constructed a series of excellent maps of Mars. Incidentally, he instituted the system of nomenclature which prevails to this day—the chief markings receiving classical names. Thus Proctor's "Kaiser Sea" became the "Syrtis Major" in Schiaparelli's map. Schiaparelli commenced in September 1877 a trigonometrical survey of the disc. In the course of this survey, he found that the continents, or reddish-ochre regions, were intersected by a number of strong dark lines. To these he gave the name of *canali*, an Italian word which properly means "channels" but was translated as "canals." It was subsequently ascertained that some of the more prominent of these markings had been observed by both Dawes and Secchi, and had been mapped by them simply as "straits." Schiaparelli was the first astronomer, however, to detect these in large numbers, and to depict them as forming a network across the continents. His observations in 1877 do not appear to have attracted a great deal of attention. In 1879 and 1882, however, he again saw the canals, and he noted, in addition, that some of them became double at certain seasons. With each opposition of the

planet, the canals were more distinctly seen, and in 1888, when the planet was seen to the best advantage, he recorded that the canals had all the distinctness of an engraving on steel, with the magical beauty of a coloured painting. Schiaparelli's discoveries were made in the face of widespread scepticism. Other astronomers were unable to see Mars as he saw it, and so the illegitimate deduction was made that he was the victim of delusion. At length, in 1886, Perrotin and Thollon, with the aid of the 30-inch refractor of the Nice Observatory, succeeded in detecting some of the canals. Soon afterwards they were seen by Flammarion, Stanley Williams and others. Quite evidently Schiaparelli had not been the victim of delusion.

In 1890 Schiaparelli was obliged, through failing sight, to abandon systematic work on Mars. His thirteen years' work had resulted in the discovery of many new features of the Martian surface. Further, his observations had thrown grave doubts on some of the hitherto accepted conclusions concerning the planet's physical condition. He noticed, for instance, a seasonal change in the colour of the so-called seas, although in the case of the large "oceans" he still accepted as late as 1892 the traditional interpretation of their nature; but he was inclined to regard some of the smaller blue-green areas as "huge swamps, in which the variation in depth of the water produces the diversity of colour." The canals he at first regarded as "great furrows or depressions in the surface of the planet, destined for the passage of the liquid mass and constituting a true hydrographic system." Later on he modified this view, and came to regard the canals as waterways lined on either side by strips of vegetation.

Since 1892, the chief work on Mars has been done by the American astronomers—chief among them W. H. Pickering and Percival Lowell. Both of these were impressed by the great importance of the part played by terrestrial climatic conditions in the observation of Mars. As Lowell put it in his first book on Mars: "A steady atmosphere is essential to the study of planetary detail; size of instrument being a very secondary matter. A large instrument in poor air will not begin to show what a smaller one in good air will." The Harvard station at Arequipa, on the slopes of the Andes in Peru, afforded an excellent site for Martian observation, and there in 1892 W. H. Pickering made two discoveries of first-class importance. "Scattered over the surface of the planet," he wrote, "we have found a large number of minute black points. They occur almost without exception at the junctions of the canals with one another, and with the shaded portions of the planet." Over forty were enumerated, several of which had been glimpsed by Schiaparelli. Pickering named these "lakes" in keeping with

the generally-accepted view that a dark area represented a body of water. But the second of his discoveries completely shattered that view. He and his collaborator, A. E. Douglass, noticed certain curved branching lines in the dark areas. "Some very well-developed canals cross the oceans. If these are really water-canals and water-oceans, there would seem to be some incongruity here." "I very much doubt," Pickering concluded, "if what are usually known as canals and oceans contain any water at all."

These conclusions were abundantly confirmed by the observations of the late Dr. Percival Lowell and his collaborators, of whom Pickering was one, during the opposition of 1894. Lowell was indeed able to state categorically in his first volume, published in the following year, that "the blue-green areas on Mars are not water, but, generally at least, areas of vegetation," and that the reddish-ochre regions are "not only land but nothing but land, land very pure and simple—that is, deserts. For they behave just as deserts should behave—that is, by not behaving at all." Lowell observed most of Schiaparelli's canals, and in the course of his work on Mars, which extended over twenty-two years, he detected a great many more. He also drew attention to the significance of the polar band, surrounding the melting polar cap. Beer and Mädler had noticed this appearance in 1830, but until Lowell's time it seems to have been overlooked by astronomers. Lowell showed that this band represented "an open polar sea"—a temporary body of water formed from the melting cap; and he emphasised its great importance in the development of the canal system, which, he said, "follows the melting of the polar snows. Not until such melting has progressed pretty far do any of the canals, it would seem, become perceptible." In 1904 he drew attention to the fact that the variable visibility of the canals is not haphazard, but seasonal, and dependent on latitude. There is, he said, "a chronic connection between the two phenomena, the disintegration of the cap and the integration of the canals." A wave of verdure begins to sweep over the planet, not from the equator towards the pole, but from the pole towards the equator. This was taken to indicate that the floral seasons on Mars "as affecting the canals are conditioned, not as they would be with us, directly upon the return of the Sun, but indirectly through its effect on the polar snows."

To sum up, Lowell showed that canals, seas and lakes, or as he preferred to call them, "oases," were vegetal in their nature—the canals being, as Schiaparelli suspected, and as W. H. Pickering surmised, waterways lined on either side by banks of vegetation. Lowell put these forward as his definite conclusions in 1895, and he saw no reason to modify them in the course of twenty years.

A quarter of a century had wrought a considerable change in the views of astronomers concerning Mars. While Proctor emphasised the similarity between Mars and the Earth, Lowell emphasised the dissimilarity. Proctor called Mars "a miniature of our Earth," while Lowell tended to regard it as the miniature of the Earth in the distant future. In one respect, however, Lowell's conclusions did not differ materially from those of Proctor. Both believed in the habitability of Mars. Lowell, indeed, maintained that the planet was not only habitable, but inhabited. He based partially upon theoretical consideration, but mainly upon the geometrical regularity of the canal-system and its seasonal nature, his well-known hypothesis of intelligent life on Mars. Mars, Lowell thought, is a smaller world than the Earth and will have accordingly run more swiftly through its evolutionary career. It is therefore an older world; he was fond of reiterating that the signs of old age are manifest on the planet's surface. There are thinness of atmosphere and scarcity of water. The Martian atmosphere Lowell believed to be exceedingly thin—"thinner at least by half than the air upon the summit of the Himalayas." In the absence of oceans, water-vapour is very scarce. If Mars is inhabited, therefore, Lowell argued, the inhabitants will be faced with the ever-present danger of a water famine; and so the canal-system is, so to speak, the answer of intelligence to the challenge of nature—an answer made easier by the remarkably level nature of the Martian surface, for there seem to be practically no mountains on Mars. The oases, in his view, are simply the centres of population, the city-states, whither the inhabitants have been driven from the desert regions which form by far the greater part of the surface of the planet.

Lowell's theory was very critically received, and it is to be feared that for this reason the importance and significance of his work as an observer were in great degree minimised. His theory was attacked on various grounds. True, Schiaparelli manifested from the first an open mind on the subject. In 1893, while holding that natural processes were sufficient to account for the canals, he pointed out that the supposition of intelligent agency "involves no impossibility." Four years later, he came round to the view that "the whole arrangement presents an indescribable simplicity and symmetry which cannot possibly be the work of chance." In 1904 he wrote to Lowell: "Your theory of vegetation becomes more and more probable." But the vast majority of astronomers were hostile. Few had seen the canals, and of those who had, the majority saw them as hazy bands rather than as straight dark lines. Accordingly, the illusion theory was formulated by Cerulli of Teramo to explain the canaliform appearance. "These lines,"

said Cerulli, "are formed by the eye, which utilises the dark elements which it finds along certain directions. A large number of these elements form a broad band. A smaller number of them give rise to a narrow line." This theory, supported as it was by many of the chief astronomers of the day, enjoyed a wide popularity for a time. But it scarcely survived Lowell's success in 1905 in securing photographs of Mars on which some of the more prominent canals were clearly shown. "The camera," as Lowell put it in a letter to the writer, "does not agree with the armchair critics of the canals, but will have it that the markings are lines."

Professor W. H. Pickering, who since Lowell's death has occupied the primacy among observers of Mars, has considered a number of hypotheses by turn. To explain the broad canals, he has suggested, in 1918, the "aerial deposition" theory, according to which the function of the canals is "to furnish a substitute for our oceans and to furnish by evaporation during the Martian summer a steady and continuous supply of water after that derived from the northern snows has disappeared." According to this theory, the water from the melting cap "is deposited in the three main depressions on its borders, and is then evaporated and carried by the aerial circulation of the planet along the curved lines which, in accordance with Ferrel's theory of the circulation of the winds, it must necessarily follow. The storm clouds which in that rare atmosphere should condense at night, would in this manner carry the water and deposit it in the elongated marshes which we see and call canals." More recently, however, Pickering has been driven to the conclusion that the finer and narrower canals cannot be explained without invoking intelligent agency. We are not driven, however, to Lowell's hypothesis in the form in which it was originally proposed, namely, that a planet-wide system of waterways has been constructed in Mars. If we are to assume intelligence, it is possible, as Pickering suggested some years ago, to explain the canals as due to the artificial localisation of fogs by electrical means.

Two formidable objections to the possible habitability of Mars were much in evidence at the beginning of the present century. It was widely held that water was non-existent in the Martian atmosphere. The earlier spectroscopic observations of Huggins and Vogel had yielded evidence of the line of water-vapour, but Campbell at the Lick Observatory, observing in a much better climate and with excellent instruments, failed to detect any evidence of aqueous vapour. In 1908 Dr. V. M. Slipher, now director of the Lowell Observatory, succeeded in getting evidence of the lines of water-vapour, but this did not fully convince the sceptics. In the spring of 1925, however, all doubt was set at rest by the observa-

tions of Dr. Adams and Dr. St. John at the Mount Wilson Observatory. They found definite evidence of water-vapour to the amount of 5 per cent. of that found normally in our atmosphere. Pickering has pointed out that this observation was made at the driest season in the Martian southern hemisphere, so that "even at the driest season there is a very appreciable percentage of water in the Martian atmosphere." More important still, Adams and St. John detected free oxygen to the effect of 15 per cent. of that found in our atmosphere.

Within recent years evidence has been accumulating that Mars is not quite so cloudless a planet as Lowell believed. Dr. Wright, who photographed Mars at the Lick Observatory through coloured screens in 1924, concluded that the atmosphere is denser than was previously believed and is at least 120 miles in depth. Mr. E. C. Slipher at the Lowell Observatory, and Professor Pickering in Jamaica, in 1920 and 1924 noted extensive areas of the planet's surface to be obscured by cloud. Accordingly, Pickering considers that the theory of a very rare atmosphere has been rendered very improbable by recent research, and that the atmospheric pressure closely resembles that on our own world, so that "a possibility exists that even human life, if transported to Mars, would exist and perhaps flourish there."

More serious to the view that Mars is a world resembling our Earth to any considerable extent was the argument based on the calculated temperature of Mars. It was maintained by a number of eminent astronomers, including Newcomb, Maunder and others, that Mars only receives three-sevenths of the heat which the Earth receives; therefore the mean annual temperature must fall below 0 degrees Fahr., so that all life, animal and vegetable, will be impossible on the Martian surface. Obviously, this theory did not seem to fit in with the appearance of the planet. Mars does not suggest a frozen world. As Pickering remarked in 1906, "The fundamental fact on which we must base our knowledge of the climate of Mars is the melting of its polar snows. When these are melting the temperature must be 32 degrees Fahr. and nearer the equator it must be warmer"; and all the Martian specialists—men like Schiaparelli, Lowell and others—maintained the same opinion. And yet those astronomers seemed to be on firm theoretical ground who maintained that the temperature of the Martian surface could not rise above freezing-point.

One of the most striking astronomical achievements of recent years was the measurement by Dr. Coblentz and Mr. Lampland, at the Lowell Observatory, of the temperature of Mars. This was accomplished by means of the recently-perfected instrument—the radiometer, attached to the 40-inch Lowell reflector. In 1924

7L
m 56.1162
M62.134

the two astronomers succeeded in getting measures of the temperatures of different regions of the disc. They found the blue-green areas to be hotter than the reddish-ochre regions, and the afternoon temperature, as was to be expected, higher than the forenoon. The temperature of the brightly-illuminated surface they concluded is "not unlike that of a cool, bright day on this Earth, with temperature ranging from 7 degrees to 18 degrees Cent. or 45 degrees to 65 degrees Fahr." Independently, Messrs. Pettit and Nicholson at Mount Wilson carried through a similar investigation by means of vacuum thermocouples attached to the great 100-inch reflector. They found a temperature of 45 degrees Fahr. for the centre of the disc—slightly lower than the value found by the Lowell astronomers. In 1926 Messrs. Coblentz and Lampland resumed their radiometric work, and in the main confirmed their results obtained two years previously. They obtained a value of from 20 to 30 degrees Cent., indicating a higher temperature, which may have been due to a warmer and sunnier season.

Mars, then, is a warmer and more earthlike world than many astronomers were willing to believe a few years ago. It is now admitted that, in accord with observations, the measured temperature is higher than theory would lead us to expect. Probably there is more than one reason for this state of affairs. Lowell pointed out years ago that the clearness of the Martian sky by day is an important factor in the heating-up of the planet, while Pickering drew attention to the cloudiness of the nights on Mars, which largely prevents the escape by night of the heat received by day. Coblentz, in a recent discussion, suggested that one factor in producing the relatively high temperature is the type of vegetation which he believes to predominate in Mars—tussock grass, mosses and lichens.

Recent investigation seems to have put beyond doubt the fact that Mars, notwithstanding important differences in volume, mass and distance from the Sun, presents many points of resemblance to the Earth. Its day is but forty minutes longer than ours; its axis is inclined to the plane of its orbit by very nearly the same amount, so that it enjoys the same succession of seasons as our world does. The Martian atmosphere, though rarer than ours, may not be so dissimilar as at one time seemed probable, for it contains oxygen and water-vapour, and the temperature is not very much lower than the temperature of our own world. That there is vegetation on Mars is indisputable; that animal life exists there is probable; and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that animal life has culminated in a race of intelligent beings who are, as Lowell believed, "in advance of and not behind us in the journey of life."

HECTOR MACPHERSON.

THE *TÉMÉRAIRE*'S CAPTAIN: A TRAFALGAR MEMORY.

"I'LL thank you, Captain Harvey, to keep your proper station, which is astern of the *Victory*!"

In these decisive terms did Nelson, going into action on October 21st, 1805, hail Captain Eliab Harvey of the *Téméraire*, speaking, we are told, "with a strong nasal twang in his Norfolk accent." Yet the order was, if possible, a thought too peremptory, seeing that Nelson had but a few minutes previously given permission for the *Téméraire* to "lead" the flagship into battle, adding, however, "Let her go ahead—if she can." But "Nelson's mood had yet to be taken into account."

Captain Eliab Harvey, who was M.P. for his native Essex at the same time that he was commander of the "fighting *Téméraire*," was born at Rolls Park, Chigwell. As the great-grandson of a previous Eliab Harvey, he had the honour of being great-grand-nephew of the discoverer of the blood's circulation. On being gazetted to the *Téméraire* in November, 1803, he found himself in command of a ship with a sufficiently evil reputation—for only two years before this splendid 98-gunship had been the scene of a mutiny which was stamped out with relentless severity. It rested upon Harvey to restore that lost reputation. He manned her mainly with Liverpool men, and in March, 1804 sailed to join Admiral Cornwallis' squadron blockading Brest. Then she spent six weary months under Admiral Calder blockading Rochefort, and did not come under the orders of Lord Nelson off Cadiz until early in September, 1805.

On that memorable Monday morn which we proudly call Trafalgar Day, the *Téméraire* passed so close to the flagship that, as Captain Harvey phrased it, "she almost touched the stern of the *Victory*." Signal-Midshipman Eaton received and acknowledged the famous signal "England expects." After Collingwood had broken the Franco-Spanish line, Harvey's ship, forging ahead, had her mizzen-topmast shot away by the *Redoutable* and her main-topmast and foreyard destroyed by the *Neptune*. In fact, at this early stage she was already being steered with difficulty, and in a letter home Harvey said: "We were engaged with the *Santissima Trinidad* and the other ships, when I ceased my fire for a minute or two, fearing I might, from the thickness of the fight, be firing into the *Victory*." A little later, the latter ship was in such a dreadful plight that Captain Lucas, of the French *Redoutable*, had actually managed to get a few boarders on board of her, when the crippled *Téméraire*, running athwart the Frenchman, let fly one terrific double-shotted broadside which "meant instant annihilation."

Says the French captain's report: "It is impossible to describe the carnage produced by the murderous broadside of this ship: more than 200 of our brave men were killed or wounded. I was wounded at the same time, but not sufficiently to prevent me staying at my post."

Now the *Téméraire*, though she had lost all her masts, had her starboard battery as yet intact. This was just as well, for a new foe now appeared through the "fog of war." She was the French *Fougueux*, her decks black with men, shouting "*Vive l'Empereur! A l'abordage!*" and counting on an easy conquest. But, says Mr. Edward Fraser, "holding back until the yard-arms of the two ships all but touched, with a deafening thunderburst that for the instant overpowered all other signs of battle, the *Téméraire's* whole starboard broadside went off at once, in one salvo, like one gigantic gun. A terrific crash re-echoed back, with yells and shrieks. There was no more shouting from the *Fougueux*. As the smoke drifted off, the *Téméraire's* men looked and saw the enemy's rigging, forecastle, and decks swept clean and bare. The next minute, with her whole side practically beaten in, crushed in like an egg-shell trampled under foot, the hapless seventy-four ran, blundering blindly in hopeless confusion, right into the *Téméraire*."

That devoted vessel, to the cry of "boarders away!" promptly sent a small party to take possession. One of these brave fellows, with commendable presence of mind, took with him a Union Jack, which was duly bent over the prize's flag. At this time the *Victory*, *Téméraire*, and the two French ships were all alongside, but presently Nelson's flagship sheered off. Free to devote themselves to the *Redoutable*—which had now only about a hundred unwounded men out of a complement of 600—Captain Harvey's gallant boarders reached her over the wreck of her own mainmast, and at long last Captain Lucas was compelled to capitulate. He had fought heroically, and as soon as his exchange had been effected the Emperor Napoleon rewarded him with the Cross of the Legion and with a characteristic speech in which the great man favourably compared his prowess with that of "my other captains" at Trafalgar.

Nelson was, alas, dead, killed by a musket-shot from that very *Redoutable*, but the Franco-Spanish armada was smashed. The *Neptune* harassed Captain Harvey's ship until the arrival of the British *Leviathan* scared her away, and then the *Téméraire* and her two shot-torn prizes were taken in tow by the frigate *Sirius*.

The end was not quite yet for Harvey's wonder-ship, however. She parted company with the *Sirius* on being assailed by five fresh ships of the enemy, which turned out to be Admiral Dumanoir's

van squadron (afterwards "picked up" and captured by Sir Richard Strachan off Finisterre). Wrote Harvey: "While they were about three-quarters of a mile to windward they opened their guns upon the *Téméraire* and her prizes, and for some time I could return no guns; but when those we could fight with were brought to bear upon the enemy, these gentlemen thought better to haul to a more respectable distance, and thus towards evening with me ended this most glorious action." Glorious indeed! All the damage done to him by Dumanoir's "attack" was one midshipman killed in the prize *Redoutable* and some damage to masts and gear in the prize *Fougueux*. The *Téméraire*—which in the general confusion did not hear of Nelson's death until the 24th—had a further terrible time in the ensuing storm which sank her prizes, and was towed into Gibraltar by the *Defiance* on the 30th. In the *Redoutable* more than 200 poor fellows were lost, with a part of her prize-crew.

Including those drowned in the two prizes, Captain Harvey's ship had a total of 166 killed and wounded—a surprisingly moderate loss, all things considered. Of these, 123 casualties were sustained in the battle, viz., 47 killed, 31 seriously wounded, 45 slightly wounded. The slain officers were Midshipman Pitts, Carpenter Oades, and Captain Busigny and Lieutenant Kingston (Royal Marines), and the wounded officers included two lieutenants, the boatswain, a master's mate, and another "middy." The knightly Collingwood wrote to Harvey: "I congratulate you most sincerely on the noble and distinguished part the *Téméraire* took in the battle. Nothing could be finer—I have not words in which I can sufficiently express my admiration of it." Eliab Harvey actually did not arrive off Spithead until December 5th, when his *Téméraire* brought with her three hundred prisoners of war. She had, of course, an enthusiastic popular reception. Her commander found himself specially promoted Rear-Admiral for Trafalgar, and he acted as one of the pall-bearers at Nelson's funeral in St. Paul's. The Admiral's subsequent career was full of interest, variety, and distinction, as we shall see.

He hoisted the flag of an "Admiral of the Red" on board the *Tonnant* in the spring of the following year. She was a unit of the Channel Fleet, then under command of Earl St. Vincent, who was shortly succeeded by Lord Gambier. With the latter officer Harvey's relations were not of the happiest, though he served under him at the Basque Roads in April, 1809. Finally, Harvey deemed himself so deeply aggrieved by Gambier's appointment of the celebrated Cochrane (Dundonald) to a special command, that he expressed himself more than strongly to that effect on the commander-in-chief's own quarter-deck—a full description of which episode may be found in Dundonald's *Autobiography of a Seaman*.

No doubt our hero felt himself, after his Trafalgar services, to be smarting under an injustice; but in the circumstances the pusillanimous Lord Gambier had no choice but to bring him before a court-martial. This tribunal assembled at Portsmouth on May 22nd, 1809. According to its findings, Admiral Harvey was dismissed from the service, "His Majesty having no further need," etc. This severe decision was so far rescinded in the ensuing year that he was restored to his rank and seniority "in consideration of his long and meritorious service" by an Order in Council of March 21st, 1810, and was also advanced to be a Vice-Admiral of the Blue. But he received no further active command. In the year of Waterloo he was awarded the K.C.B., was promoted to be full Admiral in 1819, and received the Grand Cross of the Bath in 1825. Meanwhile he had been twice re-elected to the House of Commons for Essex. Sir Eliab passed away on February 20th, 1830, in the seventy-second year of his age.

By his marriage with Lady Louisa Nugent, youngest daughter of Earl Nugent, in 1783, he had two sons and six daughters. The latter all survived their father, while the former both pre-deceased him. The eldest son, who had attained captain's rank in the army, fell in Spain at the siege of Burgos in 1812, to his parents' great grief; the younger son died in 1823. It would appear that, as a young man, the subject of this sketch enjoyed a decided reputation for recklessness and extravagance. By the death of his brother, who had preceded him as M.P. for Essex, in 1779, Eliab came into estates of considerable value. *A propos* of this circumstance, it is related in Walpole's *Letters* that in a single night of gaming Harvey lost no less a sum than £100,000 at hazard to a Mr. O'Byrne. "You can never pay me!" quoth the latter. "Indeed I will," rejoined Harvey recklessly. "My estate shall be sold for the debt." "No—I will win £10,000 and you shall throw me for the other ninety thousand." They cast the dice accordingly, when Harvey was the winner!

Among the great naval commanders under whom he saw service, other than those already mentioned, were Lord Howe, Sir Hyde Parker, and Sir John Borlase Warren. He served in the former's flagship, the *Eagle* (1777-8), on the North American station during the War of Independence. He was also present at Sir J. B. Warren's brilliant little affair of August 23rd, 1794, when a French frigate and two corvettes were driven on to the coast of Brittany. In 1796 we find him serving in Sir Hyde Parker's squadron—in the *Valiant*, seventy-four, to be precise—on the West Indian station. That climate temporarily broke him down, for he had to return home and, scorning actual inactivity, assumed for a while command of the "Sea Fencibles" in the Essex area—

the menace of a French invasion then being considered serious. After this, his command of the *Triumph* (seventy-four) fully occupied him, in the Channel and blockading Brest, down to the Treaty of Amiens in 1802.

I had omitted to mention that the *Téméraire*, like her commander, was of Essex "breed," being built "of oak cut in Hainault forest and sent across to Chatham dockyard." And when Harvey found himself a K.C.B., he received as a special motto above his coat-of-arms the name of his old ship, together with (as supporters to the family crest) a triton with a laurel-crowned trident and a sea-horse having a naval crown inscribed "Trafalgar," and—this a delightful touch—as an extra motto, the burning words, *Redoutable et Fougueux*. The *Téméraire* outlived her Trafalgar captain by some eight years. In August, 1838, the old ship was sold by auction to a Rotherhithe shipbreaker for exactly £5,530. Oddly enough, the last commander she ever had (1836-7) was her first lieutenant at Trafalgar, Captain T. F. Kennedy—the intrepid officer who headed the boarding-party that took possession of the *Fougueux*. The story goes that Turner, Clarkson Stanfield, and other friends were boating on the Thames when the *Téméraire* passed up the river on her way to be destroyed, and that Stanfield remarked to Turner, "There's a fine picture." The sequel was Turner's memorable "The Fighting *Téméraire* tugged to her last berth to be broken up," shown in the Royal Academy in 1839.

That painting evoked Ruskin's masterly and eloquent tribute in his notes on the Turner collection:

"This particular ship, crowned in the Trafalgar hour of trial with chief victory, prevailing over the fatal vessel that had given Nelson death—surely, if anything without a soul deserved honour or affection, we owed them here. Those sails that strained so full bent into the battle, that broad bow that struck the surf aside, enlarging silently in steadfast haste full front to the shot, resistless and without reply, those triple ports whose choirs of flame rang forth in their courses into the fierce revenging monotone, which, when it died away, left no answering voice to rise any more upon the sea against the strength of England—those sides that were wet with the long runlets of English life-blood like press planks at vintage, gleaming goodly crimson down to the cast and clash of the washing foam—those pale masts that stayed themselves up against the war-ruin, shaking out their ensigns through the thunder, till sail and ensign drooped—steeped in the death-stilled pause of Andalusian air, burning with its witness-clouds of human souls at rest—surely for these some sacred care might have been left in our thoughts, some quiet space amidst the lapse of English waters? Nay, not so, we have stern keepers to trust her glory to—the fire and the worm. . . . Perhaps where the low gate opens to some cottage garden, the tired traveller may ask idly why the moss grows so green on its rugged

wood, and even the sailor's child may not answer, nor know, that the night dew lies deep in the war-rents of the wood of the old *Téméraire*."

No doubt Sir Eliab Harvey would have been equally gratified by the above and by Sir Henry Newbolt's noble tribute of a later date :

" Now the sunset breezes shiver,
Téméraire ! Téméraire !
 And she's fading down the river,
Téméraire ! Téméraire !
 Now the sunset breezes shiver
 And she's fading down the river,
 But in England's song for ever
 She's the fighting *Téméraire*."

As recently as a year or two ago there were living, " in or near London," no fewer than four children of an officer who served in the *Téméraire* at Trafalgar. These were Mrs. Norah Bird, her sister Mrs. Constance Selfe, and her brothers Mr. Frederick Burnside and Mr. W. Badham Burnside.

PERCY CROSS STANDING.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE BOGEY OF A NEW ENTENTE.

THE triangular relations of Great Britain, France and the United States have produced a bogey, and the bogey produced some excitement during August and the first half of September. Up to the end of 1925 the expression diplomatic triangle was commonly applied to Germany, France and Great Britain, whose relations since 1918 had been the main pivot of world affairs, the weight of British policy being engaged in an attempt to redress the German balance against French preponderance, and getting the worst of both worlds for its pains. After Locarno the pivot shifted, for Germany was in less need of British support. The old triangle faded in importance, and when in the summer of last year M. Briand made certain approaches to the United States, he was acting, probably unconsciously, in the new milieu. By sounding Mr. Kellogg about the feasibility of committing the United States never to make war on France (M. Briand's original proposal for the outlawry of war being conceived as an exclusively bilateral affair between the United States and France) he launched a triangular problem which has since manifested itself in more issues than one. Great Britain has remained true to her rôle of victim, and France has done certain things which, if they have not contributed much to the general good, have contributed something to general controversy and at any rate cannot be ignored.

M. Briand personally is a great historic figure. He is the only post-war statesman (except Dr. Beneš) who has figured in the whole story of post-war diplomacy. He has done many things which the world has cause to be grateful for, and has probably on the whole been as pacifist in motive and in effect as any contemporary statesman. Except for the few years when he was eclipsed by M. Poincaré he has had an almost consistently restraining effect on French policy. Even M. Briand, however, is a Frenchman, and a clever Frenchman; and he has behind him the constant pressure of the permanent officials of the Quai d'Orsay. There is a difference between the departmental atmosphere of the London Foreign Office and of the Quai d'Orsay. The permanent officials in London deal day by day with delicate difficulties created all over the world where the British Empire touches other countries. Day by day they have to use tact, patience, finesse to prevent an outbreak of unpleasantness somewhere or other. Restraint has become a habit with them, and peace a craving. Their normal influence on the Secretary of State, whether he may need such an influence or not, is sedative. It would be a long search to find any body of men as reasonable,

pacific, broad-minded and soothing as the permanent officials of the British Foreign Office. By contrast the Quai d'Orsay contains a compact, localised, restless, quick-witted body of diplomatic speculators, with whom the excitement of the day is a necessity of their being. A quiescent Minister of Foreign Affairs such as normally is M. Briand would goad them to madness if it were not that they admire the unexpected subtleties of his own French mind. The point however is that whenever M. Briand has pursued a pacifist policy in affairs he has done so in spite of, not because of, his permanent officials, and history shows that at one time or another he falls into traps set for him by those alert officials.

The human element in Franco-British affairs, whether the third factor be Germany or the United States, is probably more important than is sometimes suspected; and it explains some of the recent events about to be chronicled in this place.

The personality of the British Foreign Secretary and of the Permanent Under-Secretary has played a prominent part in the story. The Permanent Under-Secretary, it is true, is hardly fair game for comment, because his is never the responsibility for the policy of which he may contribute to the formation; and he is debarred from answering criticisms. He is in fact forced by the conditions of his service, even if he were not so inclined of his own philosophy, into the Christian position of one who does not defend himself. Comment on the Permanent Under-Secretary is therefore of doubtful fairness. For the purpose of the present argument, however, such a postulate need bring little embarrassment.

Sir William Tyrrell has gone to the Paris Embassy. He relaxed his work in Whitehall probably three months ago: and it seems worth recording that since his influence relaxed, there seems to have been less sense of touch in the presentation of British foreign policy. Maybe the moment coincided with the real beginnings of Sir Austen Chamberlain's own illness, whereby continuity was doubly broken. It does however seem to be the fact that during the summer a curious twist was given on French initiative to the surface of British foreign policy, and Whitehall failed to display the caution one normally expects from it. There resulted in August a confusion which had the effect, essentially unjustified as it was, of throwing doubt on the British Government's sincerity in signing the Kellogg Pact and which afforded the probable explanation of Mr. Kellogg's marked avoidance of London during his visit to Europe. Sir William Tyrrell has the reputation, among Frenchmen, of being pro-French, that is, of being influenced by a love of France which allows his heart rather than his head to dictate his view of French policy. It may be that French opinion will one day discover its mistake; but the worst enemy of Sir William Tyrrell

—his enemies are almost exclusively recruited from those who know him only at second hand—would probably concede that had he been at the Foreign Office the August muddle would have been toned down into something less mischievous than it was.

What did happen points the moral that even innocent things must be done in the right way and at the right time. In one sense it was appropriate that Sir Austen Chamberlain should choose the end of the parliamentary session as the occasion for a statement about what had been done by the French and British Governments in the matter of disarmament. The nature of the statement, however, was such that it produced confusion when made at that particular time, that is, on the eve of Mr. Kellogg's departure for Europe. "At the moment," said Sir Austen, "the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament is not in session, and no definite date has been fixed for its session, but, as has been publicly announced, conversations have been proceeding between ourselves and the French with the hope of reducing the difference between us; indeed, in the hope of finding some compromise upon which we could both agree and which we might then submit to other Powers and perhaps by our proposals facilitate progress in the Commission. Those conversations have been successful between the French and ourselves, and I am about to communicate to the other principal naval Powers the compromise at which we have arrived, with the hope that it may be acceptable to them also, and that thus a great obstacle to progress will have been removed and a step made in advance. Until those proposals have been communicated to the other Governments I do not like to say more about them. I imagine the first serious discussion on them will probably take place in the Disarmament Commission itself."

The prophecy contained in the last sentence was destined to be wide of the mark, for the French Press was discussing the matter much too seriously within a few days. On the occasion of his statement Sir Austen was asked if the proposals he referred to were purely naval proposals. He answered "Yes. The proposals I want to communicate are dealing with the disagreements that arise in regard to the naval interest, in which, of course, we take a particular interest."

Sir Austen made that statement on Monday, July 30th. From the moment that the reports crossed the Channel, the French Press began an intensive campaign of interpretation which lasted the rest of the week, and of which the burden was that the event alluded to by Sir Austen Chamberlain was a much bigger event than Sir Austen had given any hint of. The event was represented in Paris as the formation of another Entente Cordiale, more far-reaching in its potential importance than the pre-war Entente. It

was explained that the British Admiralty had now no more cause to fear French cruisers, French submarines, French aeroplanes. The two fleets were to be pooled, or, as the *Temps* had it, "associated"; British naval fear of France, dating from the Washington Conference of 1921, was now a thing of the past; the two Governments were henceforth to co-operate harmoniously in all diplomatic fields. With that taste for detail for which the French Press is justly famed, the practical results of that new state of affairs were analysed and clarified: item, the French fleet would be restored to the first-class status it had lost at Washington; item, the British Government would no longer object to the French thesis about military limitation on land; item, the British Government could henceforth be relied upon to support France in such diplomatic fields as the continued occupation of the Rhinelands and the thwarting of the German-Austrian Anschluss.

There emerged an immediate discrepancy between Sir Austen Chamberlain's statement that the "proposals" were exclusively naval, and the claim of the French Press that a complete new Anglo-French entente had been formed.

The alleged new epoch in Franco-British relations was represented by French comment as a thing of greater significance than that about to be launched by the signature of the Kellogg Pact—the Briand-Kellogg Pact as French opinion liked to call it. Now the date for the signature of the Pact had already been fixed as August 27th. In a few days Mr. Kellogg would sail for Europe for that precise purpose. The moment chosen by the French Press for its disclosure of a new Franco-British Entente Cordiale was exquisitely mischievous. The popular enthusiasm that in many countries had been trained on the impending ceremony of the signature of the Pact was dissipated and replaced by confusion and doubt. Those who interpreted (or imagined) and magnified the new entente carefully refrained from giving any precise facts about the nature of the accord on which it was based.

Both official Paris and official London were silent. Sir Austen Chamberlain had taken to his sick bed immediately after making the statement above recorded. The "news," however, was so exciting that the Press of many countries republished it, and commented on it, making up for its ignorance of the precise facts by assuming the prevailing guesswork to be fact. The common guess was that a low sort of bargain had been made by London and Paris. Sir Austen Chamberlain, it was surmised, had never concealed his personal distaste for the Kellogg Pact, not because he disapproved of its purpose or of its nature, but because he disapproved of its origin. M. Briand, it was added, had never taken any serious interest in it since Mr. Kellogg had transformed the

original Briand idea (whereby the United States was to become a stabilised ally of France) into something wholly different, namely, into a conception which would impose upon France the obligation of taking peace for granted and not training her entire manhood for war. Therefore—so ran the speculation—M. Briand subtly suggested to Sir Austen Chamberlain (1) that France should agree to support the British naval contention, as against the American contention which had broken up the Three Power Conference; (2) that in return for that friendly gesture Great Britain should give France a free hand in her European military policy, and should drop the objections formerly entertained against the policy enunciated by France in the discussions of the Preparatory Committee of the League's Disarmament Conference. It was an insidious suggestion, because many people (rightly or wrongly) had felt some impatience over Sir Austen's handling of the Kellogg Pact, and everybody knew that M. Briand was less enthusiastic about Mr. Kellogg than about the French conception of security in Europe. If M. Briand had really induced Sir Austen to agree to such a compact, then France would have defeated the Kellogg Pact after all.

Was it true? The official silence persisted. Sir Austen was more seriously ill than was at that time generally known. Sir William Tyrrell was no longer Permanent Under-Secretary of State. The Quai d'Orsay had no objection to a continuance for no matter how long a time of official silence on that matter. The more the world speculated, the more wildly it speculated, the more it exaggerated, the better did it serve the purposes of the Quai d'Orsay.

The combined effect of official silence and irresponsible rumour was allowed to increase and multiply for a month. Then Lord Cushendun, who was Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the absence of Sir Austen Chamberlain, decided that something must be done about it. On August 30th he gave an interview to Reuter's representative in Geneva. He had gone to Geneva to attend the meetings of the League Council and Assembly as Sir Austen's deputy. His statement to Reuter was telegraphed to London and published in the newspapers of August 31st. It happened that on that same day there was published in Paris a parallel statement from M. Leygues, French Minister of Marine. It seemed certain that Lord Cushendun and M. Leygues had agreed to issue their statements simultaneously; and it appeared from a comparison of the two statements that notes had been compared in advance.

The two statements were more remarkable for what they denied than for what they revealed. They denied that there were any

secret clauses in the so-called naval accord, or that any arrangement had been made or implied for Anglo-French military co-operation in case of war, or that there was any intention directly or indirectly to question the Washington Treaties. Having, however, told the world in detail what the accord was not, Lord Cushendun and M. Leygues, with striking parallelism, omitted to tell us what it was. The text was not published, nor has yet been published (September 15th). The statements made on August 30th are the only official disclosures we have had about that controversial event. Lord Cushendun, after deprecating the "speculation" and "misunderstanding" that had arisen, stated that "This is not an agreement at all in the ordinary sense of the word, as applied to international negotiations resulting in an accord. It is not a treaty and it is not final." He related its origins. "We must start," he said, "from the setting up of the Preparatory Commission for a Disarmament Conference, the purpose of which was to lay down agreed principles to be followed by all nations in reducing armaments, whether by land or sea. This Commission began work in March, 1927, and as a basis for discussion the British and French Governments each submitted a draft convention. The Commission directed its endeavours to reconciling the two drafts and producing a single agreed text. There were several points on which there was, naturally enough, disagreement, but the most important from the British point of view was the divergence of opinion between ourselves and the French regarding the principles on which naval disarmament might be approached. There is no question of figures or numbers of ships. That is for a later stage. The Commission was naturally concerned with principles—a skeleton form to be filled in with actual figures by a subsequent disarmament conference. This disagreement between the French and ourselves for a considerable time prevented anything being done. The other nations ranged themselves, some on our side and some on the French, often substantially, if not exactly, agreeing with one or the other. In principle the United States Government supported our view rather than that of the French. Various meetings of the Preparatory Commission sought a compromise which might produce agreement. At the meeting last March the French representative and I announced that certain conversations had been proceeding both here and in Paris, sometimes between Ministers and sometimes between experts, to see whether these divergences could be surmounted. Obviously the first step in reaching an agreed text must be agreement between the French and ourselves. This so-called agreement is nothing more nor less than a solution of that particular difficulty. But obviously this can only be a first step. All the other nations

concerned at Geneva must come into the agreement, otherwise the proposed convention falls to the ground.

"We intimated to the American, Italian, and Japanese Governments that these conversations had resulted in an agreement between the French and ourselves, and invited their observations upon the text so agreed. If they are also all in agreement, then we may hope that the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission will accept the draft. If any of them objects, obviously that result will not be achieved. It will, of course, be open to the Governments concerned to make suggestions for amendments, or if their objection goes farther than that, it can be met by an amendment to say that our views are not acceptable. If that is so, it only means that so far as the Preparatory Commission is concerned we shall have to approach the matter again and see if we can reach accord on some other lines. The agreement is simply for the purpose of securing a single text as between two draft conventions. There are only four or five short but very technical clauses, and the natural thing is to delay publication until the Governments most concerned have had an opportunity of considering their replies. We want their observations, and I am very hopeful that when they are considered by the other Governments, possibly with some amendments, we may succeed in arriving at an agreed text. Speculations as to secret clauses and so forth have no foundation whatever. I see it suggested, for instance, that we were going to arrange for pooling our Navy with the French. There is absolutely nothing in any such suggestion, nor is there anything at all in the shape of an agreed policy between ourselves and the French. It is not a question of policy. That has never been discussed. There are no secret clauses nor any arrangement as to an alliance or co-operation of navies. All that is absolutely beside the mark; nothing of the sort has ever been suggested."

Thus Lord Cushendun. M. Leygues made substantially the same points, adding a certain detail about the negotiations, namely, that "the French representative at one of the subsequent sittings of the Disarmament Commission at Geneva, acting on the instructions of M. Leygues, asked Vice-Admiral Kelly whether, if the French Government made a proposal in certain specified terms, the British Government would accept it. Thereupon Admiral Kelly submitted the proposition to his superior officer at the British Admiralty, who immediately replied that the proposal was so far satisfactory that the British Government would be prepared to negotiate upon it. M. Leygues informed the French Cabinet, which approved of the project, and authorised him to go on with it. Thereupon a Staff officer from the British Admiralty came to Paris to confer with Vice-Admiral Violette, Chief of the French Naval

Staff, and an understanding was arrived at between them within twenty-four hours."

If, however, the object of Lord Cushendun and of M. Leygues had been to allay suspicion, their attempt could hardly have missed the achievement more completely. When M. Leygues declared emphatically that there were no secret clauses in the agreement, that it did not involve joint action, military or naval, and that the Washington Convention of 1921 would be kept "to the letter to the last minute of the last day of its validity" he was misusing, because he was wasting, emphasis. No person standing on his legs could ever have suspected the agreement to contain such rubbish. M. Leygues might have worked himself up, with no greater absurdity, into protesting that the British and French Governments had not secretly agreed to murder Mr. Kellogg. What the world wanted to know was not a list of the absurdities not embodied in the agreement, but the actual content, if not the actual text, of the agreement itself. The two statements failed, as they deserved to fail, to stop speculation. The serious speculation, which had preceded, as it continued after, those statements was ignored by the two statesmen.

Now it had always been probable that after the Locarno Conference of 1925 British foreign policy would be modified by the substitution of a French bias in place of the German bias that had characterised it since the war. The general principle of the balance of power is still to some extent a motive of British foreign policy. Its form may vary, but the same substance generally contrives to be in it. When Germany in a military sense was powerless, and France strong, as was the case during the Lloyd Georgian series of conferences, British policy was constantly on the alert for Germany. As Germany recovered, British sympathy gradually cooled. After the Locarno conference, by which Germany was assured of British armed support against French aggression and at which Germany's entrance to the League of Nations was in principle decided upon, the change was quickened. Sir Austen Chamberlain's personal inclinations no doubt helped to quicken it: but the scenes of March, 1926, and the delay of Germany's entering the League of Nations conformed, it can hardly be denied, with the dictates of an eternal principle of British foreign policy.

Lord Cecil, it is true, is exceptional in being able to take a more detached view of British foreign policy. In March, 1927, he was the British representative at Geneva, and presented to the Preparatory Committee of the Disarmament Conference a draft convention which drew the immediate and broadside opposition of M. Paul Boncour to both aspects of it, both its military and its naval aspect.

Those two aspects were, however, kept distinct. The deadlock

in the military aspect was complete, for the Cecil proposal for the limitation of "effectives" as distinct from potential troops would have involved the abolition of conscription in France. If the number of soldiers allowable under the scheme of limitation be fixed, it becomes necessary to formulate a method of calculation and to define what constitutes a soldier. In the case of France, where every man is trained at one period of his life for war, it would be ridiculous to calculate the number of her army as merely the number of men serving or training at any given moment. The Cecil formula whereby "effectives" should be calculated as men who could be placed in the firing line within a given short time from the outbreak of a war was embarrassing to France because it would render her trained reserves liable for assessment. If therefore it proved to be true that the Franco-British naval "compromise" implied, as the other side of the medal, a British surrender to the French point of view about land armaments, then an important new factor had been established in Europe.

So far, however, as the purely naval side of the agreement was concerned, the August excitement proved to be a mare's nest. Sir Austen Chamberlain had explained at the end of July that the arrangement was contingent on the agreement of the United States, Japan and Italy. Lord Cushendun a month later repeated that explanation. When therefore it became clear in the first week of September that neither the United States nor the Italian Governments would welcome the proposal, intelligent anticipation of the dropping of the proposal appeared in the British Press. In these circumstances the attitude of the British Government maintained its consistency. It was semi-officially explained in Whitehall that the proposal would be altered or abandoned according as the attitude of Washington and of Rome were constructive or negative. The proposal could not go to the Preparatory Committee even as a proposal except as an agreed proposal from the five Powers. It therefore became likely that it would never reach the Preparatory Committee at all.

Concurrently, however, a new light was thrown on the military aspect of the Franco-British understanding. Although the naval understanding was to be dropped, a military understanding (as we were now for the first time definitely, if only semi-officially, informed) had been entered into, not as part of a bargain, but as a separate and independent act. It became known for the first time in September that a few months earlier the British Government had informed the French Government that there would be no further opposition from London to the French thesis about land armaments. That notification had not been put into writing, but was none the less binding and definite. The motive that led to it

was a recognition on the part of the British Government that France could impose her will in the long run. Germany and the Scandinavian countries supported the Cecil contention, and the United States was sympathetic, but not active. France had an overwhelming Continental opinion ranged by her side, and in the long run, therefore, she would win. The British Government therefore decided to accept the realism of the situation, and informed the Quai d'Orsay of its decision.

SIGNATURE OF THE PACT.

The Kellogg Pact was signed at the Quai d'Orsay on Monday, August 27th. Sir Austen Chamberlain's illness was a misfortune both for himself that his name could not be appended to so historic a document (Lord Cushendun signing in his place) and for Great Britain that the name of her Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was by the same token missing. On arriving at Havre on August 24th Mr. Kellogg was presented with the pen that was to be used in Paris. The Mayor of Havre greeted him as an "Artificer of Peace" and presented to him a golden pen, engraven with laurel wreaths and with the legend "Si vis pacem, para pacem." That legend alone is an illuminating sign of the world's progress. If the Mayor of Havre or any public person in any European country before 1914 had uttered anything except the grotesque original of that motto he would have been regarded as lightheaded. Mr. Kellogg tactfully gave to M. Briand his full measure of glory in the event. In a Press interview given on August 25th he said, "It was the grand conception of M. Briand which was the origin of this historic treaty"—the *Traité Général pour la Renonciation à la Guerre*, as it is officially called. The treaty has to be ratified before it becomes effective, and already that American minority which engineered the rejection of Mr. Wilson and of the Covenant of the League in 1919 is raising the same cry as it raised then, namely, "No European Entanglements." It would be foolish to underrate the strength of that lever in the American Senate, but as Mr. Kellogg has brought something to Europe from the United States whereas Mr. Wilson in 1919 took something from Europe to the United States, it seems reasonable to hope that 1919 will not be repeated.

It was in the Salle de l'Horloge at the Quai d'Orsay that the fifteen nations signed the Renunciation Treaty on the afternoon of August 27th, the same room in which the Covenant of the League of Nations was launched. The fifteen original signatories were the United States, France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Ireland, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, Germany, Italy, Japan and Poland. The Preamble and the two first

Articles make short but pleasant reading: The signatories "Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind; Persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made, to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated; Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory Power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this Treaty; 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, and for that purpose have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries: . . . Who, having communicated to one another their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

"Article I.—The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names 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 II.—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." Article III merely prescribes the usual ratification.

The signing ceremony itself lasted exactly an hour, from 3 to 4 p.m., of which three-quarters of an hour were taken up by M. Briand's speech. M. Briand on such occasions can be depended on to say the right thing and to say it well. His speeches at Cannes, Genoa and Locarno were equally eloquent and stimulating. Since Mr. Lloyd George retired from the international scene, M. Briand always contrives to be the dramatic spokesman. One remembers when the Locarno Treaties were signed in the London Foreign Office, he produced and read a letter he had received from an anonymous woman, the Unknown Mother as he effectively called her: "Allow a mother of a family to congratulate you. At last I shall be able to look at my children without apprehension, and to love them with some security." He more than any other delegate on that occasion captured the point of the Locarno Treaties. At one moment of his speech, he fixed his eyes on Dr. Luther and Herr Stresemann and declared with a wave of the hand: "Opposite me

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. By our signatures we declare for peace. The particularism of our countries is blotted out by this agreement and with it vanish unpleasant memories. If the Locarno Agreements . . . are not the draft of the constitution of a European family within the orbit of the League of Nations they would be frail indeed. . . . I am determined to extract from these Conventions everything they can provide against war and in favour of peace." Who could have put the point more completely or more shortly? On August 27th of this year he equally epitomised the nature of the occasion. "For the first time," he said, "in face of the whole world, through a solemn covenant involving the honour of great nations that all have behind them a heavy past of political conflicts, war is renounced unreservedly as an instrument of national policy, that is to say, in its most specific and dreaded form: selfish and wilful war. . . . There is not one nation represented here which has not shed its blood on the battlefields of the last war. I submit that we should dedicate to the dead, to all the dead of the Great War, the event we are about to consecrate with our signature."

THE RETURN OF VENISELOS.

After a virtual exile of nearly eight years Mr. Veniselos has again become Prime Minister of Greece. It was in the autumn of 1920 that the Greek electorate by a freak of perversity which first surprised and then revolted all serious people not only humiliated their great statesman, one of the greatest statesmen of our time, but turned against him a fury of resentment, wholly irrelevant and blinded as it was, such as made him flee the country for his life. It was not surprising that he thereupon announced his final abdication of politics. Yet it was no more surprising—for of such a quality he was universally known to be—that he spent all his reason and his power of appeal in pleading against the universal contempt into which his countrymen had fallen. He defended those who had betrayed and wronged him. He adduced arguments, cast in the impersonal charm which always characterised his diplomacy, to prove that the Greek cause was as good as ever, the Greek people as worthy of confidence as ever. He accepted difficult diplomatic missions abroad, made difficult precisely by his own political extinction by the Greek people, and confided to him by his enemy Government at home which felt the ground swiftly disappearing from under their feet. Those who knew him in his exile knew the sorrow he suffered, not on his own, but on his country's behalf.

Those who did not know him found him a dogged champion of his own enemies and could not understand.

When Ronald Burrows, the greatest friend of Veniselos, was dying in May, 1920, the San Remo Conference was just over, and Veniselos was at the height of his diplomatic triumphs. Burrows, knowing that he was dying, wrote a farewell letter to Veniselos, which Veniselos later described as a "prophetic warning, as though some foreknowledge was granted to him." It was six months before the election took place, when probably no political student in the entire world expected that anything would go wrong in Greece. Burrows in his letter first subscribed to that general assumption and then mysteriously and, as it proved, prophetically contradicted the assumption. "I see (he wrote) from a telegram that you are taking back the good news in triumph to Greece. That is your last battle, the recreation of a united Hellas. I have no doubt that you will sweep the polls again at the election, but there is something harder to do, to convert the ignorant, obstinate, and often well-meaning folk whose whole outlook was perverted and turned to bitterness by the Royalist struggle. You are still, thank God, young and strong, and you can do such mighty things these next ten years if you have the whole nation behind you. It is not only that I have unbounded faith in you, my Pericles, but I love Hellas as a whole, and I love those dear people, many of them friends of mine in the past, and cannot bear that they should be so blind. Ah well! It may be that your sweet reasonableness will win them in the end."

The last two sentences were puzzling at the time, but were proved true to history as yet unfolded.

At the end of 1920 Veniselos was driven into the wilderness; whereupon the fortunes of Greece sank lower and lower. By the end of 1926 there was nothing left of what Veniselos had built, and the country was almost completely stultified by internal dissension. There then followed, as if from sheer exhaustion, a period of calm, during which a coalition of all the parties held the reins of government. The violent passion of political vendetta was allayed, Royalists and Veniselists proclaimed a kind of truce; few false steps were taken in foreign diplomacy or in domestic policy; the League of Nations and the United States were attracted to help financially in the reconstruction of the national finances—which had gone down in the general wreck—and in the heartbreaking work of settling on Greek soil the million or so refugees who were uprooted from Anatolia after the Lausanne Conference had rewritten the Treaty of Sèvres. Calm, however, was foreign to the Greek temperament, and the pendulum swung again. In the spring of this year party passions began to exert a strain on the Coalition, and

the spectre of another and possibly more disastrous Dictatorship began to loom ahead. In the circumstances Veniselos from his exile home showed signs of self-contradictory emotions. He repeated his protest that he would never return to Greek politics; he did all he could to inspire confidence in the existing Government, thereby indirectly playing a part in the very politics he had banished; and within four months, the said Coalition Government having fallen, and the impetus to bring back Veniselos having swept everything before it, Veniselos himself had formed a Government.

The first serious danger to the Coalition emerged in May, when certain interested organs in Athens propagated the notion that the Government's failure to pass an Act for the setting up of the Senate had brought against it the hostility of certain influences emanating from the Army. It was then for the first time seriously suggested in Athens that Veniselos might be induced, on grounds of patriotism, to break his vow and return to Greece. The road back to Athens was not a smooth road. The Liberal Party which Mr. Veniselos had led till 1920 had itself broken in the subsequent dissensions of Greek politics, and had split into two sections, divided precisely by their attitude to their former chief. The section of the party which remained loyal to Veniselos was led by Mr. Michalakopoulos, who held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs in the Coalition Cabinet. It retained simply the name of Liberal Party. It was numerically smaller than the other section, which called itself the Progressive Liberal Party, being "progressive" only in the sense that it deserted Veniselos. It was led by Mr. Kaphandaris, Minister of Finance in the Coalition Ministry. As the crisis within the Ministry developed, and as the popular movement for the recall of Veniselos grew, Mr. Kaphandaris no doubt felt that some peculiar strain fell upon himself personally. On May 19th he announced his decision to resign his position as leader of the Progressive Liberals and therefore also his Cabinet position of Minister of Finance. His motive was explained as a desire to leave his party a free hand in deciding what their attitude was to be to Veniselos, he himself having decided to form a new party. Before formally resigning however at a meeting of the Progressive Liberal Party convened for May 22nd he had an interview (May 20th) with Mr. Veniselos, the object of which, on the part of Mr. Veniselos, was to save both the old Liberal Party and the Coalition Government by reaching an amicable understanding with Mr. Kaphandaris, and on the part of Mr. Kaphandaris, as the event showed, to make his own position perfectly clear. The result of the interview was made known at the party meeting on May 22nd, at which Mr. Kaphandaris proclaimed

that the Progressive Liberals never had been, in his view, a Veniselist party, but a departure from that party, and that he himself refused to accept the guidance of Veniselos. He therefore resigned the leadership of the party, and announced that he would form a new party. As his friends the Ministers of Public Health, War and Marine resigned from the Cabinet in his support, the Prime Minister, Mr. Zaimis, tendered the Cabinet's resignation to the President. There followed the familiar scenes of Greek political excitement, Royalist outbursts against Veniselos, even General Metaxas, leader of the Moderate Royalists, declaring that he would never collaborate with Veniselos. Veniselos himself on May 23rd proclaimed that his dual object in returning to politics was to save the Liberal party and to prevent the reassertion of a Dictatorship. He therefore resumed the leadership of the Liberal Party.

Now in one sense Veniselos is an extremist. When in exile his determination was never again to return to Greek politics. Having now under the force of the circumstances above alluded to decided to abandon that attitude, and having therefore returned to Athens, his point of view quite simply was that he was about to be the paramount factor in Greek affairs. Anything short of predominance would never have occurred to him. He had assumed the leadership of the Liberal Party and therefore took it for granted that he would be included in the next Ministry. Inclusion in the Ministry would be all that would be necessary for him to exert the decisive influence. The simplicity of such an outlook, which was wholly consistent with his character, was simply one aspect of his impersonal ministry of a cause. Modesty is a personal thing; it connotes a subjective self-consciousness, even though it be an attractive form of subjectivity. Veniselos's outlook is singularly impersonal. Realising that he could put something right for Greece, he took the means for granted and assumed himself without question to be in a position to carry it through. He is uncritical of the means to his own hand. Hence it was that in 1920 his own Cabinet contained traitors to himself, traitors so gross that a less simple and more suspicious soul would have detected them in a moment. Hence also it was that on the eve of the 1920 election he took so objective a view of what an election is that he released all his political enemies from prison so that they might record their votes against him, or for him, as the case might be. They not only voted against him themselves, but with truly Greek insatiableness, moved heaven and earth to prevent anybody's voting for him.

It happened at the end of May, 1928, that there was some obstacle, not at first appreciated by him, against his becoming a member of the Cabinet at all. The party negotiations that followed the resignation of Mr. Zaimis and his Coalition Cabinet could only

result, if they resulted in anything at all, in the formation of another Coalition Cabinet under Mr. Zaimis, because no single party could command a working majority in the Chamber. Mr. Veniselos's friends in the Chamber formed the strongest single group, but they did not constitute a majority. No combination of groups could form a Government unless the Royalists were included, and the Royalists, even the Metaxist section of them, refused to join any Government which included Veniselos. On May 28th Mr. Zaimis secured the collaboration of the Metaxist Royalists only by omitting Veniselos from his Cabinet. Nor was that all. Veniselos, although leader of the Liberal Party, was not a deputy and could not lead his party in the Chamber. A deputy-leader in the person of Mr. Sophoulis, President of the Chamber, had to be appointed to lead the party in Parliament. The new Government was duly formed. Veniselos found himself helplessly outside. That to him was not a businesslike state of affairs, and with the same undisturbed impersonality he proceeded to bring down so impossible a Government. On June 27th he publicly attacked the Government's floating of a £2,000,000 loan, wrote to the Finance Minister (again Mr. Kaphandaris) roundly informing him that if he wished to avert a financial calamity he must drop the plan he had in mind and substitute another and wholly different plan of Veniselos's, there and then submitted; and roundly condemning him for his settlement of the Greek debt to France. Veniselos wrote so effectively that Mr. Kaphandaris promptly resigned (which was no doubt what Mr. Veniselos was aiming at) on June 28th, and the resignation of the whole Cabinet followed twenty-four hours later. So far, good. Without risking unnecessary complications, Veniselos thereupon, sublimely simple, made it known that he himself would form a Government, if the President were to ask him to do so. He did so. They both did so. It was done swiftly. On July 4th Veniselos swore in a new Cabinet, complete with himself as Prime Minister. Not being a member of Parliament, his position was provisional and dependent on the ratification of the electorate. It probably never occurred to Veniselos that there could be any doubt about what the electorate would say. He took it all for granted. That time he was right. At the August election he swept the polls, the final figures being 686,463 (68 per cent.) for Veniselos, 328,550 (32 per cent.) for the Royalists. Veniselos had an overwhelming independent working majority in the House. There is something refreshing and irresistible in the way Veniselos triumphs. He now has before him the herculean task of rebuilding Greece; a task which to him no doubt appears to be as simple as all other things.

September 15th, 1928.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. REVIEWS	525
THE DECLINE AND FALL; ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON; THE LIFE OF HASTINGS RASHDALL; SOME ASPECTS OF THE VICTORIAN AGE; PROSE OF TO-DAY; PERSIAN PICTURES; THE HISTORY OF ITALIAN LAW.	
2. SHORTER REVIEWS: "Mussolini the Man of Destiny"; "Of Dramatick Poesie: an Essay, 1668, by John Dry- den"; "The Short Stories of Thomas Hardy"	541
3. NOTICES OF BOOKS: "South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint"; "Paganism in Roumanian Folklore"; "Money for Nothing"; "A History of Italy"; "Aspects of Doctor Johnson"	544

THE DECLINE AND FALL.*

Mr. Heitland's "last words" on the Roman municipalities may well form the first words in a new approach to a solution of that eternally tempting problem, the causes of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." Edward Gibbon is responsible for the phrase that seems to contain the problem, and possibly the phrase is responsible for the indeterminate nature of the differential equation which historians in successive generations call upon themselves to solve. The phrase indicates that there was a Golden Age in which an empire seated at Rome was a perfectly balanced firmly based reality and that this reality, by the operation of external and internal forces, lost first its stability and then its balance and was dissolved in a catastrophic fall into its elements. Nothing perhaps could be further from the record of facts as we know them, though it is true that the internal economy of, at any rate, the Western Empire is only now being slowly revealed by the intensive researches of the last century and a half and there is still a mist that covers the processes of the vast social transformation that is implicit in Gibbon's neat but misleading phrase.

It is necessary to keep in mind the fact that the Roman Empire not only lasted until 1453 but that it completed its work by the middle of the fifteenth century, since the Eastern Empire formed the bulwark which made it possible for the nationalised transformation of the Western Empire to become stable and immune from the

* *Last Words on the Roman Municipalities.* By W. R. Heitland. Cambridge: At the University Press. 4s. net.

attacks of the marching hordes of Asia. The Eastern Empire kept the gate alone for exactly a thousand years and so successfully that when the end came the highly organised forces of Asia, despite desperate attempts in the Mediterranean basin and in the Balkan regions, never played a serious part in European politics. The real problem, then, is the social and political transformations that went on in Europe under the protecting shadow of the Eastern Empire. It is not a problem of a decline and fall of an empire at all but of a social transformation that was inherent in the very structure of the western branch of the Roman Empire.

The processes of that transformation did not begin in some late day after the Principate had attained its prime and the sun of the Golden Age had passed its meridian. These processes are in evidence from the days of the Aryan dispersion from the plains under the Carpathians into Europe and Central Asia. Mr. Heitland seems to divide the East from the West by the fact that in Asia we see, in times long before the days of Imperial Rome, empires massed by conquest while in Europe west of the Ægean concentration was not a dominant fact. But he admits that in the ancient East there still existed self-governing cities "allowed to exist as subordinate units under the general control of the regal government." That is certainly true, and even in the Sumerian Empire we see tribal processes and tribal cities and even tribal government going on despite the dominance of a central bureaucratic autocracy which was essentially a commercial autocracy. Nor is this alone the case. The Sumerian Code was a tribal code built up from tribal decisions or tribal case-law in exactly the same way as is now in process in the case of the Bantu peoples. In this survival in the ancient autocracies of the local or the tribal city-state element Mr. Heitland finds "a precedent for the expanded municipal system of Rome." Perhaps it would not be less true to say that while in the ancient East the tribal city-state element survived but survived with difficulty, yet west of the Ægean, where true autocratic bureaucracy had not got a full hold, it was the natural state. The tribal municipality was a natural goal of tribal life, as both the Italian and the Grecian cities show, and the contribution of ancient Rome to world polity was the recognition of the fact and of the further fact that the universal tribal principle of confederation could be so applied as to make confederation with Rome and with no other city the obvious interest of each tribe or city-state.

Such a policy led to what Mr. Heitland very aptly calls "an aggregate of municipalities"—he rightly rejects the term federation of municipalities since federation does not describe the results of the process though to some extent it describes the process. The

provinces were not organic entities. That point is insisted upon by Mr. Heitland and he declares that the deliberate policy of disuniting the tribes in the various provinces involved conditions that "amounted to nothing less than a prevention of the growth of what we call Nationality for many centuries among the most progressive peoples." This is a very tempting proposition but it will doubtless be answered by the fact that in Gaul itself, indeed in South Britain itself, there had been ample opportunities for the growth of what we call nationality before the intervention of Gaius Cæsar and that all that happened was the usual tribal process of leagues and aggregations that came to a head and disappeared with startling rapidity. Had Rome never intervened at all with her provincial system it might well be argued that the fact of nationality would have been removed to a still later date.

But certainly the Roman intervention led to the more formal organisation of the tribal city-state on the lines of the municipal system that had hardened in ancient Rome itself. Of that there can be no doubt, but Mr. Heitland, it may be suggested, though of course with great diffidence, hardly lays sufficient stress on a fact that accompanied the Romanising of the provincial tribal city-state, the operation of the Rule of Law, the Rule of Roman Law. If we assume that Mr. Heitland makes out the point that the provinces were dominated by urban municipalities on the Roman model and admit that these municipalities were in many cases defective and ill-governed and in some cases woefully corrupt, yet it does not follow that the Rule of Law was not effective, while the large number of Roman settlers in the municipalities would give weight to the law which secured a universal vogue in the West in the shape of the Theodosian Code before the Western Empire took another form. The natives of Roman or Latin status, the freedmen, persons who had chartered rights and natives who though unprivileged had some of the benefits of the Rule of Law would all demand a settled and certain law. These municipalities therefore carried on the Roman tradition after the seat of Empire had moved east and the Roman tie had been dissolved so far as the outlying provinces were concerned. The Roman municipal system was indeed "an instrument of Empire" but too much stress should not be laid on the dangers of urbanisation and "the underlying antagonism of urban and rustic populations." After all the rustic population was still tribal and led the tribal life. No doubt sub-urban areas suffered, but if the little city-state not only survived but carried on the tradition of Roman justice and the continuity of economic life and became the host of Christianity the Empire underwent a transformation indeed, but in that change it fulfilled its destiny.

J. E. G. DE M.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.*

This series of illustrated English classics shows well enough that the immortals have not been swept away by the vast flood of current fiction. No doubt a small, a very small, percentage of current fiction has at any rate sufficient permanent elements to reflect for the purposes of the social historian some features of our age. But creative work is not a feature of current fiction. The creative minds with one or two exceptions have given themselves to science, pure mathematics, pure philosophy and scholarship. That feature began to present itself in the last quarter of the nineteenth century but fortunately there were still a few minds of the first rank that devoted themselves in that period to fiction, and among these Robert Louis Stevenson stands supreme. His novels and his fantasia read as freshly to-day as when they were written fifty and more years ago.

There was a time when Stevenson's prose, with its careful construction and its essential simplicity, seemed somewhat precious at a period when floridity was threatening English literature. Probably Stevenson stemmed that tide. In the preface to *The Master of Ballantrae* he wrote: "I believe there is nothing so noble as baldness . . . and I am sure there is nothing so interesting. I would have all literature bald." He meant what he said, and it was the fair literary reply of a great writer to the involutions and ingenuities of Walter Pater, the long drawn-out insistence of John Ruskin, and the dramatic and often hideous and complex realism of Thomas Carlyle. To-day the prose of Stevenson seems to be an example of the survival of the fittest. All great literature is bald in the Stevensonian sense from Homer to Shakespeare. Both Virgil and Dante are at their greatest when they are bald, and for prose, baldness, that is to say a minimum of words conveying a maximum of meaning, is essential.

But Stevenson's prose is an instrument, and a specially dramatic instrument, for the revelation of character. In quite admirable artists it is often the case that the prose reveals the characters, but that is not the whole of the case with Stevenson. So subtle is the construction of those books that it would seem that the characters and not the author mould the language as if they were living people. Read the conversation between David and the Lord Advocate in *Catriona* and it seems certain that we are listening to two people talking and that it is not the talking that reveals the men but that the men are revealing themselves, the kind-hearted sophistication of Prestongrange blocked by the grim dour honesty of the boy. Sir Walter Scott hardly attained to this height of

* *Illustrated Pocket Classics: Robert Louis Stevenson.* Ten volumes. Macmillan. 3s. 6d. net, each volume.

characterisation but there are many instances in Shakespeare, and especially in the conversations of Sir John Falstaff. Stevenson achieved what probably most novelists aim at and very few achieve: a story that is a drama with elaborate stage directions, a drama wherein the characters are actually alive.

Characterisation is probably Stevenson's chief gift and he made it possible by his complete command of English prose. He uses prose as a sculptor uses marble and carves out his creations from the living tongue. From John Silver to Weir of Hermiston the characters are absolutely alive. We live and walk and talk with them and we love them or fear them just as if they were living creatures moving in our own plane. The complaint has been made that Stevenson could not create a woman, but that charge is untrue though, in fact, if we except Prince Otto's wife, he did not make a woman the chief figure of any story. Had he lived he would no doubt have given us a woman as perfectly planned as his men. The women that he did actually create are alive. Joanna in the *Black Arrow* is alive; Alison Graeme in *The Master of Ballantrae* is very much alive, a strange unforgettable figure, while Catriona herself is a personality of exquisite charm, perhaps one of the most natural creatures outside the charmed circle of Shakespeare's women. Charming as Barbara Grant is it is possible to say that she was a portrait, but she is a foil to Catriona who is not a portrait at all but a living being wholly comparable with the exquisite simplicity of Imogen.

There is one point in common between Shakespeare and Stevenson that perhaps forms, for certain minds, the main criticism of Stevenson. He, like the great dramatist, moves in worlds not realised, that is to say in a world of romance that seems in some senses unreal, though in fact romance and the passion for romance form the spiritual element of daily human life. Stevenson creates his own atmosphere and it does not appear to be the atmosphere of common workaday men and women. If they want to understand Stevenson they must somehow or another adjust themselves to this atmosphere or, in other words, draw upon their spiritual resources. This is also true of Shakespeare and makes Shakespeare as it makes Stevenson in fact untranslatable. But Shakespeare is so great that he must be taken at his own estimate, in his own atmosphere, so to speak. We cannot afford to neglect Shakespeare and it was only the eighteenth century that belittled him. Shakespeare is one of the vast alps of literature or, as Matthew Arnold would say, one of the eternal stars that has risen above criticism, though not beyond analysis. But Stevenson, though the volume of his work, as this series shows, is substantial, has not yet secured a universal vogue. Shakespeare's vogue and the vogue of all the

great writers is based on their dramatic force. But it is not necessary to be a playwright for this force to exist and it is not necessary to be a romanticist. Jane Austen and Charles Dickens essentially survive because of their dramatic force and the one is a pure realist and the other a pure romanticist but in each case the characters are living personalities and are not mere pictures. Shakespeare is both a realist and a romanticist and the combination is probably unique. Stevenson is a romanticist pure and simple, but one of the great achievements of his work is that he brings out the romantic element of the most practical people in the world while never hiding their brutal realism. That point is well illustrated by *Catriona*. Prestongrange, the Lord Advocate, loved and respected the romanticism of young David Balfour, who bade fair, by virtue of his sheer and honest realism, to wreck not only the great lawyer but the whole Whig Party in Scotland, but he ruthlessly outwitted him.

In course of time, on November 8th, and in the midst of a prodigious storm of wind and rain, poor James of the Glens was duly hanged at Lettermore by Ballachulish. So there was the final upshot of my politics! Innocent men have perished before James, and are like to keep on perishing (in spite of all our wisdom) till the end of time. And till the end of time young folk (who are not yet used with the duplicity of life and men) will struggle as I did, and make heroic resolves, and take long risks; and the course of events will push them upon the one side and go on like a marching army. James was hanged; and here was I dwelling in the house of Prestongrange, and grateful to him for his fatherly attention. He was hanged; and behold! when I met Mr. Simon in the causeway, I was fain to pull off my beaver to him like a good little boy before his dominie. He had been hanged by fraud and violence, and the world wagged along, and there was not a pennyweight of difference; and the villains of that horrid plot were decent, kind, respectable fathers of families, who went to kirk and took the sacrament!

Prestongrange's defence for his remorseless action is given in the first interview with Balfour.

This is a political case—ah, yes, Mr. Balfour! whether we like it or no, the case is political—and I tremble when I think what issues may depend from it. To a political case, I need scarce tell a young man of your education, we approach with very different thoughts from one which is criminal only. *Salus populi suprema lex* is a maxim susceptible of great abuse, but it has that force which we find elsewhere only in the laws of nature: I mean it has the force of necessity. I will open this out to you, if you will allow me, at more length. . . . You would have me to believe Breck innocent. I would think this of little account, the more so as we cannot catch our man. But the matter of Breck's innocence shoots beyond itself. Once admitted, it would destroy the whole presumption of our case against another and a

very different criminal; a man grown old in treason, already twice in arms against his king and already twice forgiven; a fomentor of discontent, and (whoever may have fired the shot) the unmistakable original of the deed in question.

That is the defence, and Prestongrange though delighted with the determination of the boy to see justice done, never moves from his determinate polity that the pacification of the Highlands after the '45 turned on the hanging of James Stewart. And he was hanged though he never fired the shot that killed the Campbell and David could prove his relative innocence. Both Prestongrange and David were right: that is the essence of tragedy, and Stevenson took the dramatic opportunity and wrote in *Catriona* a tragedy that will live. But this is only one illustration of dramatic force that should give Stevenson a permanent place in the literature of the world.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

THE LIFE OF HASTINGS RASHDALL.*

Mr. Matheson has rendered a great service, not only to the friends of the late Dean Rashdall, but to a much wider public, by the way in which he has written the *Life* of his intimate and distinguished friend. Dr. Rashdall was well known as an eminent thinker and a prolific writer on a wide range of subjects, theological and ethical, philosophic and historic. His great book on *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*—a work of immense research and outstanding ability—established his high reputation from the time of its publication in 1895. His most important ethical work on *The Theory of Good and Evil* and his Bampton Lectures on *The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology* enhanced and extended his reputation, although the positions he sustained were highly controversial. Books and lectures of lesser compass and less lasting importance flowed from his pen during the long period of his teaching and literary activity. His output was enormous and was sustained at a very high level of intellectual ability and moral earnestness. In them all Dr. Rashdall was revealed as a personality of high courage, of intense earnestness, and disinterested sincerity. But his attitude and methods, from first to last, were those of an uncompromising controversialist, and his stiff rationalism, as a follower (though with distinct reservations and points of difference) of Kant and T. H. Green, led him, not only to ignore, but to combat many spiritual tendencies which he condemned as mystical, and therefore, from his point of view, irrational.

* *The Life of Hastings Rashdall, D.D.* By P. B. Matheson. Oxford University Press. 18s. net.

The result of all this was that while Dr. Rashdall challenged and won for himself a very high reputation as a thinker, the impression he produced upon those who were not brought into personal contact with him was by no means altogether attractive, while many of his critical and theological conclusions aroused not only opposition but deep-rooted and stubborn prejudice. This prejudice, which sprang from imperfect knowledge of the man, was in many respects unjust, and will be dispelled, for all fair-minded people, by the publication of his life.

Dr. Rashdall left ample material for his biographer, for he kept a careful record of his work, and was a great letter-writer. Happily his more intimate correspondence has been preserved, and Mr. Matheson has made ample use of it. He has also secured special accounts of his work at Hereford and Carlisle, and a careful estimate of him as philosopher and theologian by Professor C. C. J. Webb, with whom Rashdall was on terms of close friendship, despite serious metaphysical differences. The correspondence and these special estimates combine to throw an altogether pleasing and welcome light upon the man, behind the thinker and the inexorable controversialist. In the words of Mr. H. W. B. Joseph, "*Impiger, iracundus* he was, and *acer*; but save in points of principle, never *inexorabilis*; and he leaves behind him the memory of a powerful mind consistently devoted to high and worthy ends, and of a most lovable personality" (p. 254). In particular, the *Life* brings out the deep reverence and humility, the utter devotion, and the stern self-discipline of his religious life, as well as his passion for service and his genius for helpful friendship, especially in the care of his pupils, but also in the wider contacts of his public life. Moreover, strained though he was by incessant intellectual labours, and by his extreme readiness to respond to all manner of public calls, Dr. Rashdall added to his kindliness of temper a buoyancy of spirit, a sense of humour, and a hilarity which made him a delightful colleague and companion.

Those who found most reason to differ from Dean Rashdall in matters theological and ecclesiastical will do well to read this biography. They will find it a simple and convincing record of the life of a man who was above all else a devoted Christian, a broad-minded, courageous and unselfish comrade and servant of his fellow-men.

One mistake should be pointed out. On page 44 it is stated that Rashdall "was ordained by Bishop Westcott at Bishop Auckland on 8th June, 1884." Dr. Westcott did not become Bishop of Durham until 1890.

J. S. L.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE VICTORIAN AGE.*

Dr. Temperley in his inaugural lecture to the University of Cambridge local lectures summer meeting of this year gave himself a task which no historian, at any rate, could perfectly perform. The Victorian Age in the fields of politics, war and diplomacy has not yet found that historical perspective in which these fields will be combined to form part of the middle distance of modern world history. Dr. Temperley feels that the Victorian Age is an entity in time beginning with the sudden and almost romantic revival of the Monarchy and ending with the European boycott of 1901. It is true that it can be so considered with a sense of convenience, but there seems little reality in such a convention unless we limit the period of the Victorian Age from, say, 1846 to 1876. But on any convention it is at present impossible to see the Victorian Age as a whole and to relate it on the one hand to the Napoleonic Age and the years of reaction, and on the other hand to the last half century during which the development of science has given an orientation to human society of which politicians and soldiers could not even dream at the date of Disraeli's death in 1881.

Possibly Disraeli could have performed the task that Dr. Temperley set himself. The stately phantom would have told the earnest young historians gathered at Cambridge in the sultry days of last July that the Elizabethan and the Victorian Ages would be spiritually one in the eyes of the historian of the far future; that Elizabeth and Victoria each ruled, in the estimation of their Parliaments, over an Empire; that each strove to combine Empire with Liberty in so far as ordered Liberty was consistent with Empire; that each solved in a fashion the social and economic problems of their age; that each gave a new significance to national education and university life; that each had at least one statesman of supreme ability who imposed peace upon an ungrateful world; that each epoch ended with the death of that statesman; and that the two hundred and fifty years of war and economic chaos that separated the two epochs were a mere pang of preparation for a new advance towards the goal of true *humanitas*. The splendid ghost would then have dealt with the period from 1881 to 1928 in emphatic fashion:

When I died the stage was set; the drama of the New Democracy, of the New British Empire, of the New Europe, the New America, of the new Labour combinations, even of the New Science, was all set and yet the actors forgot their parts, the orchestra played out of time, there was no Spirit that could see the drama of things and see it whole. I am afraid that affairs

* *The Victorian Age in Politics, War and Diplomacy*. By Harold Temperley. Cambridge University Press. 2s. 6d. net.

have gone wrong in the interval. There has been too much talk of the Time-Spirit, ladies and gentlemen, as something to which we must bow. Not at all. It is the business of great statesmen to take the Time-Spirit by the hand and lead it into the paths of pleasantness and peace.

Historians cannot look at things in this light spirit. Dr. Temperley is content to point out in some detail some of the great drifts of the Time-Spirit: in the Victorian Age "the movements were greater than the men"; Fox's *dictum* of 1791, that "the only method of retaining distant colonies with advantage was to enable them to govern themselves," was at work; Blackstone's conception of law dominated the movements. Dr. Temperley considers that "the method by which colonies, once disaffected or rebellious, were reconciled and retained seems the great contribution of the Victorian Age to political science," that "to domestic . . . politics and legislation the Victorian Age made no strikingly original contribution," that "about 1850 the development of the system of Parliamentary questions in its modern form, gave to the individual member a new and genuine control over the executive," that Disraeli in 1875 settled for a generation the question of the combination of labourers, that Canning's ideas of a European Congress are of even more interest to-day than in 1830 since they have been incorporated, with almost literal exactness, into a constitution of that League of Nations which meets at the "small and neutral town of Geneva," that Gladstone "was prepared with a foreign policy half-way between Cobdenite and Palmerstonian extremes," and applied it with some success, that Disraeli had a foreign policy of definite intervention and applied it in Berlin in 1878 with extreme daring and courage, that "our foreign policy leaned on England too much and on Europe too little."

These *dicta* are of extreme interest to the student, but Dr. Temperley is not less interesting when he declares that two main tendencies, usually in conflict, characterised the Victorian Age: first, "the spirit of compromise, the spirit of order and decency, so dear to the middle class, the class then articulate and politically self-conscious"; second, "a tendency to reject all compromise, a tendency to ruthless logic, and to a mechanical perspective and rigidity of thought." Dr. Temperley gives as illustrations "the political ideas of Bentham and Herbert Spencer, the economic doctrines of *laissez faire* and free trade, of self-help and free enterprise." This statement throws much light on the age. Bentham's plans have all matured, but they have matured by the processes of compromise exactly in the way that Blackstone anticipated that reform would come. In fact, Blackstone and Bentham respectively represent these two main tendencies, and neither of these men was a Vic-

torian. Dr. Temperley finally refers the historical students of the epoch to Charles Dickens.

Indeed I could not bid you to study any politics or send you to any history so rich in revelation as the novels of Dickens. They diffuse that atmosphere which is lost among protocols and parliamentary debates, they contain that essence of which politics is only the shell. His world is a truly Victorian World—in which myriads of characters crowd the stage, every one of them different, every one stamped with the mind of their creator. That is the middle class in the reign of Victoria, a medley, with and without a purpose; a crowd now following, now controlling, its leaders.

But surely this applies to the Mid-Victorian Age, to the period that runs from the introduction of free trade to the death of Disraeli? A new world, as a new orientation of an old world, began twenty years before the dominant old queen, destined to be as famous as Elizabeth in the perspective of history, died. The Elizabethan and the Victorian Ages have an immense deal in common if we restrict the parallel to the great middle periods.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

PROSE OF TO-DAY.*

This volume has been produced under the auspices of the English Association, and contains a representative selection of English prose by modern writers. Contemporary prose is difficult of estimation. Every day has its prose, but the question is whether to-morrow will seal it with approbation. Is there any outstanding prose to-day that will live, or will the fashion of the day hall-mark it as of the twentieth century? Chaucer and Shakespeare, one may say, are the only *undated* English writers. Compare them for a moment with other English authors and we note at once that they are of their own day, while Chaucer and Shakespeare are of all time.

Every serious reader must be aware of the amount of good prose that is written to-day, and this volume is an excellent selection of many of the best, but no selection gives a true record of the whole; torn from its context it fails to impress, even the greatest prose must suffer from it, and only one writer "picked out of ten thousand," like Hamlet's honest man, can stand the test. Samples fail to represent the bulk of an author's output, and often do him an injustice.

The prose of to-day is no longer classical. It is based on the

* *Prose of To-day*. Longmans. 3s. 6d. net.

Elizabethan style. But no prose of to-day can equal the great literature of the Bible, or rather, the Authorised translation of it. What short story writer can compare with the New Testament parables? In a few short words the scene appears before one with startling magic. The place, the situation, the whole environment, the psychology of the *dramatis personæ*, hold one with a grip that none other achieves, whether the story is taken from the Old or the New Testament, the Hebrew or the Greek. The nearest approach may be found in the ancient literature of India, but this only fully appeals to the East, a fact that partly accounts for the apparent lack of popular appreciation of Rabindranath Tagore's work in this country, except by those conversant with Eastern thought.

Another factor in all anthologies, or selections, whether of prose or poetry, is the reader, and with him often lies the fault. He must be able, like the taster of choice wines, to discriminate, and never to allow the juxtaposition of flavour or aroma to interfere with his judgment of quality. This is a homely simile, but seems to suit the theme. It would be invidious to indicate special writers in this manual where all are so good according to their lights, and the subject matter so various. Style must be suited to matter. Shakespeare more often than not uses prose for the humorous, but, if verse, doggerel. What can be more delightful than Dogberry and his crew, or the young and old Gobbo! They live by the hand of the master-craftsman. The index of the authors from whose writings these selections are chosen is most welcome. "Who's Who" in the *Prose of To-day* adds much to the value of this volume.

* * *

PERSIAN PICTURES.*

If all pictures left on the mind the vivid impression that Gertrude Bell's *Letters* and *Persian Pictures* convey, what a rush there would be to see them. Sir E. Denison Ross writes the preface to this book explaining why the original publication of these *Persian Pictures* was anonymous, and almost contrary to the wish of the author, who set small value on them, as being her first essay in literature; but Bentley, the publisher, was insistent, and eventually he and Gertrude Bell's parents (who much desired the publication of their daughter's work) carried the day. In 1894 Bentley brought out this book under the title of *Safar Nameh: Persian Pictures, A Book of Travel*, without the author's name.

Gertrude Bell was born on July 14th, 1868, at Washington Hall, Durham, then the residence of her grandfather, the late Sir Low-

* *Persian Pictures*. By Gertrude Bell. With a Preface by Sir E. Denison Ross. Ernest Benn. 10s. 6d. net.

thian Bell. In 1885 she entered Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, and took a brilliant First in History. Her uncle, Sir Frank Lascelles, was appointed Minister to Teheran in 1891. The Orient had a strong attraction for Gertrude Bell, and she grasped the opportunity of setting out with Lady Lascelles for Teheran in 1892, and the fruit of this first excursion to the East was the present volume now re-issued. Gertrude Bell possessed the seeing eye and a natural power of expression, which make any work by her a delight to read, whether it be the first or last effort. Fortunately, one letter (included in this selection) to her cousin Horace Marshall, dated June 18th, 1892, has been found; unfortunately it is the only one.

To those who know Edward G. Browne's book, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, these *Persian Pictures* will appear slight, a water-colour sketch, in fact, beside that finished and learned work, but the charm of a sketch in colour, untouched in the studio, conveys an impression not always caught in a more elaborate work. It was a pity that Miss Bell's book could not have appeared before Edward Browne's *Year*. It would have whetted the public taste for more Persian acquaintance and knowledge and thus have given a fuller and wider recognition to E. Browne's wonderful book, which remained out of print for many years, a new edition not being issued till 1926, a year after the author's death.

The East never fails to attract Western civilisation, for it possesses all that the West lacks. It is a land of strong contrasts. The desert on one hand, gardens and flowers as if by magic on the other, a little sand, and a tiny rill, and the patch blossoms as the rose.

And the gardens, also with their tall trees and peaceful tanks, are subject to the unexpected vicissitudes of Eastern fortune. The minister falls into disgrace, the rich merchant is ruined by the exaction of his sovereign; the stream is turned off, the water ceases to flow into the tanks and to leap in the fountains, the trees die, the flowers wither, the walls crumble into unheeded decay, and in a few years the tiny paradise has been swept forgotten from the face of the earth, and the conquering desert spreads its dust and ashes once more over it all.

Then the traveller turns westward, homeward, with prayer and longing singing with Mr. Galsworthy:

But—oh! my heart! to hear again
The drip of rain, the drip of rain!

Gertrude Bell leads the reader on from lovely gardens of kings and noble ladies, and all the treasures of the king and his palaces, to a scene more appalling than even Defoe could depict. Cholera, plague and typhoid following on the heels of the former, stalked the land. Sanitation was an unknown quantity. The fear of death was enveloping the city, and the population were fleeing as before

an unconquerable enemy, knowing not whither. As our author says, "the wonder is, not that the cholera should prove fatal to so many, but that so large a proportion of the population should survive in a land where ignorance is for ever preparing a smooth highway for the feet of Death."

Miss Bell passes on from Death and its shadow to the more cheerful topic of life in the tents. "Every man," says a philosopher, "is a wanderer at heart," or, to say truth, loves to think he is one. But the ties of civilisation are strong, and it is difficult to cut them in twain. Especially does this apply to the dwellers in the West to whom the comforts of life have become necessities. With the East it is different; they are nomads, and are ever moving on, following the sun. To quote Gertrude Bell again:

To-day, perhaps, the gloomiest depth of a narrow gorge, which looks as though from the time of its creation no living thing had disturbed its solitude, is strewn with black tents, flocks of horses and camels crop the grass by the edge of the stream, the air is full of the barking of dogs and the cries of women and children, but to-morrow no sign of life remains—the nomads have moved onward, silence has spread itself like a mantle from mountain to mountain, and who can tell what sound will next strike its wall?

Thus Gertrude Bell brings her moving picture vividly before us in a few words, as she does in all the following chapters, whether describing man or nature, civilised or uncivilised, and always with a touch of humour. The book lures and chains the imagination, it is so simple and yet so full of shrewd observation. It was written at the early age of 26, when the bloom of romance was unsullied and horizons were still full of dawn. Her incursions into history had doubtless given her the eye to see and the ear to hear, without which the thousands of miles travelled count as nought. All who have been delighted with Gertrude Bell's *Letters* will welcome this new edition of the *Pictures*.

* * *

THE HISTORY OF ITALIAN LAW.*

Professor Calisse, the Professor of Ecclesiastical Law in the University of Rome, and a Senator in the Kingdom of Italy, has for more than thirty years specialised in the history of Italian law. The volume on the sources of Italian law has already appeared as part of the first volume of this series, and now his treatises on the histories of public, criminal, and private law form successive books of a

* *A History of Italian Law*. By Carlo Calisse. Translated by Layton B. Register, with Introductions by Frederick Parker Walton and Hessel E. Yntema. [*The Continental Legal History Series*, published under the auspices of the Association of American Law Schools]. John Murray. 30s. net.

substantial volume. Moreover, Professor Calisse has written some special paragraphs for this publication, showing how hopeful is the juridical outlook in Italy from the social point of view as the result of post-war legislation under what is known as the Fascist régime. It is to be noticed that this régime has not adopted the Lombroso doctrines of criminality, doctrines which seem opposed to that theory of the personal responsibility of the individual which plays so important a part in both Roman and English law.

The development of Italian law finds two sources, which in essence may be one source, Roman law and Germanic law. The Western Empire ended in 476, but it cannot be said that the Roman Law influence vanished even after the days of Odoacer, who nominally represented the Empire, the period of the Ostrogothic control, and the reconquest of Italy by Justinian. This period from A.D. 476 to 568 is essentially Roman in its Byzantine phase, but Italy was now an outlying province of the eastern Roman Empire, and the rural population became stationary and were destined to become the economic basis of the later feudal system. The change had another effect. The judicial system was adjusted to the mixed Teutonic, Byzantine and Roman population. Each man had his own law. There was no common Rule of Law, and this tended very rapidly to disintegration in the structure of society. But it has to be remembered that the swift intrusion of Germanic and Teutonic law did not necessarily involve new principles of law. Roman law lay at the base of the Barbarian codes, and the native elements of these Codes were of the same juridical stuff as the earliest Roman law. That fact paved the way for later solidity when the storm and stress of long periods of transition had passed. Moreover, ecclesiastical law was essentially Roman, and when the Franks expelled the Lombards they, though disclaiming the Empire, declared that they fought for St. Peter. The Byzantine period was ended, but not the influence of old Rome.

The Frankish Empire, which in its second form claimed to be a Holy Roman Empire, was essentially feudal, and Professor Calisse declares that though premature, "Charlemagne's reconstituted Western Empire was influential in directing the constituent elements of society towards a firmer and closer union." But the feudal State he considers was "an artificially created hierarchy." That is a disputable point. Feudalism is inherent in all society that has reached the chieftainship stage, and though it absorbs the tribal bases it is not necessarily or indeed often really artificial. But the feudal state in Italy was accompanied by many Roman elements under other names, and in the procedure of the Courts we see the Roman and Canon Law elements rapidly predominate.

The States in Italy were feudal in essence everywhere, and the

struggle between the various States is the history of mediæval Italy. Imperial authority long survived in actuality. As late as the first half of the fourteenth century the Electors of Germany proclaimed the principle that the imperial authority did not depend on papal sanction. But the Empire was foreign in fact, and the Roman Church was in fact not foreign, though the ghost of central feudal control lasted into the nineteenth century. But even the Church had to submit to a new form of secular control imposed by the Italian States, though, all through the long story, the law administered in the many Italian Courts was essentially Roman, as may be seen, for the later phases, by the story told by Browning in *The Ring and the Book*.

Professor Calisse says that

Italy, emerging from the Middle Ages, arose still worshipping the greatness of Rome and seeking to imitate her. By grasping and applying the fruit of this ancient knowledge, it succeeded; but not without self-injury, for clinging to the great illusion and dreaming of a resurrection of the past, it held to the Empire and was diverted by its exalted aim, from the development of the national life which other countries were intent upon—countries which to a very late date Italy still claimed to regard as imperial provinces. Thus when the rest of Europe had won for itself strong national governments, Italy had not yet even a national sense; patriotism was either confused with loyalty to the now foreign empire, or was limited by city walls. . . . The Revolution that closed the period may truly be considered as the complement of the revolution with which it opened in the 1100's and 1200's, moving substantially, though with very different means, towards the end which the earlier struggle was unable to attain: the renewal of old institutions upon a basis of recognised and guaranteed popular rights.

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic epoch opened a new age which, with an interval for reaction, begot the Modern States where the principles of national sovereignty, popular representation and constitutional guarantees of personal liberty have play. Professor Calisse declares that "of these States the present Kingdom of Italy was one." The student is made to feel that modern Italy is, in the realm both of public and private law, realising the possibilities of those principles in the life of the nation. "The law follows and promotes social progress." The many sections that trace the history of the law show that Italian, like English law, has, while preserving the continuity of much that was best in Roman and Germanic and Celtic law, at last sought and found the Rule of Law which is the life of a nation.

J. E. G. DE M. .

SHORTER REVIEWS.

In *Mussolini the Man of Destiny*,* by Signor Vittorio E. de Fiori (translated from the Italian by Signor Mario A. Pei), the English public is given a vivid picture of the Italian Prime Minister, Benito Mussolini. Both these authors, we are told, have known Signor Mussolini for many years, and can write intimately of his remarkable career and still more remarkable personality. Two quotations at the beginning of the book are of interest. The first is M. George Sorel's prophecy of 1912, "Some day we shall see him at the head of a mighty legion, saluting the Italian flag with his sword." The second is Signor Mussolini's own phrase: "Fascism is a typically Italian product, just as Bolshevism is typically Russian. Neither of the two can be transplanted or live outside of its native land." Signor Mussolini was born on July 29th, 1883, at Dovia, a village in Romagna. His father Alessandro Mussolini was a violent socialist, his mother was a schoolmistress with a great sense of law and order and virtuous conduct. The family originated in Bologna and can be traced back to the early fifteenth century. Benito was a tempestuous little boy, so we are told, and at the age of nine he was sent to a boarding school at Faenza but was soon got rid of. He was then sent to another institution nearer home where his remarkable abilities were balanced against his naughtiness. The school inspector, a brother of Carducci, is reported to have said to him jokingly, "You are a very bright boy. If you don't stop, you will be a State Minister at thirty." Some of the stories told are almost like sun-myths. At the age of eleven his mother discovered him making a speech in his room, and he told her "When I grow up all of Italy will throb at my words." He eventually became a school teacher in Gualtieri, but he rebelled against his work and went abroad. He found a job as a bricklayer's assistant in Switzerland at 32 centimes an hour. At the end of a week he had earned twenty-odd francs and gave up the soul-destroying job. A period of a stern fight for daily bread followed in Central Europe, and finally he came back to Italy for military service (in the Bersaglieri). At this time his beloved mother died. So after his military service was done he went to Geneva and lectured and wrote on socialism. In 1908 he was in Austria with much journalism in hand. Later he lived with his father at Forli, where he married, and here he developed his new socialism with Mazzini as its saint. By 1912 he had become an outstanding national figure, a nationalistic radical. At the outbreak of war he was a neutral, but he soon saw that Italy must come in, and he left the Socialist Party. "Six months later, in May, 1915, his personality had become one of the most outstanding in Italian political life." It is a story of amazing fortitude and of the success that does not always follow fortitude. Signor Mussolini has always believed in himself and has always believed in Italy and, as he himself says, Fascism is a typically Italian product that cannot be transplanted.

* * *

The stately volume entitled *Of Dramatick Poesie: an Essay*, 1668, by John Dryden,† edited by Mr. T. S. Eliot, is preceded by "A Dialogue on Poetic Drama" by the Editor. Dryden's work is an essay in

* J. M. Dent & Sons. 6s. net.

† Frederick E. Elchells and Hugh Macdonald. London. 3rs. 6d.

dialogue form between Eugenius Crites, Lesideius and Neander, "three of these persons whom their Witt and Quality have made known to all the Town: and whom I have chosen to hide under these borrowed names, that they may not suffer by so ill a relation as I am going to make of their discourse." Mr. Eliot's Introductory Dialogue may "be supposed to have taken place between half a dozen fairly intelligent men of our time." The purpose is "to throw the Dialogue of Dryden into a rather new light, by the great contrast between the topics, and between the attitudes towards them. For this the centuries are responsible." The result is extremely attractive and amusing. "What is the purpose of the theatre except to amuse?" The answer comes at once, "there is no such thing as mere amusement." Epigrams fly around in an excellent way, and are clearly reports by some persons, whose wit and quality have made them known to all the town, of fragments of real conversations. Can you isolate Shakespeare? "The Unities do make for intensity." But the contending parties are careful to drink together another glass of port to the memory of John Dryden. But surely it ought to have been sack. Dryden was before the days of port.

* * *

*The Short Stories of Thomas Hardy** form an interesting collection both to critics and admirers of the late Mr. Thomas Hardy. He is undoubtedly a fine master of English prose, but whether his themes are as excellent as his style is a debatable problem. Charles Dickens in most of his work was the upholder of the poor and oppressed, and in his capacity of knight-errant was forced to bring the sordid side of life to the fore; this resulted (for such was his genius) in successful briefs for the wounded and classical prose for Englishmen of all ages. Mr. Thomas Hardy in these short stories writes also of the seamy side of life in all degrees, both high and low, and he too writes in a manner which in the opinion of many good critics will be handed down to future Englishmen; but judging by his short stories it is his themes which will be most likely to spoil his chances of survival. For though like Charles Dickens he takes generally the sordid and unhappy side of life for his themes, unlike Charles Dickens he has nothing to redress except human nature, which for obvious reasons is seldom changeable. At the same time, however, he writes with an amazing knowledge of the pettinesses and jealousies of everyday life, and such is his power as a narrator that the reader is convinced of the reality of the tale and is cast down at its conclusion. Surely this is a waste of fine prose, for the reader can do nothing, his pity is wasted on something which, as a rule, cannot be redressed, and the tale often leaves behind an unpleasant and unwholesome savour. Fiction should have a purpose, if life itself has a purpose; the purposeless portrayal of purposeless lives can, no doubt, be a *tour de force* but the *tour de force* alone has no abiding place in literature. It may be argued that fiction is only concerned with the portrayal of actuality. If this is true then the artist must select his actuality in accordance with definite canons of art. It is difficult to see what canons of art can justify the selection of the petty and the sordid in unrelated and unrelieved ignominy. The weakness of that great short-story writer Mr. W. W. Jacobs is that he also magnifies the petty and the sordid, but at any rate he frames his story with incomparable humour. Mr.

* Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net.

Hardy's work lays no claim to humour. He is, at his best, a writer of romance and his realism fails because it is unrelated either to true romance or true humour, true comedy or true tragedy.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

"South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint,"* by Mr. M. C. Burkitt, is the first of an archaeological tour through South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, undertaken at the invitation of the University of Cape Town. A great deal of investigation has already been done in South Africa, and it is desirable to co-ordinate the European and South African material. It must have been a delightful tour, and it certainly has resulted in a delightful as well as highly informative book. The important prehistoric sites and the various rich collections (including kitchen midden finds) are carefully described. The Lower Palæolithic culture is distributed throughout this great area, and Middle Palæolithic influence can be traced. Can these be linked up with North Africa, and what is the relation with the Solutrean culture of Europe? Apparently there was an early migration of Neolithic man to South Africa. Did he come from the East? The rock shelter paintings in Southern Nigeria (so well reproduced in the book) should, on comparative study, do something to link the original non-negritic races of Europe and Africa. That the paintings and rock engravings are related to acts of ritual is more than likely. The source probably will be found in South-East Asia. The Australian and mid-African rituals even to-day have much in common.

* * *

Mr. Marcu Beza (of King's College, London) in his volume entitled "Paganism in Roumanian Folklore"† shows us the Roumanian Church festivals and incidentally Roumania at its best. The Christmastide in Bucharest and better still in the countryside is described with gusto. The likeness to the Grecian festivals is noted. The same likeness indeed occurs in Italy. But the Roman festivals of Saturnalia and Opalia also find echoes in Roumania. The happenings on St. John's Eve (June 24th) are pagan in origin in England as well as in Roumania and many parts of Europe, but in Roumania many old customs survive, but apparently not the St. John Fires. Mr. Beza connects some of the midsummer superstitions with the Eleusinian mysteries, and he pursues the subject into the folktales of Roumania dealing with the union of mortals with nymphs or fairies (*zâne*) of full stature. The book is full of learning and interest.

* * *

Mr. P. G. Wodehouse in "Money for Nothing"‡ gives a delighted public a new re-shuffling, with a new plot, of many of his cheeriest characters. To reveal the plot, which circles round a group of characters gathered strangely together in a Worcestershire country house and its demesne, would be unfair. Mr. Wodehouse knows life below stairs in uncanny detail and it is always firsthand. His butlers and valets

* Cambridge University Press. 17s. 6d. net.

† J. M. Dent & Sons. 7s. 6d. net.

‡ Herbert Jenkins. 7s. 6d. net.

and the hierarchy of a great country house are (or, alas, perhaps were) absolutely alive; his young men are youth eternal, his young women are just a trifle hard but they also are alive, his clergy are true to a certain (and again, alas) disappearing type. But it is the speed, the freshness, the essential kindliness of it all (and especially of Davus) that accounts for a greedy public. Now to whom does Mr. Wodehouse owe so much in all his stories? No modern writer. Plautus is his friend. He has applied the speed, the freshness and the quick kindly humour of the great Roman farce-writer to the modern world. He has gone direct to the source and he is the only Englishman that has boldly done the deed. Only a good classical scholar could have done it. Why then does not Mr. Wodehouse turn to Terence and give us one great serious novel, piercing and peering into the bases of modern society?

* * *

"Benn's Sixpenny Library" ranges through all manner of subjects through the medium of all manner of specialists, and it is of interest to note the value of the series in giving to the ordinary insular English reader a real contact with foreign countries. Thus Professor Edmond G. Gardner in his compact but remarkably readable little volume on Italian literature gives a real sense of the wonders of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, as well as the great post-Reformation and modern writers. His work has been well supplemented by Mrs. G. M. Trevelyan's excellent volume "A History of Italy." These books should do much to fan the ancient flames of affection between England and Italy. Mrs. Trevelyan's enthusiasm for Italy perhaps underrates the significance of the origin of other races such as the British—the pre-history of Britain is as significant as the pre-history of Rome—but she makes a long and complex story clear. It is not exactly true to say that Charlemagne in 801 accepted the crown of the "Holy Roman Empire." That misleading term belongs to a somewhat later period. Mrs. Trevelyan maintains a judicial tone throughout a narrative which should give much pleasure to all lovers of Italy.

* * *

Mr. E. S. Roscoe in "Aspects of Doctor Johnson" has as his goal "the illustration and illumination of the character of Dr. Johnson." The first section deals with the great man's character: his views on the art of living, on law, and on religion. "Do not expect more from life than life will afford" is perhaps not wholly characteristic of Johnson, but in its application to Boswell it was a wise saying. In fact, reach should exceed grasp, and Johnson knew it well. Johnson would have liked to be a lawyer, and he appreciated the legal mind. Is it true to say that religion "brought little comfort to Johnson"? It is certain, however, that "in connection with his religion the Doctor shows a simplicity and a humility, a childlike submissiveness and an abnegation of energy, extraordinarily different from his attitude to every other subject." That being so, it must have brought him comfort. The comparisons of the Doctor with Windham, the great Selden, Anatole France, and Wordsworth, are of much interest, while the account of his trips out of London is used to illustrate an alleged emotional barrenness in respect to nature.

* Cambridge University Press.

THE BATTLE FOR FREE TRADE.

I.

SINCE the Unionist Conference at Yarmouth, it is recognised that the Conservative Party is committed, for the next general election, to a policy of "extended Safeguarding." Shortly before, Sir W. Joynson-Hicks had spoken in a portentous fashion of the necessity for a definite declaration of tariffist policy, while Mr. Winston Churchill more simply avowed his recognition of the benefits of Free Trade. How Mr. Baldwin allayed the excitement thus aroused, by humorously explaining that nothing thus said really mattered, is within recollection. Yet within a week of the Conference a prominent Conservative organ expressed the hope that it would not commit the blunder of calling for a return to the situation of 1923, when Mr. Baldwin had asked for a free hand with the tariff question.

In due course the Conference, undeterred by fear of blunders, declared expressly for an extension of Safeguarding, specifying the steel trade as one for which in particular something must be done. And though to the eye of economic commonsense the dreaded blunder had thus been made, the previously protesting journal avowed no disappointment. It had been officially explained that while the Conservative Party is thus committed to a speedy and important extension of the tariff, Mr. Baldwin remains true to his last pledge, in that he will not propose to introduce a "general tariff." That declaration is supposed to leave the question as it stood before.

It must, therefore, have been distinctly embarrassing for the Conservative leader and his tariffist coadjutors when Mr. Hewins, so long prominent as the secretary and organiser of the defunct Tariff Reform League, came out with his explicit protest against the official position. In his letter to *The Times* of October 1st he thus rebukes and exposes his political leader:

The term "general tariff" has no reference whatever to the number of duties included in a tariff, the way in which those duties are calculated, or the commodities affected. . . . The idea which seems to be in the minds of the Prime Minister's advisers of a "general tariff," in the sense that it means a tariff on all or many of the leading industries of the country, is without justification in the policy of Europe, and is entirely inaccurate and misleading.

When, therefore, the Prime Minister pledges himself not to introduce a "general tariff" without an appeal to the country, he is promising not to do what no sane person would ever propose. There is no country in the world which levies a tariff on all things. . . . In the disastrous election of 1923 the whole difficulty was caused by the imprudent speeches of Ministers who

talked in this vague and meaningless manner about a "general tariff," and the election was fought upon a policy which the Government had not even in contemplation.

It is for Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues to settle with Professor Hewins as to what they mean by a "general tariff." What is clear is that from the point of view of the skilled tariffist Mr. Baldwin is in reality only asking now for the "free hand with the tariff" for which he vainly asked in 1923. He plans now to do just what he might have proceeded to do then had he won the election. That is to say, he and his party are now as definitely tariffist as they ever were; and they are proposing to do all that they ever could have hoped to do. The Conservative Party is a Tariff Party, as it has been for twenty years; but it now feels itself comparatively safe in virtue of the apathy with which Liberal free-traders are understood to regard all tariffism which calls itself "Safeguarding," and so it vacuously disclaims any idea of a "general" policy.

All this is exactly what thoughtful free-traders foresaw and predicted. Tariffism is the one effective driving-force in the latter-day Conservative Party. Its policy of rate-reform has fallen flat, as it was bound to do. No really just reform of the rating system can be acceptable to the typical Conservative, with or without Mr. Churchill as sponsor. Broadly speaking, no "constructive" policy so-called can win an election against hostile forces unless it promises either new "rights" or new advantage of other kinds to masses of the people. What Conservatism can alone hope to do is to carry a policy of "extended," that is "unlimited," tariffism by promising profit to numbers of manufacturers and traders, and employment to more workers, all alike incapable of understanding the economic problem. And the mechanism of the case is plain. Since the declaration against all "sale of honours," the funds of the Conservative Party must more and more depend on the donations of tariffists. They constitute the chief donative section within its ranks. Between 1903 and 1914 they subscribed millions, alike for tariff propaganda in general and for elections, single and general. And they subscribed in the simple hope of getting their money back through tariffs. From no other source can Mr. Baldwin's organisers hope to draw adequate funds for the General Election of 1929; and on no other ground could such men as the leaders of the Conservative Diehards have been allowed to swing the policy of the party as they have repeatedly done.

Thus and thus, then, has the policy been decided on. It has not the sanction of a single economist of good standing in the past or the present century. Its only professional supporters of that rank in England in the past quarter of a century were Sir William

Ashley and Professor Cunningham, both diligent students of socio-economic history, neither a scientific economist. The leading living expert of the United States, Taussig of Harvard, has with perfect dispassionateness pronounced that "the vulgar, fallacious arguments in favour of protection . . . are more insidiously dangerous in England than anywhere else. *That country depends for its very existence on manufacturing industries which are able to face the competition of the world. If once her industries really lean on protection against foreigners, her knell is sounded.*" Either that is science or it is nonsense. Thus far, no professor of economics anywhere has called it in question. Professor Taussig, of course, means by "its very existence" England's existence as a great commercial power. England could, of course, survive as a fifth-rate power, with a greatly diminished population, subsisting chiefly by agriculture and home-serving industries. That is, in fact, the only alternative future before her; and no statesman, Conservative or other, proposes it as a tolerable goal. Yet to that goal England will be heading as straight as may be if at the next General Election the Conservative Party is returned to power on a programme of "extended Safeguarding."

II.

What then is to be the election policy of the Liberal Party? Obviously, the one course by which that party can escape virtual extinction, can effectually regain ground, and can hope to save the country, is that of a unanimous, whole-hearted, and *adequately financed attack* upon the tariffist policy calling itself "extended Safeguarding." On that attack Liberalism must stake its very existence. If ground is not regained in 1929, there is every prospect that the party will ere long become not merely extinct but putrescent. Systematic attack upon tariffism, indeed, ought to have been the main policy of the party for the last five years at least. No one—not even Lord Melchett and Mr. Churchill—knows better than Sir John Simon, Mr. Walter Runciman, and Sir Herbert Samuel, the vital necessity of Free Trade to British commercial and industrial prosperity. Lord Oxford was probably the most consummate master of the whole Free Trade problem in his day and generation, and he never faltered. If, then, anti-tariffism has not been the predominant policy of the party since 1923, it must have been because of the elements which then entered or returned to it.

And this is easily intelligible. How the men who established Safeguarding in 1921 can profess to defend Free Trade against the forces bent on destroying it I cannot pretend to understand, and it must be left to them to explain. We have their formal declarations. The fact remains that while every man left in the party

avows Free Trade principles and criticises Safeguarding, the main effort of the party has been spent on a programme in which a Land Policy and an Industrial Policy are the outstanding features, and Free Trade figures as a merely defensive and not a predominantly aggressive policy. To save Free Trade a large expenditure on propaganda is absolutely essential, because there will certainly be an abundant propagandist expenditure on the other side. Free Trade was won in 1846 only after seven years of ever-increasing propagandist outlay up to the crowning call for a fund of £250,000, on behalf of the strongest political case propounded in the previous thirty years. In the ten years from 1903, propagandist expenditure was of necessity heavy, to repel the mere attack of tariffism. For the past ten years there has not been a tithe of that effort for a great cause newly endangered. And there is at this moment no prospect whatever of anything like adequate expenditure on Free Trade propaganda between now and the General Election.

That tells the whole story. Lord Oxford gravely appealed to the Liberal Party, years ago, to democratise its finance. Had that been continuously done, the party would now be in command of a fund which *could* finance the Free Trade cause. The party has chosen otherwise; and the fund on which it has elected to depend is not seriously available for Free Trade purposes. It is substantially spent to ends which cannot by themselves be effected by Liberalism through the polls. The last real recovery of strength by the Liberal Party was made in 1923, on the Free Trade issue. To-day, with its Land Policy and its Industrial Policy, it simply cannot win elections. Liberals now know this well enough. These "constructive" policies evoke no valid response. One day they may in some form be put in force as a result of a Liberal triumph upon a more vital issue. As a policy for the General Election they are visibly futile. The farmers do not want the Land Policy as it stands: they want Protection. And if "Safeguarding" should triumph, it is but a question of time when the Tariffist party shall find itself driven to offer the farmer protection as against the burdens which it inflicts upon him. Then Amen!

Nor will the most benignant Industrial policy capture Labour votes as against a Labour policy which promises plunder. The by-elections tell us that, if we need to be told. The one flag under which Liberalism can gain ground is a flag of attack; and the Liberal is the one party which can fairly claim to be devoted to Free Trade. The Labour Party includes many avowed protectionists; and its leader has declared, at a General Election, that he regards Free Trade and Tariffism as negligible issues. Many trade unions have declared for Safeguarding. The opinion of Mr. Snowden on Free Trade does not sway his party; and he too makes his

political appeal not as the determined champion of Free Trade but as a framer of methods for taxing a wealth that is on the way to disappear.

It is to Liberals and to Liberalism alone that the intelligence of the nation can look for future safety. Theirs is the tradition, and theirs the task. They alone can understand the economic problem, as against the tariffists who cannot, and the half-wits who will not, leaning against the platitudes of the ignorance which can conceive that one fiscal policy is about as good as another for any country in any circumstances. For the Liberal who knows his economics the situation is plain. As against the platitudinarian who says he is "a free trader but—," and the economic ignoramus who affects to find all fiscal policies alike fanatical, the downright tariffist, stolid or wary, the frank pirate, the chartered commercial pickpocket—any of these is a foeman worthy of his steel. And the clean steel of debate he should have.

But with this vital issue staring us in the face, with all political history dictating to us the course of the campaign, with every tried principle of election warfare reminding us that the right fighting fashion is to drive the enemy back on his dangerous ground, to attack and not to plead, to enforce the issue with a "Draw and defend yourself," the party yet stands inert, making not a fraction of the effort and outlay requisite to win a yard of ground. For the effort and the outlay are vital to any success. The ten years' battle from 1903 onwards was not won by the mere outlay, though that was great and continuous. From the first, the fight was shared in by hundreds of alert commercial men, who made it their business to maintain a rain of facts and figures, expounding the truth and rebutting the fallacy. In every Liberal newspaper skirmishers were in evidence. On every Liberal platform members of Parliament and candidates were educatively and even eloquently insistent. Qualified exponents of the case were daily in action wherever audiences could be formed. Thus through ten years were the people educated on the fiscal issue most vital to the national weal.

Of that strenuous political education there subsist only such roots as blossomed for the struggle of 1923, when the whole tariffist force was driven back and the Liberal Party for the first time visibly regenerated since 1918. But in the past five years the party as a fighting force has been insidiously weakened by a new regimen. Its policy has *not* been that of battle for the destruction of Tariffism and the decisive re-establishment of Free Trade. It has been taught to believe that its future lies in outbidding Labour for labour votes, and by a mere Land Policy winning agricultural votes from Conservatism; and that is a vain dream while the true battlefield is left unheld. A year is lamentably little time to fill the treasure

chest, make the munitions, train the marksmen and muster the troops of intelligence; and we probably have not a year for the work.

Yet a competent candidate who should from this moment elect to attack and not to defend, to insist and not to plead, to show the farmers, as Cobden did, that he is their friend in virtue of his warfare for Free Trade, that there is no other way to restore the exporting power of British industry, the purchasing power of the British consumer, and employment for the British workman—such a candidate, and a hundred with him, might even yet trust to win.

III.

The deadly task for the tariffist has always been to defend his cause against the intelligent exposure of its folly. His hopes have always lain in the ignorance and the credulity of those to whom he appeals. Yet at this moment his case is logically almost worse than it was in the years from 1903, when his leader was claiming to make employment by keeping goods out while he drew revenue from the same goods by letting them in. All men look sombrely at the army of unemployed, and sigh helplessly over the dole. Yet in the seven years since Safeguarding was formally enacted the figures of unemployment have never fallen for long; and now we have over a score of industries on the tariff dole, while the tariffist party gleefully proposes to add another score as soon as may be. To take men off the dole, it is sapiently proposed to put the masters on it. The coal industry, it was earnestly claimed, cannot without national ruin be kept on the dole. Now the maxim is that as many other industries as possible shall be made dole industries!

Unemployment was created afresh from the moment that Safeguarding began. Not a duty has been laid on without taking work away—from packers, from case-makers, from the army of men in the entrepôt trade, from the men who found their raw material made dearer. Not a woman but pays more for some part of her clothing, so that myriads are forced to save by buying less material where they can. Duties on silk stockings force into use garments of poorer material than would have been bought had the importation been free, and this at the same price. So patent is the danger even now that within the year a politician at Birmingham, the home of political shibboleths, has been warned that if steel is put on the tariff he will find Birmingham against him, seeing that if it must buy its steel at Sheffield prices it will lose the foreign markets for its scores of special manufactures. Yet the Conservative Conference clamours for steel duties, and Mr. Baldwin hopes they may be imposed. So Birmingham faces devastation at the hands of its political deities.

From the *Morning Post* comes the glad proclamation of the very facts which damn the tariff policy once for all. That journal assures us (September 21st, 1928) that the effect of the Safeguarding duties has been increased exports by the industries protected. Let us take the figures as given—though tariffist figures used to be a byword for falsity. Increased exports by protected industries, *at cut figures*, have always been the fruit of tariffs. The protected manufacturer, bleeding the home consumer, always sells cheaper abroad, to reduce his stocks, than he sells at home. German, American, and other manufacturers thus sold cheap to us in pre-war days while they made their profits out of their own victims. Now the British buyer is bled to enable the foreigner to buy cheap.

The protected motor-car industries in this country, instead of increasing their profits by selling abroad, spend hundreds of thousands of pounds on advertisement. One receives from them countless illustrated albums of appeal, many of which must cost thousands of pounds to produce and hundreds to distribute. For that costly advertisement the British buyer pays. Such is the state of things, such the commercial parasitism, such the systematic policy of plunder, that the British people are invited to extend, "till there comes the crash of bankruptcy." The *Morning Post* headline asserts that there are now "more workers." The text gingerly explains that, inasmuch as exports (no matter at what prices) increase, "there have been greater opportunities for employment." The official figures of unemployment give the answer, for those who care to seek the truth. The staple exporting industries, for which protection is mockery, can tell it.

With these facts patent to all intelligent business men, how, it may be asked, can manufacturers hope to gain in the mass from a tariff policy? The answer is simple. The smaller manufacturers, who live by the home market, see a gain for themselves from import duties, and care not a straw how the consumer fares, or how the great industries are to prosper. Of the shopkeepers, many see their advantage in the forced rise of prices: the rest are fain to hold their peace. Workers in the minor trades, bent on their own needs, subscribe to any policy that promises them separate help. And whereas the women used to be made simply wise by the need for thrift, they in turn, weighed down by the fear of Bolshevism which gave Mr. Baldwin their votes in 1924, are being taught that they must be "patriotic" under his guidance, and play up to the trades which hope to live by fiscal manna, refusing to fend for themselves. Already the packthreads have been tied by the dozen round the giant's limbs. In another decade of the same treatment he will have become a case for the surgeon.

Cotton manufacturers, living by export, can hope for nothing

from protection. But woollens, led by silks, hope it may fill their pockets. No party yet dares to propose to tax the people's food in the mass. But beginnings have been made with apples and dried fruits, and the time for wheat and meat, it is hoped, will come. That has for many years been the tariffist dream. Only, the advance must be made slowly and cautiously, in the faith that the people will not wake up to see that new Safeguarding is just old Protection, sapping and mining, and shunning frontal attack.

That the Liberal Party, paralysed by the elements which re-entered it in 1923, should stand muscle-bound in the face of this mortal danger, is the tragedy of the hour. In every constituency it ought to be driving wedge-splits into the tariffist vote. But its fatal "fund" is not available to that end. Lip-service is taken for war-service. The great battle-ground is left to chance champions: the party-flag is emblazoned with the war-cries that do not count. When the whole force should be directed to driving the enemy on the ground where alone he can be defeated, organised Liberalism lets the days pass, causing him no fear.

We are visibly at the parting of the ways, with the whole national future at stake. Never since 1846 has the commercial welfare of the nation been at such a pass. Never in our history has a weakened Party had such an occasion for throwing its whole strength, with its whole heart, into a life-and-death struggle for its existence, for its ideals, for its nation, finding its funds for itself, making its weapons, occupying the right fighting ground, compelling the enemy to "fight it out on this line." And the crowning question is, Will the Liberal Party take its fortunes into its own hands, or must we, on the verge of the battle, create a Free Trade Party that will take charge?

J. M. ROBERTSON.

CHURCH AND STATE.

THESE two familiar words are the names of two modes in which men have organised themselves into a society for common ends. By the Church we mean a society organised for religious and spiritual purposes: by the State an organisation for physical and moral ends. Such organisations of whatever kind must always involve some adjustment of individual desires and activities: but if they are well adjusted the result is that in the end the individual attains a far fuller and happier life than he could alone. It is not too much to say that without the help of others an individual man could not succeed in maintaining his existence. He depends for existence upon his parents and upon their capacity and willingness to help him through the incompetent stages of infancy and childhood, and his dependence upon others accompanies him throughout his life.

When, in later stages of society, men look back and try to reconstruct the process by which the State-organisation came into existence, there has been a tendency among some thinkers to start speculating from the position of the individual. When he unites with others, he forgoes, as we have just said, some of his freedom to act: why does he do this, and how can he be persuaded to continue doing so? Persons who raise this question in this form assume, consciously or otherwise, that the natural and ideal state of man is a perfectly competent individual, unrestricted in every direction and capable of expressing himself, as and when he likes. To such thinkers the State is secondary and derivative: it is inevitable, perhaps, in a world in which many persons desire unrestricted self-expression, but it is the product of some measure of self-sacrifice. On the other hand, there are thinkers who hold, with Aristotle (Ar. Pol. i, ii, 12), that man is primarily a social being, and does not and cannot find his ideal condition except in social organisation. The individual who has no community to which he belongs is hardly a man at all.

These two conflicting lines of thought in political theory emerge in connection with religious organisation in the form of the Church. Here, also, it is possible to ask which comes first, the individual or the society. To one type of mind it will appear that the Church is, as it were, an accidental result of the voluntary grouping of individuals: to the other, it will be no less clear that the individual in the religious as in the secular life is an inchoate and somewhat incompetent being, unless he is consciously co-operating with, and included in, the Church.

It is not, I think, too much to say that the individualistic theory, which starts from the complete competence of the individual and

explains the State as a secondary thing—the result of contract or some such process—has disappeared from political philosophy. The comparative study of different types of humanity and the researches of anthropologists have shown it to be unhistorical and impossible. But it still persists in the religious sphere, especially in the more pronounced types of Protestantism. It is often said that with Protestantism the individual came by his own, after having been long crushed under the dead weight of the mediæval Church. There is, of course, much truth in this, and there is a good reason why it should be so. The Protestant movement laid immense emphasis upon the rights and the duties of the individual in religion. It seemed to the leaders of that movement that the restoration of the individual to his place would (amongst other things) help to protect the Church against the enormous corruptions which had grown up round the uncriticisable authority of the Church. They saw that the Church could only function properly as a body of free men, and they saw that true membership of the Church needed more than merely external adhesion to a society: it needed conviction and faith. It was inevitable, therefore, that the sense of the necessity of the Society weakened and tended to disappear. "Churches" tended to become associations for the exposition of particular points of view: they separated from one another on a variety of grounds: and the authority of Scripture, to which they all appealed, so far from holding them together, provided a basis for discussion and disagreement and schism.

I would venture to say that, in spite of the strong grounds for the development of this point of view, it so largely misconceives the position of the individual soul and the society as to be disastrously misleading at the present time. It is not, I think, compatible with the picture which the New Testament presents either of the work of our Lord, or the procedure of the Apostles. We find our Lord proclaiming the kingdom of heaven, and it is to membership of this kingdom that He summons men. His acts and teaching draw enthusiastic crowds, but, as far as we can see from the Gospels, their enthusiasm does not lead to much result. It is not from the people who have faith to be healed of their diseases and the like that He chooses the Apostles. But it is to the Apostles that He entrusts the continuance of His work. The Apostles start with a small body of men and women round them, and they increase the body by means of admitting persons who believe in Jesus, through baptism, into membership. The individuality of the members is not lost by their membership: but through it they are united to God and to one another and present an incomplete and imperfect but a real picture of the tabernacle of God among men.

I am, of course, aware that all this is highly controversial matter,

and this is not the time or place to enter into the controversial issues. I would, however, say this. The New Testament, as it stands in our Bibles, and that means as it has governed the thought of the Church since the end of the first century, presents us with a picture of an organised society: organised, not precisely in accordance with the forms of any of the existing bodies representing the primitive Church in modern times, but definitely organised for the pursuance of its ends in various directions: and it does not show any signs of a purely individualistic state of things. It is significant that, so far as I know, those who try to probe behind the social organisation which the New Testament presents so as to find a pre-social stage, are unable to do so without large dismemberment of the existing books. I will venture, therefore, to proceed upon the positions defined, as I think, in the New Testament, as it stands.

The Society of Christ as we find it in the New Testament is primarily and fundamentally a religious and spiritual society. Rising as it did out of the Judaism of the Old Testament, it could hardly fail to be this; and it is a point of vital importance, because it is just here that the difference begins to be perceptible between the Church and the State. Both organisations have the advantage of humanity in view: but they differ in the end to which they lead, and the environment in which they operate. The Church aims at securing that all its members shall be, through Christ, consciously and devoutly in communion with God their Father in heaven; and in order to this end, it conceives the daily life of man as, in itself, providing for the present the sphere in which this communion can be exercised. The individual is not merely a politician or a tradesman, a citizen of Rome or Ephesus or London; though his outward life may proceed in one or other of these forms he himself is one of a company of faithful people, knit together in a fellowship with God Himself, dispersed throughout the whole visible world, and containing still those who have passed beyond the veil. Its end and its environment are, alike, religious and spiritual fundamentally.

In contrasting the purpose and environment of the State with this I am anxious not to give the impression of underrating or denying its importance. I do, however, urge that its sphere is different. It operates, as I said at the beginning, primarily for social ends as conceived in terms of this life, and it can, as the ancient Roman Empire showed, attain a large measure of social good, without the true religion or any religion at all. It can insist on universal education: it can clear away slums, and require proper accommodation for the people: it can encourage art and music, protect the freedom of its citizens, and inculcate morality. None of these things need imply any religious faith, and they can be defended, if criticised, as being productive of real human benefits. But

the difference between the two lines is real and serious. Let me take two illustrations. The State will do all it can to promote temperance and will have no trouble in finding good reasons for so doing. St. Paul says (Eph. v, 18), "Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess (or riot R.V.) but be filled with the Spirit." The State will encourage purity of life, for obvious social and hygienic reasons. St. Paul says (1 Cor. vi. 18-19), "Flee fornication. . . . Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have from God?"

There is here a profound difference between the two bodies both in the end conceived as desirable, and in the environment in which man is conceived as living, and the ends are in both cases relative to the environment. The State pursues its own ends and thinks in its own terms, so also does the Church. To the Church the fundamental fact as regards all its members is that they have been united by faith and baptism in the Body of Christ and they are bound to express in their lives the spirit and rule of the Body. The State does not necessarily deny any of this, but it sets it all aside: treats men simply as members of a secular organisation, and provides secular rules and sanctions to secure their reasonably close adherence to the principles of the organisation. There is no necessary conflict involved so far. St. Paul (1 Tim. ii, 1-3) exhorts that prayer should be made in the Church 'for kings and all those in authority,' in order that "we may live a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and gravity." He recognises the value and the claims of the State—one would think, considering his relations to it, with rather unexpected wholeheartedness. Moreover, the Church in the world must always be involved in secular associations. It will hold property in buildings and the like, and it must necessarily do this in accordance with the law of the State in which it is. There is no reason why this should lead to difficulty or dispute. The State, as I have said, if it is an advanced and civilised State will concern itself with a number of matters concerning the well-being of citizens—their health, their education, their morality. Here also there need be no inevitable clash: each party will pursue its own methods, or agree, it may be, on some joint method. But difficulty is likely to arise if for a large number of purposes there is a specially close connection between the two, and, I am afraid I must add, this is particularly likely to happen when the State itself claims to be Christian. St. Paul can speak well of the Roman Empire and commend it to the prayers of the faithful: but he would probably have attached very little importance, shall we say, to Nero's views about divorce or those of Marcus Aurelius upon Christian education. The Church has a mind upon these things, and conceives them from its own

point of view. Even if St. Paul admitted the value of State-effort in these directions so far as it went, his main interest would have been the rule of the Church. But since the time of Constantine the State in Europe has claimed to be and is, in its measure, Christian and in consequence much difficulty and confusion has arisen. The Church has, at times, claimed to use the State's methods and powers to settle its own problems: it has handed heretics over to the secular power for punishment: it has called upon the State to undertake Sacred Wars and the like. And on its side the State has claimed an authoritative voice in dealing with doctrine. It is not unnatural that it should be so. We can see the line of thought. "We are Christian, we are eager to maintain morality, and are glad of the help of the Church in the advancement of many 'causes': but we necessarily have our own ideas as to the marriage-law, for instance, which suits our people and we cannot have you saying that it is wrong. If we were frankly heathen, you might claim your own view; we are not, we are Christian, and we maintain that we know quite as well as you do what the proper Christian view is."

I have put this somewhat crudely, but not, I think, untruly. It is a form of difficulty which, as far as I can see, must always arise from time to time, so long as the ultimate end and the environment of man are conceived, as they are at present, in different terms. The State concerns itself, rightly, with the physical and cultural sides of man's existence, and in many cases its views will coincide with those of the Christian body. But the Christian body, as I have pointed out, conceives man primarily as a religious being, created and being trained in this life for communion with God: it can never regard the physical and cultural aspect of his life as a complete account of the matter, nor the social conception of morality as supplying the right end and sanction for his activity. Over these points clashes will, I think, continually arise, and when they do, there can be no doubt as to the ground upon which the Christian must take his stand.

In conclusion, I will venture to glance at a line of argument which is somewhat pressingly urged when any such clash as I have indicated actually arises. "You are bound, we are told, by your contract. You enjoy the use of property—such amount of the Church property of the Middle Ages as has been voluntarily guaranteed to you—and you enjoy other privileges and pre-eminences. In consideration of all these things you contract on your side to supply spiritual ministrations of the sort we require. It is for us and not you to determine the character of them." I can understand this position, and there is, perhaps, a superficial plausibility in it. But it seems to me that it labours under serious and

hope of the Bishops is that if they guide themselves in their administrations by the rules of the book of 1928, behind which there is an immense weight of ecclesiastical authority, they may establish by consent a more orderly condition of things. Unless they do this, there seems no prospect but that of greater chaos.

But the difficulty of the present time is not confined to these shores: it affects the English Church throughout the world. The Church of England here is associated with a number of bodies in communion with it all over the world. Besides this the Church of England has been discussing questions of reunion with a number of bodies not yet in communion with it. Moreover, it cannot be denied that our new age has brought forward a number of new doctrinal questions which require most careful consideration as matters of theology, and will inevitably be reflected in its liturgy. It is difficult to see how the Church at home can have any effective voice in the world-wide communion to which it belongs, if its conclusions are liable to be revised by a body which can hardly claim to be adequately qualified for the purpose. Has not the whole discussion upon the Prayer-book Measure been discussed too much in the atmosphere and vocabulary of 250 years ago? Is it not time to look at things with rather newer eyes, and face our new situation frankly and boldly? The Church has the inspiration to do this safely, if it does not fail in faith.

THOMAS OXON.

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE INDIAN PRINCES.

I HAVE already expressed myself at some length, in the hospitable columns of the British Press, upon the topic which forms the title of this article; and I hope that readers of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW will forgive me if I cannot find much that is new to say. But I am glad to accept the opportunity now afforded me of summarising, as I see it, the general situation in which the Indian Princes find themselves to-day.

It is, I believe, generally known in England that the present activities of the Chamber of Princes—which account for the presence here of my brother Rulers of Bhopal, Kashmir and Nawanagar, on behalf of the Standing Committee, and of several others of the many Rulers who are associating themselves with us—take their origin from a situation which has been of gradual growth. For a very long time, indeed, the Indian Princes have been oppressed by a feeling that all was not well with them: that their interests were suffering: and that they were gradually being excluded from a “place in the sun.” Let me trace very briefly how that feeling arose, and what was the foundation upon which it rests.

Do English people generally realise that the British Empire in India was for a long time only one among many States, and that it was once far smaller than my own territories? Such is the fact: and it has often seemed to me that this growth of the power of a handful of foreigners over the vast population of India is one of the most wonderful things in history. The ultimate success of the British in acquiring a paramount position in India is, I think, attributable to three factors. The first is British character, with its remarkable combination of individual enterprise and corporate discipline: the second is sea-power: the third is the loyalty of Britain's allies among the people of India. With the first and second I do not propose to deal, for abler pens than mine have already undertaken the task. But regarding the third, I think there is a good deal still to be said. If we study the history of the growth of British power in India, we shall find that the Company was for long concerned to buttress its power by alliances with the Indian States. Recognising its remarkable characteristics, the more far-sighted Indian Statesmen and Sovereigns gladly entered into relations with it, placed their resources at its disposal, and paid for, as well as supplied, a large proportion of the armies which carried the British flag from one end of India to the other. For some considerable period, the British and the Marathas ran a neck-and-neck race for supremacy in India: and it was largely because the other

decisive objections. It is, as it seems to me, profoundly unscriptural. It is true that, in the circumstances we find in Scripture, neither the Roman Empire nor the Jewish State were in a position to interfere with the autonomy of the Church. But nothing but a real act of apostasy on the part of the Church could deprive it of its right to settle new problems as the Church of the Apostles' day settled the question of the admission of the Gentiles, or to deal with its own practical and liturgical difficulties. But further I would urge that this line of argument really rests upon a fundamental misconception as to the character of the Church. It has a message to proclaim to the world from which it cannot depart. But it is a live message, preserved and proclaimed by a living society, which maintains its life through changing circumstances of thought and practice. It claims that its message is of permanent force and validity: that is, that it can adapt itself to new ways of thought and yet retain its identity. So far, therefore, from being a ground of distrust if the Church undertakes to revise and restate its doctrines and adapt its practices to new needs, it would be a ground of damaging criticism if it failed to make the attempt. No one can reasonably maintain that the English Church has shown itself unduly hasty in adopting new ideas: I would even venture to say that it would have done well to go faster at times and to be readier to take risks. In a variety of ways old notions are being attacked and old formulæ criticised. A live Church, which realises its divine mission and the spiritual character of its message to mankind, will not fear, or surrender its function to apply and develop its message in the new circumstances. It would have surrendered its whole existence and character if it failed to maintain its right to live and grow.

It would savour of unreality in a discussion on Church and State if no allusion were made to the circumstances in which we stand at the moment. Let us briefly recall them. The Church of England in the English Counties, and here only in the whole world, is established. Its rule of worship is found in the Prayer-book put forth by authority in 1662. Early in the eighteenth century Convocation ceased to be summoned for business, and until its revival in 1854 the Church had no means of self-expression or discussion. During the whole of this time there has been comparatively little legislation affecting the Church: in a number of ways we remain—alone, probably, of English institutions—in much the same legal environment as in 1662. In the middle of the nineteenth century the Church felt, like every other element in the State, the impulse towards change and fuller life. It found the need of services outside the limits of the Book of Common Prayer, of more expressive ceremonial, of additions, such as hymns, to the old services,

and many other things. Many innovations were made, some wise and others less wise, but all outside the limits of 1662. In the meantime the business of Parliament had grown enormously and it was difficult to find leisure to deal with the affairs of the Church. Apart, therefore, from any question of the desirability of legislating on such matters through Parliament, there was little chance of getting a hearing there. Between 1880 and 1913, 217 Bills relating to ecclesiastical matters were introduced into Parliament, of which 183 were dropped.* The Church has, therefore, perforce adapted itself to the new conditions outside the strict legal limits of 1662, with the result that the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline reported in 1906 that the exact law was not carried out anywhere, and that the law required reconsideration. That this process has been outside the strict law, no one can deny. But without it the Church would have been stagnant. This state of things was referred to the Convocation in 1906 by a Letter of Business from the Crown, to which an answer was returned in July, 1920. This answer was further referred to the Church Assembly, and the result of its deliberations has been sent forward to Parliament by the Convocation, and has passed the scrutiny of the Legislative Committee of Parliament. It has been twice rejected by the House of Commons.

It is difficult to see how it can be maintained that this rejection does not raise serious issues between the Church and the State, for the ground of the rejection is that certain provisions are regarded by the majority of the House as having a "Romanising" tendency. This charge has been strenuously denied by the Archbishops and the large majority of the Bishops, who are constitutionally qualified to express opinions on a theological point of this kind. Article 37 denies even to the Crown "the ministering of God's Word or of the Sacraments": it is difficult to see how the House of Commons can have acquired the right to pronounce upon a doctrinal issue.

The situation is extremely difficult within the limits of the United Kingdom. Under the instructions of the Crown, the various bodies through which the Church expresses its opinion have reviewed the prevalent irregularities: they have set aside some and recommended that others should be made legal. It is difficult to see with what face the Bishops can now condemn them, especially as they are rejected on grounds which the large majority of the Bishops expressly repudiate. But the House of Commons has rejected them, and placed us again in the position of 1662. It is practically impossible to adopt this position: there is no parish in which these limits could be actually adopted and preserved. But it is desirable to do something to recover order in the Church, and the

* *Report of Archbishops' Committee on Church and State*, p. 28.

Indian States preferred British to Maratha domination that victory came to the Company's standards. The result of the process was that while it suited the Company to ally with the States, and it suited the States to ally with the Company, the Company gradually attained a superiority of resources and of influence that dwarfed any other power in India. I do not assert that the Company then succumbed to the very human temptation of kicking down the ladder by which it had mounted to power: but I can certainly say that in the first half of the last century the States which had allied themselves with the Company, and had thereby ensured their own protection, had an uncomfortable time. They were rather despised because they did not share in that sudden spate of Westernisation which became so fashionable in British India: they were kept in rigid isolation one from the other, lest they should conspire against the Company: the authority of their administrations suffered because the local representatives of the Company engrossed power in their own hands.

With the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny in 1857, a change came. The British in India suddenly found that in their own territories their enemies were active while their friends were passive. To the surprise of everyone, it was the Indian States which saved the situation. "Those patches of Native Rule," to use Lord Canning's phrase, were the "breakwaters" which prevented the storm from sweeping the British power utterly away. In consequence, British people in India awakened to the value of the old, time-worn alliances with the States, and began to realise that, after all, Indian Princes were factors in Indian politics. They also realised, what I believe has never seriously been questioned since, that the plighted faith of the Princes would stand firm, even if the whole world tottered to destruction. There was thus a general disposition to wish the States well, and to regard them as friends to be preserved, rather than as nuisances to be abolished. Nevertheless, strange as it may seem, the root of the present difficulties in which we find ourselves goes right back to this particular period.

When the Crown took over from the Company those Treaties with the States which the Company had originally contracted in its behalf, it proceeded to entrust agency functions to the new Government of India. Thus the Government became, not merely the executive government of British India, but the Crown's agents for enjoying the rights and discharging the obligations laid down by the Treaties. No one at the time could have foreseen that these two functions might one day become almost incompatible: and the arrangement adopted appeared obviously convenient. Yet before very long it began to affect the interests of the States adversely. This was a direct consequence of modern progress in means of

communication, which began to weld British India into a single great territory under the supreme control of the Government of India. Wonderful possibilities now began to open up in the way of material advancement: capital was raised for railways, for irrigation, for commercial development, for scientific agriculture, for education, and for the thousand-and-one other things that world-opinion was now counting among the enlarged functions of governments. The British Indian Government added more and more departments to itself: the experts in Simla planned great projects for the welfare of the people under their control: everybody in the Supreme Government was concerned with the task of modernising the administration and developing the resources of British India.

Meanwhile, how did the States fare? Unfortunately we remained both isolated and poor. Isolated, because the Government of India, despite our loyalty in the Mutiny, could not altogether overcome its atavistic fear of the "Country Powers" who not so long ago had been its equals. Poor, because we were forbidden access to the foreign capital which alone could enable large-scale productive expenditure to be undertaken. This prohibition originated, doubtless, in a benevolent desire to prevent simple-minded Rulers from being victimised by astute European financiers—as had occasionally happened in former days: but I cannot help thinking that its continuance into the age when States Governments were well able to take care of themselves in foreign financial transactions, was due partly at least to the desire of the Government of British India to avoid competition in the money market. However this may be, while British India was large, united, and increasingly prosperous, we continued individually in comparison small, isolated, and handicapped in all our endeavours to develop our States for the benefit of our subjects. We did all we could: we advanced perceptibly if slowly: and unquestionably we avoided perforce some of the mistakes of British India. But it was not easy for us to modernise our administrations, to improve communications, and to develop our resources. The efforts we expended might, under happier circumstances, have produced far better results.

The handicaps we suffered had other consequences than slow progress and comparative poverty. They made us weak at the time when British India was growing stronger every day. They made us backward when "progress" was everywhere the catchword. They did more: they imperilled even the rights secured to us under our Treaties, and guaranteed by the pledges of British Sovereigns. For British Indian administrators, anxious to get ahead with the big schemes they were planning, found themselves confronted with the treaty-map. More than one-third of the entire Indian continent, including Burma, is not British territory. What about all those

States, with their antiquated treaty rights and their struggling governments? The British administrators went ahead without much regard to the rights of the States, from whom, somehow or other, a series of agreements was obtained, dealing with railways, mints, opium, salt, cantonments—indeed, with everything that the Government of India wanted. It was scarcely to be expected that these agreements would really safeguard the interests of the States, since they were designed to secure the interests of British India. Only in exceptional cases could the States, isolated and weak, deprived of the opportunity of joint consultation, successfully resist the pressure which could easily be brought upon them: but it is safe to say that a very large proportion of these agreements were signed against the real wishes of the States, and were often accompanied by formal protests. Further, when any doubts arose as to the meaning of the agreements, the Government of India interpreted them as seemed most convenient. To whom could the States appeal? There was no impartial arbiter at hand. The Secretary of State for India was far away: he could be approached only by Memorial transmitted by the very persons whose action was being protested against. The Government of India, which from one standpoint was the Crown's Agent charged to preserve the rights of the States, was the very administration which, in the interests of its more immediate responsibility, British India, was itself putting pressure upon the Princes. In fact, the dual function of the Government of India, to which I have already referred, naturally predisposed it to concentrate all its best energies upon the favoured child, British India, and in pursuit of its benevolent ends to ignore the rights of the States. Its success was the more complete, first because the States were undoubtedly weak in comparison to itself; and secondly because many of its new activities had taken them by surprise, so that in the case of a large proportion of the demands put forward by the Government of India, the States did not really know what their rights were; and out of fear or out of courtesy fell in, though reluctantly, with the official view. Thus gradually but slowly the Government of India became the Government of British India, directing its policy towards the States in the interests, not of the Treaty relationship, but of British India. The new administrative Departments of the Government of India framed their policies. The States were not consulted, but had to acquiesce. The Political Department fought many a good fight to protect the States; but official discipline is strong: and diplomats could not easily, on the strength merely of an honest regard for treaty rights, meet and defeat Railway and Finance experts on their own ground. So the process continued: and whenever the rights of the States seemed to conflict with the convenience of the British Indian Gov-

ernment, it was rarely the former that prevailed. Nevertheless, the new generation of Princes that was growing up, together with the efficient cadres of trained administrators upon which they insisted in their States, were preparing the way for a change. The rights of the States began to be investigated: new claims put forward by the Government of India were scrutinised. State Governments became increasingly efficient: and the States grew less helpless. But without the right of combination, they could achieve little.

Since the beginning of the present century, certain new factors entered into the situation. Among the most important of these was the gradual association of British Indians in increasing numbers with British officials in the control of the Government of India. The consequence has been to make the Government of India still more British Indian in its outlook: and to make it even more difficult than before for a State to assert its right against a claim put forward in the interests of British India. I am far from complaining of the policy which gives British Indians an increasing share in the government of their own country: it seems to me perfectly right and proper. I am only pointing out that such a policy makes it more than ever impossible that the Government of India should satisfactorily discharge two functions which have really become incompatible with one another. For if it governs British India well, it cannot possibly take anything but a British Indian view of State rights: and the British Indian view is based upon British Indian interests and convenience, and not upon the relationship, springing from the treaties, between the Indian States and the British Crown. What is the conclusion of the whole matter? We see it before our eyes to-day. When people in this country talk or think of India, they mean British India: and they forget the States. They assume that British India has only to command, and the States have only to obey. Does this seem an uncharitable deduction? I would only ask my readers to consider what happened in 1919. A Reformed Constitution was set up in British India. Did anyone in England ask how the rights of the States would be affected? No: and the result is that the popularly-elected legislatures in British India to-day are taxing the States, without their consent, in a variety of directions: are penalising them heavily in the spheres of tariffs, excise, exchange rates, salt, opium, and the like, for the benefit of the British Indian Exchequer and for the greater prosperity of British India. It is because we feel so convinced that the people of England did not intend this, and that, when they know what has happened, they will insist upon it being rectified, that my colleagues and I are here to-day.

But there is another factor in the situation, which is also in large measure responsible for producing our present appeal to the sense

of justice which we know to reside in the British people. Since the War, when we Indian Princes proudly placed our swords, our lives, and the staunch loyalty of our subjects at the disposal of the King-Emperor, the Government of India has withdrawn its ancient embargo upon our meeting together and discussing the common interests of the States. From the time of that far-sighted and sympathetic statesman, Lord Hardinge, we have had many Conferences formal and informal: we have painfully acquired the habit of common action: we have struggled to overcome the heritage of individual jealousy and distrust fostered by years of enforced isolation. When the late Mr. Montagu visited India, we had already so far advanced as to be able to put before him, with the unanimous assent of a large number of our brother Rulers, a scheme for the rectification of our position. We wanted three things: a Chamber of Princes which would enable the States to speak with a common voice, and thus take their share, along with British India, in framing policies and taking decisions which affected the whole of India in common: an Advisory Board, which was to be associated with the Political Department, to ensure that when policies were framed and decisions taken affecting the States alone, the standpoint of the States themselves might be adequately considered: and lastly, a system of arbitration which, in justiciable matters at least, could give an impartial decision on any issue arising between the States and the Government of India. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford broadly endorsed these proposals, and in their Report gave frank expression to their recognition of our difficulties. But after all, the action that was taken fell far short of what we wanted—principally, I believe, because we had no means of bringing our position to the notice of the British people. We got the shadow without the substance: and have had to rely upon our own energies to supplement, so far as possible, the deficiencies of the machinery which was established. Since 1919, our difficulties have increased rather than diminished, on account of the influence over our destinies which has been conferred, unwittingly as we believe, upon the British Indian legislature. British India still dictates policy for All-India: and we are given no share in framing it, although it vitally affects us. The policy of the Government of India towards the States is still a resultant of the personalities of the Viceroy and of the Secretary to the Government of India in the Political Department. There is still no system of impartial arbitration in the case of a conflict of views between a State and the Government of India, even where, as in the Jamnagar Port case, the matter is one in which reference to a third party is the sole means of obtaining an equitable decision.

But we are confident that in the long run we shall be successful

in our attempt to convince British opinion that our request for justice is reasonable. For the first time we are proceeding in accordance with a prearranged plan. For the first time, also, a predominant proportion of the 108 "full-powered" States of India are joining in concerted action. We realise that we must put forward our case: must prove it: and must take our share in devising a remedy. As a first step, we have asked for and obtained the appointment of a Committee, at present sitting under the chairmanship of Sir Harcourt Butler, to make a preliminary investigation into our political relations with the Crown and our fiscal relations with British India. We realise this Committee can settle nothing, but we hope its Report may prepare the way for a due recognition of our rights. We are ourselves exploring, with the help of the best legal advice we can obtain, the constitutional relationship between the States and the Crown, which is the foundation of our case. We have set up a special organisation, staffed by some of the most experienced and trusted Ministers of States, to collect and arrange, in a systematic form, examples of the way in which, as it seems to us, the existing arrangements fail to do justice to us. We earnestly trust that when the time comes for the British Cabinet to take action upon the Simon Report, there will not be a second attempt to proceed as though the 78 millions of people and the 800,000 miles of territory which together constitute the Indian States were factors which could be ignored in any rearrangement of the governance even of British India. When once our rights are vindicated, and publicly acknowledged, we are fully prepared to negotiate with His Majesty's Government a form of settlement which will take the most careful account, not only of our own interests, but also of those of Britain and of British India.

Fundamentally, of course, our appeal is to the plighted faith of the British nation, which through the mouths of Sovereigns, Secretaries of State, and Viceroys, has pledged itself to abide by the Treaties. We are ready and willing to co-operate in every way with British India for the advancement of the interests of the whole country: we are perfectly prepared to entertain the idea of a Federation such as has been proposed in the Memorandum presented to the Simon Commission by the European Association of India. But we are not willing to be ruled by, or in the interests of, British India: and we look to Britain to see that our unflinching loyalty to the Empire and to that Empire's Sovereign is no longer employed as a means to compel us to acquiesce in the process of our own extinction as a living political force in India.

BHUPINDER SINGH,

Maharaja Dhiraj of Patiala: Chancellor in India of the Chamber of Princes.

MR. BERNARD SHAW'S THEORY OF SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM.

IN a book of 463 closely printed pages, with a brief bibliographic appendix on the materials out of which his economic faith has been constructed, Mr. Bernard Shaw provides intelligent women on the eve of their complete political enfranchisement in Great Britain with a personal guide to Socialism and Capitalism.* I say personal, because Mr. Bernard Shaw's views about everything are peculiarly his own. They flash with originality and with all the perversities of a genius who cannot bear to be identified for long even with members of his own party. His commonplaces sparkle like paradoxes, his truisms are dressed up so that they look like discoveries. Fallacies which in ordinary language would hardly deceive a child are robed as gorgeous and important truths, and we are told that they have only to be adopted in order to renovate society and give mankind that universal happiness which philosophic dreamers have contemplated in their Utopias. To understand how there should have come to be developed an economic theory, or proposition, which if accepted and converted into law would reverse the science of political economy, invert all the maxims which we associate with common sense, and turn the institutions of any civilised country upside down, we must remember that the author is an Irishman, who settled in England as a young man and found inspiration, not as contemporary liberal thinkers did, in Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, or Cobden and Gladstone, but in Karl Marx and William Morris. In association with a small group of friends who founded the Fabian Society he turned to politics, and his artistic presentations of Fabianism helped to popularise the researchful industry and learned but always practical studies of Mr. and Mrs. Webb. The Fabian Essays and the long series of Fabian tracts, as well as platform work of which he did his full share, all aimed at showing that an age of competition was gradually evolving into an age of trusts, combinations, and monopolies which would be and ought to be gradually absorbed by the State and administered or regulated by a skilled bureaucracy, central and local, entrusted with the management of business, the ownership of capital and the direction of labour.

In the Fabian Essays we learnt how individual firms and companies are being formed into larger and larger amalgamations until all business concerns would be ready to fall like ripe if not rotten fruit into the motherly or grandmotherly lap of the State.

* *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism.* By Bernard Shaw. Constable & Co.

To prepare for this happy consummation by constitutional means good Fabians should welcome every addition to the Civil Service and to State functionaries of all kinds, and co-operate with Liberal and Conservative Governments in adding freely to public expenditure and taxation for these purposes. The skilled civil servant and bureaucrat, who can manage business better than the business man and regulate prices better than the market, is an essential element in the Fabian conception of government. Public economy is anathema. The controversy between Free Trade and Protection is of no more consequence than the differences between Tweedledum and Tweedle-dee. Democracy is a tolerable form of government only in so far as it leads to, and paves the way for, a bureaucratic Socialist State. But resort to violent and revolutionary methods is discouraged by the Fabian doctrine of gradualness, which prescribes parliamentary methods for the subversion of the present moribund society and its conversion into an efficient administrative Utopia. So far, in the interpretation of economic history, Mr. Bernard Shaw's new gospel harmonises with the writings of Mr. and Mrs. Webb. He agrees with their presentation of the last century of English industrial history, dotting their i's and crossing their t's, in several brilliant passages which conveniently omit or obscure or depreciate the work of the Philosophic Radicals, of the Manchester School, and of the Gladstonian Liberals, who laboured so successfully to reform the franchise, who gave us our system of local government and a first-class Civil Service, who substituted Free Trade for the Corn Laws, who promoted international peace and the reduction of armaments, who instituted a sound and honest system of national finance, and kept the country at peace for forty years, while the wealth and prosperity of all classes were advancing at a rate of progress unprecedented in our history. Mr. Bernard Shaw's travesties of the Reform Bill, of the free trade controversy, and of Gladstonian finance would be amusing if he did not profess to be historical; but it is rather sad to think that so much literary talent is engaged in imposing on the credulity of the intelligent newly enfranchised woman. If Mr. Shaw had been fair to the reformers of the past, if his history had been less partial and prejudiced, his powerful and pungent criticisms of present-day society would have provided a less suspicious foundation for castles in the air, and might have been of more service to rational reformers.

But Mr. Shaw's proposals are not rational. On a first reading of the book there mingled in my mind with admiration of its style, and with the amusement that his lively sallies and piquancies always evoke, a feeling of utter bewilderment and amazement at passages here and there which seem to point to a complete recon-

struction of society, involving an equally complete change in human psychology. Let me explain what I mean. Political Economy is based upon the theory that in business men and women, whether as employers or employed, whether they are engaged in production or distribution, whether they live as shopkeepers or merchants or manufacturers on profits, or as employees on salaries or wages, seek their own advantage. Those who are most successful usually practise an enlightened selfishness. The wage-earner works hard and does his best, knowing that in the end good work brings its reward. A good shopkeeper does not try to swindle his customers, but supplies them with what they want at reasonable prices. Shrewd merchants and manufacturers are well aware that in the long run this is the right policy. A one-sided bargain, out of which you make a big profit and the other man a loss, is not the kind of bargain that leads to success in business. There are, of course, in every community knaves and fools. There are likewise many people who are unemployable or on the verge of unemployability, and a still larger number, probably an enormous majority, who will not work without an economic incentive. If, for example, the State pays an unemployment dole almost as large as a man or a woman can earn by working, it is a fact that most people will prefer to live on the dole rather than work, even though idleness is a misery.

So much for the theory on which the science of Political Economy is founded. It has the advantage of being in close accordance with the facts and with the instincts of human nature. The exceptions are numerous of course, but they only prove the rule. There are artists who care far more for beauty and self-expression than for reward, and would rather make what they like for a small sum than make what the public will buy for a large sum. But even among artists this class is in a small minority. Then there are members of the leisured class who have plenty of money, inherited or acquired, and do not try to make more, but devote themselves usually to pleasure, sometimes to politics or philanthropy. But let us beware of thinking that a man who earns a living by remunerative work, who competes keenly with his rivals in whatever trade or profession he may be engaged, is a selfish man because in his work he seeks his own advantage. He may be, and often is, unselfish and public-spirited, devoting much time and energy to philanthropy and public affairs. The Manchester School men, who believed in Free Trade and competition, were certainly not less generous and public-spirited than opposing schools of thought who believe in State Protection and State Socialism. The successful Socialist is just as keen a bargainer as the successful individualist. The question is whether, if the theoretical Socialist

had his way, and the State of which he conceives were actually brought into being, people would continue to work with the same zest and energy with which they work under a régime of competition, or indeed with any zest and energy at all. Would invention and enterprise flourish, would industry continue if it went unrewarded, and if all the occupations of our citizens were directed and regulated by a bureaucracy? As a matter of fact, the ordinary Socialist does not go so far as to suggest that all men and women should receive an equal reward, whatever their industry, whatever their services, whatever their talents. On the contrary leading Fabians have always favoured high salaries for the bureaucrats who direct the public offices. They have not hitherto suggested that the permanent secretary of the Treasury or the Board of Trade should receive the same wage as a typewriter in his department. That is why I read Mr. Shaw's new theory with amazement; for if he has his way every man, woman, and child in this country will receive precisely the same income, and it will be the business of the Government to see that he or she never gets more and never gets less, though where it is to come from and what is the amount of the divisible income of the country he does not explain. Let me illustrate by quotations.

Mr. Shaw begins by asking (page 2) how the wealth we produce every year should be shared among us, and then argues that we in Great Britain have already gone a long way along the road towards Communism, the proof being that we pay our rates and taxes for common purposes, and that roads, bridges, street lighting and water supply are communised as a matter of course in cities. But he seems to be dimly conscious that there is a difference between public ownership of a natural monopoly like water supply, or of a service like drainage, which must be performed if at all by a public authority, or a service like the police, and the nationalisation of all the means of distribution and production by the State. Therefore, on the assumption that the present system (which he calls Capitalism, though he admits that the term is a misnomer) is an abominable and wicked form of society and government, he goes on to examine seven proposed ways of amending it in order that we may all be made happy.

The first plan "which has often been proposed, and which seems very plausible to the working classes, is to let every person have that part of the wealth of the country which she has herself produced by her work—the feminine pronoun here includes the masculine." The second is "Let us all get what we deserve"—the survival of the fittest. The third is "the good old rule, the simple plan, that they shall take who have the power and they shall keep who can." The fourth is a caricature of the old Tory idea that the

common folk should be given enough to keep them alive and that the landed gentry should take the rest. The fifth is distribution of wealth in classes, labourers thirty shillings a week, skilled workers three or four pounds, judges five thousand a year, archbishops fifteen thousand, etc. The sixth is simple: "Let us go on as we are." This brings us to number seven, Mr. Bernard Shaw's own plan, which he identifies with Socialism and pronounces to be the only true Socialism, the only system which will be any good at all, the only system which will convert this miserable country of ours into a state of happiness: "What the Socialists say (page 19) is that none of these plans will work well, and that the only satisfactory plan is to give everybody an equal share, no matter what sort of person she is, or how old she is, or what sort of work she does, or who or what her father was."

It is a characteristic of Mr. Bernard Shaw's philosophy, as of many other philosophies, including that of Karl Marx, that the critical part is much better and much more effective than the constructive part. That is natural enough. It is far easier to pick holes in another man's conduct or theories than to conduct oneself or theorise in a manner which will be above criticism. It is much easier to show how imperfect is the modern constitution of society and how much misery exists under present laws and customs and conventions than to produce on paper another system which would sweep away the whole or part of this misery without involving new mischief and causing perhaps much greater unhappiness than that which on paper you have removed. So Mr. Shaw's criticisms of the six other plans are convincing or plausible enough. Thus of the first—that of giving to every person exactly what he or she has made by his or her labour—he remarks that it *seems* fair:

But when we try to put it into practice we discover first that it is quite impossible to find out how much each person has produced, and second that a great deal of the world's work is neither producing material things nor altering the things that Nature produces, but doing services of one sort or another. . . . Anyone who thinks about it for a few minutes must see that trying to divide up by giving each worker exactly what she or he has produced is like trying to give every drop of rain in a heavy shower exactly the quantity of water it adds to the supply in your cistern. It just cannot be done.

May I add here that if anyone with a moderate supply of brain power thinks for a few minutes longer he or she will be able to see that Mr. Shaw's plan "just cannot be done." It is easy to say that "you" will give exactly the same amount to every man, woman, and child in Great Britain, and that you will never allow anyone to have more or less than anyone else; but it is impossible to conceive in this world of a State so powerful, or of a bureaucracy

omniscient, omnipresent, scrupulously honest, and so perfectly efficient that it will be able to direct the work, control the daily life, and adjust the income day by day, or week by week, which it has to pay out in money to every baby, every boy and girl, every man and woman in the country. Yet this is Mr. Bernard Shaw's "Plan," and this according to him is the only true Socialism. In one place (page 44) Mr. Shaw argues from the Poor Law as follows:

Queen Elizabeth said that nobody must die of starvation and exposure. We, after the terrible experience we have had of the effects of poverty on the whole nation, rich or poor, must go further and say that nobody must be poor. *As we divide up our wealth day by day* [the italics are mine] the first charge on it must be enough for everybody to be fairly respectable and well-to-do. If they do anything or leave anything undone that gives ground for saying that they do not deserve it, let them be restrained from doing it or compelled to do it, in whatever way we restrain or compel evil-doers of any other sort; but do not let them, as poor people, make everyone else suffer for their shortcomings.

A little later our author argues in a most amusing way about the difficulties of his scheme, and the discontent which will arise when clever and industrious people find that they do not receive a penny more than stupid and lazy people, and that the virtuous are no better off than the vicious. But the difficulties, in his judgment, of handing out more money to the deserving than to the undeserving are insuperable, and he concludes triumphantly (page 49): "The only way out of this difficulty is to give everybody the same, which is the Socialist's solution of the distribution problem." If I had space, I would quote here chapter 23 on "Incentive" which is, of course, the kernel of the hopeless problem that besets any society (like that of Bolshevik Russia) which tries to substitute government ownership, government control, and government monopoly for private business and competition.

At the back of his mind—and the thought creeps out here and there in this book—Mr. Shaw evidently relies upon restraint and severity to take the place of a pecuniary incentive to work. For example (page 72):

There are people who grudge every moment they have to spend in working. That is no excuse for letting them off their share. Anyone who does less than her share of work, and yet takes her full share of the wealth produced by work, is a thief, and should be dealt with as any sort of thief is dealt with. But Weary Willie may say that he hates work and is quite willing to take less, and be poor, or dirty, or ragged, or even naked, for the sake of getting off with less work. But that, as we have seen, cannot be allowed: voluntary poverty is just as mischievous

socially as involuntary poverty; decent nations must insist on their citizens leading decent lives, doing their full share of the nation's work, and taking their full share of the income.

After reading this no one will any longer wonder at Mr. Bernard Shaw's admiration for Mussolini, whose dictatorship is a very mild affair in comparison with that adumbrated in this book for the Britons who "never, never shall be slaves." No one will be surprised that he appeals to conscription and observes that if the death penalty is a proper punishment for the soldier in war who fails to do his duty, it will be much more just and appropriate for any inhabitant of his ideal commonwealth who fails to do his or her fair share of the work. Everyone will be a conscript. But he admits that it will take a long time and "an elaborate set of laws and institutions" (page 97) to bring about Equalisation of Income:

The first and last commandment of socialism is "thou shalt not have a greater or less income than thy neighbour"; but before such a commandment can be even approximately obeyed we shall have not only to pass hundreds of new Acts of Parliament and repeal hundreds of old ones, but to invent and organise new Government departments; train and employ no end of women and men as public servants; educate children to look at their country's affairs in a new way; and struggle at every step with the opposition of ignorance, stupidity, custom, prejudice, and the vested interests of the rich. . . . To acquire those powers Government must itself become the national landlord, the national financier, and the national employer. In other words, it cannot distribute the national income equally until it, instead of the private owners, has the national income to distribute.

Does anyone with a grain of common sense believe that in a hundred years or a thousand years Englishmen will elaborately provide (by repealing hundreds of old laws and inventing hundreds of new ones) for imposing upon themselves universal conscription, universal slavery, and universal poverty in order that everyone may receive from the State an equal income?

There is a chapter (29) entitled "Your Shopping" which I had hoped might have exhibited the effect of Protection or Inflation upon prices; but its purpose is to argue that Capitalism "hits you" in every purchase you make. "For every head of cabbage you buy, every loaf of bread . . . you have to pay not only what they cost, but an additional charge which is handed over finally to people who have nothing whatever to do with you. . . . To rid her [woman] of this overcharge Socialists propose to secure goods for everyone at cost price by nationalising the industries which produce them." This is stupendous; for Mr. Shaw proceeds to point out that our army and our telephones and telegraphs are all nationalised services. Does he really expect us to believe that we

get soldiers and armaments and telephone calls and telegrams at cost price, and that these things are cheap in comparison with cabbage and bread? His argument seems to be (page 112) that there is "no direct profiteering" in government services, and that the produce of rates and taxes is economically spent or would be but for the private profiteers who overcharge public authorities.

Lastly—for a critical essay under our system of private capital must be of moderate dimensions—I would add a few words on the general and particular invectives against Capitalism by means of which Mr. Bernard Shaw ekes out his argument and tempers the wind to the shorn trade unionist, or namby-pamby Socialist, who cannot live up to his doctrines. Capitalism, he makes out, is responsible for all the evils of our daily life. Such political and individual liberty as we enjoy is worthless. The only liberty worth thinking about is leisure, and leisure will be provided for all under the new servitude. But Capitalism is not only responsible for all our social evils at home, it has also moral and political responsibility for foreign wars, and for the aggressive tendencies of Imperialism. But then Mr. Shaw conveniently forgets that he has identified Capitalism with the Manchester School, and that the Manchester School was distinguished by its stout and persistent resistance to warlike and imperialistic policies. It was in this spirit that Cobden and Bright faced political martyrdom by their resistance to the Crimean War, and in this spirit that Cobden prevented a war with France, and formulated the doctrine of non-intervention which governed our policy for many years. It was in this spirit that John Morley and Sir William Harcourt and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman denounced the Boer War, the most Capitalistic of all the considerable wars in which Great Britain has been engaged. Where was Mr. Bernard Shaw then? What was the policy of the Fabian Society? Did Mr. Shaw and his confederates face political martyrdom? Did they denounce the Park Lane financiers, and other wicked Capitalists who wanted to seize the Rand and paint it red? Alas, no. When the crisis came the Fabian Society with one or two honourable exceptions ranged itself on the side of "Efficiency and Empire."

FRANCIS W. HIRST.

POLAND: THE RESURRECTION OF A NATION.

IN the summer of 1920 the armies of Soviet Russia had reached the Vistula and were threatening Warsaw. The Supreme Council was in session at Spa, and a deputation from Poland, including both the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, attended to request the help of the Powers in a crisis which seemed likely to endanger the freedom, or at least the integrity, which they had just won under the Treaty of Versailles. The Soviet Government were asked by the Council to grant an armistice, but, thinking the prize was nearly won, they sent an evasive reply and pressed on. Another meeting of the Council was therefore called at Hythe, on August 8th, specially to consider the Russo-Polish question. It was attended by M. Millerand, Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Curzon, Marshal Foch, Earl Beatty and Sir Henry Wilson, and they decided to intervene in favour of Poland if the Russian terms involved any infringement of Polish independence. It was, however, impossible to obtain a clear statement of what these Russian terms were, and, in the doubt which thus arose, it was left for the French to take decisive action. M. Millerand instructed General Weygand to place himself at the disposal of the Polish Government for the organisation of a counter offensive.

To the sober critic who studies the problem internationally and knows what the effect of Polish courage and French military science must have been, the above simple narrative of the events will appear a sufficient explanation. The Bolshevik armies turned back. Warsaw was saved and the Treaty of Riga was concluded next year, by which among other boons the priceless tapestries from the Imperial Palaces of Petrograd and Moscow were recovered for Warsaw and Cracow. But the religious mind of Poland still sees in the course of events more than the mere results of their own desperate fighting or the diplomatic and military advice of the Allies. To the Polish people it was, and still is, "the miracle of the Vistula"; for the Lord had said, "He shall not come into this city nor shoot an arrow there. . . . And so Sennacherib, king of Assyria, departed and went and returned and dwelt at Nineveh."

If the retreat of the Soviet armies seemed thus miraculous, how much more so was the revival of the crushed and mutilated body of the whole nation which the Great War had made possible and Versailles had endorsed and made part of the constitution of Europe. For this divided body had lain for a century and a half in three separate prisons, guarded by three jailers, always united at least in the determination to hold their prey. It would seem

indeed impossible that the resurrection of Poland as one, a strong and living nation, could have been achieved without a war; and the event now crowned with success must be regarded as, next to the League of Nations itself, the most unqualified benefit which the Great War has conferred. To gain the revival of Poland some disagreement between the three Partitioning Powers was first necessary, and this had begun in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when Russia fell away from Germany and made friends with France. But, even so, the reunion of all three parts and their restoration as an independent State can hardly be imagined without the defeat of all three; for had Russia been victorious, she would have wished only to enlarge a Poland dependent on herself, and had the Central Powers won the war, there would have been still less hope. The greater "miracle" was due to the unexampled fact that in a war in which the two chief oppressors of Poland—Prussia and Russia—were ranged against one another, both were defeated. One can understand how the Poles, looking at the war primarily from their national point of view, see in it the manifest hand of God, taking vengeance for the cruel and wanton wrong inflicted on them in the eighteenth century, which was enforced again and again in the nineteenth by murderous repression.

The Pole of to-day is thus building up a future on the basis of a past which he has always cherished, and with a new freedom which surpasses the most sanguine hopes of three generations. It is instructive, and not difficult, to disentangle the three or four main currents now dominant in their national consciousness. The first and most fundamental is that of the ancient and long-continued greatness of their country. The first wave of Slav invasion from the east, the Poles acquired Christianity and Western culture before the Russians, their nearest of kin, and they defended themselves and Western Europe against both Russians and Turks until the seventeenth century. This ancient greatness is still as real to them as ever, more perhaps than the triumphs of Drake and Nelson are to us. The pictures which describe these things—such as the homage of the Teutonic Knights to the King of Poland in the market-place of Cracow—are the most popular objects in the galleries of Warsaw and Cracow. But another memory comes to qualify this. The popular mind is fully conscious, and the well-instructed will admit in detail, that the downfall of their country in the eighteenth century was primarily due to internal causes. A factious and venal aristocracy, working through an obsolete and obstructive constitution, paved the way for the external enemies, who could never have prevailed against a united and patriotic people. They were sold by some of their own natural

leaders. The memory of this has created an invincible distrust of any aristocratic form of government or of a monarchy, except of a temporary and dictatorial kind. It is the Polish people itself which has survived, with its language, its women and its faithful church, and on these, and not on any superior class, the nation of the future will be based.

The last and most vivid memories, those of the struggles and martyrdom of the last three generations, all go to fortify this popular spirit. Poor people and women and youths all fought voluntarily and eagerly in the last wars, as they had fought a hundred and fifty years before. The melancholy and the passion of their music and their poetry find their root in this, and the hero-worship of their politics. Kosciusko and Pilsudski thus stand out as typical heroes in the last phase of Polish national history. Both fought for, and the latter has attained, what the Poles have striven and longed for since the Revolution.

Kosciusko was a child both of the American and the French Revolution and his career has everything which can commend it to the romantic, affectionate, patriotic and freedom-loving Pole. That he failed and died broken-hearted enshrines him still more firmly in the national heart. He was a man of the people, and before he left Europe for the New World at the age of thirty had distinguished himself as the hero of a valiant and disastrous love affair, not the only one in his life. In the American war he became Washington's adjutant and returned to Poland in 1783 as an American citizen, with landed estates, an annual pension and the rank of brigadier-general. At that time Poland had lost nearly a third of her territory by the First Partition and patriotic Poles were struggling to carry reforms which would have removed the worst evils of her constitution. At last a scheme was devised and passed the Diet in 1791. Its passage revealed the malignity and pure self-seeking of her enemies. Catherine II of Russia at once invaded the country to prevent the reforms taking effect. The Poles made a brilliant resistance which would have been successful had it not been for the treachery of their last King, Stanislaus Poniatowski, who had been the lover of Catherine and proved himself at all critical moments the tool of Russia. As the Russians poured into eastern Poland, the Prussians, alarmed lest Catherine should appropriate the whole country, themselves occupied Great Poland. A miserable and helpless assembly was convened at Grovno under the Russian guns, and "came to an amicable understanding" with the partitioning Powers. This *pactum subjectionis* gave Russia all the eastern provinces, and Prussia the greater part of Great Poland, with Thorn, the birthplace of Copernicus, and Danzig. Poland was thus reduced to a third of her original area. The patriotic

Poles then gathered at Leipzig and organised an insurrection. Kosciusko became their leader and he appealed for help to the Jacobins then in power in Paris. But though the movement was akin in spirit with that which had just revolutionised France and repelled her enemies, the Committee of Public Safety, anxious to detach Prussia from the anti-French coalition, sent Kosciusko empty away, on the pretext that they "could not assist an insurrection led by aristocrats." This was in January, 1794. In April Kosciusko appeared in Cracow, and the revolt of certain Polish officers in the Russian army who had marched from Warsaw to the ancient capital with their men became a revolution with Kosciusko as General-in-Chief. So far from being aristocrats, most of his followers were small squires, traders, and peasants. The minority of gentlemen who joined him became poor for the cause; and they were true also to the spirit of Poland in being religious. Before Kosciusko marched, his arms were blessed according to ancient custom at the church of the Capucins in Cracow, while he himself took an oath of fidelity to the nation, swearing that he would only fight for the freedom and integrity of Poland. For eight months the Polish armies performed prodigies of valour, defeating the Russians in more than one pitched battle. Three quarters of the ancient territory were recovered and a supreme council under Kosciusko was set up in Warsaw. But Prussia, though not attacked, threw in her lot with Russia and thus ensured the final Polish defeat. It came in November, when the last army corps surrendered after superhuman efforts and terrible carnage. The support then offered by Prussia to Russia did much to rivet in the mind of Poland the idea that they are both her natural enemies. Three times they had combined to crush her, and now you may often find a Pole perplexed to say which of the two are his country's most dangerous and inveterate foes.

By the Third Partition which followed in 1795 Poland disappeared from the map of Europe, Austria taking the smallest portion, down in the south-west.

Kosciusko had been desperately wounded and thrown into a Russian prison. He survived however to be released by Paul I, and lived in France till the Congress of Vienna. Throughout those twenty years he was working unceasingly for the cause of Poland until the overthrow of Napoleon extinguished his hopes. Napoleon, however, though he still holds a high place in the affections of Poles, did nothing substantial for the good of the cause. He played with Kosciusko, always eluding any firm promise to re-establish the nation. Yet in 1806 he actually issued in Kosciusko's name a proclamation to the Poles, calling upon them to join his armies against Russia. Alexander I did much the same. While there

was anything to be gained by flattering the Poles, he flattered them, but when Waterloo had removed all danger from the West, Polish independence was dropped and Kosciusko was left to die in Switzerland in 1817.

In reading the story one enters inevitably into the soul of the modern Pole and understands the place which Marshal Pilsudski now holds in the love and respect of his countrymen. For he appeals to the same range of sentiments, though, through the double miracle of recent history, his Polish Legion, raised like Kosciusko's to fight only for the freedom and integrity of Poland, has seen its work accomplished. Little wonder that he is the uncrowned king of the country, and might, one sometimes hears, be king in name, if he desired it. But there is no real fear—or hope—of that, for the spirit of social equality which burned like a beacon in Kosciusko has now become the common light of the Republic of Poland. No one could assume a position of permanent superiority without provoking a dangerous reaction. Reforms in the political system are doubtless needed, and they are being discussed in Poland at the present time. But a monarchy will not emerge from the debate. What is wanted and will probably be done, is to modify the constitution in the direction of giving the President wider powers and securing more stability to the ministries which change in personnel and policy from month to month. The American precedent is often invoked, though it is forgotten that in America the presidential system rests on a firm foundation of organised parties, whereas in Poland politicians are divided into numerous and ill-defined groups. But, as in the rest of Europe, the Socialist hue is dominant and a monarchist reaction in any permanent sense is inconceivable. The tragic and disgraceful end of the old régime and the republican zeal of Kosciusko and the fighters of the last century have made that historic revival impossible.

The student of the new Poland will therefore find that its politics are in a state of flux and needing some revision. But he will know that the habits of self-government are not acquired in a decade. Turning to other sides of the national life, he will be amazed at the progress effected and the vitality displayed. . . . A recent deputation to Poland, in which the writer of this article took part, was concerned chiefly in meeting the Polish teachers and visiting the schools. The visit extended from the new port of Gdynia, west of Danzig, through the Kassubian territory which is the northern part of the so-called "corridor," to Warsaw, Cracow and Zakopane, the mountain station on the foothills of the Carpathians in the south-west. It thus included some portion of all three parts of the dismembered republic of the last century, though, except for Warsaw, most of the places visited had been under Prussian or

Austrian rule. The second language most generally used was therefore German, for all those who had been to school or college up to ten years ago had been compelled to speak German. The Polish language is, however, far nearer akin to Russian, and if one represented all the branches of Indo-European speech as cousins, Polish and Russian would have to rank as brothers. A person knowing either Russian or Polish to read, can make out the drift of a book in the other language, though no doubt oral communication would be more difficult.

We have noticed above how intimately religion and church are bound up with the patriotism of the Poles. Their Catholicism, which they gained as the westernmost branch of the Slavs, has become, especially in the struggles of the last century, an integral part, almost the other side, of their national spirit; in this respect one often thought of Ireland. But it never strikes one that either teachers or schools or the people generally are in any sense priest-ridden. The priests who often appeared in schools or meetings played the part of ordinary friendly citizens without any touch of clerical inquisition or arrogance. But, more even than the friendly spirit of all concerned, the keenness of the teachers at all the six conferences impressed the visitors who witnessed it. There was the determination of the whole people behind it. Nothing less would explain the presence of thousands of able and well-educated young men and women in the ranks of teachers at an initial salary of four pounds ten a month. Such service, though it may be obtained by devotion, should be rewarded by a more adequate salary. Mere continued efficiency demands it, and one may hope that the now regularly recurring surpluses in Polish budgets may soon provide the means.

At these educational conferences the knowledge shown was at least as full, the apprehension as quick, and the questioning as ready and intelligent, as at any similar gatherings in England.

The subject for discussion was what is called the "Dalton Plan," a somewhat specialised type of directed and organised self-help which has its chief representative school in New York and is being applied more or less completely in a good many schools in England. A proposal had been made that the book in English describing the method should be translated into Polish, and a surprisingly large proportion of the audiences seemed already well acquainted both with the main principle involved and with the details suggested. Here was the special knowledge and the interest of the workman in his work. But, underlying it, was the far greater thing, the national resolve that the nation should be educated. Every means which might further this end should be explored. In the past education had been either neglected, as in the Russian part, the

Congress Kingdom of Poland, or inspired by the ideas of the dominating Power for its own ends, as in the west under Prussia. Now it was to be applied with full force to the united nation, to bring it effectively together and produce a trained intelligence worthy of a self-governing republic. Such zeal is a common feature in countries which have lately achieved nationhood. It is to be seen in the energy with which attendance at school is being enforced in the Irish Free State and in the extraordinary spectacle of ten thousand school buildings actually put up by the peasants themselves in Rumania. It is notable in Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia. But nowhere is the spectacle more striking than in Poland. Already the number of teachers employed has been increased in the last five years from 57,000 to nearly 70,000. The pupils in attendance in the same period have grown from under three millions to three millions and a quarter, and now nearly approach the total number of children of school age. To find the teachers was the first and most anxious problem, because, owing to the previous deficiency of education, the class providing elementary teachers which is abundant in England, Germany, and France, had, over a great part of Poland, hardly begun to exist. But they are now coming forward in greater numbers; even a modest increase of salary would stimulate and improve them, and their devotion is their most striking feature. Of the school work seen, undoubtedly the most outstanding was the hand-work and artistic illustrations of many kinds, ranging from the most carefully executed models and apparatus of a scientific kind, to dreams in colour, recalling the windows of the Franciscan Church in Cracow or the children's paintings done under Czisek's inspiration in Vienna. In places such as Gdynia or Warsaw, where occasion has offered to build a new and up-to-date school, no expense has been spared, and every modern idea and improvement is to be found in use. Floors are beautifully polished, walls bright and decorated, rooms light and airy. Gymnasias, dental clinics and swimming baths are some of many special features. Perhaps the most striking place of all was the school known as the Tramway Men's school in the quarter of Warsaw where most of these men live. This building had received as gifts many of the decorations and fittings from the Tramway Men's Union who had taken it under their special care.

Where these things are being done, can one have any doubt of the future of a nation? But to those who look for more substantial prosperity, the evidence is even more abundant and overwhelming. No part of Europe suffered so severely from the Great War in proportion to its size as Poland. It is estimated that nearly three million of its population were killed or driven away from the country between 1914 and 1920, for we have to add to the four years

and four months which we all endured, the best part of two years more when Poland was defending herself against the Russians. Nearly two million buildings were burnt down and many millions of acres of forest destroyed without profit. 549 railway stations disappeared from the face of the earth, and between two and three thousand bridges were made useless. Within the eight years which have elapsed since the Peace of Riga with the Bolsheviks, all this damage has been made good, Gdynia, a new port on their seventy-five miles of sea coast, has been built up from a fishing village, their budgets have been balanced for several years, and they have been able to raise whatever money they needed either by taxes or a foreign loan entirely on their own security.

Poland is happily balanced in its industries between agriculture, mining and manufactures. She comes between England and France in the proportion of her soil under cultivation. Just a half of it supports a peasant population who grow rye, wheat, barley, oats, and especially potatoes, mainly for their own consumption. All these show a steady increase during the period of independence, especially the wheat, of which some millions of bushels are now exported. But expansion of this sort is not a main object in Polish economy. They aim rather at the preparation and export of finished articles and objects of special value. Thus Polish sugar, prepared in seventy refineries employing between twenty and thirty thousand workmen, is of higher quality than the average. In the last complete year half a million tons were produced and more than half of this reserved for export. The potatoes, which are by far the largest agricultural crop, are used in thousands of distilleries for the production of various forms of alcohol and starch. The coal fields of the south-west and their large export are, unfortunately for English miners, only too well known at the moment. Petroleum, with its many derivatives, is equally abundant along the edge of the Carpathians, forming an extension of the Rumanian deposits. These together make up the only considerable petroleum field in Europe, and two and a half thousand wells were in action last year. The salt mines near Cracow have been for centuries one of the sights of the world with their underground lakes and halls and churches. In the largest of these, where the whole body of miners descend with their families for Mass on Christmas Eve, the bas-reliefs carved by miner-artists in the walls of salt are the most striking monument imaginable both of their piety and their skill. It should not be thought that this is an ancient relic now abandoned. Though the mining in this spot is now some three or four centuries old, it goes on more vigorously and successfully than ever, and younger artists constantly arise to carry on the marvellous work of adorning the walls.

There are many other minerals and manufactures; these few pages do not aim at giving a list. Zinc and lead are already produced in large quantities; potash promises to take rank only after the supplies from Germany and Alsace. Lodz is a "Polish Manchester," and there are altogether some 500 mills in various places, employing 150,000 workpeople. But, broadly speaking, small manufactures are, next to mining and agriculture, rather the note of the country at the present time. Nearly a million workers are employed in small workshops, sometimes in their own houses, making "articles of fancy" especially for the Russian market. As this suits both their domestic, rural and artistic tastes, it is to be hoped that the spread of modern organisation and large industry will not displace them. The issue is not a foregone conclusion, and one will watch its course with anxious hope, as one watches in India and so many other parts of the still not completely industrialised world.

From the world standpoint the credit of Poland has taken a turn to the good in the last three years, during which she has been able to show a surplus in her budget. In 1924 two crucial steps were taken: a new Polish coinage was introduced—the Zloty instead of the mark—and the Bank of Poland was opened. It is a comfort to think that English advisers under Mr. Hilton Young had a hand in this, as English locomotives and an English food supply contributed to the early rescue work after the Armistice. We may thus join hands with M. Millerand in having done something for the common cause.

The results of the steps taken in 1924 were not immediate, but they were certain. A fall in the first values of the new coinage and a high rate of discount at the new bank were the features of 1925. Then in 1926 came the change, and there has been no turning back since. A fall from 12 per cent. to 8½ per cent. in the rate of discount, parity for the coinage and a budgetary balance three times repeated, are the response of the new Poland to her financial difficulties.

There is another world point of view which is reflected at the League of Nations. Poland joined the League at once; she is one of the forty-two States of 1919. At that time she needed all the help that France and England and the League generally could give her. In the ten years since she has passed through an external crisis more threatening than any other League State has had to meet. Yet she faces the world to-day with as much good work accomplished and perhaps even more hope for the future than any of her compeers. It has taken all those ten years merely to make her legally one, for she found herself in 1919 hampered by three separate systems of law inherited from her three partitioners. This

work is now done, and the doing of it has given her a training in law which must be unique among the new nations. But when we talk of Poland as one of the "new" nations, we must be careful to remember that she is even more old than she is new, and that, in codifying the law thus drawn from three separate sources, she had also to consider what was suitable to her own national customs and old tradition. It was a fitting crown to this long and successful work of bringing the laws of different nations together, that the International Law Association, with Lord Phillimore as their President, held their annual Conference this summer in Warsaw. The Polish Government, hospitable as ever, welcomed this gathering as they had welcomed the educationists, and the two parties followed one another in the same hotel.

But Poland may claim even another right to our gratitude and regard, especially in the realm of international law as focussed at Geneva. Last year the Polish delegate to the Assembly tabled a motion renouncing war which exactly anticipated the Kellogg Pact. It was left for the Western Powers to work it out and fortify it with the necessary diplomatic forms and reservations. But Poland had said the master word first and the spirit was Polish. Is it too fanciful to go back to Copernicus, most famous of Poles, whose statue stands in the middle of the old university quadrangle in Cracow? His discovery rested rather on intuition than on proof, and it was left to the more practised minds of Galileo, Kepler, and Newton, experienced in detail, to weave the theory into the fabric of accepted thought.

One thing at least is clear. The Pole is obviously an ingenious and fundamentally a peace-loving man. In the new spirit which now pervades the world, and with the League of Nations as its expression, the differences which still remain on the German, Russian and Lithuanian frontiers may certainly be solved and Poland realise her destiny as a great and progressive State, buffer or link, as we, and they, prefer to think it.

F. S. MARVIN.

THE REVOLT OF ASIA: A CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS.

It is becoming more and more apparent that in the decades to come the paramount political problem of the world will be the relations between Europe and Asia. The questions which confronted the anxious minds of the pre-war generation and were considered sufficient to bring on a world war, such as the rise of German power and the disintegration of Turkey, are completely dwarfed by this gigantic new issue raised by the violent push of eight hundred million Asiatics who, rightly or wrongly, consider that Europe has robbed them of their place in the sun. It becomes, therefore, supremely important to have a correct vision of the problem and to clear it of the distortions apt to be produced by insufficient or superficial knowledge.

The general public is under the impression that the present unrest in Asia is due to its violent and sudden awakening after a long sleep, as a result of contact with European civilisation. A closer scrutiny of Asiatic history will show that this view is widely off the mark. To get a really comprehensive view of the present stage in the development of Asia we must go back to the middle and end of the seventeenth century. At that time European civilisation had not yet embarked on the tremendous technical and industrial developments that were to revolutionise the world. Though Europe had achieved a state of power and brilliancy not known since Roman days, the exterior aspects of life had not been much modified since then, and the citizen of Charles the Second's day did not enjoy more comforts or amenities in travel or at home than did the contemporary of Ovid. For Asia, on the other hand, this period marks a climax in cultural and political development.

At the end of the seventeenth century China is enjoying a long spell of peace and prosperity under the powerful Ching dynasty, and the reigning Emperor Kanghsi is the second greatest ruler the country has known throughout its long history. He conquers Turkestan, brings Tibet under his sway, and with his son and grandson will achieve the greatest territorial expansion the Empire has known. Technical and cultural progress is encouraged under his broad-minded leadership. He protects the Jesuits, has the famous Imperial dictionary and the great encyclopædia of 16,000 volumes compiled, and promotes the building of canals and roads.

It is a brilliant reign, and when he dies in 1723, as Professor Soothill puts it, he leaves "the greatest contemporary Empire in the world in the combination of extent, ordered government and culture."

In India it is the reign of the last of the Great Moguls, Aurang-

zeb. Though it has not the glory and the brilliancy of the days of Akbar, still well within living memory, yet it is a very great reign. Under this magnificent dynasty India, after centuries of anarchy and bloodshed, knows a degree of prosperity and might unheard of since the distant days of the Gupta Empire.

In Persia, Abbas the Great, the Louis the Fourteenth of Iran, has just died, and Nadir Shah, its Napoleon who was to conquer Delhi, is coming. Phoenix-like, the Empire of the Shahs has once more and for the last time risen to the splendour and glory of the Sasanides. Finally Turkey, though its expansion has been checked under the walls of Vienna in 1683, is still at the height of its destiny.

Thus we see that the four great Empires of Asia were at their climax, whereas the Asiatic civilisations, though they had been sometimes deeper in the past, had also reached their zenith. To-day only two centuries have elapsed since those times, and that is not sufficient to stamp out of the consciousness of the people of Asia the resplendent memories of this glorious past, to be replaced by the inferiority complex resulting from their increasing contact with Europe.

It must be noted that at approximately the same time the first definite connections between Europe and Asia were established. Though the East India Company began trading in India in 1612, the settlement at Madras dates from 1640, the settlement of Calcutta from 1690, and only in 1699 did the English secure a hold in Canton. In 1689 the first treaty stipulating extra-territoriality was signed between Russia and China. We are now able to get a general idea of how the problem of relations between the two continents stood in those days. The least that may be said is that the balance of cultures between them was equal. In reality Asia was somewhat in advance of Europe, but the civilisations, though dissimilar, were on the whole developing at an equal speed and on parallel lines. This made for stability, and there was no reason for a clash. An Asiatic envoy in Europe would not have felt himself inferior to what he saw around him, and likewise a European ambassador at Delhi or the Chinese Court would have had no reason to consider his hosts as barbarians. If behind the splendours of Asiatic civilisations there was much blood, Europe herself had just seen St. Bartholomew, the Inquisition, the Massacre of the Jews, the Sack of Rome and of Magdeburg, the Borgias and John the Terrible. It must also be remembered that the distinctions were not so much between continents as between civilisations. For the Emperor at Delhi the Chinese envoy appeared as alien as the Portuguese ambassador. What happened further? Nothing abnormal or irregular as regards Asia, which continued its slow

steady pace of development. China, under the able rulers of the Manchu dynasty, of which the last but not least was the Dowager Empress Tsu Hsi, continued doing well. India, in accordance with a curious rhythm of its history which we find repeated to a certain extent also in Persia, fell into a period of disintegration and recuperation of forces for a new productive period. Persia and Turkey gradually moved towards their decline, the first to re-bloom again perhaps, the latter, having produced nothing, to follow the fate of many of the great military Empires which rose only to vanish completely in the vastness of Asia.

What confused the issues so completely in the relations between the continents, awakened the antagonism of Asia and was to act as a disruptive force there, was the marvellous changes which occurred in Europe as a result of the industrial and technical revolutions. Nothing of the sort had ever been witnessed before throughout the whole history of humanity, especially as regards the speed and size of the transformations which took place. It also produced a moral revolution in Europe, giving birth to application on a large scale of the ideas of democracy and freedom—in other words, giving rights to the individual and making him the fundamental unit of society without regard to his real intrinsic value.

The balance of forces between the continents was now completely broken, and far-reaching consequences arose. The victories of rational science in Europe, resulting in the advent of materialism and commercialism, were achieved at the expense of many deeper and more idealistic sides of its civilisation. The ideal of Europe evolved in a few centuries from that of a monk to a knight and from a knight to a salesman. The resulting economic development made colonial expansion in Asia and overseas an imperious necessity for Europe. It was particularly unfortunate for the harmony between the continents that the first intimate acquaintance with European civilisation came to Asia just when Europe had evolved to this stage. The result was that the cultures clashed and revealed their fundamental difference. It may be said, subject to all reservations implied by such generalisations, that the European civilisation was extensive and quantitative, whereas the Asiatic was intensive and qualitative. The culture of Europe addresses itself to the masses, and in doing so has to level itself down to the general comprehension at the expense of certain higher qualities. In Asia the masses are not taken into consideration; life is left to follow its natural course, and just as any other force of nature, its growth remains wild. The death of a man is not more important than the death of a tree. The individual is nothing, but the caste, the race, the tradition, is everything. This explains the persistence of practices such as the suttee which rightly horrified Europeans. The

indifference with which Chinese historians record the death of millions of people in the civil wars which at regular intervals marked the end of a dynasty in China is amazing. In both cases it was only the abstract idea behind the concrete fact of human life that mattered.

This was the dark side of the Asiatic civilisations, but curiously enough it was also a reason for their spiritual power. Even in periods of the greatest literary brilliancy there were 97 per cent. illiterate in China, and sweeping across the map of Asia to another great centre of learning, Samarcand, we also find only 3 per cent. literate in the population of present-day Bokhara and Ferghana. It was to this small select mass that the cultures of Asia spoke. They became therefore infinitely eclectic and spiritually aristocratic. Freed as they were from the levelling weight of the masses and working only through the highest intellects for the highest intellects, they grew in height, depth and beauty. Such was their profundity that only after four centuries of direct contact is the hasty and superficial European at last beginning to discover their towering spiritual revelations. The conditions of Asia, its vastness, its silence and infinitely measured rhythm gave the sages in their peace and seclusion the possibility of building beyond space and time. Such monuments as the Rig Vedas, the Upanishads, the teachings of the Philosopher of the Way, Lao Tseu, all that esoteric Hinduism and Buddhism or even Sufism has produced, the grandiose balance of Heaven, Earth and Man of Confucius, not to mention the Caballa, also of Asiatic inspiration, are by far the highest spiritual achievements of humanity.

When the average Westerner visualises Asia he sees it either as the home of the great religious teacher or of the great conquerors. He sees on one hand Zoroaster lost in the dimness of myth; the sublime "enlightened" Prince Gautama the Buddha; the fiery Mohammed, merchant, prophet and warrior; the twin teachers of China, Confucius, practical and dry, Lao Tseu, so deep and mystic as to provoke witchcraft by the misinterpretation of his teachings. To these he opposes the "Scourges of God," Attila, Tchenguis Khan and Tamerlane, whose boundless and solely destructive energy swept over the world like a cyclone. But except for what is revealed to him through popular editions of Omar Khayyám or of the *Thousand and One Nights* he knows very little of the less titanic but more human figures who reveal Asia in the complex fullness of its everyday life. He has scarcely heard of the saintly Buddhist Emperor Asoka, the purest and most lovable figure in India, of Babur who, while he was conquering what was to become the Great Mogul Empire, sang in most melodious verse of the roses of his native Ferghana. He cannot enumerate

the great and highly cultured rulers who appeared at regular intervals in China at the beginning of each dynasty: Liu Pang the giver of laws, Tai Tsung the greatest monarch of the Yellow Empire, and the splendid Kublai who constructed the Grand Canal 1,000 miles long and welcomed Marco Polo. Turning to lower and varied walks of life and choosing at random, what is known about the Chinese conquistador and explorer Pan Chao who, in the first century A.D., reached the Pamir; and his lieutenant, Kang Yin, who went as far as the Persian Gulf, of the monk Hsuan Tsung who in 629 reached India through Chinese Turkestan in search of Buddhist books, of the Chinese admiral Cheng Ho who brought a fleet of sixty-two ships to Java and Ceylon, and later, in 1422, even reached Aden? In what way do these men not rank with the great European explorers such as Magellan or Marco Polo or Vasco da Gama? What do we know of the author of Arthashastra (Science of Ruling) the Indian Macchiavelli, of Kalidasa, India's greatest poet, of Jami, of Ibn Haldun the Arabic sociologist, of Mirkhond the Persian historian, of Omar Khayyám as a scientist and of Nizam ul Mulk, whose system of accountancy, dating from the eleventh century, is still in use in the East, and who developed throughout the Persian Empire such a perfect system of credit that it was possible to make payments in Turkestan by bills on Syria? Whereas in China Chu Hsi was making out of Confucianism the most positivist and rationalistic schools of thought the world was to know before Spencer and Auguste Comte, in another part of Asia Sufism was introducing Neo-Platonism and Vedic mysticism into Islam which it considered too materialistic. As late as the end of the eighteenth century a complete religious reformation took place in Japan eliminating Confucianism and Taoism.

Enough has been said to show the moral life of Asia pulsating, following its rich course of evolutionary development, decay and regrowth, according to its own lines, undisturbed and ignorant of Europe.

The average European came into touch with this glowing life only in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but the very breadth of its stride made it seem to the Westerner to be at a standstill. Besides, he was much too concerned with the commercial part of his colonisation to attempt to study the inner side of Asiatic culture. When he did look round, he naturally applied European standards, and therefore started his judgment of Asia from the wrong end. Rightly horrified at the appalling conditions in which the masses dwelt, the European decided that nations who take as a matter of course such conditions applied to the greater bulk of their citizens are barbaric. The cultured Asiatics on their

side, seeing that the Westerner attached so much importance to the slums whereas the beautiful eclectic sides of their culture were disregarded in their turn, looked upon the newcomers as barbarians.

On the other hand, the prevalence of the greedy commercialism of the West was distasteful to the polished and literary-minded Asiatics. They sulkily submitted to force, but inwardly resolved to acquire it for themselves so as to deliver their culture from what they deemed the coarse and vulgar intrusion of the West. What these eclectic minds of Asia did not expect, what in fact no one foresaw, was that the importation into Asia of technical knowledge so badly needed to resist Europe would also contaminate the masses of Asia with the alien and indigestible Western spirit. In an effort to build up a force to hold back the material pressure of Europe, Asia allowed herself to be disrupted from within by the moral infection of the enemy. Thus sounded the death-knell of Asia as it had been known throughout human history, and the process of its rebirth under Western auspices or its ultimate disintegration began.

With the ever-increasing progress in means of communication the Europeanisation of Asia cannot be stopped or reversed. The only thing to be done is to go through with it as quickly as possible in the hope that what can be saved of the beautiful achievements of Asiatic culture will eventually blend with what has been imported from Europe, to form a new original civilisation of its own. At present the two worlds meet so incongruously on Asiatic soil as to make the East even more picturesque than it was before. It is the writer's firm conviction that the world at large and Asia in particular would have been happier if the Asiatic people had been left to develop organically on their own lines, as they have done for thousands of years, without the interference of Europe; in other words, if the two civilisations had been left as formerly to run parallel without one attempting to dominate the other and thus force the pace of development by artificial pressure. Unfortunately the law of economic development of Europe decreed otherwise, the balance of forces was broken, and after having been in favour of Europe for a couple of centuries, it now looks as if the pendulum was gradually swinging to the opposite side.

In going to Asia, Europe merely followed the law of expansion of all civilisations. The reverse would have happened had Asia been driven westward by a lack of space and by a search for markets after a too rapid economic growth. What Europe would have experienced may be seen from the Tartar invasion of Russia, the conquest of the Balkans by the Turks, and the wholesale slaughter of conquered populations which until recent times was the normal feature of Asiatic warfare. Besides, in Asia itself the process of

colonisation by greater Powers was proceeding on lines very similar to the European expansion. Eastern Turkestan was conquered by China in 1696, regained independence under Jehangir in 1825 and was reconquered. Afghanistan annexed Kaphiristan after terrible fighting at the close of the nineteenth century, and Corea was the bone of contention between China and Japan for over a century before it finally fell under the sway of the latter. Similarly, the struggle between Persia and Turkey for Armenia and Kurdistan was fought to the bitter end.

The rumble of these great struggles in Asia was damped down by the immense distances and also because the fighting forces, having opposed each other within the depths of the great continent, their clash produced no repercussion abroad. Hence the delusion of silence and stillness where in reality all was movement. This might have continued indefinitely with no particular danger to the outer world if Europe had not lightly done a very serious thing. In search of easy gain it equipped Asia with armament and means of transportation which will enable her in the future to co-ordinate and project outward all the dynamic forces which so far have been wasted in internal strife. In the Great War, Asia for the first time took part in a European conflict. It is to be expected that when the present Asiatic revolutions brought on by the readjustment to modernisation, which now serve as a shock absorber, are terminated, Europe must look forward to the day when the Asiatic colossus will come out into the world clad in iron to vindicate his place in the sun.

What appears to be paramount for the future welfare of humanity is the re-establishment of the balance between the two continents broken a couple of centuries ago. However, as the water-tight compartments which had enabled the various civilisations to grow side by side have been definitely swept away, the only basis on which this balance can be achieved is the more complete fusion of the civilisations concerned. In the case of Asia this will probably result in the speeding up of the process of Westernisation until a point of saturation is reached in two respects: technically, until the material force of Asia becomes proportionately equal to that of Europe, Japan being so far the only Asiatic power to have achieved this; morally, until the iconoclastic tendencies of modern Europe have done away with social or traditional barriers in Asia in the name of democracy and freedom, until possibly disillusion will bring a reversion to old ideals. It is to be hoped that this evolution will not make out of Asiatics only second-rate Europeans, but that the magnificent creative genius of Asia will adapt itself to novel conditions and on the basis of European cross-fertilisation will produce a synthesis of new cultural values.

As for Europe, the line to be followed in the face of this problem seems clear. She must acknowledge whole-heartedly the spiritual riches of Asia, not as museum curiosities, but as real living values to be absorbed into her own civilisation. She must rid herself of the enslavement to the Greco-Roman culture *alone*, which has so far obscured her vision of the world. There is no explanation but narrow-mindedness why the great Chinese or Persian classics do not form the everyday equipment of the European intellectual, why in textbooks of history the Emperors Akbar and Tai Tsung of China do not rank with Cæsar and Charlemagne. They are far more important than the secondary Roman Emperors of the period of decline to whom so much attention is given. Europe must further learn to look upon history not merely from the point of view of its own civilisation but from a world viewpoint of inter-connected civilisations reacting on one another. In this respect Young Asia, which comes to Cambridge or Harvard to learn about the West after having had the background of its own culture, is distinctly in advance of our provincialism, and as far as knowledge is power it will have a serious advantage over us in the long run. They must also feel that we fully appreciate the value of their civilisation and that our own civilisation is sufficiently great to be receptive. Only the broadest mutual understanding will enable us to live in peace in a world which is already too small.

A. LOBANOV-ROSTOVSKY.

CANADA'S NEW INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES.*

ON July 1st, 1927, the Canadian people celebrated the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Federation of Canada. From coast to coast the orators told the nation of its prosperity and good fortune and enlarged upon the noble work done in the olden days by the "Fathers of Confederation." Few, if any, stressed to any extent the growth in status internationally which Canada had made since 1867. After the flush of celebration had subsided, the news was flashed from Geneva that Canada had been elected to the League of Nations Council, the first British Dominion to receive that honour. No greater, though unconscious, compliment could have been paid to Canada in her Jubilee year by the nations of the world. It is my purpose to sketch the conditions which made possible such a signal mark of recognition at Geneva.

To do so it is necessary to turn back the pages of history to 1914, since, for Canada as for the world, the Great War is an iron curtain which separates one epoch from another. General Smuts has said that "on August 4th, 1914, the British Empire ceased to exist," and the half-truth of his epigram is best illustrated by the changes in Canadian status since 1914. In that year Canada possessed virtually full powers of self-government in domestic affairs. It is true that she could not amend her constitution, which emanated from Westminster, that the powers of veto, disallowance and reservation were still intact, and that other limitations existed which detracted from the possession of full sovereignty in domestic matters. But most of these restrictions were of legal rather than constitutional importance. Canadians well knew that the British Parliament would never amend the Canadian constitution without a request from the Canadian Government. The legal right of veto possessed by the Governor-General had never been exercised, and the British Government's power of disallowance had not been exercised since 1874.

But, if Canada possessed adequate powers at home, the same did not hold good in the realm of foreign affairs. She might negotiate trade treaties with foreign Powers, but such treaties had to be signed by the British Ambassador resident in the country with whom the Treaty was made. The foreign policy of the British Empire was dictated in Whitehall, and when in 1911 at the Imperial Conference for the first time the Dominions were fully informed of the troubled situation in Europe, they were warned that this information was given as a matter of courtesy and not as a

* An Address delivered at the Morning Assembly of the Institute of International Affairs, North West Session, at the University of Washington, Seattle, on Wednesday, July 25th, 1928.

matter of right. It is true that after 1911 the Canadian Government took part in two international conferences on minor questions, but these did not secure any effective recognition of Canada as an "international personality." However, some Canadian statesmen had dreams of wider powers in the future when Canada should be better able to assume them. As early as 1908, Sir Wilfrid Laurier had declared at the Quebec Tercentenary celebrations: "We are reaching the day when our Parliament will claim co-equal rights with the British Parliament, and when the only ties binding us together will be a common flag and a common crown." It was Sir Wilfrid who had been the leader in rejecting at the Imperial Conferences the ideas of an Imperial Federation centralised in London and who had succeeded in establishing co-operation as the guiding principle for the Imperial Conferences.

The World War brought in its train a revelation of unity and common sacrifice for a common cause by all parts of the Empire that amazed friend and foe alike. The war effort of the Dominions coupled with the heroism of their soldiers at Anzac Cove and Vimy Ridge, Ypres and Delville Wood, convinced the Mother Country that the Dominions had come of age and that their services should be recognised in concrete fashion. The first sign of the new order was the invitation extended to Sir Robert Borden to attend a British Cabinet meeting in 1915. Two years afterwards, when Mr. Lloyd George established an inner War Cabinet for the more efficient prosecution of the war, he added to it delegates from the Dominions and from India and the Imperial War Cabinet appeared, in Sir Robert Borden's phrase, "a Cabinet of Governments." 1917 also witnessed an Imperial War Conference, at which the Canadian Prime Minister secured endorsement of a famous resolution which is the foundation for all post-war advances. This resolution, after suggesting a special post-war conference to readjust the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire, declared that "... any such readjustment ... should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth and of India as an important part of the same, should recognise the right of the Dominions and of India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultations on all important matters of common Imperial concern" For the first time the Dominions claimed a voice in the making of foreign policy and the justice of their claim was freely admitted.

When the guns fell silent in France the Imperial War Cabinet became the British Empire Peace Delegation and moved to Paris. There Sir Robert Borden pressed for the separate representation at the Conference of the Dominions on the logical ground that their

war losses and effort were greater than that of many of the Allies who already possessed that right. Clemenceau admitted the force of Sir Robert's logic and the Dominions secured their request. It was not long before the Canadian delegates were assisting the Belgian spokesman in a protest against the cavalier way in which the Big Four disregarded the existence of the small nations. Inevitably separate representation resulted in separate signatures to the Peace Treaty and separate membership in the League of Nations. This last recognition was looked at askance by American politicians, who used the "six votes to one cry" as a factor in securing the rejection of the Peace Treaty. The fallacy of the argument is obvious. In essence the members of the League have a veto power rather than a voting power in the Assembly, since upon all important questions unanimity is required. One veto is as good or as bad as six. Moreover, as League members soon discovered, the Dominions had no intention of being pale shadows of Britain and did not hesitate to vote contrary to her when they saw fit.

Since the war Canada has asserted her right to independent consideration of matters of world policy within both the British Commonwealth of Nations and the League of Nations. She secured from the British Government in 1920 the right to separate representation at Washington because of her especially close relations with the United States. Though it was not until 1926 that a Canadian Ambassador was appointed to Washington, it was the Canadian precedent of 1920 which made possible the presence of an Irish Minister in 1924. At the Imperial Conference of 1921 the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Meighen, gave an excellent illustration of Canadian determination to exercise an adequate voice in foreign relations. The British and Australian Governments had expressed approval of the Anglo-Japanese alliance which was due for renewal. Mr. Meighen promptly expressed his dislike of such a policy and effectively "interpreted" the view of the United States as well as of Canada. His objections led to a postponement of renewal and subsequently the Alliance was formally dissolved at the Washington Conference. So, indirectly, the Canadian action furthered the success of the Washington Conference. In 1922 the new Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, showed a similar independence of outlook. When Mr. Lloyd George dispatched his famous telegram asking for assistance in the event of war with Turkey, the Canadian Prime Minister refused to commit his country until the Canadian Parliament had approved. His caution, reinforced by the doubts of other Dominions and the hostility of a large section of British public opinion, forced the "Welsh Wizard" to think twice before acting, and war was averted. In 1923 the

Canadian Government went a step further. It insisted that the famous Halibut Treaty affecting only nationals of the United States and Canada should be signed only by Canadian ministers for the Crown, and that the customary signature of the British Ambassador in Washington should be omitted. The British Government consented, and eventually a puzzled American Senate recognised the change. The Imperial Conference of 1923 endorsed the Canadian action and laid down provisions for treaty negotiation, that were expanded in 1926, which permit individual negotiation of treaties by the Dominions, so long as all are kept informed and the Treaty only affects that Dominion. Time prevents discussion of other evidences of a distinct Canadian position on Imperial questions, and we must turn to the Imperial Conference of 1926 which codified and clarified the post-war developments in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Its historic report is the fulfilment almost in its entirety of the dream of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the vindication of the wisdom of Sir Robert Borden's resolution. The key sentence of the Report declares that "The group of self-governing communities [the choice of the word communities is significant] composed of Great Britain and the Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status and in no way subordinate one to the other in any respect of their domestic or external relations though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." Thus the Dominions are equal in status, if not in stature, to the Mother Country, and it rests with them to make good their assumption of power and responsibility.

In Geneva, as in London, Canada has played a creditable part. To the League secretariat and the International Labour Office she has sent sixteen of her citizens, seven of whom are still in League employment. Of these the most prominent was Sir Herbert Ames, who served as Financial Director from 1919 till 1926. Two Canadians in turn have helped to govern the Saar Valley and under trying conditions worked for fair play for the inhabitants. When Major Stephens retired from the Chairmanship of the Commission in 1927 he was urged by the people of the Saar not to resign, the best tribute to his capacities. In the League Assembly and in the International Labour Conferences, Canada has been worthily represented by men like Sir George Foster, Mr. Rowell, Mr. Lapointe, Mr. Tom Moore and Senator Dandurand. These men by their abilities and by their willingness to take an independent stand upon such questions as Article X of the Covenant and Arbitration won the respect of other nations. This partly accounted for the election of Senator Dandurand as President of the Assembly in 1925 and for the election of Canada to the League Council in 1927.

The Council elections are worthy of attention. In 1919 Sir Robert Borden had had the forethought to secure a promise from the "Big Four" that there was no bar to the election of a Dominion to the League Council, despite the presence of Britain as a permanent member. Since 1926 the Council has consisted of fourteen members, five permanent and nine non-permanent members holding office for three years with one-third retiring each year. Until 1927 no Dominion had been elected to the Council, though the ever-adventurous Irish Free State had made the attempt in 1926. When Senator Dandurand arrived in Geneva in September, 1927, he was urged by M. Lange of Norway to present Canada as a Council candidate and was promised the support of the Scandinavian States. Soon after he received instructions from Ottawa to make the attempt and was promised the whole-hearted co-operation of the other Dominions, who were anxious for Canada to take the lead and, if successful, pave the way for them. As it happened, there was unusually keen competition for the three vacancies, one of which was certain to be filled by a Latin American state in view of Latin American voting strength. Among the aspirants were Belgium, who had to secure a two-thirds endorsement of eligibility as she was up for re-election, Greece, Portugal, Persia, Finland, Cuba and Uruguay. The number of aspirants was reduced by the refusal of the Assembly to endorse the Belgian request for re-eligibility, despite her backing by the Locarno Powers, and by the withdrawal of Persia. When the results were announced Cuba had polled 40 votes, Finland 33 and Canada 26. Some ardent Canadian nationalists have resented the failure of Canada to secure first place in the election, but such an objection is arrant nonsense. To claim what had previously been almost a European perquisite and to face the initial handicap of the permanent British membership on the Council and the evident unpopularity of Sir Austen's attitude on League questions in 1927, and still succeed, was a striking achievement.

On the Council Canada occupies an interesting position. She is the only North American State represented, and will naturally interpret the attitude of a continent safely removed from the immediate effects of European complications. With no grievances for redress, with no boundary disputes for adjudication by Geneva, with no really serious minorities problem to embarrass her, Canada occupies a relatively detached position at Geneva and will inevitably be called upon before her term of three years has expired to mediate as a neutral in some European dispute. It remains for Canada to meet the obligations of her position and, as Sir Robert Borden has suggested, to work "for the good of the British Commonwealth and the Peace of the World."

This will entail adequate representation at Geneva by her ablest statesmen and an enlarged and strengthened Department of External Affairs. At present the Prime Minister is Minister of External Affairs. Like Sir Herbert Ames, I feel that the time has come for a separate Department of External Affairs administered by a full-time Minister of the first calibre. No man, however able, can undertake adequately the exhausting duties of party leader and Prime Minister and also attend four Council meetings a year in Geneva, as do the Foreign Ministers of almost all the other Council members. This reform has yet to be achieved, but in the interval it is a matter of gratification that Mr. Mackenzie King attended the August, 1928 Council Meeting and the Assembly in September, the first Dominion Prime Minister to appear in person at the Assembly and attend all the sessions. The very strong delegation that Mr. King heads is a recognition of Canadian appreciation of the honour paid Canada in 1927.

For better or for worse Canada is in the wider world of international affairs and she cannot draw back. It is the duty of the Canadian people after the war to remain in the vanguard of progress in the struggle for world peace and so keep faith with those who lie in Flanders' fields. Gradually an appreciation of our international responsibilities is dawning upon our more thoughtful citizens and there is little doubt that Canada will live up to her obligations.

F. H. SOWARD.

MAYOR THOMPSON AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

"CONTINUED peace and beneficent co-operation between the English-speaking peoples!" State banquets on either side of the sea always ring with this well-favoured toast. These nations are so much alike in manners, ethical ideals, public and private law, economic practice and many other concerns, that such a relation, which seems so essential for the general good, seems also natural and easy to themselves. But just because they are so much alike they become conscious of each other's little variations. There really are very many differences, though not much difference. Mutual understanding, and it is that that really controls our destinies and not the formal votes of statesmen, depends on each nation granting to the other the right to have its own cultural peculiarities without labelling them as aberrations. No one sets up an English standard for the behaviour of Frenchmen, or an American standard for Chinese; in such comparisons differences stir interest without condemnation. But it is quite otherwise among those nations who sing "God Save the King" and "My Country 'tis of Thee" to the same tune. To respect each other's civilisation is really the only lasting basis of amity; yet this is sometimes difficult, for, using the same language, we each get word of all the queer things people in the other group do and say. In fact, the Press, specialising in the unusual, makes it hard to read anything else, and each nation forms a grotesque picture of the other unchecked by that personal observation which restores proportion.

Some years ago, when a few English women poured acid into mail boxes, broke church windows and slashed historic paintings in the interest of the woman suffrage bill, the American newspaper reader, led by sensational reports, imagined that something like a revolution had broken out in England. Now he reads of the dole, which he quite misunderstands, of Parliamentary debates on greyhound racing, or the illegality of buying chocolate candy after nine-thirty in the evening, and he pictures an England which Englishmen would never recognise. On his side the English reader sees an America containing little but street robberies, Ku Klux parades and bathing beauty contests. If he goes to the cinema he sees an America of luxurious futility, devoted to nothing but speed and waste. If he reads the "realist" works of the Sinclair Lewis school he knows America as a society of blatant, shallow charlatans fooling and swindling each other. He understands that there is a great crusade sweeping through the country to crush respect for England and things English, witness Mayor

MAYOR THOMPSON AND AMERICAN REVOLUTION 601

Thompson and the attack on the alleged pro-British history textbooks. A brief discussion of the circumstances of this last-named enterprise may serve to show how many factors have to be considered in interpreting a news item from another country.

One must first picture the mayor himself, big and somewhat flabby in appearance, hearty and genial in manner, coming down the aisle of a narrow hall stuffed full with his miscellaneous constituents in one of his reliable wards, Germans, Poles, Italians, Negroes and others. Answering with a friendly wave of his great hat the moving and affectionate greeting of the close-packed mass, he picks up a pickaninny from an admiring mother's arms and holds it in his own, demonstrating that his heart yearns for a vote, whatever its colour. But this posture of fraternity is not all calculation: there is every reason to believe that he does love his fellow man and that he feels much more at home among those unspoiled by cultivation. He, himself, was born of an excellent family in Boston, but we had best forget this promptly, following his own example. As a young man he went into the Far West and by the easy tolerance of a cowboy outfit was allowed to serve it as a cook. Acquiring a western manner along with a broad slouch hat he retraced his steps to Chicago, where he built a considerable fortune by buying and selling real estate, and then entered politics. No one has charged him with realising personal financial profit from his political leadership; on the other hand, few have denied his complacency at the illegal profits his loyal lieutenants might be moved to make.

He was elected mayor in 1915, as a reform candidate, but once in office the reformers were his least concern. To many he seemed chiefly interested in remaining popular. He ostentatiously took up the cause of the large German element in Chicago, who, of course, disliked America's entrance into the World War, and opposed the selective draft law of the federal government. In fact, he has become "Big Bill" by feeding upon other people's grudges. When up for re-election in 1919 he found that the Irish in the city were agitated as to the sufferings of their homeland and fearful of an overwhelming influence of the British Empire in the impending League of Nations. The Irish voters recognised the mayor as a statesman when he fanned their resentment against Great Britain, though others wondered how this touched the city of Chicago. The German vote was secure in grateful admiration. The Negroes he could always count upon as a Republican. He was re-elected. But the patent waste, laxness in police administration and vulgarity of manner which were all charged against his administration led to a reaction, and in 1923 he lost his seat to William E. Dever.

Mayor Dever's four years were characterised by efficiency,

economy and law enforcement. The city government gave full co-operation to the federal prohibition officers; this policy irritated many Italians, Poles and others who were wholly out of sympathy with the nation's laws in this particular. Bootleggers, and most other kinds of law-breakers, who had fallen on lean times, joined with racial groups to restore the easy-going Thompson in the spring of 1927. The latter had preached a violent crusade against all English influence, remote as the issue was from municipal problems, in order to deprive Dever, the Roman Catholic Irishman, of much of his normal support. But he had made appeals to other nationalities too. To understand the importance of this strategy one must recall that with 450,000 Germans, Chicago is the fifth German city in the world, with 400,000 Poles the fourth Polish city, with 200,000 Czechs the second Czech city; with 125,000 Swedes the third Swedish city, that with over 300,000 Irishmen it surpasses Dublin, that with 200,000 Italians it ranks with Florence, that with 100,000 Negroes it is second only to New York. Newspapers are printed in more than a dozen languages. It would be a great mistake for an Englishman to picture Chicago simply as a Birmingham trebled in size, or to think of it as exactly typical of the American Middle West.

It must also be remembered that Mayor Thompson's election was not due only to racial animosities and the support of more or less criminal adherents. Some Protestants, apprehensive because of the immense and splendid Eucharistic Congress which Cardinal Mundelein and others had recently conducted near Chicago, stupidly thought any Protestant better than a Catholic. Some disinterested voters were impressed with certain public improvements which had come to the city under Thompson's previous administration, and took seriously his proud description of himself as "Big Bill the Builder." There were a certain number of stout party men who whatever their opinion of him voted the straight ticket as Republicans. A good many substantial business and professional men, who do their work in Chicago and who might have liked a different kind of mayor, have their residences in the suburbs and hence have no franchise for municipal elections.

Once on an anti-English platform, grotesque as it may sound, the mayor had to keep his promise to keep King George out of Chicago. The most obvious way in which an American municipality might move in this direction was to survey the tax-supported schools to see if any teaching there was unduly favourable to England. In fact, the mayor had already charged that those responsible for the schools required the use of history texts which, in dealing with the Revolution, stated more of the English position and less of the American than they should. Though the

formal charges included several other items it was chiefly on this count that William McAndrew, the Superintendent of Schools, was brought into a public examination with an implication of dismissal by Mayor Thompson's board of education. Dr. McAndrew was suspended, awaiting examination, on August 29th, 1927.

Now thoughtful people will agree that it is really important what is taught in history school-books. We who teach history have a heavy responsibility. Not long ago an acquaintance of mine in a university laboratory did a wrong thing; the retort exploded and he was killed. When chemists are careless they pay an instant penalty. If it were known that when a historian wrote an untrue thing or when a history teacher said an untrue thing the book or manuscript in front of him would explode and demolish him, historians and history teachers might be a little more judicious.

The men summoned as expert witnesses in examining the books made no pretence to any standing as historians. Mr. John J. Gorman was an ex-Congressman, but had made no contribution to historical writing; Mr. Charles Grant Miller had written a good deal on this subject of revolutionary history in text-books, but as a professional anti-British agitator in the Hearst newspapers; Charles Edward Russell, a former Socialist candidate for governor of New York, had attracted the mayor's favourable attention by his article called "Billions for Blue Blood, or the Curse of the Coronets," a diatribe on international marriages in high society; Mr. F. F. Schroder is editor of a prominent German-American paper devoted to denouncing British influence; Judge Frederick Bausman had written alarmist books on what he apprehended was insidious pro-British propaganda particularly devoted to the question of international debts. No one else was called to testify extensively.

The quality of the testimony is interesting. It was natural for Mr. Gorman to single out for special comment the text-books written by Professor D. S. Muzzey, of Columbia University, for that work enjoyed a considerably larger sale than any other and was therefore more important. The witness quoted Dr. Muzzey as writing: "The Boston Tea Party was the last straw; the Colonies added insult to injury." "The capital of Massachusetts was the seat of vulgar sedition." "George Washington was a tyrant, dictator, despot and stepfather of his country." "The Continental Congress was a collection of pettifogging lawyers and mechanics." If this were fair quotation it would raise more than an eyebrow in most American communities. But Dr. Muzzey's publishers replied by supplying the context of these phrases thus violently ripped out by the witness. Painting George III as narrow and headstrong, the author then says, "In King George's eyes the 'Boston Tea Party' was the last straw. . . ." The "vulgar sedition" sentence was

quoted from Trevelyan and was also introduced by the obviously important phrase "In King George's eyes." The citation dealing with the Continental Congress actually fails to appear in any edition of Dr. Muzzey's book. As for Washington, the author writes that in the party controversy of 1796, "The Press became coarse and abusive, Washington was reviled in language fit to characterise a Nero. 'Tyrant,' 'dictator,' and 'despot' were some of the epithets levelled at him. He was called the stepfather of his country." Mr Gorman, by misquoting, had apparently been quite willing to murder a scholarly reputation in order to effect his ends. As a protest against that kind of thing the author promptly brought suit against him for damage to the extent of one hundred thousand dollars.

Mr. Miller made the point that Professor Muzzey omitted many American heroes in his account of the Revolution, such as Colonel Kirschlein and his German volunteers who helped Washington on Long Island, Jeremiah O'Brien, an Irishman who had figured in an exploit in Machias Bay, and Father Gibault, who had been of some service to George Rogers Clark in the Illinois campaign. Now many men who pride themselves on their knowledge of American history had never found time to learn about these obscure people. To some it seemed that the obvious racial appeal of such names had something to do with Mr. Miller's mentioning them at this time. Something the same could be said of his complaint that insufficient attention was paid to Kosciuszko and Pulaski, the Polish leaders who came to Washington as volunteers, Baron de Kalb, a Franco-German, and Baron von Steuben; of course, Professor Muzzey had actually given as much room as he thought he could spare to these more significant figures. Mr. Miller further complained that the author gave too much to the battle of Quebec in the Seven Years' War, which, after all, was a British victory and, therefore, not prudently to be emphasised. Other testimony was of much the same kind, or else ran off to wild charges of general pro-British propaganda which had no reference to the text-book issue.

It was now announced that Mayor Thompson desired to expel from the public libraries of the city all books strongly favourable to England and the English. Mr. Miller, faithfully attending, suggested beginning with C. H. van Tyne's *Causes of the American Revolution* and A. B. Hart's *National Ideals Historically Traced*, the latter having been published twenty years ago. A London bookseller, scenting "association interest," cabled an offer for all the books so excluded, but it was said to be the mayor's purpose to have them burned on the lake front by the public hangman. A taxpayers' suit was threatened by irate citizens against this "destruc-

tion of city property." Throughout the whole United States the mayor's announcement met with nothing but ridicule. It was a godsend to cartoonists and editorial writers. At a public dinner, for example, the mayor of Minneapolis, which faces the rival city of St. Paul across the Mississippi River, facetiously remarked that he proposed to remove the Bible from the public libraries of his city because it made no mention of Minneapolis, whereas there was frequent mention of St. Paul! Listening to these shouts of derision Mayor Thompson decided to proceed no further with the censorship of the libraries. His lieutenant, Mr. U. J. Herrman, who was to have carried through this holocaust, had to content himself with personally buying and burning one of the books under discussion, written by Dr. A. M. Schlesinger, the Chairman of the history department of Harvard University.

The mayor next announced a prize of \$10,000 for a school history text which would present with unmitigated force the American argument in the Revolutionary controversy and severely criticise the position taken by the British Ministry. There was no serious or, at least, no considerable response. In fact, it provided only another occasion for newspaper wits, a number of whom tried their hand at satirical paragraphs which they said might please a mayor interested in establishing the insignificance of the British element in American culture and, particularly, British crime and failure in the Revolutionary war. The writer of the "Sun Dial" column in the *New York Sun* (October 31st, 1927) thus described Paul Revere's ride and the skirmish at Lexington: "During the trip he had twelve horses poisoned under him by agents of the British king. . . . A battle followed. There were over 50,000 British fighters engaged, but they were repulsed by four colonists and a bird dog."

It appeared that American historians did not care to write the story of the Revolution according to the mayor's specification. On examination it develops that most of the history books now used in English public schools, or, for that matter, used thirty years ago, might, as far as their account of the American Revolution is concerned, be entered for the mayor's prize with better hope than almost any published in America. But it is not so astonishing as might at first appear, that British writers should equal or surpass Americans in condemnation of George III and his advisers. The American to account for independence has to allege tyranny in that Government; the Englishman to account for the loss of a fair part of the British Empire has to allege stupidity, which amounts to much the same thing.

As a fourth sally in his fantastic crusade the mayor now proposed forming an America First Society, which in his interpretation

implied England last, to be joined by patriotic citizens all over the country at ten dollars each. He telegraphed an urgent invitation to the mayors of virtually all American cities of any importance. The results were as disappointing as those in his book-burning and text-book prize enterprises. The mayor of Milwaukee, albeit a Socialist executive of a German-American city, had no sympathy with such procedure. "He was too busy in Milwaukee," he replied, "making our local government worthy of respect, to indulge in gallery play." Another western mayor, writing in a Rabelaisian exuberance, bewailed that English pheasants had been introduced in his vicinity "to make our Germans dissatisfied with spare-ribs and sauerkraut." The mayor of Stamford, Connecticut, in his reply, quoted *Alice in Wonderland*, comparing Mayor Thompson with the gentleman who stood so long on his head that he found it uncomfortable to stand any other way. The great majority of replies received, judged by those given to the Press by their authors, were in similar indignant or derisive strain.

Meanwhile the testimony at the "trial" went on. To account for the supposedly unpatriotic conduct of the historians under consideration, the witnesses had to allege some motive. Mr. Gorman said that probably they were actually paid by people in Great Britain. He cited a speech by Lord Northcliffe before the English Speaking Union in 1919 in which he is reputed to have said, "We must subsidise the best American writers, speakers and editors, so that from books and from the rostrum the American mind very soon will absorb it all, and have the British view clearly before them." Now that may or may not have been a discreet thing for Lord Northcliffe to say, but it scarcely warranted the conclusion that distinguished historians actually were bought and paid for with foreign money. It was next alleged that an English journalist, Lord Northcliffe again, had owned twenty American newspapers which he had used for propagandist purposes, a *canard* promptly crushed by a cabled statement from Lord Rothermere that his brother had never owned any American newspaper property. The witnesses next maintained, with a straight face, that Andrew Carnegie's libraries everywhere and of set purpose were devices to circulate pro-British books, and to prove it cited a recent pamphlet of the American Library Association which recommended several books alleged to be of this kind. It was further claimed that influence of the Rhodes scholarships was subversive in American academic life, and much was made of the circumstance that Cecil Rhodes in the first draft of his bequest had confessed an ideal of a reunited Anglo-American nation. Some witnesses attributed an extraordinarily cunning intelligence to British bankers, and explained that they had paid for poisoning American histories as an

effective means toward developing a sentiment in America in favour of scaling down the international debt!

The mayor's spokesmen also deplored the toadyism of certain Americans toward British aristocracy, and implied that the historians may have written as they did in hope that their wives and daughters might be received in high circles when they went to London. Judge Bausman drew a graphic picture of a typical mid-western girl, dazzled by a presentation at Court, returning to join the "Blush-for-my-country-Club." Mr. Miller wound up with a simple solution to the whole problem of motive. In 1921, he pointed out, certain historians attending a conference in England were invited to an elaborate dinner at public expense. They were probably debauched by this calculated hospitality and lost all independence of mind—Mr. Miller's explanation constituting one of the most impressive tributes to British cooking ever made by an American.

Meanwhile the United States stood by and smiled a wry smile at the Chicago farce, though the intelligent people of that city, who had no German or Irish memories to affect their judgment, failed to get much real enjoyment from it. Indeed, the mayor himself found that revising texts in the interest of group prejudices had its embarrassing side. When a delegation of Indians came in from a reservation to protest against the treatment which their race had had in school-books (on which something might be said) it was not troublesome, for the Indians had no votes in Chicago. When the Scandinavians came insisting that Lief Ericson supplant Columbus in the discovery of America, it was a little more dangerous; but so long as there are nearly twice as many Italian votes in Chicago as there are Scandinavian, just so long will Columbus have discovered America in the text-books there in use. These clouds were not in themselves of critical importance, but they showed the way in which storms might arise.

Storms have indeed arisen though, for the most part, not from racial pressure. The mayor's candidate for State's Attorney has been decisively defeated; the mayor's colleagues in administration have begun to resign, and unpleasant rumours multiply with respect to the financial situation of the city. Superintendent McAndrew's term came to an end in January, 1928, and the ostensible cause of the school-book "trial" was removed. Professor Muzzey's book was never excluded from the Chicago schools; in fact the publicity attending the "trial" rather helped its sale. Even Chicago has found Mayor Thompson embarrassing; the rest of the country, save for certain elements of German and Irish blood, found him so long since. No more unfortunate mistake could be made than to take the mayor's views as typical of American sentiment toward England.

DIXON R. FOX.

FRANZ SCHUBERT.

(JANUARY 31st, 1797—NOVEMBER 19th, 1828.)

FRANZ SCHUBERT died at Vienna on November 19th, 1828, at the age of thirty-one. His friend, the poet Grillparzer, wrote as epitaph on his gravestone (since replaced): "Music has here interred a rich store, but yet finer hopes." It is principally that rich, abundant store of compositions, greater in quantity and variety perhaps than that of any other composer, which has earned for Schubert a place in the musical Olympus. Erase from the scroll of time any of such names as Mozart, Beethoven, Schumann, Wagner, and the whole course of musical progress and history would be retarded or turned awry. Had Schubert never lived, posterity would have been robbed of one or two fine symphonies, of a few delightful chamber-pieces, and of its most liberal repertory of songs; but that is all. Schubert added little to the development of musical thought; he made no adventures beyond the bounds of current form; his work appears to have exercised no such influence upon any later genius as did Mozart upon his own; and his unimposing personality was totally eclipsed by his far greater contemporary, Beethoven. Schubert neither consummated the age of Classicism at the head of which he stood, nor helped to blaze the Romantic trail along which the poets and novelists of Germany, France and England were already travelling. He lingered at the cross-road, as though undecided which way to turn, and littered the place at which he stood with an incredible accumulation of manuscript.

For Schubert had probably the most fecund imagination of any composer that ever lived. He wrote, as Byron poetised, through sheer plenitude of ideas. Every passion, every emotion, whether experienced in his own life or communicated in story or in poem, engendered in his mind some musical idea, which was immediately committed to paper without recension. For, if of Byron Matthew Arnold could say, "When he reflects he is a child," it could be said of Schubert that he never reflected at all. Not for him was the labour of revision, correction and rejection which makes of Beethoven's note-books such interesting psychological studies. Not for him were Beethoven's days of solitude, long tramps alone, deep communings with the soul of nature and of man, and the wearying self-criticism and eclectic process of refinement to achieve perfection. Schubert was content with the impulsive, impatient of restraint, a "Bohemian" in conduct and in thought; and the inevitable result is seen in the diffuseness and loose structure of his symphonies and sonatas, which are often mere medleys of melodies or of variations on the same melodic phrase, following one another

without any real sequence of idea or coherence of design—his imaginings beautiful yet immature, his themes pregnant with significance yet undeveloped. It is possible that, if he had put a curb on his imagination, practised a discipline of self-control, and set himself to study more deeply the work of others and the theory which those others had so surely grasped (be it said to his credit that he purposed taking lessons in counterpoint just before his last illness), he might well have redeemed the "finer hopes" of which Grillparzer spoke. But as it is, he died before those hopes were realised; and left a mass of composition, varying widely in its quality, and characterised in large measure by that subjective sentimentalism which proved to be the involutionary feature of decadent Romantic art.

To say so much is not to challenge Schubert's right to the style of "master," nor to discredit his undoubted genius. But it seems probable that, if Schubert had adopted a different mode of life, if he had more honoured his art and had devoted himself with the earnestness of a Beethoven or a Berlioz to the pursuit of a vocation, his genius would have thrived better and manifested itself in more substantial work. It appears to have been Schubert's custom, from the time of leaving school, to divide his day into two periods—the morning given to work, from two o'clock onwards to conviviality; and, strangely, writers on Schubert tend generally to be more expansive concerning the latter period than the former. Biographers are fond of picturing him at the tavern, surrounded by the "Schubertiade" circle of his friends, and deriving encouragement from their appreciation of his work. It is perhaps a picturesque setting; it possibly excites interest by romantic association. Yet the circle, while admiring him for his music, flattered him more particularly for his capacity for the things dispensed in taverns—"Schwammerl," the sponge, they called him; never master. There was hardly one of that circle who was worthy of Schubert and who did not weigh upon him like ballast impeding his flight to realms of lofty aspiration. And when kind fortune sent the enlightened Schober to rescue Schubert from an elementary teacher's drudgery in his father's school; when, with the assent of his own mother and the connivance of Schubert's father, Schober took the young musician to live with him at his house, liberated him from material cares, and placed within his reach the quietude and leisure suitable to his career; Schubert accepted it for a month or two, and then slunk back to share the poor lodgings of the insipid poet Mayrhofer. Five years later a similar opportunity occurred when Count Johann Esterhazy took Schubert into his service as musician at his castle at Zelesz, in Hungary—just as, some half-a-century before, Prince Paul Ester-

hazy had engaged Joseph Haydn. But whereas Haydn, living only for his art, seized fortune by the forelock, Schubert soon yearned for the gaiety of Vienna and was back with Mayrhofer and the "Schubertiaden" before the year was out. It may be that Schubert drifted with the tide of social reaction which demoralised Vienna after the downfall of Napoleon, just as a similar reaction affected many European capitals after the late war. It may be that a sensitiveness to his own unattractive physique drove him to habits that dispel the misery of self-consciousness. With small eyes peering through spectacles that perched upon a fleshy nose; puffed cheeks which flanked a negroid mouth; a low, receding forehead crowned with coarse and curly hair; bent back, short arms, and thick hands and fingers which moved but clumsily upon the keyboard; the little man of scarcely five feet in height may well be excused if, having none of Voltaire's power to overcome the disadvantages of his appearance by confidence and insolence, he shunned the elegant society of Schober's or Esterhazy's household. Yet, whatever the cause, one cannot but regret that those "finer hopes" which he was capable of realising were so largely cheated of their fulfilment by the mode of life which he adopted; and perhaps the greatest proof of Schubert's genius is to be found in the very fact that it asserted itself in spite of Schubert.

From the moment when his father placed a violin in Franz Schubert's hands at the age of eight, his spirit seized upon music as the channel of its natural expression. There seemed but small need for instruction. Little Franz's first teacher, Capelmeister Holzer, complained: "Whenever I want to teach Franz something new, I find he knows it already." Five years later, after Schubert had passed through the normal music-classes of the Stadtconvikt school at Vienna, Ruczika, to whom he was committed for lessons in musical theory and composition, told Salieri that "Franz Schubert knows everything already; he must have been taught by God." So the great Salieri himself took Schubert in charge; and until a rupture occurred between the two some five years afterward, he directed the young genius along the paths which formerly he had shown to Mozart and Beethoven. From that time onward, as the mind became increasingly practised in the art, Schubert's work advanced steadily from the simple compositions of youth to the masterly work of his last years on earth. The work of Schubert, therefore, lends itself to no such division into periods as Lenz's classification of the work of Beethoven. It shows no sign of the violent spiritual struggle which Beethoven manifested in the second half of his life; there was no formidable eruption of pioneering energy such as Beethoven experienced in his last few years; Schubert wrote no such epoch-making work as the *Hammerclavier*

Sonata. He progressed steadily, uniformly, from the young initiate to the full-fledged master, in a span of years which was only little more than half the span of his great contemporary's life. Starting with a few songs and pianoforte fantasias written by 1810, at which time he was but thirteen years old, his first string-quartets were written in 1812 and his first two symphonies in 1813 and 1814. These boyish works, as might well be expected, show his mind in apprenticeship to Haydn and Mozart. In the following three years he wrote three more symphonies, two Masses, eight operatic pieces (six in one year!), some work for strings, a variety of compositions for pianoforte, and a great number of songs (137 in 1815 alone!). In all these the affinity to Mozart is much more noticeable than the influence of Beethoven. Possibly the constructive work of Beethoven was beyond Schubert's youthful understanding; although such as had been published by this time, including the first eight symphonies, which Schubert must have heard and many of which indeed he had probably played, covered the least difficult of Beethoven's periods—that in which a Romantic tendency predominates. Nevertheless, that Schubert honoured Beethoven is well attested. He visited him on two occasions on his deathbed; and when Schubert himself was dying, only some eighteen months later, he would not believe that his brother Ferdinand had carried him into his own room, because, he said, "Beethoven is not here." But it seems probable that the real greatness of Beethoven only made deep impression upon Schubert towards the end of his life. At the early period of apprenticeship his indebtedness to Mozart is not only evident in his work but is avowed in his diary, only a few leaves of which have been saved from destruction. Under date of June 13th, 1816, is the entry, concerning a Mozart quintet: "O Mozart! Immortal Mozart! What countless images of a brighter and a better world thou hast stamped upon our souls!"* In the same entry is a mention of "Beethoven's Variations" (probably the "Turkish March" Variations in D, op. 76) without any comment. The fact is all the more noteworthy since Schubert's teacher, Salieri, held Mozart in strongest antipathy.

Two events, however, following closely upon one another, were to deliver Schubert both from pupilage and from obscurity. In 1817 he left Salieri in high dudgeon on account, apparently, of an accusation of plagiarism in his Mass in B-flat, and he never

* The words bear a striking resemblance to a line of Schober's verse which Schubert set to music in his beautiful song, "An die Musik":

Du holde Kunst, in wie viel grauen Stunden,
Wo mich des Lebens wilder Kreis umstrickt,
Hast du mein Herz zu warmer Lieb' entzunden,
Hast mich in eine bess're Welt entrückt.

Schubert met Schober a little earlier in the same year.

returned. The incident was salutary; for it weaned him at one stroke from his apprenticeship to other masters and threw him entirely upon his own resources. Thenceforward his individuality emerges more and more prominently in all his work, notably in the pianoforte quintet of 1819, the B-minor (or so-called "Unfinished") Symphony of 1822, leading up steadily to the variegated pianoforte Sonata in B-flat, the D-minor Quartet, and the great C-minor Symphony of 1828. The event which was to open up a reputable future before Schubert occurred in 1818 when Schober, to whose continual forethought Schubert owed so much, brought to Mayrhofer's lodgings in the Neplingerstrasse the great tenor opera-singer and idol of Viennese society, Michael Vogl. Vogl scanned a few of Schubert's songs and thought there was "something in them"; but when later he came across "Der Erlkönig," he recognised at once the real genius of the composer, carried the song with him into the salons of Vienna, and finally established Schubert's reputation in the public ear by singing it at the Royal Opera-House on March 7th, 1821. Publishers immediately clamoured at Schubert's door vying with one another in offers for his work; and the copyright of the "Erl-King," together with that of a number of other songs, was sold to Diabelli for the sum of 800 florins. It was the first of Schubert's works to be printed; and had he realised how great an income his publishers were to derive from the "Erl-King" alone, to say nothing of his other songs, he might have been more careful in his transactions. But he possessed none of the commercial instinct which was so amusing a trait of Beethoven's character; and throughout his life he preserved that typically "Bohemian" indifference to material interests which refuses to translate success in terms of personal comfort and prosperity.

It is not surprising, either that Schubert should have found the song-form most congenial to him as a vehicle of artistic expression, or that largely to his songs was due such fame as he acquired during his lifetime and pre-eminently such favour as he has enjoyed during the century which has elapsed since his death. His genius was not constructive after the fashion of Beethoven; his grasp of technique was hardly sufficient for the polyphonic requirements of instrumental writing. On the other hand, his harmonies are richer than those of Beethoven, and his poetic intuition is more acute and active even than that of Mozart; and it is only natural that the lyrical quality which pervades the outpourings of his genius from the first symphony to the last, from "Der Erlkönig" to the "Schwanengesang" which formed his own swan-song, should receive its most perfect display through the medium of song. Furthermore, Schubert had an advantage denied to both Mozart

and C. P. E. Bach, in the mass of literary achievement resulting from the movement to which Schlegel, Goethe and Schiller had given such powerful impetus. Not only did Schubert number among his personal acquaintances many poets imbued with the Romantic idealism of the time, but he had ready for his use a vast store of material created by half-a-century of poetic enthusiasm; so that melody, issuing from within him, copiously, unceasingly, spontaneously, found at hand her "sphere-born harmonious sister" verse. He was not always happy in his choice of verse; indeed he must often have felt compelled by the exigencies of friendship to identify his genius with the babblings of the insignificant poets with whom he delighted to associate. In this way he may be held to have repaid all the material help which he received from Schober, for that name lives on to posterity only because Schubert crowned it with the halo of his own talent. But most of the songs which have brought him fame are settings of verses by Goethe, Schiller, Heine and Wilhelm Müller, together with a few by Shakespeare and by Walter Scott.

In the province of lyrical song-writing Schubert stood supreme, only to be rivalled some half-century later by another Viennese composer, Hugo Wolf. Wolf was certainly more discriminating than was Schubert in his selection of poetry; his pianoforte parts are more independent and complex in structure while still retaining complete unity with the song-melody; and his psychological insight into the poet's soul is often more penetrating than anything of which Schubert was capable. But, on the other hand, Wolf had not only the whole of the nineteenth-century Romantic development and experience behind him—Berlioz, Schumann, and even Wagner—but his range of subjects is far more restricted than that of Schubert, his melodic line often less graceful, and the beauty of his work frequently marred by an exaggerated sensuality. Moreover, for Wolf the problems which confront every song-writer, of attaining an exact poise between melodic sentiment and dramatic incident, of striking a nice balance between musical colour and verbal significance—of, in short, achieving in music the expression of poetic truth—these problems had already been largely solved by Schubert himself. For Schubert, however, there were but few examples of the lyrical song to serve for guidance; for Mozart seems to have regarded song-writing as an exercise of recreation, and Beethoven, whose mighty brain conceived of music mainly in terms of the orchestra, left but a handful of songs which are essentially dramatic in form—miniature operatic scenes, in fact—and are almost wholly devoid of lyric quality. Schubert, therefore, had to make his own way in a field upon which musicians of first rank had so far hardly intruded, and he did so in a manner which

adumbrated the pictorial suggestiveness of Berlioz. The devices he employed, especially in his early songs, to imply changes in poetic idea are certainly rudimentary. Sudden transition from major to minor mode or the reverse, a characteristic of all his instrumental writing, is used with marked dramatic effect in such songs as "Der Erlkönig" and "Aufenthalt," and with sententious effect in little gems like "Du bist die Ruh" and "Die Forelle." Abrupt modulations, as in alternative verses of Goethe's "Der Musensohn," lend to the songs in which they occur a certain strength and pleasing variety. But in maturer years he was able to represent an unparalleled range of human emotion, without befogging the tonality and without employing any artifice other than the legitimate uses of rhythm and harmony. Thus, in "Der Leiermann," a masterpiece of song written probably in 1827, the blended voice and piano convey, without technical or dramatic device whatsoever, a poignant sentiment of hopeless indifference towards an inhospitable world summed up in the words: "Und er lässt es gehen alles, wie es will." In these later works Schubert imposes a definite atmosphere as surely as does the Impressionist, Debussy, appearing most clearly as Liszt described him: "Le musicien le plus poète qui fut jamais." In each song his imagination, stimulated into creative activity by an all-embracing sympathy, brings to the light of day an entity as complete in quality and as real in influence as was the stimulus that conjured it up from nothingness. Schubert's genius was not great enough to penetrate to the soul of humanity, to fetch down from the ethereal regions of spiritual existence the treasures of eternal truth, as did Beethoven; but it throbbed with the sensitiveness of the lyre to every pulse of the human heart, it responded with unsuspected tenderness to the passions of love, desire, religious praise and prayer, and every emotion to which our frail being is prone; and in song gave feeling permanence and revealed the intrinsic beauty of the commonplace.

This is perhaps that aspect of Schubert's work which throws most light upon the causes of its growth in popularity during the nineteenth century and of its wide appreciation in the twentieth. Schubert lived, not only in a period of artistic transition from the Classical to the Romantic—from the traditional and formal to that freedom which is so aptly expressed by Schumann in the sentence: "Nothing is wrong in music that sounds right"—but he lived also at a time of political transition, when the chivalry of the sword had waned and its last remnant of an aristocratic régime was receding before the "bourgeoisie" and the accumulating strength of democracy. The art-salons, as well as the chambers of government, were opening their doors to the liberalism of a new era; and

with the increasing facilities for printing and the manufacture of instruments, music was becoming no longer a luxury for the noble and rich, but the common possession of all and sundry. Schubert left to others the pioneering work of romanticising music, but he applied the Classic style to Romantic thought and embodied democratic sentiment in traditional forms.

It is an unfortunate outcome of a belief that Art is beyond the normal scope of human activity, that historians rarely turn aside from kings and the marriages of kings, from wars and treaties and diplomacy, to consider the effect of Art upon the progression and interaction of the events which they are unfolding. They will note, for instance, the presence of Byzantine architecture in Spain as a by-product of the Saracenic occupation, or the Gothic cathedrals of France as the monuments to the birth of a nation under the Capetian dynasty; though never do they credit the artist-designers of those monuments with a share in moulding national destinies. Yet those buildings—permanent embodiments of an ideal in artistic form—have themselves reacted upon the people whom they have shadowed through long eras of development. If such be true of architecture, how much more potent, under modern conditions, must be the influence of monuments of music. It can hardly be gainsaid, for example, that our British attitude towards Germany, and Austria since the late war, and our welcome on their re-entry to the councils of Europe, owes something—unconsciously, perhaps—to the fact that we depend so largely upon their creative musicians for our own artistic needs and enjoyment. Our fundamental kinship with quondam enemy nations is sensed in the common terms of æsthetic expression. Art is essentially universal; and when historians come to write of the League of Nations, of Locarno, and of the policies of international friendship which wrought them, they will not do full justice to their subject if they omit to consider the function of artistic culture in the genesis of those policies.

The influence of the work of Schubert is not great from the standpoint of the musicographer; but by the historian it should be recognised as an important factor in perpetuating the individualism which emerged during the eighteenth century, in shaping nineteenth-century democratic thought and in laying the cultural foundation of internationalism in the Western world. There is probably no composer who enjoys, outside the land of his birth, such widespread and general popularity as does Schubert, and his influence upon the popular mind cannot but be enhanced by the centenary celebrations which are to take place in many countries during the month of November.

Schubert has gained his place in popular esteem, not only

because he excelled in the most favoured province of music, song, but because of the intense humanity of his work. If his work, in spite of its many imperfections, has survived the accident of contemporaneousness with Beethoven, if it has endured through a century of musical controversy and progress, of the rise and fall of schools, and of the emergence of a musical technique which would have astounded him, it is because the people care for none of these things; and because Franz Schubert, intuitively touching life at many points, and sensing by instinct the frailties of the human heart and the mind's inevitable emotion before the mysteries of life and death, expressed what everyone feels in a manner which everyone can understand. We may agree with Schumann that the principle sign of Schubert's genius was its fruitfulness; yet it was not the only sign. Other composers have been prolific in their writings; but time has rolled over them, and they have sunk into oblivion like Memphis beneath the sands of Egypt. In the songs of Schubert, the generations that have arisen since his death have found an inexhaustible source of pure delight, and a fountain of melody to which they may unceasingly return to slake their thirst for human genuineness and beauty.

F. D. WISEMAN.

GEORGIA UNDER RUSSIAN DOMINATION.

MANY English men and women have paid flying visits to Sovietised Russia and Transcaucasia, but few if any of them knew the Russian language, and have therefore been always accompanied by an official interpreter, and so must have accepted unquestioningly whatever they were shown or told. Naturally when they return to England they repeat the Bolshevik affirmations, such as for example that Georgia is now "a prosperous and independent Socialist Republic." In spite of this affirmation the fact remains that the present economic condition of Georgia hardly differs from that of any other country during an early period of capitalist development. You will find there small, struggling, private industries unable to expand for lack of capital; banks and trade exist and there is hired labour, which is exploited in the usual way and, more significant than anything else, there is unemployment exactly as in every capitalist country. In short, all the rules and methods of capitalism are in full swing. According to the figures published in the Soviet Press there has been an increase in the wealth of Georgia within the last few years, but it has not yet reached pre-war figures. The total sum, however, must give an impression of progress to those who have no means of comparing the figures with those of former years, and without knowledge of the fact that the Georgian nation is struggling fiercely to maintain its national existence. It is impossible of course to estimate the activities or progress of a people from year to year, or at any given point, but handicapped as Georgia is by the present régime, the nation's needs are far from satisfied and the great mass of the people are living in the direst material distress.

Taking our information from an official publication (*Sakarthvelos Sakhalkho Meurneoba*—The National Industry of Georgia) which deals with the economic situation in Georgia during the last few years, we see that 33.9 per cent. of those in work are employed in State enterprises, that 1.5 per cent. are in co-operative societies and 64.6 per cent. are in private enterprises. This shows us that in this "Socialist State" the greater number of the workers are occupied in private industries and are dependent for their livelihood on the success of these enterprises. But compared with the State industries, wherein only 33 per cent. are engaged, these private enterprises have no credit, and are given no facilities or preferences. All foreign trade being completely in the hands of the State, internal trade is very nearly in the same fettered condition; 87.9 per cent. of the whole is in private hands, 9.5 per cent. is dealt with co-operatively, leaving 26 per cent. to the State. These figures prove that private trade is able to deal more effectively with the

people's needs and that workers buy their objects of prime necessity from private shops and not from State or Co-operative Stores.

The following table is taken from the Soviet Journal *Narodnoe Khozeistvo Zakavkasia*, 1927 :

	Private Shops.	State and Co-operative Stores.
1. Food	57.7	42.3
2. Alcoholic drink	87.7	12.3
3. Tobacco, matches, etc. ...	67.4	32.6
4. Clothing, shoes, etc ...	35.1	64.9
5. Soap	25.5	74.5
6. Fuel, lighting	75.2	24.8
7. Furniture	59.4	40.6

So we see that the State and Co-operative Societies in Georgia although protected and subsidised by the State are not able to satisfy the general demands, and that private trade exists there, although artificially handicapped and penalised. It is noteworthy that in the whole of the Georgian State commerce the Georgian trade organisations play a very small part, and more business transactions with the internal trade of Georgia are being done by Russian central trade organisations. The amount of these transactions has increased during the last year, while the share of the Georgian and other Transcaucasian organisations have decreased, according to the official statement of the Soviet Government. It follows that, even if the profits of the internal State trade of Georgia were great, they do not remain in the country, or only a small part of them, the greater share passing to the Russian central treasury.

The Russian and other Communists are always saying that Georgia is economically dependent on Russia and cannot exist without her; therefore, so they say, the Georgian people must cease the struggle for their independence and accept Russian rule. Of course, like every other modern country, Georgia must have economic relations with other States and naturally, among them, with Russia. But does Georgia get from Russia anything which she could not get equally well from other countries? Is it true that she cannot exist without being economically dependent on Russia? Modern economics prove that the countries most dependent on each other are those of which the natural resources differ. Both Russia and Georgia are mainly agricultural; neither produces what the other most needs. In 1925 the entire export from Georgia to Russia amounted to 42.9 per cent. of the whole, 57.1 per cent. being sent to other countries. There are things—silk cocoons for instance—which were never exported to Russia, and there are other things such as manganese, which were only sent in small quantities to

Russia: 17,000 roubles' worth was exported to Russia while 11,791,000 roubles' worth was sent elsewhere. Maize to the amount of 2,000 roubles was sent to Russia, while 639,000 roubles' worth went abroad. The other articles exported to Russia were fruit, wine, spirit, tobacco, cotton and wool, but there is a much wider market for Georgian cotton, wool and tobacco outside Russia. Wool was exported abroad to the value of 634,000 roubles and to Russia of only 259,000. But even if all these materials were sent to Russia, it was not for lack of other markets, but because they were needed in the Russian factories. (*Sakarthvelos Sakhalkho Meurneoba*, p. 194.) The few products that must find a near market, such as fruit, wine and spirit, play a very limited part in Georgia's national industry.

The imports from Russia to Georgia were wheat, textiles, sugar, iron, copper, steel. Of the three last much was sent back, and it should be noted that in 1924-25 beside the 3,532,000 poods of wheat which came from Russia, Georgia imported from other countries, mainly from America, 1,326,000 poods of wheat. This shows that even of wheat, the cheapest Russian produce, which finds a ready market in other countries, only two-thirds needed in Georgia came from Russia. To-day Georgia is importing 70.7 per cent. of goods from Russia against 29.3 per cent. from other countries. But the Russian goods are sold at a fabulous price, although of a quality much inferior to the European goods which used to be available. This is easy to understand, as where technique is better developed the products are better and the prices lower. Cotton goods to the value of 18,489,000 roubles are sent from Russia to Georgia, mainly cretonnes and shirtings, representing 238,000 poods of raw cotton, which if bought from France with transport expenses from Paris to Marseilles and from Marseilles to Batoum, would have cost 8,783,700 roubles, making more than 9,000,000 roubles difference in the price. The Georgian population are, therefore, mulcted at that rate yearly for the sole reason that they must now buy only from Russia and get bad materials into the bargain.

Most Georgian produce cannot find a market in Russia and is re-exported abroad, but Georgia receives in exchange only bad and expensive Russian manufactures, so she loses on every side, being cut off from all direct foreign trade, and the profits rightly hers are absorbed into the Russian central treasury. It has been said that Georgia gained very much by being in the Soviet Union, that she gets more from this central treasury than is taken from her. But this is not the case. On the contrary, in 1924-25 Russia took from the national income of Georgia 19,237,000 roubles and during the same period only 17,025,000 roubles were spent there. But that is not all, for besides these 2,000,000 roubles which disappeared into

the central treasury, Georgia pays, as we have shown, many millions for expensive Russian goods, and for employing Russian functionaries, as well as for helping Russian banks, insurance companies and other institutions. It is very evident that the inclusion of Georgia in the Soviet Union has been extremely profitable to Russia, but certainly not to Georgia.

During the period of Georgia's independence, 1918-21, unemployment was never acute, although crowds of Georgians were returning to their own country. At present the unemployment question is very serious, and many are leaving the country to find work elsewhere, a great number of them having formerly worked at the Black Sea ports, on the railway lines and stations. Many thousands too are emigrants in various parts of Europe, and there are many more in Russian prisons. Still the unemployment is increasing, and unfortunately we cannot say that the condition of the employed has improved. Two years ago when a general strike broke out in England, there was great excitement all over Russia and in Georgia. Money was collected and sent with messages of sympathy to the British miners. The main purpose of these messages and the money was to make Russian and Georgian workers believe that the British proletariat was living in worse poverty than they themselves. It will be useful to compare the condition of the British workers with that of the Georgians.

In comparison with pre-war times wages have been increased everywhere; but how do the increased wages compare with the higher cost of living? The cost of living in Georgia has increased by 123 per cent. and in England by 76 per cent. In 1914 the British miner was getting 34s. (16 roubles) per week, but in 1924-25 he had 58s. 4d. (26 roubles 35 kopeks), 64 per cent. increase. The Georgian miner (manganese mine, Tchiatura) got in 1913 10 roubles 20 kopeks; in 1924-25 he had 11 roubles 83 kopeks, an increase of 11.6 per cent. So if in England in 1925 the cost of living compared with pre-war times was increased 76 per cent., the miner's wages were increased 67 per cent., the difference between the two being 12 per cent. In Georgia the cost of living was increased 123 per cent. and the wages only by 11.6 per cent., the difference being 112 per cent. These figures speak for themselves.

Among the intellectual class unemployment is very acute. In 1925 out of 11,445 highly educated Georgians only 4,430 were given work, though in the various Georgian institutions requiring brain-workers 40.4 per cent. are not of Georgian nationality. The Bolsheviks consider that there are too many intellectuals in Georgia and propose as remedy their deportation to Russia. The foreign visitor hears tales of schools, libraries, medical aid and so on in Georgia. But according to another official publication there were

in 1926 about 198,363 children of school age, and of these only 132,730 could find places in the schools; so 33 per cent., i.e., 65,639, remained out. In some districts there are no schools, and where there are the buildings are bad and only of a temporary kind, and lack all school apparatus. The highest salary a schoolmaster gets per month is 37 roubles 50 kopeks (about £3 15s.). The average salary is 30 roubles. No provision is made for the upkeep of the schools, nor is anyone appointed to clean or repair them; the schoolmaster is expected to attend to those duties. There are two huts used as libraries for every 10,000 inhabitants, and for the same number one bed in each hospital. But so bad and unhygienic are these hospitals and so poor the medical attendance that no one except the very poor or those in extreme illness would think of using them. In the whole country there are only a few rural hospitals with about 203 beds all told, only 97 of them are furnished and only 47 in use; there is one doctor to every 300 square kilometres. Yet 44.9 per cent. of the whole of the national expenditure is spent on rural administration. There are some districts where as much as from 65 to 82 per cent. is spent on it. The money dispensed goes not to schools, hospitals, or medical staff, but to the upkeep of a numerous police, the mainstay of the Soviet régime. For though the rural population works from morning till night producing more than they ever did before and selling more also of their produce, the fact remains that they are badly housed, badly fed, badly clothed, for they have no control over what they produce owing to the State or the licensed Co-operative monopolies. Such are the results of Soviet control in Georgia combined with the evils of invasion and foreign domination.

CONSTANTINE GVARJALADZÉ.

RICHARD JEFFERIES.

WE celebrate this year the eightieth anniversary of the birth of Richard Jefferies, and are conscious that it is not merely the celebration of the birth of a man, but of a unique revelation of close communion between spirit and nature, a communion expressed by Jefferies as by none before or after him.

He who would enter the lists as a poet-naturalist must be possessed of three qualities—an indomitable courage with which to arm himself against disappointment, misunderstanding, and opposition; special knowledge of one particular branch of the science in whose name he writes; and that personal and special interpretation of life, that singular point of view which enables him to present familiar statements and descriptions in a new light. Then, and then only, is the combatant equipped to take his place among the challengers. These three essentials were certainly possessed by Richard Jefferies, but while the courage and special knowledge were his from childhood, the possession of that secret self-expression was only realised by him during the last few years of his life.

He takes a proud place among those writers of like fame who sought to describe and to understand more of Nature. Comparison with others is inevitable—Gilbert White, Thoreau, Izaak Walton, Hudson, Gosse, Borrow, and Carpenter; some of them pure naturalists and scientists, a few with the rare and indefinable quality possessed by Jefferies added to their work, a sort of essence which is as elusive as the scent of a flower, and for which we call them poet-naturalists. But when all comparisons have been made, his position remains unrivalled. His eager temperament, like the over-brimming of a tide of vitality, marks him off from his fellow-writers. Henry Salt describes his “insatiable, almost feverish craving for ideal beauty, for physical perfection, for ampler soul-life”; he who had “bartered his peace in this world for a few momentary glimpses into the secrets of the world beyond.”

His writings are numerous and varied, but the amount of literature by him that counts is small in quantity, consisting of two boys' stories which are not stories at all, a long novel which obeys no accepted rules of novel-making, four or five volumes of natural history (including fragmentary descriptions of London streets, statuary, and bathing at Brighton), and one or two of the most beautiful pieces of prose-poetry ever written. Lastly, there is a so-called autobiography, in which Jefferies gives us, not the story of his life, with its daily spiritless round of toil and illness and poverty, but the story of his soul, a book which in sincerity of purpose and beauty of expression stands out from all his other

work. These books were all written within the last seven years of his life. The terrible waste of those first thirty years, with their misapplied industry, missed opportunities, and futile strivings, is a mystery, no less than the sudden and unexpected flowering of the blossom when the hand of death touched it. His life was uneventful, but a knowledge of it is necessary if one would understand his work—one fits into and completes the other as a flower its sheath. The analogy may be carried further, for as the sheath of the flower is thrown out in the process of growth in order to protect and safeguard the precious thing it enfolds, so life itself—the life of Jefferies—was but the sheath from which later was to emerge that perfect flowering of his mind and soul.

The history of his work is so closely interwoven with the story of his life that the two must be followed side by side, and those who wish to trace his development should read his books in the order of their writing. The three outstanding biographies are well known (and the writer acknowledges the debt this paper owes to them): Walter Besant's *Eulogy*, which is perhaps the best of the three, though slightly redundant; Edward Thomas's *Life*, which is dull but full of useful facts and dates; and, finally, the little *Life* by Henry Salt, which is the most valuable of all for constructive criticism of Jefferies as a writer, but which gives few details about his life. His life-story and the history of his books alike may be divided into three distinct phases or periods of development: (1) 1848-78, which covers his youth, early and for the most part fruitless efforts at writing, and his marriage; (2) 1878-82, the move to Surbiton and its subsequent stimulating effect upon his work, and the finding of himself as a naturalist; (3) 1882-87, continual illness, a constant moving from place to place in search of health, the writing of his finest work, indeed, the only writings that really count, and his death.

If Jefferies had the three essential qualities on his side of courage, knowledge, and soul-life, he tells us himself that he had always three great giants against him: disease, despair, and poverty. The first of these was an inheritance, and the bitterness, the inevitableness of it was expressed again and again in *The Story of My Heart*. The second was fortunately only an intermittent visitant, whose onslaughts were continually beaten back by his indomitable and high spiritual courage. The third giant was the most formidable of all, for poverty never left him from birth to death; it turned what should have been the joyful, care-free life of a nature-worshipper into a sordid grind for daily bread; it tinged his thoughts and writings with pain if not with bitterness, and probably explains in some degree the mystery of those misspent early years.

Jefferies was born on November 6th, 1848, at Coate Farm, in a small hamlet about two miles from Swindon. The village consisted of half-a-dozen labourers' cottages and a few farms set among rich pastures that swept up through woods and cornfields to the great downs, and it is to the downs that we owe the first and last inspirations of Jefferies. They bordered the neighbourhood on the south, east, and west, their rolling escarpments stretching for miles, only broken here and there by a group of stunted trees or a lonely farm huddled in the side of a hill. Walter Besant says that "perhaps no other part of England was better for the development of his genius than the Wiltshire Downs," but this is only partly true. There could have been no better part for the inspiration, the birth of his genius, and no other part of England could have provided a poet-naturalist with such rich material. From the free wind as it blew over the lonely stretches of downland he learnt freedom of thought, the physical aloneness teaching him a spiritual isolation which was to lead him into strange untrodden paths; from the great hills themselves as they swept to the boundless horizon he gained breadth of vision, from the tumuli, barrows, cromlechs, entrenchments, stone-circles and dew-ponds which abound on these hills he gathered archæological knowledge, and from close study of the creatures of the wild grew his marvellous power of minute observation. But the full development of his genius we owe to the sharp contrast provided by city life thirty years later.

He was the second of five children. The family was not well-off, and in time the farm became heavily mortgaged, until at last his father was forced to leave, and became a gardener at Bath. His boyhood was chiefly spent in those adventurous occupations afterwards so vividly described in *Bevis* and *Wood Magic*—bird's nesting, fishing, shooting, making canoes, and rowing and skating on the reservoir close to his home, which figures in his books as "The Lake." A friendly gamekeeper lived near whom he often accompanied on his rounds, and to whose friendliness and willingness to teach we owe *The Gamekeeper at Home* and *The Amateur Poacher*. A certain amount of local schooling occupied his early days, and soon he began to read all he could find, but reading was a secondary store of knowledge, for his father took him out into the fields at all hours of the day, and taught him from the book of Nature. He loved Coate Farm dearly, and knew by heart every inch of its meadows. So intense—indeed almost tragic—was his love for the lanes and footpaths of his old home, that in the last paper he wrote he said—"I think I have heard that the oaks are down. They may be standing or down, it matters nothing to me: the leaves I last saw upon them are gone for evermore, nor shall I ever see them come there again ruddy in spring.

I would not see them again if I could. . . . There are too many memories there. . . . There used to be clouds over the fields, white clouds in blue summer skies. . . . I see clouds now sometimes when the iron grip of hell permits for a minute or two; I long for some of the old clouds that had no memories." He never wished to return—"Lest I might find that the trees look small, and the elms mere switches, and the fields shrunken, and the brooks dry, and no voice anywhere. Nothing but my own ghost to meet me by every hedge."

Before he was sixteen he had left school, and spent most of his time reading and rambling, earning nothing, regarded with contempt by the villagers. His people had inherited a deep reserve and love of solitude, and he himself is said to have been a quiet, nervous youth, irritable of temper, and almost incapable of forming a friendship. Besant holds that this was inevitable, and that no gregarious man could possibly have written even the shortest of Jefferies' papers. When the necessity for earning a living became imperative, he turned to journalism at the age of seventeen, and for the next twelve years held posts upon the staffs of local papers. This is the time of that *Early Fiction*—a volume of short stories which were collected and published after his death. They are crude and sensational in the extreme. From the account of the fair maiden who reclined upon an ottoman, her hand detained in that of the villain kneeling before her, and who continually reiterated "Unhand me, sir," to which his only reply was "Hear me, Ellen Meremont," to the description of that other heroine who was a budding actress, and who appeared before the footlights with "a delicate tint raised by maiden modesty"—in all Jefferies displays his lamentable ignorance of these realms of life. We find him attempting a tale of love at first sight—"From that moment Reginald was devoted to the fair stranger. His first impulse was to run after the carriage. That he subdued for various reasons. Firstly, that it went too fast. Secondly, on account of the heat."

During that early period his health broke down several times, he was threatened by consumption, and more than once lost his post, but the urgent necessity for supporting himself kept him to the work. Always, the need of making money was his bane, and he fiercely resented this thralldom—"I would infinitely rather be a tallow-chandler with a good steady income and no thought, than an author," for at that time authorship to him was nothing more than a means to an end. His rebellious utterance reminds one of Flecker, who cried out that he would "give all his poems to be a healthy navvy." In 1871 a change for the better came, his position on the local press was more assured, and a little later he

became engaged to the daughter of a neighbouring farmer. One cannot imagine the wife of Jefferies as being anything but beautiful. She lives in his later stories, she creeps into his essays, and he never lost the glamour which love threw over this early period. In describing some wild roses years afterwards he says: "Straight go the white petals to the heart; straight the mind's glance goes back to how many other pageants of summer in old times. . . . To the dreamy summer haze love gave a deep enchantment, the colours were fairer, the blue more lovely in the lucid sky. Each leaf finer, and the gross earth enamelled beneath the feet. There was a presence everywhere, though unseen, and not shut out under the dark pines. Dear were the June roses then, because for another gathered."

In 1872 his three letters to *The Times* on the life of the Wiltshire labourer marked a step towards the end he was to reach. The letters aroused discussion, and were followed by other letters and articles on kindred subjects, which, though of no great importance, were written in an easy style and presented a clear picture of the Wiltshire people, their homes and fields. This might have been a turning-point in his worldly career, and if he had pursued the road now open to him, even the "steady income" of the tallow-chandler might have been exceeded. But because the momentary success arrived from an unexpected direction, he deliberately seemed to turn from it; for two years later we find him back again at his futile novel-writing, and it is evident from his letters of this period that his one aim was to be a great novelist. Ten years later he wrote—"Looking back along the path of life I can see now how I turned and twisted and went to the right and the left in the most crooked manner, putting myself to endless trouble, when by taking one single step straight forward in the right direction, if I had only known, I might have arrived at once at the goal." No summary of those early years could have been more true. *Toilers of the Field* and *Hodge and his Masters* immediately followed the *Times* letters, and after that came *The Scarlet Shawl* which Mr. Salt describes as "that fearful and wonderful production which sounds the lowest depths of dullness and inanity." In 1874 he married, and went to live at Swindon. Unfortunately his marriage seemed only to inspire him to write more impossible and still feebler romances. *Restless Human Hearts*, *World's End*, and *The Dewy Morn* followed each other in rapid succession, in some cases Jefferies paying large sums for their publication. The story of these early years is a depressing one, characterised by a misdirected energy. It has been said that it was partly explained by the fact that his education was inadequate to his capacities, and that he was deficient in the cultured judgment

and self-balance which come from a liberal training. This may be true, but one cannot help feeling that the secret is partly to be found in his own words—"There was not a single one friendly to me. . . . Incompatibility would describe our connection best." There is a growth of the mind, an enlargement of judgment, through friendship, which is of stronger influence than the prescribed routine of scholastic education.

It is a curious fact that while Jefferies apparently had forsaken his true calling, yet it is in these commonplace stories rather than in his early country books that there is the first hint of his love for nature proving itself to be anything deeper than a mere naturalist's instinct. But the fuller realisation was to come later. Meanwhile, as Edward Thomas says, "His passionate moments of oneness with Nature were becoming clearer, more intelligible to himself, and more capable of articulate expression. Thus he was at the same time developing along parallel paths his faculties as a watcher of birds and animals, of colour and form in earth and sky, as critic of social conditions, as student of human nature, and mystic."

When he was almost thirty he moved to Surbiton, in order to be closer to editors and publishers and the British Museum, and yet still within reach of the river, fields, and woods. Here he wrote *The Amateur Poacher* and its companions—*The Gamekeeper at Home*, *Wild Life in a Southern Country*, *Green Ferne Farm*, and *Round about a Great Estate*. In these five books, for almost the first time in English literature a countryman who never became anything else reveals his life and neighbourhood, with its labourers, farmers, gamekeepers, poachers and gipsies. Among other criticisms hurled at him by unsympathetic reviewers is the one that his work "lacks passionate human interest." There has never been a more mistaken judgment, for all his later writings pulsate with passionate feeling and human sympathy. Village-life with its tragedy, dull monotony, misery, and grim pleasure, lives before us. The gipsy girl whose baby was born in an open tent on the snow-bound common, the charcoal-burner who traced his descent back to the Norman Conquest, the ancient of the village whose years were said to number 165, the hop-pickers—women, men, and children—we know them as well as if we had met them—perhaps more truly. But some of the best of his later short essays were devoted to London, in *The Life of the Fields*, *The Open Air*, and afterwards in *The Story of My Heart*. He said, "I like the solitude of the hills and the hum of the most crowded city; I dislike little towns and villages." In 1880 he wrote *The Open Air*, *Wood Magic*, and *Bevis*, and here, at last, we meet with the real Jefferies whose right hand henceforth was to teach him

terrible things. In *Wood Magic* and *Bevis* he returned to the Coate of his boyhood, and a new style appeared. While he lived at or near Coate there seemed no inclination to write of it save in a dull, reporting manner, but two years of life near London provided the necessary stimulus, and memory and home-sickness gave the fire to his pen which had never been there before. The flower was bursting from its sheath. In all his later volumes (with the exception of *Red Deer*) his mystic nature-worship found its expression. What, at first, had been little more than a love of scenery and a marvellous capacity for storing innumerable facts in his mind, was gradually transformed into "a deliberate personal faith" in the "ideal of nature." And it was *after* his London musings that his new thought began to find expression: London quickened all his senses—especially his imagination. As someone has well said, "he learnt the message of the country by coming to the town." It is as if, while writing of scenes unknown to him before, he was forced to learn a new language into which afterwards he translated all that he wrote of the old and more familiar surroundings.

Jefferies now entered on the third and last phase of his literary development. If the first period—that of his youth, with its mistaken ambitions—represents that dry, wrinkled sheath, so bare of promise, then the second period must stand for the budding time of his genius. The last phase was to open out the perfect blossom, as he passed into the higher and fuller development of that mystic nature-worship which was to crown his life. From this time to the end there are few events to record. He worked, walked, wrote, read, and observed. In 1881 he became seriously ill, and operation followed operation, each unsuccessful. From Surbiton he went to Brighton, and in 1882 stayed for a few memorable weeks among the purple-shadowed Quantock Hills. *Red Deer*, *The Life of the Fields*, and *Field and Hedgerow* resulted from this visit. In 1884 he was at Brighton again, then at a cottage two and a half miles from Crowborough, the highest point in Sussex. Finally, he went to live at Goring. After the departure from Surbiton his health rapidly became worse. All possible tortures—necessity for work, poverty, anxiety, and illness—were crammed into the last five years of his life. He could not walk, or, indeed, do anything, free from pain. In one of his last essays he described the dawn of Spring from his prison window: "I wonder to myself how they can all get on without me—how they manage, birds and flowers, without me to keep the calendar for them . . . Orchis flower and cowslip—I cannot number them all—I hear, as it were, the patter of their feet—flower and bud and the beautiful clouds that go over, with the sweet rush of rain and burst of sun glory among the leafy trees. They go on, and I am no more than the least of the empty

shells that strewed the sward of the hill. Nature sets no value upon life, neither of mine nor of the larks that sang years ago. The earth is all in all to me, but I am nothing to the earth: it is bitter to know this before you are dead. These delicious violets are sweet for themselves; they were not shaped and coloured and gifted with that exquisite proportion and adjustment of odour and hue for me. High up against the grey cloud I hear the lark through the window singing, and each note falls into my heart like a knife."

He was advised to take a voyage, but could not afford it, and for a long time he refused to accept help. At last, a fund was raised privately which enabled him to move to Goring. His health was practically gone. And yet it was during these last few years that his best work was written—the incomparable *Pageant of Summer*, *The Story of My Heart*, *After London*, and *Amaryllis*. There are many detached passages which equal several in the *Pageant of Summer*, but in no single chapter or sketch has he sustained the beauty and power of this article. It opens quietly with a description of green rushes, until there comes the first sentence of the magic story—"It was between the May and the June roses." Then follows the torrent of colour and song until a very Pageant marches across the printed page to the quiet close. His last-written essay was *My Old Village*.

Day by day he grew weaker until his hand could no longer hold a pen, nor his energy enable him to dictate to the wife who had so faithfully cared for him, nor his mind conjure up even the loved memory of Coate. On August 14th, 1887, he died at the age of 39. His own words come back to one: "There never was such a worshipper of earth."

My first visit to Coate was paid on a sultry afternoon in July, 1926. It was chance that took me there, for I was on my way to Oxford by road, and I broke the journey at Swindon for an hour or two. The distant hills were shrouded in a heat-mist, there was no breeze, and not a leaf stirred in the tall elms as they silently kept guard over Coate Farm. The house itself appeared to be unoccupied, for there were no signs of life from within, and the windows were all closed save one in the top storey—the window of the attic where Jefferies used to read and dream and write. The farmyard was empty except for a small dog who whined as I approached, then sought shelter from the sun in the shade of the water-butt. Not far away was Day House Farm, a pretty, low building, set among the trees. A footpath led across the field, and it was with a thrill that I realised how often Jefferies must have stood here in his youth and gazed over the fields as I was doing. In the hedge at my side climbed sprays of scented, creamy wild rose which hung over into the road, and I thought of those roses he

had described, whose white petals went straight to the heart when love gave a deep enchantment to the dreamy summer haze. Was it a projection of my own thought which completed the picture, half-seen and half-created by memory of his own words, or did I in reality see a white figure lightly cross the field? I shall never know, for at that moment a sudden noise behind me made me turn, to find that the attic window was shut. When I looked again over the field no figure was there. The sun shone on the enamelled white petals of the roses, and his words came again: "There was a presence everywhere, though unseen. Dear were the roses then, because for another gathered." I learnt from a newspaper paragraph the following day that Jefferies' wife had died on the afternoon I went to see Coate village, where she had lived at Day House as a girl.

The Story of My Heart must be left uncriticised, unexplained, and only cursorily described, for it is a book which makes a distinct and separate appeal to each reader. But any paper on Jefferies would be incomplete without some reference to it, seeing that in it we find the very essence of his life work. Briefly, not content with those three ideas which the primeval cave-man wrested from the darkness—the existence of the soul, immortality, and the Deity—he desires to wrest a fourth. He believes that "a great life, an entire civilisation, lies just outside the pale of common thought." This "fourth idea" is the conception of a possible soul-life which is above and beyond the ideas of existence and immortality and Deity. He adds somewhat desperately: "The very idea that there is another idea is something gained." His first aspiration, or prayer, is for this fuller soul-life, his second for perfection of physical beauty and strength. This higher soul-life, this higher than Deity for which he longs, is the eternal quest of the imperfect for the perfect, or the finite for the infinite. Man's God is man-made, and so Jefferies will not accept Him, for somewhere, he holds, there dwells that perfect Beauty or Satisfaction which is *not* man-made. He craves something beyond the present comprehension of man's mind.

People seem to find it difficult to reconcile portions of *The Story of My Heart*, and feel them apparently inconsistent. He holds strongly that there is nothing human in Nature—that humanity and nature are alien; but although he feels that "except when I walk by the sea, and my soul is by it, the sea is dead," yet communion with Nature is to be the soul's training ground, and although he says: "I was aware that in reality the feeling and the thought were in me, and not in the earth or sun," he adds, "Yet I was more conscious of it when in company with these." They are not contradictory but complementary statements. Emotionally, but in no

other respect, was Jefferies a pantheist, and his self-identification with Nature is spiritual, not physical. "The commonest pebble seems to me so wonderful. My mind works round it till it becomes the sun and centre of a system of thought and feeling. . . . The chief use of matter is to demonstrate to us the existence of the soul. The pebble-stone tells me I am a soul because I am not that that touches the nerves of my hand." Nature in his eyes is inimical physically, but spiritual communion may be possible between Nature and man. Matter is but the speech, the language, of an idea common both to humanity and nature, as two people who come from different lands, and are brought together by circumstance, and who, although neither understands the tongue of the other, may voice one thought in different languages, and by gesture and inflexion and the light of expression make themselves understood and be in complete agreement.

There never has been one whose *credo* was so firm and joyously sufficient, incomplete though it might be. He never reached the goal at which he aimed, but he felt that his feet were on the right road, and so was content. His religion has in it no breath of materialism, but is the final expression of his spiritual life. The book has been criticised from many points of view—chiefly from that of the orthodox, who complain that his ideas never reach culmination—but it is not necessarily the same labourer who uses both ploughshare and sickle, and Jefferies does not pretend to find solutions to all the problems he propounds. Besant says: "The fact that we are born into the ideas of our time, as well as into its creeds and traditions, is a dire obstacle to clearness of vision." Perhaps it was this feeling of being caged in a network of conventional ideas which prompted Jefferies to conclude that disbelief is the necessary starting-point for progression. "In the march of time," he says, "there fell away from my mind, as the leaves from the trees in autumn, the last traces and relics of superstitions and traditions acquired compulsorily in childhood . . . and with disbelief, belief increased." This done, and all encumbrances thrown aside, he starts out on that voyage of discovery which each must make for himself.

As his biographer says, "On the broad downs the only bell ever heard is the distant sheep-bell, the only hymn of praise is the song of the lark. He has wandered among these lonely hills until he has forgotten the village church and all that he was taught there . . . It is not that the old teaching no longer guides his conduct, the old teaching no longer lives at all in his mind." It is easy to criticise Jefferies, unless one can realise this—that he starts, as it were, from the beginning of things, and takes the trees, the wind, and the dawn as his texts, standing face to face with the unknown. "The sun

was stronger than science; the hills more than philosophy." Like many other religious terms, the word "prayer" has a different meaning for him—he uses it for want of a better, as in his description of a bird's-foot lotus: "Here by me is a praying-rug, just wide enough to kneel on, of the richest gold inwoven with crimson. All the Sultans of the East never had such a beauty as that to kneel on. It is, indeed, too beautiful to kneel on, for the life of these golden flowers must not be broken down even for that purpose. They must not be defaced, not a stem bent: it is more reverent not to kneel on them, for this carpet prays itself. I will sit by it and let it pray for me."

Salt says: "There was one apocalypse on the island of Patmos, and another on that silent hill-top in Wiltshire." Jefferies rejects theism as well as pantheism; humanity is the highest thing of which he has knowledge, and yet he is deeply conscious of the imperfections of humanity. But even in this consciousness of failure he finds hope—man is not perfect, but perfectible, and by the constant exercise of soul-life may achieve a higher form. He says, "To be beautiful and to be calm, without mental fear, is the ideal of Nature. If I cannot achieve it, at least I can think it."

Although *The Story of My Heart* had been contemplated for eighteen years before it was written, it is chaotic and obscure, and in some details even contradictory; indeed, it scarcely could be otherwise, for such elusive ideas were bound to be expressed in the unfamiliar and distant imagery of a mystic and a poet. But it brings strange and beautiful guests to pass before that window of the mind of which Jefferies speaks, and opens new vistas of thought—those vistas to which there is no horizon:

From this wave-washed mound
Unto the farthest flood-brim look with me:
Then reach on with thy thought till it be drowned.
Miles and miles distant though the grey line be,
And though thy soul sail leagues and leagues beyond—
Still, leagues beyond those leagues, there is more sea.

And Jefferies voices the same thought with Rossetti when he cries: "Let me launch forth and sail over the rim of the sea yonder, and when another rim arises, over that, and onwards into an ever-widening ocean of idea and life. Give me life strong and full as the brimming ocean; give me thought wide as its plain; give me a soul beyond these."

So the dull and withered sheath loosened its hold, and the half-opened bud, which had held its own so bravely against bitter rain and adverse winds, burst at last into a triumphant blossoming.

LORNA KEELING COLLARD.

AMAZING DEATH VALLEY.

DEATH VALLEY as a winter resort! Such was the news that greeted me in Los Angeles, and I determined to visit this mysterious pit in the desert, the conquest of which forms one of the greatest romances of modern times. It is from this inhospitable region, sunk far below the level of the sea, and which can claim to be the hottest spot on earth, that the world to-day obtains that much-needed cleansing agency, borax. I spent a week in the valley and came away simply amazed at the beautiful colouring of its mountains and never-to-be-forgotten sunsets. Its painted desert, colour-streaked floor, tinted rocks and canyons, quaint oasis, salt beds and sand-dunes, pathetic ruins and lonely graves, bespeaking tragedy and death, stir the imagination. Death Valley is unlike any other spot. It cannot be compared to the Grand Canyon, Yosemite Valley, or any of the other great scenic wonders. It stands alone, a weird yet fascinating place, alluring one by an awe-inspiring atmosphere and grandeur found nowhere else.

It was early morning when our train drew up at Death Valley Junction, the jumping-off place to-day for this great natural chemical crucible, whose history is crowded with so much romance and tragedy. For miles we had been travelling over the great Californian Desert. I never imagined the wilderness was so beautiful. I had heard of the "painted" desert, and truly it is no exaggeration. In the early morning sunlight the mountains looked as if they had just been tinted by some Brobdingnagian hand in various shades of blue, pink, and orange. The sagebush and other desert plants appeared as if they had just been sprinkled in greens of many hues, making a sharp contrast to the drab earth. Even the discarded milk and meat tins by the roadside reflected the sun's rays in a wonderful manner, and broken glass bottles sparkled like diamonds. For the first time refuse heaps took on an undisguised beauty of their own.

At Death Valley Junction, in the heart of the desert and surrounded by picturesque mountains, the Pacific Coast Borax Company, who control the mines to-day, have erected an up-to-date Civic Centre, possessing every comfort and convenience for the benefit of their toilers. Mr. Sands, the superintendent, conducted me over this model "camp" in the wilderness. It is a one-storey adobe structure of Indian-Spanish design. The main building is 816 feet long, with a wing at either end, each 198 feet in length, the whole fronted by a graceful colonnade corridor. There are 200 bedrooms, bathrooms, gymnasium, billiard-room, hospital and operating ward, ice-parlour, store, and post-office. It was

the last day of August and very hot, but I found the rooms quite cool. Cold air is made to pass through them, and while the thermometer registered over 100 degrees a few yards away the temperature in the bedrooms was as low as 75 degrees.

From the Civic Centre I took the narrow gauge railway, known as the Death Valley line, to Ryan, some twenty miles distant, where there is another "camp," and from this spot, under the guidance of Mr. Harry Gower, the manager, made an exploration of the valley. Ryan is a picturesquely-situated mining town built on the ledges of the mountain. Along its single, narrow street runs the railway, and here also are rows of ore bins and water tanks. Its little school house, club-house, bunks and bungalows rise one above the other on the hillside. My first objective was Dante's View, an observation shelter, on the crest of the Funeral Range, overlooking the Valley near its southern end. We descended the *mesa* by car on a rough, dirt road, turned sharply to the south, and then began to climb a winding road through a tortuous little gulch displaying many interesting varieties of desert vegetation. We had not travelled far before we were stopped by a prospector, who bombarded my friend with questions. This weird region still attracts the miner who hopes to strike some rich bed of ore. Though the valley and the adjoining canyons have been fairly well prospected, valuable finds are occasionally made. These men do not work their finds, but having located them dispose of them to the big mining companies. The whole district is a highly mineralised area possessing in particular valuable and widely used alkalis. The prospector was driving an old Ford car, and I have seldom seen one so loaded. Lashed to its sides were spades and picks, tent and bedding, and an array of old water bottles, for this precious fluid is not easy to find, unless one knows the whereabouts of the water-holes.

Dante's View lies at an elevation of 6,000 feet above sea-level, and from here one is presented with a wonderful picture, which has probably no equal anywhere. Below lies the valley, its tan and chocolate-coloured floor being streaked with patches of silvery white which at first you take to be a river or a lake, but in reality are a vast salt deposit. Opposite, enclosing the valley on the west, are the Panamints Range of mountains, barren peaks 11,000 feet in height. But they are simply a blaze of colour—brown, red, buff, orange, pink, cinnamon, yellow, magenta and bright green. Behind them tower still higher peaks, and in the distance one can detect, eighty miles away, the snowy cap of Mt. Whitney, whose elevation of 14,501 feet is the highest point on the American Continent.

My guide pointed out places of interest, such as Bennetts Well,

the old Eagle Borax Works, the mouth of Furnace Creek, Immigrant Wash, where those who gave the valley its name perished. The valley is a huge depression in the earth's crust, 150 miles long, from 10 to 35 miles in width, rimmed in by gaily-painted mountains. Its sun-baked floor lies 300 feet below sea-level, the lowest point on the American Continent. In the early days of September I found the thermometer hovering around 115 degrees Fahr. in the shade at midday. It has been known to touch 148 degrees in the summer! So hot does the earth become that a rock or a bit of iron scorches the naked hand like a live coal. We descended into the valley, still and deathlike, and made our way to the Devil's Golf Course, a vast bed of salt—borax, soda, potash, common salt, mixed in many places with mud—an untamed, sinister place crossed by a single road. The fairylike, lacy pinacles vary from a few inches to two feet and more in height. He was indeed a cynic who named this the Devil's Golf Course.

It was a relief to strike the pebbly desert floor of the valley and note the wonderful colours of the Funeral Mountains that face the blue and purple Panamints on the opposite side. A short ride brought us to Furnace Creek Inn, and it seemed strange to find a modern hotel in such a spot. It was closed, though a number of men were busy, despite the great heat, building an outdoor swimming pool. This quaint hostelry, which has accommodation for fifty guests, is only opened in the winter months. It stands on a slight eminence and commands magnificent views of the fascinating valley. It is becoming a favourite rendezvous of artists and others attracted by the gorgeous colouring of mountain, canyon, and desert, and not least by the sunsets. I felt I could linger here for ever, so amazing was the scene. All around rose savage mountains, bare of any vegetation, for they are chiefly of volcanic origin—burnt, twisted, tilted, rugged and precipitous, yet displaying colours and forms of great variety and beauty. Pinks, reds, mauves, lilac, purples, yellows, orange, buffs, tans, greens, greys and black were blended and contrasted in enchanting patterns and combinations, now soft and delicate, now bold and vivid. I watched this scene until the great luminary began to disappear behind the mountains, when the whole sky became one glowing mass of amber and gold and the beautiful colours of the mountains gradually faded away. Darkness comes rapidly in Death Valley, but that kaleidoscope of changing colours is a never-to-be-forgotten spectacle.

A mile and a half from the inn, plainly seen from the balcony, is Furnace Creek Ranch, the only green oasis in this vast region. Eighty acres have been farmed here since miners came into the valley, originally to provide forage for the mule teams by which the precious borax was hauled for many weary miles over the

roughest of trails to civilisation. The ranch is watered by a little stream from a nearby canyon. Alfalfa, Kaffir corn, wheat, oats, oranges and many garden vegetables are grown here successfully, and a herd of Hereford cows, as well as horses, mules, and burros are kept. Most interesting are the young Deglet Noor date-palms, of which there are 126, placed here by the United States Government in hope of obtaining pest-free nursery stock. A Mexican foreman is in charge of the ranch and his labourers are Panamint Indians. A number of Indian children were playing round a hose pipe thoroughly enjoying the drenches they were receiving, and they were the only ones that looked cool. We opened the little door of the thermometer gauge, which is maintained here by the Government, and found the thermometer registering 118 degrees Fahr. This, of course, was in the shade, and behind that shuttered door there is a continual breeze. Instantly, as the sun's rays reached the instrument, it jumped to 124 degrees, so we closed the door, and strolled over to inspect the abandoned wagons which were until recently used for hauling out the precious borax.

Just beyond the ranch lay the ruins of the Harmony Borax Works, and as we drove over to them it was like passing through air heated in an oven. The sides of the car were almost untouchable in the heat. This was where borax was first discovered in the valley in 1880. The boiler, vats, and pumps, as well as the remains of several buildings of adobe, still stand, monuments to the pioneers who braved the valley's hazards in those fateful days. How the chemical was found is an interesting romance. It was Aaron Winters, a canny Scotsman, who revealed to the world the existence of the precious product. Winters and his wife Rosie occupied a thule-thatched stone cabin of a single room at Ash Meadows, just east of Death Valley. They were two hundred long desert miles from the nearest settlement. A little bunch-grass supported a few head of cattle; about the stone cabin was a patch of garden and an artificial pond fed by a spring. The only neighbours were stray Piute Indians and occasionally a wandering prospector. It was one of these stopping overnight at the stone cabin who talked to Aaron, and told him that if borax were mixed with certain chemicals it would burn with a bluish flame. The prospector set Aaron thinking about some strange, whitish deposits he had seen in that hell-pit to the west. At length, taking Rosie, his wife, he made the four-hundred-mile trip after the necessary chemical about which the prospector had told him, and they went over into the valley. As the story runs it was late at night when they reached the spot. Hastily gathering some of the substance that formed a deposit on the ground, Aaron, with trembling fingers, poured on his chemical and touched a match. The far coyotes were startled by

his cry: "She burns blue. By heaven; she burns blue!" Less than a month later Winters was awed by the payment of £5,000 for his claim, and shortly afterwards borax works in Death Valley were established.

There was water to be had from Furnace Creek where a small oasis was formed, but all about was a white hell. Imagine a place where men habitually slept in running water with their heads resting on stones in order to escape from the heat! Few workmen could stand this earthly Sheol more than a month or two. Some of them died of the heat, simply lying in their beds in the bunk-house. Many went insane. Many were killed in fights brought on by the condition of nerves that the heat engendered. Fancy a spot where a writing-desk, brought in over the Mohave, curled, split, and fell to pieces in a few weeks. Meat killed at night and cooked shortly afterwards was spoiled by nine next morning. A handkerchief dipped in water and then held up to the sun dried in a couple of minutes.

The miners' greatest difficulty was that of transport. It was 165 miles to the nearest railway station at Mohave, and for many years the journey was performed by mules or horses. The wagons used were the largest ever made, and were dragged by a team of sixteen to twenty animals, and sometimes more. These teams brought fame to themselves and the mysterious desert pit. The creaking wagons and plodding mules proved themselves extraordinarily efficient in making delivery many weary miles over the burning alkali waste, and added materially to the making of a world civilisation. If "cleanliness is next to godliness," they were a boon to humanity, for the cleansing agency they made available polished more than one continent. When progress demanded more expeditious service mules were superseded by steam, a slow yet sure and heavy tractor of the upright type drawing laden trailers to railhead. The Piute Indians, Arabs of Inyo, called this contrivance "fire-devil," and for months they would not venture within a hundred yards of the smoking, hissing monster. In the more torrid season the crews suffered terribly, and a man on one of the wagons died with a canteen of water in his hand.

Such were the conditions in which the miners and teamsters toiled until the Pacific Coast Borax Company and other subsidiary concerns decided it was time, in view of the ever-increasing demand for the precious product and the necessity of attracting skilled workers, that practical steps be taken to overcome the climatic terrors of the region. Here it may be added that British capital came to the assistance of the company controlling these enterprises, so that it can in truth be said that it was a Scotsman who revealed the existence of this great natural chemical crucible and British

foresight and initiative that developed it. First came the construction of the Death Valley Railway and the erection of the Civic Centre at Death Valley Junction already referred to. Here, too, calcium works were established, where the ore, as it comes from the mines, is roasted and concentrated before it is dispatched to the refineries at Los Angeles.

We continued our journey up to the valley, between great mountain ranges, past lava lomas and hills of buff and chocolate, to visit the sand-dunes and the "ghost" city of Rhyolite. We had not gone far before my friend stopped and pointed to a crude, lonely headstone, marking the grave of some nameless desert wanderer. There are many such graves in Death Valley, and it is pathetic to read the inscription: "Died of thirst." My friend informed me how he had buried such a one last summer. There are several water-holes in the valley, but alas, some of them are impregnated with alkali and the water is undrinkable. As we neared some salt marshes my friend pointed ahead, and through the screen of the car I detected what I took to be a beautiful lake surrounded by green trees apparently floating in the air. It was of course a mirage, frequently seen at this spot. So we continued until we reached the sand dunes, great hillocks of shifting sand, reminding one of the Sahara. Truly, the floor of Death Valley is not devoid of variety. Points of interest, such as Immigrant Wash, Lost Wagons, Stove-pipe Wells, and sites of once flourishing but now abandoned mines, were pointed out. Immigrant Wash is so called because it was here that a party of immigrants perished in their attempt to cross the valley in 1849, and it was this tragedy that gave the name Death Valley to this malignant spot. These hardy pioneers died almost within sight of water, and it was pathetic to hear one of the young Indians at the ranch relate how his grandfather watched the white men perish of thirst, but was afraid to go to their help believing that if he did so he would be attacked. Lost Wagons is where a borax team were overpowered and killed by Indians in those early hectic days of the industry.

A stiff climb up Daylight Pass brought us on to the great Amargosa Desert where, under the shadow of Bullfrog Mountains, we came to the "ghost" city of Rhyolite which once had a population of more than 10,000 people, but is now absolutely deserted. Most of the buildings of this once roaring mining camp—railway station, stores, dance halls, gaol, church—are still standing, although it has no longer any inhabitants and the mills that once worked its rich ores of gold are deserted ruins at the mouths of the mines. It is a novel experience to stroll down what was the main street of this once prosperous city, now overgrown with rank grass and tufts of mesquite, and note the large ruined and deserted buildings on

either side. Some of them are in a remarkable state of preservation, while in others only portions of bare walls remain. Rhyolite sprang up in the great gold rush of 1849, and for many years was undoubtedly a busy centre of activity. Perhaps its most novel feature is a house whose walls are built entirely of thousands of empty beer and champagne bottles, gathered no doubt by some undiscouraged prospector from behind the once flourishing saloons and dance halls. The frontier days sung by Bret Harte may easily be visualised by the imaginative onlooker, gazing at this beer bottle house, and hearing in the sigh of the desert wind the abandoned screech of violin in the two-piece piano and fiddle band which played while the adventurers of a forgotten day consumed the beer in those very bottles.

Such is the story of the opening-up of Death Valley from whence to-day the world obtains so much of its borax. The annual output of the mines is about 120,000 tons, and the supply would appear to be exhaustless. True, none is obtained from the actual floor of the valley as was originally the case, but from mines in adjoining canyons and mountains where the precious borates is secured, by shafts, tunnels and stopes like mining for coal. It can certainly be said of borax that it is the world's greatest cleanser, as well as a great healer. The uses to which it is being put are continually increasing. It enters into the preparation of many of the best toilet and laundry soaps, flakes and powders, kitchen cleansers, talcum powders and into healing and antiseptic preparations for the eyes, throat and other delicate membranes. It is used also in making glass, chinaware, and fireproof material.

HAROLD J. SHEPSTONE.

MISFORTUNES OF THE LORD MAYORS OF LONDON.

CALL no man fortunate until he is dead, but it would occur to few to apply the maxim to the Lord Mayors of London. Although there is no more democratic office in the world—Sir William Staines, chosen in 1800, started life as a working bricklayer—the Mayors of London, even from the earliest times, were citizens of such wealth and prestige as would appear to place them beyond the shafts of evil fortune. And yet it is a fact that one Lord Mayor was hanged, one was condemned to death (a sentence commuted to imprisonment for life), another committed suicide, and a fourth came to such poverty that he was obliged to solicit alms.

Many early Mayors started their stormy careers with their year of office, while with others their troubles were reserved for the after years. Some died during their term, as in 1342, when on June 17th John of Oxford died at six in the morning and his successor was chosen by three in the afternoon. Some died in the plague years, as in the term of 1484-5 when no less than three Mayors occupied the chair, the second dying five days after the first. Again, in 1593, the Mayor died of the plague. At least one of the Lord Mayors of London suffered a violent death by accident while in office. This was Sir John Shorter, the maternal grandfather of Horace Walpole, in 1688. In those days, before the Lord Mayor was provided with a state coach, it was customary for him to ride on horseback in August each year to proclaim the opening of the three days' Bartholomew Fair, and on the way he used to stop at Newgate Gaol to quaff a tankard of wine without dismounting. On this occasion Sir John Shorter, while performing the ceremony, let down the lid of the tankard with such force that his horse shied and threw him, from which he died next day.

One Mayor who experienced political trouble during his term of office was Gregory de Rokesle, in 1265, who, after the battle of Evesham, was imprisoned with forty others until the Londoners agreed to pay a fine of 20,000 marks. Another was John Hende, in 1392, who was arrested and thrown into prison because the City had refused to make a loan to the King. It cost the City £10,000 to get him out again. John of Gisors, three times Mayor in the early 14th century, got into trouble nearly ten years after his term was up. At the Iter held at the Tower in 1321 he was arrested for a misdemeanour committed in his mayoralty of 1312-13, when he was said to have corruptly and in return for a bribe admitted to the freedom of the City a man accused of murder, to enable him to exercise the privilege of a citizen by remaining at liberty until his trial. Notwithstanding that Gisors was no longer Mayor, the City

MISFORTUNES OF THE LORD MAYORS OF LONDON 641

liberties were seized by the King, the then Mayor deposed and a Governor or Custos appointed. Afterwards, when the liberties were restored Gisors was let off for a fine of a hundred marks. Edward II, indeed, was very high-handed in dealing with the Mayors of London. In 1310 he fined Thomas Romain £10 for not immediately appearing before him when summoned, although it must be admitted that he forgave him this on finding that the Mayor's absence was due to his zeal in raising troops for the war in Scotland. Later in his reign he seized another Mayor, Hamo of Chigwell, deprived him of his office and carried him all round the country in his train, virtually a prisoner, before restoring him.

The stormiest career of any Mayor of London was that of Nicholas Brembre, and his fierce antagonist, John Northampton, ran him a good second. As Brembre was the most unfortunate of all London's Mayors, so in his day was he the most popular. He was the darling of the majority, was several times publicly thanked for his services and money was voted to him by the Common Council to repay his great expenses. He was a grocer, the champion of the victualling trades, and five times Mayor, for a few months in 1377, in 1377-8, 1383-4, 1384-5 and in 1385-6. His opponent, John Northampton, was a draper and twice Mayor, and it must be acknowledged that the worst of their misfortunes were due to their mutual quarrels or the quarrels of their partisans. Brembre got into trouble in his very first mayoralty. Because one of the King's uncles had been attacked in London he was summoned into the presence of the Parliament at Gloucester and fined a hundred marks. For his adroit defence of the City on this occasion he received his first public thanks. At the election of October, 1381, just after Wat Tyler's rebellion, Northampton ousted him by the expedient of obtaining the King's support, and Brembre, profiting by his example, resolved that if he could regain power he would also cultivate the royal friendship to keep him there. His opportunity came two years later when he got himself elected "with stronge honde," as it was afterwards said. It appears that both parties thoughtfully provided an armed guard to stand at the door of the Guildhall to keep the other side out, and at this kind of election Brembre proved the stronger.

Northampton, in his anger, raised a riot in Chepe, but this was his undoing, for in those days no greater crime could be conceived than that of opposing the Mayor who happened to be in office. Northampton was twice subjected to trial, once at Reading and once at the Tower, and on both occasions was condemned to death. The sentence was never carried out, and he was ultimately imprisoned in Tintagel Castle for ten years and ordered thereafter never to come within ten miles of London. However, after Brembre

was dead and another political party was in power all these judgments were revoked, and in December, 1390, he underwent yet a third trial at St. Martin le Grand merely for the purpose of exonerating him. At length in 1395 the freedom of the City was restored to him. Meanwhile Brembre flourished, and with the aid of his armed guard he was again elected in October, 1384. On this occasion his display of force was such that the few possible opponents who succeeded in getting inside the Guildhall were quietly shown the door. He was now at the height of his popularity and easily obtained re-election for his fifth term in the following year.

He retired from the mayoralty in October, 1386, and once out of office the friendship of the King which he had so sedulously cultivated was his undoing. By the end of 1387 a new turn had come in national politics, the Lords Appellant were in the ascendant, and Brembre was arrested and charged with encouraging the King in his evil course. Wholly in the power of his enemies and with his supporters thoroughly cowed, there was no hope of mercy. Several City companies came forward with charges of extortion against him and every petty incident of his government of London was made a pretext to condemn him. Disregarding his claim to do battle with his accusers as a knight he was on February 20th, 1388, pronounced guilty and forthwith hurried away to Tyburn and hanged. In all the domestic history of London there is no sadder event than the fall of this man from his high estate as Mayor of London to suffer the fate of a condemned felon. Its effect upon the citizens was so profound that for many years afterwards succeeding Mayors used their utmost efforts to promote friendship and harmony between the trades. In 1390 Adam Bamme, the then Mayor, issued strict injunctions that the names of Brembre and Northampton should never be mentioned by anyone on pain of imprisonment for a year and a day.

During the Wars of the Roses in the next century the Mayors of London took care, as far as possible, to hold the balance fairly between parties, but notwithstanding such circumspection one at least fell into undeserved misfortune at the hands of the contending factions. This was Sir Thomas Cooke in 1467, whose only offence seems to have been that of refusing a loan to the Lancastrians. Even such slight communication with the other side was sufficient to arouse the suspicions of the Yorkist Lords, who came to the Guildhall to assist at his trial. He was acquitted, but in the meanwhile his houses, both in London and the country, were thoroughly looted and his wife and servants turned into the streets. Moreover, he was unable to regain his liberty until he paid £8,000 to the King and £800 to the Queen. The last Lord

Mayor to be persecuted by the Government during his year of office was Sir Abraham Reynardson, in 1649, who was deposed, heavily fined, and imprisoned in the Tower for refusing to proclaim the Act of Parliament abolishing the monarchy, which was passed shortly after the execution of Charles I.

Another Mayor who experienced some of the ups and downs of life was Sir Thomas Lodge in 1563. He shocked the citizens by wearing a beard in defiance of the tradition that the Mayors should shave their chins. This "was thought to mayny people very straynge," but "nevartheles he ware ye comly auncient bonet with four cornars as all other his predysesowrs had done before hym," while his successor in the mayoralty equally disgusted the people by shaving his chin indeed, but wearing only a small round cap weighing not four ounces. Retribution overtook Sir Thomas Lodge in the shape of bankruptcy during his year of office. Nine years before that time, when an alderman, we find him living in a lodging in Cornhill at a rent of no more than ten shillings a year.

A somewhat similar case was that of Sir Laurence Aylmer, Mayor in 1507-8, who afterwards fell into such poverty that he was reduced to solicit alms from the Company of which he had been several times Master—the Drapers. This was in 1526, and they munificently bestowed upon him two shillings and fourpence a week "unto such tyme as God shall other wyse p'vide for hym," with the proviso that if at any future time he should ask for an increase this grant "utterly to be voyd and of none effect." John Gedeney, Mayor in 1427, brought trouble upon his head by his own wilfulness. On being elected Alderman of Farringdon Without in 1415 he flatly refused to serve and was sent to Newgate until he changed his mind. After, in due course, serving the office of Mayor he ventured to commit the crime of marrying a widow who had vowed the remainder of her life to chastity, a voluntary oath often rashly entered into by women in those days. To expiate this he was forced to do public penance through the streets carrying a lighted candle and clothed in a white sheet.

The Gordon Riots of 1780 brought a tragic fate to the reigning Lord Mayor, Brackley Kennett, for a tumult that might easily have been quelled at its commencement, had the chief magistrate of the City but carried out his duties as the preserver of law and order, developed into one of the most terrible ordeals through which London ever passed. The mob, inflamed by the cry of "No Popery" and unrestrained by any regular opposition on the part of the authorities, for Kennett had issued instructions that no forcible resistance should be made, demolished Newgate Prison with picks, crows and sledge hammers, and set it on fire, broke open Fleet Prison, the Marshalsea and Wood Street Compter, turning

the prisoners loose, and burned several great London houses, including those of Lord Mansfield in Bloomsbury Square and Sir George Savile in Leicester Fields. The conflagration was so great that it illuminated the whole of London. When the riot was at length suppressed such blame was placed upon Lord Mayor Kennett for the supineness of his conduct that several actions for damages were brought against him by those whose property had been affected, and unable to face the odium thus aroused he committed suicide rather than defend himself in a court of law.

CHARLES PENDRILL.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH "GAFFE."

IN diplomacy, as in other fields of work, it is often the mistakes that attract the most attention. That truism was illustrated when the Kellogg Pact, signed in Paris on August 27th, fell almost completely out of public interest during September and October, merely because that interest was absorbed in a certain stupidity perpetrated by the Quai d'Orsay and by Whitehall. By the beginning of October the Press of many countries was using the words "the pact" allusively, it being taken for granted that the reader would understand thereby, not the Kellogg Pact, but the so-called and miscalled Anglo-French naval "pact."

There was not, and never had been, any Anglo-French naval "pact"; but the remarkable aberration which prompted the French and British Governments, first to concoct a proposal for naval limitation which was bound by the nature of things to be a failure, and then to try and conceal the catastrophe from public curiosity (whereby public curiosity was whetted into an imaginative orgy)—such a "gaffe" is fortunately rare in high diplomacy. There were those who for several weeks hoped against hope that the situation was not as stupid, could not be as stupid, as it seemed. The hope died, and we were forced to recognise that the truth was almost as strange as the fiction which had been added to it.

In spite of the increasing mischief caused by ill-informed comment on the Anglo-French "accord" (probably no accord in the world's history has produced so much discord) the Foreign Offices of Paris and of London continued their official silence. Whitehall grimly stuck to the conventional correctitude of not publishing the correspondence until it was complete, that is, until the answers of the United States, Japan and Italy had been received, and until those countries had agreed to publication. It seems odd that the danger of such a course was not appreciated by those who were in charge of British interests. A cumulative experience ought to have warned them that, where two certain conditions obtained, leakages were inevitable: the conditions namely (1) that the existence was known of the diplomatic dossier it was intended to keep secret, and (2) that the Quai d'Orsay held a complete copy of the dossier. Such a situation has been experienced on more than one occasion in the past, and has always ended in the same way. The secrecy acts as a challenge to a certain type of diplomatic journalist who has a highly developed sense of the chase; and when, as in the present instance, there is nothing much else of interest on the diplomatic horizon, the challenge is to him irresistible. The Quai d'Orsay has never yet kept a secret unless there was some urgent French interest engaged in the keeping of it.

The inevitable therefore happened. On September 21st there was published in the United States the alleged text of a secret document emanating from Paris. It was published in the *New York American*, the document being a circular letter, dated August 3rd, addressed by M. Berthelot, the Secretary-General of the Quai d'Orsay, to the chief French Ambassadors abroad, to inform them of the nature of the Anglo-French naval agreement. Up to that time there had been no precise information available to the public about the content of the agreement. The only public disclosures that had been made on the subject were Sir Austen Chamberlain's statement of July 30th and the twin statements made by Lord Cushendun and by M. Leygues on August 30th, and published in the newspapers of the following day. The disclosure of September 21st therefore produced some general excitement. The cat was out of the bag, and the question arose: was it the genuine cat? Whitehall, for all its desire to be correct, had to give some lead in the matter. Whether the alleged letter itself was genuine could not be a subject of comment by official London, because the letter purported to be a private communication from the French Government to its own Ambassadors, but the text of the naval agreement, as reproduced in the letter, was confirmed by Whitehall as accurately reproducing the text of the agreement itself, with the one exception that by an odd misprint in paragraph 4 of the text the figure 6,000 was given instead of 600 as the figure of the minimum tonnage for submarines. The cat in short was certified to be the genuine cat.

The letter classified four categories of ships as forming the basis of the agreement, namely "(1) capital ships, that is to say, ships of more than 10,000 tons, or armed with guns of more than eight-inch calibre; (2) aeroplane carriers of more than 10,000 tons; (3) surface ships of 10,000 tons or less, armed with guns of a calibre higher than six inches and up to eight inches; (4) deep-water submarines—that is to say, of more than 6,000 [read 600] tons."

The remainder of the French communication consisted of a highly interesting exposition, interesting because unreserved, of the *portée* of the agreement as seen from the French point of view. The following passage, taken from the letter, shed a light on the motive of the Quai d'Orsay: "The exclusion of small cruisers from all limitation seemed to us to be the only solution of the problem in hand between England and the United States raised by the insistence of the British Admiralty on placing cruisers in two categories. As you know, in fact, at the Tripartite Naval Conference, while agreement between England and America was nearly reached so far as concerned the special limitation of larger cruisers, by the same token the demands of England in so far as concerned the characteristics of the total tonnage of smaller cruisers provoked

a rupture of the Anglo-American technical conversations and the definite break-up of the Conference. The principal reason was that the maximum calibre of six inches demanded by the British Admiralty for the armament of small cruisers was also the calibre authorised in the Washington Treaty for commercial ships transformed into auxiliary cruisers. It would follow, then, that even though the United States did possess the same number of small cruisers as England the strength of the British fleet as to the number of ships of this type could be considerably increased as soon as hostilities opened, because of the considerable number of auxiliary cruisers Great Britain possesses in her commercial fleet, and which the United States does not possess. But in conversation with M. Paul Boncour during the session of the League of Nations last June, Sir Austen Chamberlain clearly stated the impossibility for his Government to accept any system whatsoever of naval limitation which did not at the same time involve the special limitation of large cruisers. In view of this, and in view of the successive technical concessions which the Admiralty had made since the Naval Conference, it was clear that they attached capital interest only to this particular point. It was for that reason that in order to reduce the number of categories they demanded in the first place the proposition made by Sir Austen Chamberlain in March, which maintained a category of large cruisers, but at the same time did not even distinguish small cruisers from torpedo-boats. We were thus led to consider that the only method of removing the difficulty was to accord to the Admiralty a special limitation of large cruisers but to exclude any limitation for small cruisers. Doubtless this leaves the door open for a naval armaments race, but the moment one distinguishes between the two types of cruisers one must realise the impossibility of equitable limitation of the smaller type if one does not take into account, as the United States desires, the auxiliary cruisers. Commercial ships, no matter what their military value, are no more limitable in our opinion, as well as in that of the Preparatory Commission, and especially of the American delegation, than are all the elements which enter into what is called 'war strength.' The exclusion of all limitation of submarines for coastal defence solved at the same time the problem which the insistence of the British Admiralty raised in obtaining strict limitation of submarines of great radius of action. Under this guise the new solution would satisfy not only our navy, but also the navy of Japan, whose representative had demanded this exclusion with insistence during the Preparatory Naval Conference. This exclusion necessarily forced us to abandon the traditional French policy of limitation of naval units by the figure of global tonnage comprising all warships of whatever type, each

Power remaining more or less free to divide this tonnage between types most appropriate for the special needs of its defence at sea. In order to permit agreement between the great naval Powers France finally aligned herself with the thesis of limitation by categories, but it is necessary to remark that the liberty of construction which our navy sought in limitation by global tonnage was found in the exclusion of all limitation of units of a character so defensive as small cruisers and submarines for coast defence. In this way the interests of maritime defence of small naval countries were entirely protected, especially those who have no programme of distinctive construction, and who were counted since the beginning of the preparatory work for disarmament among the most devoted partisans of our naval thesis. Moreover, Italy could logically find therein her compensation for an abandonment of the thesis of global tonnage, which she has always maintained almost integrally, although without allying herself to the transactional propositions made by M. Paul Boncour to the great naval Powers in March, 1927, and which are related in my communication of September 4th last year. Finally, the new Franco-British formula of naval limitation justifies the distinction that the French navy, ever since the beginning of preparatory work for disarmament, has continued to make between the extent of limitation, which should correspond theoretically for each navy with the guarantee of security of national interests, and figures which in practice would not exceed the naval programme of construction or replacement."

The substance of the disclosure thus made could cause no surprise to the other Governments concerned, because the text of the agreement had been communicated to Washington, Tokio and Rome immediately after Sir Austen Chamberlain made his statement about it in the House of Commons at the end of July. What no doubt did cause some surprise both to the other Governments and to general opinion was the frankness with which, under the assumed cloak of privacy, M. Berthelot explained to his henchmen the comforting nature of the Anglo-French bargain.

The only comment that was made on the matter by semi-official London was something like this: "The publication of the text of the proposals forestalls the official disclosure of their content, but does not add anything substantial to what was already inferable from the statements made by Lord Cushendun and by M. Leygues on August 30th." It could indeed be conceded at sight that there was nothing in the text of agreement that conflicted with the Cushendun-Leygues statements, for the simple reason that those statements, while telling the world voluminously what the agreement did not contain, entirely omitted to tell us what it did contain.

It was now clear that the French and British Admiralties had

not only hit upon the idea of removing all restrictions from small French submarines and from small British cruisers, but had reasserted the argument that the crux of the world discussions about naval limitations lay in the question of cruisers on the one hand and of the size of guns on the other. The Anglo-French proposals indeed reproduced somewhat faithfully the well-known contention made by Mr. Bridgeman and by Lord Cecil at the Three-Power Conference of last year, that the British objection to 10,000-ton cruisers was not to 10,000-ton cruisers as such, but to the eight-inch guns that they carry. The old distinction was maintained between offensive and defensive cruisers. The interesting thing now was, not the argument itself, but the fact of its having been revived in the form of an Anglo-French proposal to the United States, Italy and Japan.

An incidental effect of the irregular disclosure, made in America, of the Anglo-French attempt at a bargain was that the mischievous speculators were enabled to do their worst with impunity. Within four days of the *New York American's* coup, the *Tribuna*, commonly understood to be in close touch with the Italian Foreign Office, tried in its turn to startle the world by a further revelation. It alleged that a secret agreement about air armaments had been made by the French and British Governments, the point of which was that as a further reward to the British Government for agreeing to an unlimited multiplication of French submarines, the French Government had undertaken not to persist in its plan of building air bases along the Channel coast. That disclosure was promptly, and in large type, reproduced and elaborated in the Press of the whole world, including the British Press. Whitehall promptly, officially and categorically denied that there was any foundation whatever for such a story, but still refrained, on the ground of diplomatic correctitude, from publishing the actual dossier which might have stopped all such mischief.

One was tempted to wonder what had happened to the sense of humour or to the sense of touch which normally characterises the judgment of the Foreign Office. Within one week there had been two disquieting disclosures about the naval agreement, one made in the United States, the other in Italy, the one wholly accurate, the other wholly inaccurate. It was the British Government that suffered most in its reputation as a result of those piecemeal and misleading revelations. Yet the British Government obstinately clung to the diplomatic convention of not publishing anything without the consent of all the parties concerned. Even while the Whitehall spokesmen were explaining the correctitude of their dogged silence, the United States Government transmitted to London its answer to the Anglo-French proposals and promptly published the text.

The American Note was delivered at the Foreign Office on September 28th, and the text was issued that same evening from the American Embassy. The Note incidentally reproduced the text of the Anglo-French agreement (in accordance with the American diplomatic practice of prefacing any answer to any communication by first quoting the whole substance of that communication), with the result that the text had now been disclosed to the world from two separate non-British sources. When the Whitehall people commented that such a state of affairs seemed now to make it less, not more, urgent for the British Government to publish the text, the humour of their reaction seemed a little desperate.

The American Note, however, was not anywhere near as unpleasant as a nervous world had been prepared to expect. It left open a door to further exchanges on the subject of naval disarmament, and even hinted that London should produce some revised proposal. It was perhaps natural that the hint failed to provoke any immediate response in London. It was even suggested semi-officially that it was now someone else's turn to take the initiative. What the British Government had done was to try and reopen an existing deadlock in its European aspect, but the resultant proposal, being necessarily and expressly dependent on American support, now fell to the ground. The American Note was not entirely destructive in effect. It repeated, for instance, the willingness of the United States Government to accept the total abolition of submarines. Now the British Government had made such a proposal in 1921, and agrees with the United States as heartily now as then. But the attitude of France makes the total abolition of submarines unpractical. The psychological difference in the effect thereby produced on the various countries is at least partly explained by the geographical fact that both the United States and Japan are thousands of miles outside the range of French submarines, whereas Great Britain is separated by only a narrow strip of water.

After summarising the Anglo-French proposals, the American Note at once made the point that "the only classes of naval ships which it is proposed to limit under the Anglo-French Draft Agreement are cruisers of or below 10,000 tons armed with guns of more than six inches and up to eight inches calibre, and submarines of over 600 tons. The position of the Government of the United States had been, and now is, that any limitation of naval armaments to be effective should apply to all classes of combatant vessels." Another passage submitted that such a proposal "would be the imposition of restrictions only on types peculiarly suited to the needs of the United States." In still another passage the Note made the old point that a limitation of the type proposed "would

add enormously to the comparative offensive power of a nation possessing a large merchant tonnage on which preparation may be made in times of peace for mounting six-inch guns." Therein Mr. Houghton ignored what had been argued by many English authorities, including Lord Jellicoe at Geneva last year, that armed merchantmen are of little offensive value against cruisers, for the simple reason that although guns can be mounted on merchantmen the merchantmen cannot be protected against hits themselves. The strongest expression contained in the American Note was a description of the cruiser proposal as the same proposal as that of 1927, "presented in a new and even more objectionable form." The Note plunged into the whole question of naval limitation at some length, recapitulated the American case presented at the Three-Power Conference, stated definitely that "for all these reasons the Government of the United States feels that no useful purpose would be served by accepting as a basis of discussion the Anglo-French proposal," and after arguing the case for a global criterion of limitation, made a suggestion and an appeal in these words: "A proposal along these lines made by Great Britain and discussed by the American and British representatives would be sympathetically considered by the United States. It expects on the part of others, however, similar consideration for its own needs."

The general policy of the United States Government was thus again officially expounded. London still maintained its silence. The criticism and increasing suspicion resulting from that silence was ignored by official London as buoyantly as ever, even though the Paris correspondents of English newspapers began in the first days of October to indicate that the French Government was willing to publish. It was probably true that Paris now wanted to publish, because whatever benefit to France resulted from the continued silence of London was by now reaped in full. London, however, having started on the course of not publishing before all the answers were received, was as oblivious of the French aspect to the matter as it had been of its own. On October 5th, therefore, Paris patience being presumably exhausted, a further leakage was successfully engineered. It was not surprising that it was Pertinax who obtained the full text of the correspondence, for he has a way of obtaining such texts. He published a summary in the *Écho de Paris* of that date of the three Notes in which were embodied the naval proposals, namely (1) a letter delivered to the Quai d'Orsay by Lord Crewe on June 28th, (2) the answer of the Quai d'Orsay dated July 20th, and (3) the further answer of the British Foreign Office dated July 28th. The leakage, while purporting to be a summary, reproduced certain passages verbatim, and it was not concealed by official circles on either side of the Channel that the information was

authentic. The result of that third publication of detail about the compromise confirmed the fact that what France and Great Britain had agreed to was (1) that the limitation of cruisers should be confined to the 10,000-ton class, an equal maximum being prescribed for all Powers, with the understanding that each would build, within that maximum, only what its particular circumstances should demand; (2) that the like principle be applied to submarines; (3) that two classes of submarines should be distinguished, with the dividing line at 600 tons, only submarines over 600 tons to be limited.

The parody whereby the French Admiralty sought to distinguish between offensive and defensive submarines, on the analogy of the British distinction between offensive and defensive cruisers, was clever enough to silence British argument.

The Italian answer to the Franco-British proposals was received in London on October 11th, having been published before it reached London. The substance of the Italian answer was to reject the proposals on the ground that the limitation of armaments must embrace all kinds of armaments. It further stipulated that Italy's figure must not fall below those of any Continental Power, and added that in naval disarmament Italy supported the principle of the global criterion as distinct from that of the differentiation of classes. The British intransigence of silent correctitude, however, was not yet broken down. Although the United States and Italy had published their Notes, and although there had been two separate leakages from Paris, the British Foreign Office proceeded to ask the permission of the other Powers before publishing its own White Paper. The White Paper had not been published when this paper was written (October 15th), although it was understood to be impending.

An illuminating contrast developed in the French Government's attitude to the two leakages above reported. Mr. Horan, the correspondent in Paris of the Hearst Syndicate, being held responsible for the publication in the *New York American* of the secret French document, was requested by the police to leave Paris as an undesirable person, and in fact he left the country before the full facts became known to his professional colleagues. On the other hand, no blame was attributed to the distinguished French journalist who published the Anglo-French correspondence, and who equally must have obtained his information from the Quai d'Orsay. There was this difference, that the one was a confidential State paper never intended for the light, the other a series of State papers which everyone knew would be published sooner or later. But the anger of the French Government against Mr. Horan was clearly due, not to his having obtained and published a secret French document

(not an unprecedented accomplishment) but to his having published a document which the French Government had strong reason for wanting to keep secret.

The comic episode of the Anglo-French attempt to produce international agreement on naval disarmament had a diplomatic effect and a popular repercussion wholly disproportionate to its importance. It is true that in one aspect there was something of mystery in it. It was hard to believe that British diplomacy could ever have hoped to produce international harmony by so puerile a stratagem as the submission to the United States of a Franco-British rehash of a British proposal already rejected by the United States, especially as the stratagem was conceived and carried out in a manner and at a time calculated to rouse the maximum of resentment in the United States. There has appeared, however, no evidence to show that the British Government acted from any other motive than the desire to remove a Geneva deadlock. There is not a shadow of evidence to support the contention that a new Franco-British entente was contemplated. The British Government's object was to restart the work of the Preparatory Committee to the Disarmament Conference by withdrawing (as no longer tenable) its opposition to the French thesis about land reserves and by discovering a common denominator between French submarines and British cruisers. Such being the object, however, the result was not the result anticipated. The worst part of it was that instead of loosening the deadlock in the Geneva Committee on Disarmament, it put a complete stop to all work that was being done anywhere on the subject of disarmament. It robbed the Kellogg Pact of the moral harvest that would have been the most important part of the harvest. It frightened off American collaboration in the work of peace. The signature of the war renunciation pact on August 27th promised to inaugurate a new period of American collaboration with Europe, after a period of nearly ten years during which American aloofness had been an almost inseparable barrier to general progress. The hopeful feature of the situation is that the Anglo-French gaffe was so gross, so lacking in subtlety, and it has been exposed so ruthlessly, that it may be quickly forgotten, and the constructive work restarted.

MR. VENISELOS AT WORK.

It is not often that one can turn to the Balkans for relief. More often the contrast between what is happening in the West and in the South-East of Europe is of the opposite kind. It happens, however, that Mr. Veniselos is at work in the Balkans. His work is always interesting, always constructive, always intelligent.

He left the hospital after his fever on Monday, September 17th.

On Thursday of the same week (September 20th) he left Athens on a typical mission of which the dual object was to pursue peace and to prevent misunderstanding of what he was doing. It was always one of the secrets of Mr. Veniselos's power that he took infinite pains in whatever he did. There is an artistic completeness in his technique. In the present case he was not well. He had been seriously ill, and had not had time to regain his strength. Yet the success of his plan could best be assured by his travelling in person and in quick stages to several countries abroad, and he faced the ordeal within three days of leaving hospital. He thereby at a stroke achieved one part of his object, which was that he should not be misunderstood. He compelled attention. What he said in Rome, in Paris, in London, in Belgrade, was listened to by the whole world; and the stupid mischief-makers, who specialise in discovering and in propagating suspicion, were in his case confounded before they could get into their stride. There is abundant justification for Mr. Veniselos's diagnosis that one of the worst obstacles to peaceful constructive diplomacy is misunderstanding. We have had a surfeit of experience in that sense in the West of Europe. One of his principles is that it is not enough to be honestly pacific in intention. It is necessary also that not a shadow of excuse be left to anybody for misinterpreting that intention. Mr. Veniselos reached Rome on September 23rd and signed with Mr. Mussolini a Pact of Friendship, Conciliation and Arbitration. The pact had already (in accordance with another of Mr. Veniselos's diplomatic principles) been fully negotiated. It is his principle to make sure before personally appearing abroad that the agreement he is about to clinch is certain to be clinched. The text of the Greco-Italian Pact had therefore been negotiated through the regular diplomatic channels before Mr. Veniselos left Athens. It was signed the day he arrived. He took the occasion to be interviewed in Rome, and made two points which had not been fully or generally understood about his policy. The first was that he had no desire to question any existing treaty; that Greece had no political interests in the Adriatic; that the Dodecanese was a question of exclusive concern to Italy and the Dodecanesians, that the Cypriot question concerned only the people of Cyprus and the people of Great Britain. The second was that his policy was to organise pacts of friendship, not alliances, because it is the essence of an alliance that it is directed against third parties. From Rome he went to Paris, where his primary object was to explain to M. Briand and to Sir William Tyrrell the nature of his policy and to discuss its further stages with the Yugoslav Minister. From Paris he crossed to London (September 30th). He spent one full day in London (October 1st) in the course of which he saw Mr. Baldwin and Lord Cushendun,

and left on the following day for Belgrade and Athens. When he was in London he looked pale and tired, but when he spoke the old fire of his eagerness burned as brightly as ever. His own words best express what was in his mind. His object, as he expressed it in conversation with the present writer on October 1st, was "to explain what I am doing, so as to nip in the bud those misunderstandings which are the main obstacle to all diplomacy aiming at peace. The policy I am explaining," he said, "to the various Governments is simple. It is my object to link up the Balkans with all the neighbouring countries on a basis of friendship. A week yesterday I signed in Rome a pact of friendship. I am determined that no Government shall have any excuse for imagining that that pact is directed against any third party, or that my policy is anything but full, constructive peace all round. I have made the pact with Rome. I am starting to negotiate with Belgrade. In a few weeks I hope to sign a pact with Angora and with Sofia." Speaking of the criticism that had been made in the West of Europe on the ground that his policy departed from the idea of a Balkan Locarno, he said, "What is the Locarno idea? The Western Locarno is not directed against anybody. Consider this aspect of my policy. It happens that Turkey and Bulgaria are negotiating a pact. Yugoslavia and Turkey are on good terms. The main difficulty against complete Balkan harmony at the present moment is the relationship between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Now if I succeed in making pacts with both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, will not that perhaps provide a link between those two themselves? My object is to have pacts of friendship, neutrality, and arbitration between Greece, Turkey, Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria. If I succeed you have the essence of a Balkan Locarno, for all the countries concerned will be pledged to keep the peace. If, by contrast, by the word 'Locarno' for the Balkans is meant a Balkan alliance, then that is not my idea, because the essence of an alliance is that it is directed against someone." He explained that he was not going immediately to Angora, but hoped to go later. "When I was in Rome," he said, "Ismet Pasha's friendly invitation was brought to me that I should visit Angora. I telegraphed that I should be delighted, but that I was too tired to extend my present itinerary, and hoped even to avoid having to go to London. It happens that I have had to come to London because Sir William Tyrrell was away from Paris. I also explained to Ismet that it would be better first to negotiate and agree on a pact through our Ministers, and then I would go to Angora, probably in a few weeks, to sign it. I added that if Ismet insisted I would go at once to Angora. When I reached Paris Ismet's Minister handed me an answer in which, with pleasant courtesy, Ismet declared that in that case, of course, he insisted I

But I expect to go there before long. Greece," added Mr. Veniselos, "has no object but to be at peace. We accept everything. Technically on the side of the Allies during the Great War, we were in effect beaten. Yet we accept every treaty, including the Treaty of Lausanne. I have no ambitions in Anatolia. I am at peace on the basis of the *status quo*. When during the election just contested the Anatolian migrants shouted to me, 'Restore us to our homes!' I answered that it was impossible. I am out to consolidate peace on the existing treaty basis, to have nothing to do with disturbing agitations. What the world wants, especially the Balkans, is simply rest and peace and confidence that there will be no more war. That is my object. That is what I am travelling to explain."

DANGEROUS LEVITY IN THE RHINELANDS.

The sort of thing that happens in the Rhineland is illustrated by these recent events, noticed at random, and occurring within a few days of each other: (1) the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission drew the attention of the German Government to the fact that the airship "the Graf Zeppelin" had flown over occupied territory without having obtained permission to do so; (2) the German authorities in Coblenz explained with an expression of regret to the Rhineland High Commission that the Commander of the Count Zeppelin had taken the airship over occupied territory as a result of "an error of navigation"; (3) the Burgomaster of Königstein procured a bandmaster to play the German National Anthem without asking leave to do so, and was sentenced by the British Summary Court at Wiesbaden to a fine of 100 marks or in the alternative to a fortnight's imprisonment; (4) at Zweibrücken in the Bavarian Palatinate, some German desperadoes, not for the first time, tore down the French flag.

It is therefore clear that the Allied military authorities are having a hard time in the Rhinelands. After all these years there still remain certain irrepressible spirits who imagine that they can play their own national anthem in their own country, some of them so unrepentantly rude as to tear down, instead of saluting, the foreign flag which is there to remind them that they must be good. They had to be good for at least fifteen years after the Treaty of Versailles came into operation, with the possibility of an extension of the period if they fell short of what was expected of them, but with a sort of promise that if they were remarkably good, the sentence might be reduced. "If," runs Article 429, Clause 3 of the Treaty, "at that date (after the expiration of fifteen years) the guarantees against unprovoked aggression by Germany are not considered sufficient by the Allied and Associated Governments, the evacuation

of the occupying troops may be delayed to the extent regarded as necessary for the purpose of obtaining the required guarantees." The literal application of that clause would involve a common judgment about the Rhineland by all the Allied Powers. In practice no one except France takes any interest in the Rhineland, and the British Government, for instance, appears to be content to dance to the French tune till 1935 or, if need be, beyond, and for ever. France in these circumstances could stay in the Rhinelands indefinitely. "In case," reads Article 430 of the Treaty, "either during the occupation or after the expiration of the fifteen years referred to above the Reparation Commission finds that Germany refuses to observe the whole or part of her obligations under the present Treaty with regard to Reparation, the whole or part of the areas specified in Article 429 will be reoccupied immediately by the Allies and Associated forces." It follows from the meekness with which the British Government allows France to decide the whole question of the Rhineland occupation, that at any time after 1935 M. Poincaré need only get up and make one of his Sunday speeches to bring back the troops to the Rhineland—if indeed M. Poincaré should allow the troops to be withdrawn in 1935. What then of the contingent promise to Germany of an earlier evacuation? This is what Article 431 of the Treaty says about it: "If before the expiration of the period of fifteen years Germany complies with all the undertakings resulting from the present Treaty, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately." If, in short, Germany jumps over the moon, M. Poincaré will let go of Germany.

Now those three Articles of the Treaty of Versailles, grotesque as they are on any practical ground, do give to M. Poincaré the juridical handle that he loves to use. Obviously Germany could never, even in a thousand years, comply with "all the undertakings resulting from the present Treaty": but that is not the real point of the diplomatic situation. The point is: why does the British Government complacently accept the French edict about the Rhinelands? Why do British troops continue to make themselves ridiculous by the side of French troops, not in a cause decreed or even approved by British policy, but in a French cause? The argument that a withdrawal of the British troops would merely leave the French troops a freer hand no longer appeals to serious people. If the British troops were withdrawn the juridical aspect of the French occupation would be smashed, for the occupation would be not an Allied occupation but a French occupation, for which the Treaty of Versailles could not be quoted as justification.

We are approaching the third anniversary of the signature of the Treaties of Locarno. It may be that the promise given to Herr Stresemann by Sir Austen Chamberlain and M. Briand three years

ago was a verbal, not a written promise : but verbal promises should be more, not less, binding than written promises. Even if there had been no such promise at all, the whole point and purpose of the Locarno Treaties was to abolish the war distinction between Allies and enemies. "In the light of these treaties," said M. Briand at the Locarno signing ceremony, "we are Europeans only. . . . The particularism of our countries is blotted out by this agreement, and with it vanish unpleasant memories." He spoke of the treaties as "the draft of a constitution of a European family within the orbit of the League of Nations."

Three years after, what do M. Briand and M. Poincaré say about it? On September 19th the *Frankfurter Zeitung* published an interview with M. Briand in which he said that with good will on both sides the Reparation problem could be quickly solved, and that the Rhineland could then be totally and immediately evacuated. He did not specify in detail what he meant by a solution of the Reparation problem, but M. Poincaré took the occasion of a Sunday speech at Chambéry (September 30th) to fill in that detail. Whenever M. Poincaré puts his foot into a controversial matter he puts it in as heavily, as completely, with as little sense of humour, as ever Sir William Joynson-Hicks puts his foot into things. M. Poincaré began by conceding that it was the intention of the French Government to open negotiations about reparations and security "as soon as possible." He then defined what would constitute the French criterion of a satisfactory reparations settlement. His definition was no doubt propounded seriously enough, and it is not reported that anyone in his audience laughed. "To be fair," he said (with a weird choice of adjective) "any settlement of the reparations problem must guarantee to France on the part of her debtors the integral payment of what she has to pay to her creditors, and, in addition, net compensation for war damage." If such a claim could ever be translated into practice, it would mean that France intended to occupy the Rhinelands until Germany had paid whatever France might assess as her war damages and in addition the total debts of France to the United States and to Great Britain. In one sense the picture was harmonious enough : for it is often to be noticed in human affairs that those who find no difficulty in repudiating or indefinitely postponing the payment of debts owed by themselves to others, develop an exaggerated standard in the exaction of payments owed to themselves. There was, however, a less important contradiction between what M. Briand said to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and what M. Poincaré said at Chambéry. M. Poincaré's point was to link together as one integral whole all debts, German and Inter-Allied, in which France was concerned, and to demand a German payment of the lot. M. Briand by contrast observed to the

Frankfurter Zeitung that the Reparation problem was not in any way connected with the question of Inter-Allied debts. The contrast was less a matter of substance than of an angle of view. All that M. Briand meant was that in demanding from Germany a quick and satisfactory payment on account of reparations, France was not thereby to be prejudiced in her own way of making a settlement (if any) of her own debts to Great Britain and to the United States. M. Poincaré merely went one step further and postulated that Germany should pay both.

RUSSIA AND THE WEST.

Russian diplomacy can generally be relied upon to provide the comic relief when more serious diplomacy gets itself into a muddle. There had been little scope for Mr. Litvinov until the Kellogg Pact became entangled with the Anglo-French Submarine-and-Cruiser "Pact." When the general depression resulting from that entanglement was at its depth, Mr. Litvinov handed a letter to M. Herbet, the French Ambassador in Moscow. It was the Soviet Government's answer to the American invitation to sign the Pact for the Renunciation of War. The invitation itself had been handed to Russia as it were, at the end of a pitch-fork, for the United States is not on diplomatic speaking terms with the U.S.S.R. any more than is Great Britain. Such a limitation was perhaps a little unfortunate in so idealist an enterprise as the banishment of war and the closer binding together of the peoples. The French Government, however, which in this matter has more commonsense than either the British or the American Governments, and is on speaking terms with Russia, acted as mediary. It was to M. Herbet therefore that Mr. Litvinov handed his answer.

It was a very long document. It gave an attractive picture of the whole past history, present virtues, and future aspirations of the Soviet Government, exposed the insincerity of all the other Governments concerned, particularly of the British Government, complained that the proposals put forward on divers occasions from Moscow for the salvation of the world from armaments had been rejected by almost all the States now signing the pact to renounce war, dismissed the League of Nations as a weakling and futile agency, and after a second and final attack upon the British Government, ended by expressing Russia's decision to sign the Pact.

There was little doubt about Russia's own sincerity in signing the Pact, even though the background of the vast Red Army was an odd background to Mr. Litvinov's letter. Russia was the first Government in the world (so it was claimed by the Moscow organs) to ratify its signature of the Pact. That signature was indeed

ratified in advance. The fifteen original signatories signed the Pact in Paris on August 27th. On August 29th the Presidium of the Soviet Executive Committee, in Moscow, authorised the Soviet's signature of the Pact, thereby giving legislative sanction to the signature, when it should take place. Mr. Litvinov gave the letter which constituted the acceptance to M. Herbetton on August 31st, the text was published on September 1st, and the letter was received by the State Department in Washington, via the French Embassy, on October 4th.

"Having taken," wrote Mr. Litvinov, "from the very beginning of its existence, as the basis of its foreign policy, the preservation and security of world peace, the Soviet Government always and everywhere acted as a constant adherent to peace." That was the first part of Mr. Litvinov's first sentence. He next postulated, "that the carrying out of a plan of universal and complete disarmament is the only practical means of preventing armed conflicts, because in an atmosphere of feverish armament all competition among the Powers inevitably leads to war." He went on to recall the history of the Russian plan for the complete and immediate disarmament of the world which was submitted to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and was rejected by the majority "including the representatives of those Powers which are the original signatories of the pact signed in Paris": a plan which "would have meant a real guarantee of peace."

There next followed a chapter designed to show that the Soviet Government, in its anxiety to reduce the burden of armaments "borne by the masses of the people," was prepared to discuss even a partial plan of disarmament on the theory that half a loaf is better than no bread: but again the Soviet proposal was rejected by (1) the Preparatory Commission ("whose action demonstrated once afresh the weakness of the League of Nations in the cause of disarmament") and (2) by the present signatories of the Pact. There next followed several chapters reviewing the militarist actions of the capitalist Powers in many parts of the world, building up a case about the inadequacy of the Pact itself as a preventive of war, and stigmatising the British "reservation" to the Pact as "an attempt to use the Pact itself as an instrument of Imperialistic policy." There then followed a chapter summarising everything that had gone before, and ending with the real point of the letter, namely: "the Soviet Government expresses its readiness to sign the Paris Pact."

The form of Russian diplomacy is often diverting: but the essential problem that remains, that of restoring normal contact between Russia and the West, is serious enough. The Russian signature of the Kellogg Pact is a step in the right direction.

October 15th, 1928.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. REVIEWS	661
JOHN BUNYAN; WALTHER RATHENAU; INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION; CHRIST AND SOCIETY; POEMS OF PESSIMISM; WILLIAM BLAKE; JUSTICE FOR THE POOR.	
2. SHORTER REVIEWS: "The Russian Revolution"; "The Constitution of the United States"; "How we are Governed"; "Thomas Day: An English Disciple of Rousseau"	676
3. NOTICES OF BOOKS: "From Magic to Science: Essays on the Scientific Twilight"; "Annuaire de la Société des Nations"	678

JOHN BUNYAN.*

John Bunyan was baptised on November 30th, 1628, and the three hundredth anniversary of his birth is therefore at hand. Mr. G. B. Harrison has seized the opportunity to write this thoughtful and persuasive study of a personality as remarkable as any in the history of literature. To be done with adverse criticism at once, there is in some parts of the narrative a heavy flippancy that is somewhat jarring. Mr. Harrison ought not to have written, "the only consoling thought about the terrible doctrine of predestination is that few hold it until convinced that they are themselves on the short list for appointment to heaven." It is not a subject upon which schoolboy witticism can be spent. This is not the only instance of an unseemly form of writing. Another but a quite small matter is that a Judge of the King's Bench is called Mr. Justice. It is somewhat jarring to read of Justice Keeling and Judge Hale, to name two of the eminent lawyers associated with the trials of Bunyan.

John Bunyan came of a stock long settled at Elstow, near Bedford, and as his father was a brazier and John wandered at any rate as far as Bedford, he was justified, with a little poetic exaggeration, in calling himself a wandering tinker. The boy learned to read and

* *John Bunyan: A Study in Personality.* By G. B. Harrison. J. M. Dent. 6s. net.

write, and at the age of ten we get the picture of a little fellow that had Hell Fire vividly in mind while he played the games of youth. From 1644 to 1647 he was serving with Cromwell's troops, and apparently in these years the fear of insincerity was in his soul though he took the ordinary pleasures of his class. On his marriage in or about 1650 he turned to religion and found it in Elstow Church where the old Elizabethan ritual persisted. That his sins had been slight in the past is evident from the fact that it was an access of Sunday games—the game of tip-cat—that smote his conscience with full force. He said to himself as he was batting, "Wilt thou leave thy sins and go to heaven; or have thy sins and go to hell?" That was the turning point, and conversion came rapidly at the hands of a little band of Puritans, "the Poor People of Bedford."

A period of intense spiritual conflict (excellently described by Mr. Harrison) resulted in the young man joining the Bedford Community: "I must go to Jesus." He told his wife that at last all was well, "O now I know, I know!" That was in the year 1655. The Community at first was part of the Established Church, the Cromwellian Church, and its head, John Gifford, formerly a Royalist officer, had been appointed to the living of St. John's Church, Bedford, in 1653. Bunyan became an active member of this community and early was a preacher, and this led to his first two pamphlets. In 1658 he issued a red-hot sermon on the contrasts of Heaven and Hell, and one, less hot, in 1659 on the Doctrine of Law and Grace. In 1660 the community and their vicar were duly expelled, and in November Bunyan was arrested for unlawful preaching. He was treated well both by the magistrates and the judges and was offered freedom on the terms of silence in public. Mr. Justice Keeling reasoned with him to no effect, and Bedford Gaol was the result. Yet it cannot be said that Bunyan was treated at all badly, and he was allowed out from time to time, and he even went to London. But obstinate prisoners were in a bad case in the late seventeenth century, and in July, 1663, Bunyan, believing that he was to be executed, wrote his book entitled *Christian Behaviour*, containing the practical duty of Christians in all the relations of life: a book worthy of close study. *The Holy City* followed in 1665, in 1666 *Grace Abounding* was published, and here he writes with the authority and power of an Apostle. At that date he was free from prison bands, but a second imprisonment that nominally lasted until 1672 followed, and in that period Bunyan was full of the affairs of his Church and gave his tireless pen a period of rest. It was a time of spiritual contentment, and it might be described in his own famous lines, lines worthy of Herrick or of a Cavalier singer:

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

He that is down needs fear no fall,
He that is low, no pride;
He that is humble ever shall
Have God to be his guide.
I am content with what I have,
Little be it or much:
And, Lord, contentment still I crave,
Because Thou savest such.

He had already suffered, though not harshly, for the Faith; he was an Apostle of his Church; he had already written two great books, *Grace Abounding* and *The Holy War*, and now he was resting so far as such a man, a man who was Baxter and Blake in one, could rest. It is true that in this pastoral period he elaborated the doctrine of Election in *Reprobation Asserted*, which Mr. Harrison denounces as showing "Bunyan and his religion at its worst." But that is a hard saying, since the doctrine of Election is not at war with the doctrine of Free-will. It is a question of the nature of Time. The conception of Free-will is intimately related to the conception of Election, since Free-will leaves the creature to take the way of destruction, and the way of destruction is not necessarily the way of personal sin. It is the old Greek tragedy again: a good man may be the cause of evil, and though he is not created to be destroyed yet his freedom to cause evil has this result. The conception of foreordination is in the nature of timelessness. Free-will is essential if man is not to be an automaton of God, but free-will involves that free choice the result of which God knows beforehand. To hold this is not Puritanism at its worst or religion at its worst. Every great dramatist is tempted to hold it, and Shakespeare is perhaps the only dramatist who saw the solution that the Greek dramatists failed to find: that the essence of tragedy—the clash of good with good, making evil—can be resolved in a higher unity. But in so far as we see only the evil that results from a perfectly justified exercise of free-will it appears to some minds logically necessary to hold some form of the doctrine of Election. The curious thing is that the critics of that doctrine seem to think that it involves the automatism of man, when the logical fact is just the reverse. It is free-will that creates the tragic position, and a great prose poet such as Bunyan saw this tragedy at its height, saw it in the politics and the religious frenzy of his own time.

In 1676 when he was at the fullness of his vast intellectual powers, Bunyan began to write his greatest work, *The Pilgrim's Progress*. It was published in 1678 when the author was fifty. It, like the *De Imitatione Christi*, is based on and largely uses the phraseology of the Bible, but there are many original passages, and Mr. Harrison says with a touch of poor witticism, "the passages in the *Progress* which give most pleasure, at least to reprobate

readers, are those which could not possibly be mistaken for quotations from the Scriptures." This statement, however, contains an omission which is even more apparent when Mr. Harrison sums up the advantages and disadvantages of the famous author:

The man was as great as his work. He had many limitations; no English writer of the first rank began with more disadvantages; he lacked education and wide reading; he never mixed with other men of letters; he was nurtured on a theological diet of much locust and little wild honey. But he had certain advantages which more than compensated. What he had missed in his education he gained by a very wide observation of men in every variety of educational experience, and he had the acutest perception, ever noting, comparing, understanding the workings of the human mind. He had an immense courage, a quality not always conspicuous in the artistic temperament. . . . Then there was, after his conversion, a certainty in his creed which sustained him and drove him on, so that when lesser men would doubt, waver or compromise, Bunyan at the height of persecution or misunderstanding only became firmer and sterner. Yet this hardness was his only refuge from despair; it is not natural for a man of such sympathy and understanding to be hard-hearted, and in favourable times his true nature shows itself. . . . Most of all Bunyan had something to say. . . . He had too the advantage of a keenly critical congregation, as learned in the Scriptures as he, and ready enough to appreciate an argument, to find flaws in unsound doctrine, or to respond to a moving appeal. There were ten years of this training behind him when he wrote *Grace Abounding*, more than twenty before he began *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

Now in this passage, as in the previous reference to that part of Bunyan's creative work that does not follow the wording of the Scriptures, there is one omission as to Bunyan's advantages. It may be true, though certainly it cannot be proved, that "he lacked education and wide reading; he never mixed with other men of letters"—there is some evidence that it is not true—but Bunyan had one literary advantage. He lived in the greatest period of English prose and he was wholly familiar with the greatest masterpiece of English prose, the English Bible. He was by birth, so to speak, a great writer, but he was living in the period when the prose of the English Bible was the natural prose of any man that committed his thoughts to paper, and so when we praise the non-scriptural parts of the narrative we have the same balance, phrasing and *timbre* that make the wonderful stories of the Old Testament so living, so full of human vitality. Bunyan's pages are as living as Shakespeare's, and each man was a self-educated man, but each was in a position to frame his acute observation of human nature in prose that is not only essentially beautiful but inevitably alive.

This accounts for the undoubted fact emphasised by Mr. Harrison that four of Bunyan's books stand out as "perennial monu-

ments . . . alive with the abiding spirit of man." Mr. Harrison adds to this statement that they were "perennial monuments of a man who was greater than his creed." It is impossible to admit this, since it was his creed that gave him strength to use his unique powers of observation and his passionate control of the great Elizabethan prose. Mr. Harrison says that "the *Pilgrim's Progress* is not the story of the Christian faith, but of the Puritan soul, and Puritanism was a faith which the individual found by himself." Whether that statement be strictly true or not, yet it is the answer to the allegation that Bunyan was greater than his creed, since the soul of Bunyan found that creed and was content and more than content with it, though doubtless he, like Mr. Ready-to-Halt, flung away his crutches when on August 31st, 1688, he welcomed "Life." Creeds are crutches, but they are the product of the personality, and no man is greater than his true creed.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

WALTHER RATHENAU.*

Count Kessler's full-length portrait of Walther Rathenau is a work of exceptional interest and importance. Rathenau has been the subject of several volumes of biography and criticism, but never before has this extraordinary man been so fully revealed and so skilfully interpreted. Count Kessler writes not only as an intimate friend but as a colleague in the service of his country during and after the war, and his own wide intellectual sympathies enable him to do justice to every aspect of his hero's manifold activity. Readers of this striking book will probably agree that Rathenau was the most remarkable public figure in Germany during the last decade of his life, and that his writings are almost unique in their breadth and suggestiveness. His character was unusually complex, and his biographer makes no attempt to hide his failings—his touchiness, his self-centredness, his incapacity for unreserved affection, his tendency to brooding melancholy. But such things were far outweighed by his devotion to the public welfare and his superb intellectual powers. No man of his time was a master in so many fields—science, invention, business, public administration, statesmanship, philosophy, economics, sociology, literature, art. Though the son of a Jewish millionaire, the founder of the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft, and himself a millionaire by his own efforts and earnings, Rathenau was one of the sternest critics of the existing capitalist system, and in a long series of books he worked out the scheme of a new society in which natural monopolies would be

* *Walther Rathenau*. By Harry Graf Kessler. Hermann Klemm A. G. Berlin—Grunewald.

nationalised, great fortunes eliminated by taxation, and inheritance abolished, while production would be stimulated by organisation and by the magic of applied science. While Stinnes was only a Napoleon of business, Rathenau was a trained and powerful thinker, perpetually occupied with the problems of citizenship and the abolition of the gulf between bourgeoisie and proletariat. Several of his writings have appeared in English dress, and all of them repay careful study, despite their difficult and over-concentrated style.

In the field of public life Rathenau rendered two great services to his country. While the military and naval machine was ready for war, no economic preparation for a long struggle had been made, and it was his task at the outbreak of hostilities to propose and to create a Department for Raw Materials, which under his direction quickly attained gigantic proportions. His second and greater opportunity came in 1921, when Dr. Wirth for a short period occupied the centre of the political stage, and appointed his friend first to the Ministry of Reconstruction and shortly after to the Foreign Office. To both he brought a clear-cut programme, which was known as the Policy of Fulfilment—the frank recognition of the new order created by Germany's defeat, the execution of the economic provisions of the Treaty of Versailles so far as possible, and negotiation with the victors instead of blind and sullen intransigence. Rathenau was indeed the real founder of the policy of European co-operation which Stresemann has continued with excellent results; and it was to this policy that he fell a victim on returning from the Geneva Conference, which is fully and authoritatively described in these pages from the German side for the first time.

G. P. G.

* * *

INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.*

In the Middle Ages before the days of the ripening of the fact of nationality there was a great deal of intellectual co-operation throughout the confines of the old Roman Empire. To-day there is once again a revival on a vast scale of intellectual co-operation in an age of nationality. In both cases the Universities were and are the medium or machinery of co-operation. Since the Great War this co-operation has been advancing by leaps and bounds and especially in methods of education. Mr. Zimmern in these papers is apparently not referring to such co-operation but to the application of

* *Learning and Leadership: a Study of the Needs and Possibilities of International Intellectual Co-operation.* By Alfred Zimmern. Oxford University Press. 5s. net.

learning to the control of political tendencies, a difficult and dangerous subject. He first defines Civilisation as "control over environment." By the term "Civilisation" he does not mean what most people mean: "the criterion is not ethical or æsthetic, but intellectual and practical." He does not include in the term "religion, conduct, culture, beauty." He simply means by Civilisation "a controlled and orderly external environment," in other words, the Rule of Law.

Mr. Zimmern feels that human pre-occupation with the Rule of Law as applied to Nationality is a limitation to "a miniature canvas," and pleads for an "enlargement of scale." But he should realise that the idea of internationality implies the idea of nationality and that therefore it is only a sound national thinker with pronounced local patriotism that can make a sound international thinker who sees that there is a common pool of thought and ideas for all nations.

The Rule of Law can be extended, no doubt, to the relations of nations, and no doubt it is true that the intellectual side of things must be extended. But it is hardly true to say that the intellectual foundations of the League of Nations has not yet been laid, since the members of the League are wholly familiar with the Rule of Law in their respective countries and are also familiar with the potential Rule of Law which should govern the relations of nations. But it is, of course, certain that the constituencies from which the members of the League are drawn—the nations, in fact—should be accustomed to think both nationally and internationally. If that result is reached, war may become more difficult for ambitious men to launch upon the world, while knowledge of general economic conditions would make a war based on economic difficulties less probable. Mr. Zimmern therefore pleads for the extension of knowledge among the peoples that make up the modern States in the belief that knowledge in various constitutional and economic fields will avoid the risks of war. The number of the constituencies or nations has been enlarged, and the number of voters in each constituency has been greatly enlarged, and more especially by the extension in England and some other countries of the franchise to women.

In these circumstances the problem is apparently becoming ever more complex, and Mr. Zimmern thinks that even to-day public opinion is not given a fair chance. Indeed, he declares that since the Armistice "virtually every important international development, calling for measures of practical statesmanship, has been unsatisfactorily dealt with because public opinion was not given enough time to understand what was happening or what was required." Is this true, or if true is it capable of adjustment?

After all, it would not be possible for a referendum to be taken in each country on each question that comes before the League. All that States can do is to formulate a policy of peace, and trust to their statesmen to carry it out. That is exactly what seems to be happening at the present time.

But Mr. Zimmern would make it a matter of educational policy to educate the rising generation to see what is best for securing the peace of the world; to make a world educational system by bringing the primary and secondary school teachers into the field as world-workers for peace and largely by the international exchange of teachers. The University would also play its part in this movement, and Mr. Zimmern realises that now as always the University teacher is an international figure. Travel would afford the final stage of the ordinary citizen's education for world-peace. Mr. Zimmern perhaps does not realise the extent to which his ideals, which are as old as the hills, are already reduced to practice. Great Britain is certainly doing her part in this process of familiarity which lies behind all international knowledge. But the point upon which stress must be principally laid is that if the goal is a vague internationalism it will not lead to peace. Sturdy nationalists only will make sturdy internationalists, and if the Rule of Law is not learnt and obeyed at home it certainly will not be learnt and obeyed as the principal or indeed the only road to permanent international peace.

CHRIST AND SOCIETY.*

Dr. Charles Gore in the Halley Stewart Lectures for last year dealt with the theme "Christ and Society," now issued in book form. The ideas underlying these lectures are that our society, and industry, and our international relations are in need of thorough reformation; that this reformation or revolution can be achieved by gradual and peaceful means; that the evils "are not the inevitable results of any kind of inexorable necessity," "but are the fruits of human blindness, wilfulness, avarice and selfishness on the widest scale and in the long course of history," and demand a fundamental change of the spirit; that the change can be brought about by groups of men prophetically led. Dr. Gore thinks that the Anglo-Catholic Movement forms one such group. Yet the unpopularity and distrust of that Movement among the laity seems to rule this group out. In fact, it is a clerical and not a popular movement and has not that advantage of discipline which is the real strength of the Roman Communion. Moreover, the

tentative sanction to lawlessness and defiance of the Rule of Law recently given by the Bishops has shocked the conscience of the nation. The group of "enlightened, convinced and self-sacrificing men" who founded the High Church would have been horrified at such things.

Dr. Gore's fourth point, that Our Lord "is really the Saviour and Redeemer of mankind, in its social as well as its individual life, and in the present world as well as in that which is to come," is perhaps to-day a truism, but it is well to remember that Our Lord specifically separates the political from the spiritual sphere and the intrusion of the Church into any form of politics is fraught with spiritual danger. Dr. Gore rightly says that history "breeds in us an awful sense of responsibility." That is specially true of the Church in its relation to State affairs. The historical record of the Church shows that in such affairs this sense of responsibility has been nearly always lacking. The Kingdom of God is not a political kingdom, and it is difficult to think that Our Lord intended to organise "a community representing the new and true Israel under the Twelve as their rulers" if that community is not regarded in a merely and purely spiritual sense. As Dr. Gore says, it is "in the world but not of it."

No doubt this spiritual kingdom was to be realised in stages, but the only relation of it "to the general political and economic life of man" is that it makes men gradually better and more capable of applying what Dr. Gore calls "the method of peaceful appeal." Did the Church that the political world received in the fourth century act on this method? There was in fact "the total abandonment of that resolute refusal of force" which dominated the early Church. There were "acts of unfaithfulness on the largest scale." But apparently Dr. Gore is ready to forgive much since the Church, with the temporal sword in its hand, did not abandon the idea of the Church "as the representative of the kingdom of God and the lordship of Christ on earth." But the answer is, how could the Vatican abandon the idea which was the root of its authority? We must admire the mediæval Church and the great Popes for many things, and especially for discipline, at its height, but it certainly never represented the kingdom of God on earth, for the reason that it was essentially a political force, a noble theocracy at its best, a disgusting orgy of tyranny at its worst, but in all cases essentially political. The Renaissance, the enlargement of the world, the discoveries of science ended all that, while the political Reformation hardened the idea of national sovereignties and gradually swept away the actuality and even the dream of the political dominance of the Church of Christ, whether represented by the Roman or any other Christian communion.

* *Christ and Society*. By Charles Gore. George Allen & Unwin. 4s. 6d. net.

Protestantism was among the combined forces—*pace* Dr. Gore and Professor Tawney—that swept away the mediæval conception of temporal power, and the various divisions of the Church to-day have the opportunity of reviving the ideal of a spiritual community within a political community—in it but not of it—which is exercising at every turn spiritual and moral pressure on the men and women who compose the political community. That doubtless is Dr. Gore's goal. He asks :

Are we *now*, in all our different countries and different congregations, living the life of fellowship which is the life of heaven? Does the religion of fellowship permeate all the relations of man to man? Are we certainly living as those who believe that every man counts for one in God's sight and no one for more than one?

The answer is no, emphatically no, and the answer is also that it is very largely the fault of the various branches of the Christian Church. In all the miseries of the Industrial Revolution the Church as a body tolerated intolerable evils. But there is this to be said, that the laymen who ended many of the evils were in fact members of the Invisible Church, and perhaps the best hope for the future is that more ecclesiastics, economists, statesmen, lawyers and politicians will be members of that Church. If so, the stage will be reached when education, industry, law, will be such as to justify the belief that the nation is a Christian nation. Even to-day things are much better in education and industry than apparently Dr. Gore thinks. The great evil is the quarrels of sections of the Church, quarrels that are not least evident in the policy of that section of English churchmen of which Dr. Gore is a distinguished member. Churches are crowded when the public can hear social reform preached in the name of Christ by men who have no ecclesiastical axe to grind and are not intent on pushing at all costs this or that doctrine of the Eucharist on congregations who neither know nor care about the metaphysics of the Real Presence, but are longing to know something of the actual presence of Christ the Carpenter who healed men, of His presence in the workshop and the factory and the counting house. Dr. Gore rightly says that :

We have to gird ourselves to the task of letting the world understand what the Church of Christ really stands for—what its real mind is about the foundations of society, about the relation of man to man and class to class and nation to nation. But I must not speak as if what I am urging were anything new to-day. The cause which I plead is a cause which has been vocal in the religious world since the days, at least, of Frederick Maurice and of Shaftesbury. . . . Our endless critical, theological, and ecclesiastical or sacramental controversies are always making mankind forget—nay leading the controversialists themselves to forget—that the object of the Church of Christ, as its Founder

defined it, is to live a life, and that life an organised brotherhood. . . . What I am advocating, then, is a special association, intellectual and practical, for Christian social propaganda.

Copec or some other organisation is suggested. But surely the first business is to fill the churches. They are now full whenever there is a social message delivered by a man competent to deliver it. But hundreds, indeed, thousands of churches grow more and more empty as the present ecclesiastical struggle goes on. The bored public are weary of dialectics and sacramentalism that do not touch the lives of the people. The clergy are not educated in any social sense; they are not, in the majority of cases, scholars with minds trained to deal with social problems; they are not even trained to preach. That they are one and all good men in the moral sense no one doubts, but they are only successful in one thing, in emptying their churches. The vast general public are waiting to enter the churches and to hear the glad tidings of a better world. They will not enter to hear "the blessed mutter of the Mass" or Calvinistic theories as to the verbal inspiration of a translated Bible.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

POEMS OF PESSIMISM.*

Mr. W. B. Yeats' new volume of poems is not exhilarating. It is a book mostly of mockery. Poetry, whatever the theme, should have the power of aviation, by which to raise the reader from a groundling to a seeker after the heights. He may fail to attain the heights, but in striving he has won what others may achieve. Even the title poem *The Tower* is one of lamentation. Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.

Mr. Yeats has sold his poetic soul for a mess of pessimism and, unlike his *Countess Cathleen*, not for the saving of others. He sees and holds life from a wrong angle; hence his pessimism. No doubt his country's anguish has driven the iron into his soul; and he fails to see that "there is some soul of goodness in things evil," and thus, he is powerless to "observingly distil it out." Old age to him is a "tattered coat upon a stick."

What shall I do with this absurdity—
O heart, O troubled heart—this caricature,
Decrepit age that has been tied to me
As to a dog's tail?

Never had I more
Excited, passionate, fantastical
Imagination, nor an ear and eye

* *The Tower*. By W. B. Yeats. Macmillan. 6s. net.

That more expected the impossible—
 No, not in boyhood when with rod and fly
 Or the humbler worm, I climbed Ben Bulbin's back
 And had the livelong summer day to spend.
 It seems that I must bid the Muse go pack,
 Choose Plato and Plotinus for a friend
 Until imagination, ear and eye,
 Can be content with argument and deal
 In abstract things; or be derided by
 A sort of battered kettle at the heel.

If this is a poet's outlook, it is better to be a pagan, as Wordsworth says, but better still to have the hope of Rabbi Ben Ezra or of the Renaissance Grammarian who, despite the torments of old age, never failed in his faith for humanity.

The reader must inevitably compare Mr. Yeats' conception of old age with Browning's vivid hopes: "Grow old along with me, the best is yet to be." *Meditations* calls forth, however, a less mocking spirit:

I turn away and shut the door, and on the stair
 Wonder how many times I could have proved my worth
 In something that all others understand or share;
 But oh, ambitious heart had such a proof drawn forth
 A company of friends, a conscience set at ease
 It had but made us pine the more. The abstract joy,
 The half-read wisdom of dæmonic images,
 Suffice the ageing man as once the growing boy.

This poem was written as recently as 1928.

If poets and people had but the faith of a grain of mustard seed we should hear less of pessimism, and the old men might turn with advantage to the Seer of Patmos, and with him still see visions of a new Earth and a new Heaven, and scan the glorious possibilities of evolution, which still presents difficulties to some timid folk. We all need to live in a land of far distances to get our perspective aright. Pisgah sights are never cramped. It is the Hill of Difficulty which all have to climb that often bars our way, and blurs our vision. Poetry such as Mr. Yeats' latest may be good for the author, who by unpacking his luggage may be able to free himself of much impedimenta, and make room for nobler literary thoughts and higher aspirations, but to the general reader this collection of poems will not add one cubit to his intellect or spiritual progress or achievement.

One of the best poems in this collection is *The Gift of Harun al-Raschid*, where love in sleep endows the wife with the knowledge that her husband strives after but cannot grasp:

She seemed the learned man and I the child;
 Truths without father came, truths that no book
 Of all the uncounted books that I have read,
 Nor thought out of her mind or mine begot.

And when she had imparted the craved-for wisdom, he leads her home unawakened:

And once again she rose and swept the house
 In childish ignorance of all that passed.

S. DE M.

* * *

WILLIAM BLAKE.*

MR. Max Plowman's attitude towards that great draftsman poet and mystic William Blake is curious and almost irritating, and Blake himself would deprecate it. It is not helpful to say that "the complete Blake will no longer be regarded as a narcotic for numskulls," that hitherto he has been regarded as "a persistent nuisance to orderly criticism," that he "cannot be classed . . . cannot be estimated," cannot be "judged by those barren objective standards which have done such dismal duty since the time of Matthew Arnold." Such words cannot produce that patient study of Blake's mystical works which is presumably the goal of Mr. Plowman's book.

The main trouble with Blake's mystical work is that he did not take the trouble to make it understandable by the average thinker. In his illustrations he obeyed the laws of his great art. In his writings he did not obey the laws of quite as great an art, with the result that literary perspective is lost for, at any rate, the average student of philosophic literature. After all, philosophic thought is capable of orderly expression. Surely there is nothing wrong, if a man wishes to convey a message to humanity, in conveying it in a medium which can be understood. Blake in his simpler poems and in all his illustrations made himself not only clear but so clear that his message or part of his message is engraven on the rock of immortal things. But when he came to write his fuller message in verse he is so difficult to understand that, with the best will in the world and with intense anxiety to receive the message, the average mind feels that it is written in a tongue that he cannot understand. It is not a question of classification but of translation, and frankly Mr. Plowman does not give the student confidence as a translator, since he is far more enigmatic than the great Blake himself. It would be fair, however, to compare Blake with Walt Whitman, though in the case of Whitman there was a conscious obscurity, a defiance of form that did not exist in Blake. For in fact Blake loved form and loved technique, and it was his misfortune and not by his wish or desire or fault that he could not frame

* (1) *An Introduction to the Study of Blake*. By Max Plowman. J. M. Dent. 4s. 6d. net. (2) *Blake's Innocence and Experience: A Study*. By Joseph Wicksteed. J. M. Dent. 21s. net. (3) *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, by William Blake. With a Note by Max Plowman. J. M. Dent. 21s. net. (4) *Poetical Sketches by William Blake with an Essay on Blake's Metric*. By Jack Lindsay. The Scholartis Press, London. 9s. net.

his philosophy in a form as exquisitely subtle as is exhibited in his draftsmanship.

Mr. Plowman admits all this when he writes that "the real trouble about Blake is his vocabulary." Mr. Plowman claims that Blake thought "with an exactitude hard to follow." Where most of us are hazy Blake is not. But if prose is to be a medium at all terms must be defined. It must not be left to Mr. Plowman or anyone else to define the terms. Blake presumably defines his terms, and it is not open to any critic to say where words have their ordinary meaning and where they have a symbolic meaning. Robert Browning was troubled by interpreters of this sort, but fortunately to-day we can interpret Browning for ourselves and can be amused by the poet's answer to a would-be interpreter. Blake's *Songs of Innocence* are declared by Mr. Plowman to be symbolic. In some ways, of course, all poetry is symbolic, but why is it necessary to attribute to poor Blake a schematic system of symbolism beginning at the age of thirty and going on for forty years when the early poetry is essentially the music of a human thrush? Mr. Plowman insists that "from the *Songs of Innocence* to the *Ghost of Abel* his aim was to reveal the nature of the soul. This is ultimately the concern of every true poet. Blake differs from others in that it was his whole concern." This is reading too much into Blake's poems. His Swedenborgian upbringing, no doubt, coloured all his thinking, but after all he was a poet essentially and not a philosopher, and the best of his poetic work is as original and natural as the work of Robert Burns. The doctrine of schematic symbolism does less than justice to Blake the poet and leaves Blake the mystic philosopher at the mercy of any interpreter.

That Blake in his later stages was a pure mystic is clear enough. He boldly declares that man perceives more than sense can discover, and he illustrates this view by the instinct of birds which are not bound by the "senses five." He certainly did not belong to the rational school, and he certainly believed in spiritual growth and not in a perpetual age of innocence. He believed in instinctive powers, such as the birds and beasts have, in vision such as the angels have, in imagination which he regarded as creative. Mr. Plowman says that Blake announced "not the religion of art but of imagination." But these are the same thing. Mr. Plowman declares that "Blake had a poet's, not a mystic's, conception of the universe." It is very difficult to separate the two ideas, to confine the music of the spheres to the philosopher or the mystic or the poet. They all are one in their outreaching to the essential reasonableness and beauty of things. Blake suffers in popular estimation from his own excess of light but also from a fate that he has still no translator who can give his message to the people.

Mr. Joseph Wicksteed's study of Blake's *Songs of Innocence and Experience* is cast upon rather different lines. It is to be noticed that it is dedicated to that great thinker and scholar, Philip Henry Wicksteed (the father of the author), "Who learning the voices of many masters in many lands held speech that shall not perish with his many friends and disciples." Blake was indeed a mystic that Philip Wicksteed must have cherished for his essential beauty and sublimity of mind. An expository essay is addressed to Mr. Max Plowman. Mr. Wicksteed holds that the *Songs of Innocence and Experience* are a treatise and an exposition but that Blake has not forced the reader "to make a choice between the meaning and the poetry. . . . He weaves his meaning over and under the surface of his song, and by tracking its course above and below, we need lose none of the music of the verse and may often discover rich harmonies of beauty resounding in the deeps. Many of the Songs, it is true, are simple enough. They are exactly what they seem; lyrics of bird-like beauty and Arcadian charm: others have a double beauty, a beauty of simple meaning and an accompanying beauty of remoter thought. In a few the very poetry seems to recede into magic caves, whence it can only be unearthed by deep study of the charms of Blake's magicianry. But both beauty and meaning are harnessed to an end." This delightful edition reproduces some of Blake's exquisite illustrations in colour with unusual success.

To these two books on the work of William Blake must be added *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, "reproduced in facsimile from an original copy of the work printed and illuminated by the author between the years 1825-1827 and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge." It is an amazing volume and there is perhaps some recession "into magic caves." The last words strike the note that Walt Whitman was to strike when "everything that lives is holy." Mr. Plowman, in his note on the volume, states that this is Blake's chief contribution to the subject of Freewill and Destiny. In it he understands that "evil was not a condition enforced by some malevolent deity, but was a state of experience through which the soul of man passed, in order that, knowing good and evil, he might achieve a nobler state—one in which good and evil were surpassed—this condition Blake called Imagination, or Liberty." Shakespeare in his tragedies, in fact, has the same conception, the higher unity that transcends earthly struggles. The illuminations, however they were done, exhibit in a remarkable degree Blake's latest manner.

Mr. Eric Partridge's introduction to his edition of Blake's *Poetical Sketches* takes a more natural view of the whole of the Blake poems. Not only were the *Poetical Sketches* of 1783 "the production of untutored youth, but the *Songs of Innocence* (1789)

were equally spontaneous," though with a higher standard of technique. But he admits that the art and the poetry of Blake are inseparable.

* * *

✓ JUSTICE FOR THE POOR.*

That the poor man cannot get the same measure of justice from the State as the well-to-do man is a commonplace of every civilisation. There are many reasons for this persistent evil, and some of these reasons are only very indirectly due to the fact of poverty. The poor man very often does not take the trouble to seek for justice; he has his living to earn, the processes of justice bore him; he is prepared to suffer a good deal of injustice and adjust his life accordingly rather than to drag his affairs into the light of day. The latter fact applies not only to the poor, as can be seen in the great increase of divorce actions that has followed the new law forbidding the reporting of these actions in the daily papers.

But there are some intolerable wrongs from which the poor suffer that are capable of remedy, and Sir Edward Parry, out of his long experience as a County Court judge, devotes a brilliant book (one of many) to the subject. The leading case of injustice is that of imprisonment for debt. Imprisonment for debt was abolished by Statute in 1869, but there was an exception made in the Statute in the case of poor persons owing small debts, and as a result of the exception, which has been taken advantage of by the lowest class of traders—persons who sell on the instalment system the luxuries of the poor—to elaborate a method of screwing money out of the very poor, the relations and the friends of the foolish person who has been tricked by the trader into buying rubbish. But despite the Screw System there are in prison for debt to-day no less than 11,000 poor persons, 90 per cent. of whom are too poor to pay and cannot find friends to help them. These 11,000 persons are wage-earners, and the loss to the State far exceeds the sum that the Treasury gains by Court fees. It is a monstrous system, but it, apparently, is backed by certain County Court judges who boast that the tally-man actions pay the costs of their Court and leave a good deal over for the Treasury. The Commissioners who supported the system of imprisonment for debt in 1894 and 1909 it seems only heard the evidence in its favour and based their decision upon the fact that it "pays." It certainly does not pay to remove wage-earners from their employment and cast their families on the rates. An Order of Court directing the employers to deduct the debt by instalments from the wages would be in every way more

* *The Gospel and the Law.* By His Honour Sir Edward Abbott Parry. William Heinemann. 8s. 6d. net.

efficient and it would kill the evil instalment system of purchase. Sir Edward tells the story of the Workmen's Compensation Act in detail and the struggle between the Court of Appeal and the House of Lords that it has given rise to in the course of ascertaining the meaning of the hideous phraseology of the Act. The House of Lords restored the principles of common sense, but not until a grievous amount of injustice had been done to the poor workers.

The chapters dealing with Departmentalism will be read with great interest by the general public and with some bitterness, and it may be hoped with some good results, by the higher ranges of the Civil Service. There is something very wrong with our Departmental system. The circumlocutory office, despite the efforts of Charles Dickens, flourishes like a green bay tree in these post-war days when the number of officials has been vastly increased. A man's ambition dies when he becomes a civil servant, and he is drawn into the soulless machinery of a system that does not disclose the operation of any personality. Sir Edward Parry clamours for the introduction of the personal responsibility for the allotted task of every Civil Servant, and he makes the point that the system of education that leads up to appointment does not fit him for responsibility. Apparently that is what the Machine wants, to capture a man young enough to be moulded into a soulless and mechanical life. Sir Edward pleads for the Civil Service to be conducted on the principles that are implicit in the Gospels; that is the theme of his book, and he argues with great force that the County Courts and the Administrative Departments would have more influence for good in the lives of the people were such principles applied at every turn. It would not mean less work for the lawyers, less profits for the Departments; but it would mean justice for the poor and a reliance on the Rule of Law that is to-day not always felt. Sir Edward feels that Government Departments could be conducted on these lines, and presumably he would say the same of the great municipal services such as the County Councils, which employ large numbers of men and women who are in effect Civil Servants.

Much, of course, must depend on the heads of these Departments, and much on the character and ability of men who are appointed to the County Court Bench. But that Sir Edward Parry makes out his case for great administrative and judicial reforms on the lines of humane treatment and the application of the principles laid down in the Sermon on the Mount there can be no doubt. He writes much on the subject of Divorce, and he shows the amount of sorrow that exists among the poor, as well as technical immorality, as the result of the existing law. The new Rules for Poor Suitors should do much to sweep away these evils, but this should be supplemented

by the statutory enactment of the many administrative reforms, the necessity of which was indicated by the Divorce Commissioners in 1912. Those Commissioners were divided on the subject of grounds for divorce, but they agreed on a machinery that would relieve the poor as well as other classes from many of the evils inherent in the present law.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

In *The Russian Revolution** Prof. James Mavor of Toronto University gives the student a sequel to his volume, *The Economic History of Russia*, published in 1914 and revised in 1925. The Russian cataclysm illustrates his view that "no country (besides Russia) offers the student an equal opportunity for a study of economic history." The second volume of the *Economic History* traces the parallel growth of modern history and revolutionary ideas, and in this volume Professor Mavor attempts to bring the Russian revolution into historical perspective, giving prominence to the economic legislation and administration of the Soviet Government. He boldly applies to the Russians of our day what Macchiavelli said of the Italians of his age: "They are more enslaved than the Hebrews, more oppressed than the Persians, more scattered than the Athenians, without head, without order, beaten, despoiled, torn, overrun, having endured every kind of desolation." The first book of this volume deals with the collapse of the Tzardom and the bureaucracy; the second with the period of transition, the third with national disintegration and the rise of the Bolsheviks, showing the incompatibility of co-operation between a Peasant State and a Communist Proletarian State. The lengthy fourth book considers the Social Revolution and its Consequences. The *intelligentsia* of Russia, some ten millions, having got rid of the old régime, retired in true Russian fashion from politics and then in August, 1918, the Red Terror began and the *intelligentsia* were slaughtered like flies. No stand was made. The bourgeois class merely submitted to be slaughtered: the executioners appointed by the Bolsheviks were the sergeants of the old régime. The Red Terror was a manifestation of fear, as indeed were the successive stages of the whole epoch. The Terror was followed by the collapse of Communism and the new economic policy. Professor Mavor finally concludes, from his detailed investigation, that "under Bolshevik policy and methods no social advance is possible, for Bolshevism is in its essence the very antithesis of progress." This conclusion is very definite and must carry great weight in view of the economic distinction of the author.

"The Constitution of the United States"† is the collection of a course of lectures delivered at Boston University by Mr. Gasper G. Bacon, member of the Massachusetts Senate. To the average individual the nature and working of a national constitution make too little appeal. This book is an attempt to impress upon the people of the United States the value of knowing how they are governed. "To what extent any particular example of popular government is successful depends largely upon two factors, first, to what extent is the participation by

* George Allen & Unwin. 21s. net.

† Milford. 9s. net.

the people general, and second, to what extent is such participation enlightened." With this in sight Senator Bacon describes the fundamentals or corner stones of the American Constitution and the relation of the individual to it. To the Englishman who takes an interest in the government of his own country the book must appeal especially by contrast and comparison. For though the American Constitution was modelled on the English Method of Government, it is fundamentally different. Perhaps the most interesting difference is "the separation of powers" which Montesquieu so ardently promoted in the second half of the eighteenth century. Senator Bacon shows that the system of balances and checks between Legislature, Executive and Judiciary is a basic fact in the American Constitution. In England the essence of Cabinet government is its responsibility to Parliament. In the United States the Constitution forbids the Executive to become members of the Legislature. The latter is a check upon the power of the Cabinet. Moreover, the President has a definite term which cannot be abridged. On the other hand, the British Prime Minister has greater power, but the check from Parliament may be absolute and instantaneous. The two methods of governments, both having a common origin, are widely divergent. Senator Bacon has written a lucid and valuable account which must be useful in realising a better knowledge of the Constitution of the United States.

In the "World's Manual" Series* Sir John Marriott has written a volume entitled "How we are Governed." As the preface shows, it has been written as an introduction to the author's important constitutional works, "English Political Institutions," and "The Mechanism of the Modern State." "This little book intended for beginners of all ages from fifteen to fifty" covers the whole field of constitutional government in England. The first chapters are devoted to explaining the position of king, cabinet, and parliament. The writer briefly shows how the sovereignty of the king gave way to the omnipotence of Parliament, and how the Cabinet, composed of the King's servants, has become answerable to Parliament alone. The machinery of the executive, the Cabinet, is composed of government departments, whose work is briefly described. A chapter is devoted to local government. Sir John Marriott next deals with the third instrument of government, the Judiciary. In a few pages the whole legal system is presented, from the work of a policeman to the business of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In a little over a hundred pages the reader is presented with a concise description of the whole area of government. It is an excellent book for those who want to understand how we are governed.

Thomas Day of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was a friend of Richard Lovell Edgeworth of the same college and together they became, about 1774, great admirers of Jean Jacques Rousseau whose educational theories at that time Edgeworth was applying to his little son. Sir Michael Sadler selected the theme of *Thomas Day: An English Disciple of Rousseau*† as the subject of his Rede lecture this year. Day was born in 1748 and suffered from a severe stepfather whose sternness coloured the boy's life. The boy was educated at Charterhouse and went (he was the heir to a considerable property) to Corpus as a gentleman commoner. He was not like other youths.

* Humphrey Milford. 2s. 6d. net.

† Cambridge University Press. 2s. 6d. net.

He was an abstainer and he worked, and when he went down he had the strange idea of training up a wife suitable to himself and his position. Two young girls were so trained (it is a curious story): one from the Foundling was too commonplace and the other married a friend of the trainer. Another and a more appropriate wife was discovered and she was wealthy. But they chose to live in comparative poverty and work among the poor in a Surrey village. After a brief period of ideal happiness Day was killed in a riding accident and his wife pined away and died. Thomas Day really represented the reaction against the good manners and bad morals of the eighteenth century and perhaps may be classed, in the manner of his wholly admirable and very eccentric life, with Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, or the earlier dwellers in Little Gidding. He was a voluminous and wordy writer and he endeavoured by word as well as deed to make the world a better place. But he would have been wholly forgotten had he not written one strange book, *The History of Sandford and Merton: A Book Intended for the Use of Children*. The student of the history of education will be grateful to the Master of University College, Oxford, for linking that immortal work with Rousseau's *Emile*, which no doubt it will outlive.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

In his volume entitled "From Magic to Science: Essays on the Scientific Twilight"* Dr. Charles Singer reprints, with modifications, a number of essays written during the last ten years on the evolution of science from its dawn of magic. The article on science in the well-known volume "The Legacy of Rome" will be re-read with pleasure as will the second essay on "The Dark Ages and the Dawn of Science" and especially for its notable tribute to Roger Bacon, "the first man of science in the modern sense" (he even foresaw the motor car and the aeroplane). Bacon's "legacy to thought may be regarded as accuracy of method, criticism of authority, and reliance on experiment—the pillars of modern science." After Bacon came the great mediæval physicians and with the Renaissance the supreme figure of Leonardo da Vinci, a man of the Bacon type. England fares well in the essays. The paper on the Lorica of Gildas and on Early English Magic and Medicine are of great interest. The book is in every page attractive and the illustrations are excellent.

The second edition of the "Annuaire de la Société des Nations,"† compiled under the direction of M. Georges Ottlik, covers the period extending from the closing of the forty-sixth session of the Council of the League of Nations (June 17th, 1927) to the closing of the fiftieth session (June 9th, 1928) and in some parts to the end of June. The first part deals with the constitutional organisation of the League, the second with the current composition, the third deals with the record of events from 1927 to 1928 in great detail, and lastly the various sovereign States are considered and details are given of the relations of non-members with members; a most useful section. The documents relating to the Peace Pact are given *seriatim*. A very welcome handbook.

* Ernest Benn Ltd 25s. net.

† Librairie Payot et Cit, Lausanne and Geneva.

INDEPENDENCE AND PEACE.

THE words at the head of this article are traditional watch-words of the Liberal Party, and they have been reaffirmed with unusual but necessary vigour at the recent party conference at Yarmouth. It was the last of the three party gatherings, the shortest and the most precise. The Conservative assemblage was larger and more diffuse. Labour was long drawn out and more restless. Neither seemed quite at home with its spokesmen—but that after all is a matter for them and hardly at all for us. Our own Conference had a new and distinguishing feature. For the first time the policy on which Liberal candidates will fight a general election has been textually drafted by the Executive Committee of the National Liberal Federation, and, after consideration by the local Associations, discussed and ratified by the party Conference. Unforeseeable events may arise between now and next June on which new pronouncements must be made at the last moment to instruct and guide public opinion—but broadly speaking the electorate now know exactly where Liberals stand on the public questions of the day. What they approve of and will work for, what they intend to oppose with every energy they possess, and what arguments they advance in support of their policy, are all set out with a wealth of precision which leaves nothing to chance or guesswork. The three handbooks of Liberal policy on Land, Coal, and Industry are summarised in some twenty resolutions, which cover all the problems of domestic and foreign relations that seem likely to arise in the next few years. Such fullness of pledges has, of course, its drawbacks. Potential adherents can be alienated as well as attracted by over-great particularity. Political pirates, like literary ones, borrow freely without acknowledgment of the sources of their inspiration. From the second of these misfortunes we have suffered already. Labour has filched openly and without shame ideas, methods, and even phraseology. The higher the rank of the borrower, the more extensive and shameless the theft, and while the compliment is as great as it is undesired, there is some loss and inconvenience involved. The loud-mouthed assertion of the originality of the Labour programme and manifesto can only be contradicted and disproved by a mass of evidence which the listening elector has neither the time nor the patience to examine. Perhaps, on the whole, the priority and completeness of our proposals will be established and the thoroughness of our work will receive its due recognition.

Another question, and perhaps of even greater immediate importance, was dealt with with peculiar fullness and firmness at Yarmouth. Conservatives and Labour have much and many things in

common. But of all the emotions which they share, hatred of Liberalism is the strongest. It is the stranger because Tories spend quite a considerable part of their time on the platform in declaring their similarity to Liberals, while Labour boasts itself the heir to the traditions, legislation, and accomplishments of the Liberal Party. The falsity of both claims is a measure of their envy and of their desire. Headed by *The Times* and Mr. Baldwin, the Labour and Conservative Press and candidates repeat the tedious, but not wholly valueless question: To whom will Liberals attack themselves after the General Election? It is put with an air of triumphant finality which is as futile as it is irritating. It ignores the almost certain probability that advances will have to come, not from, but to the Liberal Party. It ignores the possibility that Liberals may emerge from the election so numerous that they can form their own administration. It ignores the fact that recently Conservative seats have only been retained by a minority vote, and that Labour is frequently at the bottom of the poll. The two parties have been so busy deceiving themselves that they fail to notice that they deceive no one else. Meanwhile the challenge has been taken up by Mr. Lloyd George in the name and on behalf of the Liberal Party, and a "Declaration of Independence" made in no uncertain language. In reply to Mr. Snowden's invitation to work and vote for Labour, who in return will vote and work against Liberals, Mr. Lloyd George reminded him that the same snare never caught the same bird twice. Liberals would fight the election as they had fought elections long before Labour was heard of, as a body of opinion independent of all other, willing to receive help from all intelligent and progressive men—pledged to resist Protection or Socialism.

This plain statement of intention was greeted with much enthusiasm by the whole body of delegates. The fact that it was the deliberate and considered opinion of all the party leaders, who had been specially consulted, strengthened that enthusiasm, and made it abundantly clear that the delegates desired no accommodation or bargain with any other political party, but desired and intended to put their fate to the touch singlehanded. The election once over, one outstanding fact will remain clear. The King's Government, as the Duke of Wellington once said, and as Mr. Lloyd George reminded the Conference, must be carried on. That is a duty and obligation upon all parties. It must be remembered that in bygone days this has sometimes been a matter of great difficulty. It was only after the Reform Election of 1832 that the system of political allegiance changed from a personal, or group, character to one of principle, and in so doing simplified the composition of Governments. Coalitions have never been popular, they

have sometimes been necessary—and even successful—they never have been long lived. But combinations of men of similar ideas and outlook have frequently taken place under the force of circumstances. As Mr. Lloyd George said in his speech at Yarmouth, there is a large and fertile territory of social improvement which might be cultivated by men of intelligent and progressive views in all parties. One would have thought that an obvious truism. We have never disputed the desire for progress in the Labour Party. We have criticised only their methods and their ultimate goal. We had imagined that buried in the mass of Conservative reaction there were some ardent and intelligent men who held much the same opinions as ourselves, but who differed from ourselves in method. Mr. J. C. Davidson—Chief Organiser of the Conservative Party—has hastened to point out our error. He has insisted on the deceit and inconsistency of Liberals, who repudiate Socialists on the platform but invite their co-operation in Government. Thus his interpretations of Mr. George's suggestion addressed to men of all parties can only mean that since there is no progressive mind amongst Conservatives, the invitation can only be addressed to Labour. Well, Mr. Davidson knows his own party better than we do, its intellectual as well as its moral worth, and certainly the publication of the Anglo-French Naval Agreement papers would seem to justify his low estimate both of Conservative intelligence and of its desire for social progress.

The fact is that no one can tell how the election may result. The Government are cultivating the habit of the minority vote; their unpopularity is notorious and increasing; there are millions of new voters unallied to any party; there is a large body of old voters who in 1924 dissociated themselves from their usual allegiance to Liberalism. The reticence of the electorate, their absence from meetings, their apparent indifference at by-elections, and the large percentage which in the end record their votes, are factors which confuse and mislead organisers of each party in turn. Only one thing is sure—the dislike and contempt of the people for the Government with the exception of Mr. Baldwin, and the fact that their respect for him is for the person and not for the politician.

We ourselves shall go to the electorate with our own programme, free from engagements, pledges, alliances or understandings with any cause but our own. We look for no assistance, save by conversion, from Right or Left. We are well aware that, whatever other silent and half-conscious sympathy there may be between Conservatism and Labour, they have in common a vivacious hatred of Liberalism whose traditions and records are older than those of the one, and more honourable than those of the other. Unable to assassinate us in the dark, they have sought common

refuge and hope in slander almost identical in expression—originating as it does in a sense of common danger. To many of us Liberals this vehemence of passion, far exceeding the bounds of reasoning antagonism, seems at first sight inexplicable. It resembles in great measure those waves of uncontrolled hatred which divided the theological disputants of the sixteenth century. But reflection tells us that there are certain fundamentals about “authority” and “social co-operation” which bring Conservative and Socialist minds into a measure of understanding and sympathy with each other, while keeping them poles apart from the inquisitive and individualistic tendencies of Liberalism.

The cause and science of Peace is a specially exact illustration of the essential difference of Liberalism on one side and of Tory-Socialism on the other. The idea of a League of Nations whose chief political aim should be the settlement of international disputes by international discussion instead of by international destruction, was, so far as Great Britain was concerned, largely the outcome of Liberal thought. The realisation of the idea was no doubt, again so far as Great Britain was concerned, largely due to Lord Cecil. But Lord Cecil was, as he himself has confessed, not representative of his political friends, and stood in much the same relation to them as Mr. G. N. Barnes stood to the Labour Party. These latter, whose main thesis was the doctrine of domestic industrial war, can hardly recommend with any real claim to consistency international peace-with-understanding. It has seemed to me, who have had and utilised the chance to follow at close quarters the expression of opinion, and to watch the action of both Labour and Conservative for some years, that they both regard peace as a legal, rather than as a moral, state of mind. It is possible, according to their joint code of political honour and wisdom, to reconcile large estimates for armaments with the Paris Pact, or the diminution of unemployment with cruiser-building. There is not, it would seem, to either of them any inconsistency between signing an international treaty renouncing war as an instrument of policy, condemning recourse to war as a solution of international controversy, and agreeing that the settlement of all conflicts shall never be sought except by pacific means—between all this, and the conclusion of an understanding with France to permit unlimited building of certain types of cruisers and submarines. To Conservatives such an arrangement is admirable, or it would never presumably have been done; to the Socialists it is permissible, or it would not have been criticised by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald only in terms of its suitability to the American palate. For upon its morality he makes no reported comment. But to us Liberals, unless I am profoundly mistaken in the sentiments of my friends and colleagues, the words

of the Paris (Kellogg) Pact have a profound significance. They are either a message of universal appeasement, security, and recovery, a herald of peace and adjustment such as the world has not known since the time when the gates of the Temple of Janus were last shut, or else they are a witness to a cynicism so depraved and unabashed as to be quite indescribable. The Prime Minister at the Albert Hall the other day said that to sign a Covenant with a pen is not enough. It ought in truth to have been enough on August 27th last, for the opportunity to sign such a document has never occurred before in the history of the world. Yet the occasion and atmosphere of signature were such that the American Secretary of State and Signatory to the Pact seems to have avoided Great Britain on his way from Paris, just apparently because he thought the British Prime Minister was “only using a pen.” The experience of another Empire which mistook a treaty for a scrap of paper is fresh enough in all our minds, one would have thought, for the Government to have been unusually careful to give no cause for being suspect. A mistake can be passive as well as active, and the Prime Minister’s speech at the Albert Hall, while containing many noble and generous sentiments, contained, as I think, serious passive mistakes. It is not enough at a time when the Foreign Office dispatches speak, and are obliged to speak, of “the existing mistrust between France and England,” only to utter lofty and uplifting generalities. These procure, and rightly procure, applause from the national audience. But the ultimate cause of war in the past has not been, nor will it be in the future, “propaganda,” nor “foetid streams of insinuation,” nor “low motives of statesmen,” hateful as all these are, and all no doubt doing “the devil’s work.”

The real cause of war in every age has been the possession of those military armaments which create and justify the feeling of power, which either drive the possessor of them to exercise this power, or lead his neighbours to hostile action in anticipation of their still fuller development. Of such armaments the Prime Minister had scarcely a word to say. Two lines out of three columns: “Our policy is to go slow . . . we have no intention of building in competition with America,” was all that an expenditure of £120,000,000 received. But if there is no policy of War—and none is possible under the Paris Pact—is there to be no Policy of Peace, and no Policy of Disarmament? Is it not the Policy of Peace which is going slow, going so slow indeed that one can detect no movement at all in it? Let me ask two direct questions: How many people are there in this country—and, indeed, in every country, for we are not the only unwise people or Government—who are paid large remuneration and salaries to study the science of war? whose great abilities are officially devoted to promoting the speed and

range of destructive machinery, and thus to lowering the standards and values of civilisation? Per contra, how many persons or institutions are there paid or maintained and engaged to study the Science of Peace? It is not possible to overestimate the worth of such a science. It is only too easy to show how little time or thought has been given to it even by its most consistent and devoted friends. What a theme then for the Prime Minister to develop in language and phrase of which he is a master! What an occasion to start a new department of State which would recover its own costs in a few years! What an opportunity to allay international alarm and jealousies and to dissipate cloudy suspicions, by a few sentences of a creative character, positive in purpose and putting the coping-stone on mere benevolent phraseology! It could so easily have been taken without departing in any way from the purpose of the meeting—indeed, nothing could have been more appropriate or would have been more gratefully welcomed.

The League of Nations has done what no other international gathering has ever been able to do. It has created an international conscience—but its very success and accomplishment have left it a boundary post. It stands midway between an international society of nations created largely by war, maintained by force, pledged and authorised by the most formal treaty engagements to have recourse, in the last necessity, to war for the purpose of preserving peace, and the same society of nations, who have renewed their engagements after ten years of League experience. These years of agitation and apprehension have shown clearly enough to all Governments that any next war may be so general and will be so engulfing that it *must* be avoided, that the only way always to be able to avoid it is to be unable to carry it on, and that all nations therefore must disarm. Even France, which has recently promulgated the theory of civic duty discharged by military service, has recognised the danger to herself, and has been the first actually to devise a treaty for the renunciation of war; and has taken the further logical step of opening negotiations to settle German Reparations and Evacuation. When all nations admit the danger of all war, when all are turning to the same road away from it, it is clear that a Covenant which contemplated even restricted and controlled war is partially out of date. For a Government and a country so crippled by taxation and so hampered in social reform by lack of funds as is our own, to neglect a chance of rehabilitating itself in finance and social work is a stupidity only to be explained by the Prime Minister's phrase about the use of a pen. All that is wanted for Education, for Slum Clearance, for Debt reduction, can be found through reductions in Armament estimates if this Renunciation of War is a national recognition of

necessity and opportunity, and not a mere gesture with a pen. While there is this hesitation to seize the golden and fleeting moment, whether it be due to ignorance or ill-will on the part of Mr. Baldwin's Government, is it only a coincidence, or is it, as I think, due to similarity of temperament that Labour is equally neglectful and unfriendly to the cause of Peace? Mr. Snowden in a recent series of speeches on Finance and Social requirements dwelt on the certain imposition of new taxes on accumulated wealth by a Socialist Government. (That in an immediately preceding delivery he had pointed out how essential capital, i.e., accumulated wealth, was to industry, and industry to employment, seemed to be no obstacle to his argument before a different audience. Like Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, he is satisfied that no one cares to-morrow what a man said yesterday.) But if Mr. Snowden and his friends had been really devoted to the cause of Peace for the sake of Peace, they could have been both consistent, and Reformers. The *fact* of universal peace will place at the disposal of Social Reformers in all countries ample funds economised from armament estimates. No need to take £40,000,000 from increased death duties, or surtaxes or inheritance taxes, when economies in battalions, or cruisers, redundant by reason of peace, can be effected. Judging solely by Conservative and Labour language, and not by our own comments thereon, it would seem that we Liberals are alone in advocating the recognition of the Pact of Paris as a most wonderful Act of Progress. We do indeed believe that a great chance has presented itself to the nation for shaking itself free from professional dictation as to military expenditure, for a return to the ancient theory of civilian Government and for such a reduction of armament expenditure as will permit of adequate education, of adequate slum clearance, and of adequate development of our own resources without the imposition of restrictive tariffs or destructive surtaxes.

The outlawry of War is not going to remove or prevent international competition for power. But power is going to be expressed in terms of trade and wealth instead of terms of territory. The struggle will take the form of creating wealth rather than destroying life. The national defences will no longer be long lines of battleships, and of tanks, and of guns and battalions innumerable—consumers and not producers. While a military police force will remain essential and indispensable, the protection for national trade and industry will come from a well-educated and efficient population, well fed, well clothed, well housed, and well led. Instructed in the real interests of national trade, they should know, and will know, that capital and labour are equal components of industry—and that equitable remuneration of capital, labour and management

is required to bring out all the best qualities of each. Nothing but the best qualities of each, employed to their fullest extent, will carry us through the testing time of the next two decades, when every other Government and nation is concentrating on the same problem as ourselves. Our monopoly of trade has long gone, our monopoly of shipping is seriously threatened, and that of ship-building is in question. Our power of profitable manufacture is undermined, and nothing but the union and co-operation of all interests and classes can save us. We know that we Liberals have no class interest to protect or extend, we believe that both the other parties have class allegiances which they cannot shake off and which are fatal to national welfare, and in that knowledge and belief we are working for the recovery of power, the freedom and extension of trade, and the maintenance and utilisation of international peace.

C. HOBHOUSE.

THE TRIUMPH OF HERBERT HOOVER.

THERE were two things in particular said during the American Presidential campaign, and reiterated many thousands of times. In England it was repeatedly stated that no issues of any great importance to ourselves were involved in the election. That is a profound mistake. The election of Herbert Hoover is, demonstrably, the most momentous event for Britain and the British Empire that has occurred since the War. In America it was continually said, by people of all kinds, that nothing short of a miracle could elect Al Smith. That was true: so plainly true from the day of his nomination as the Democratic candidate, that the knowledge ought to have saved the Press from falling into the blunder of announcing that Mr. Hoover's success went beyond the wildest hopes of his supporters. His triumph, of course, is complete, and for the old Democratic Party it is crushing. But if Americans believed what they were saying, the extent of the victory was foreseen. Its larger results, undoubtedly, will be very different from those that are in the minds of the Republican leaders to-day.

Let us look first at the salient facts of the election and the campaign. The electorate had been greatly enlarged since the preceding contest. The register now comprises some 45,000,000 voters, and the total poll on November 6th was not less than 33,000,000. Since nearly half of these were women, the advantage lay decidedly with Mr. Hoover, for reasons well understood throughout America. Upon the basis provided by all the circumstances of 1928—the vast register, the floods of campaign money, the unprecedented effort to “get out the vote,” the multiple handicap carried by the Democratic candidate—the Republican majority might well have risen above eight millions or even approached ten. It was actually below seven millions. That is, it was rather less than Harding's majority in 1920 on a relatively small poll. Governor Alfred E. Smith, on the other hand, was able to pile up a vote, not only larger than any hitherto recorded for a Democratic candidate, but not far below that which confirmed Mr. Coolidge in his remarkable position four years ago. If anyone had predicted this at the time of the humiliating struggles within the Democratic Party in 1924, he would have earned nothing but scorn. Mr. Hoover's impressive majority in the Electoral College—444 to 87—is a result of the peculiar mechanism of indirect election. Woodrow Wilson in 1912, on a minority poll, had 435 electoral votes. As the reader will see, figures such as these bear even less relation to the statistics of the popular poll than do the parties of the British Parliament. The transfer of a few thousand votes in a small number of States would have meant a considerable difference in the balance of the College. The loss of

Virginia and Texas is to the Democrats a bitter blow. Florida and North Carolina come into a different category. They are undergoing a very rapid economic change, and were in any case destined for detachment from the solid Democratic South.

Both candidates were nominated at midsummer against strong opposition, which, however, was nearly all unspoken in public. The Republican Convention was governed by the knowledge that the Democrats would be compelled to nominate their one popular leader, and that he would prove to be a powerful candidate. The Democratic bosses were fully aware of this, although the opposition to Governor Smith on his own side was varied and extremely bitter, for reasons too well known to call for explanation. Even if Al Smith had been a Protestant, he would—as a New Yorker, a Tammany politician, and a “Wet”—have been repugnant to the Democrats of the South and West. But the party managers and the delegates faced the plain fact of the situation—that if they went into the campaign under any other leadership they might as well concede the election in advance. The South, therefore, resentful and full of misgiving, accepted the inevitable. And before the Democratic delegates dispersed from the assembly at Houston, Texas, they were made aware of the odd situation of their party and candidate in respect of two main questions—the Tariff and Prohibition. Historically, the Democratic Party has stood for the principle of a tariff for revenue only. In the platform of 1928 that principle was formally abandoned and the Republican doctrine of high Protection embraced. As to Prohibition, the platform contained a formal plank upon acceptance and law enforcement; but Governor Smith, when informed of his nomination, telegraphed that he could not accept the plank but must retain his freedom to propose a modification of the dry law. This message had the effect of making Prohibition as much of a regular party issue as it can ever become.

Governor Alfred E. Smith was acknowledged to be the best of State governors. The idol of the New York City populace, he had made himself impregnable in the headship of the State, holding his office largely with the support of Republican voters. His vital and conquering personality had overcome mountains of prejudice; and in his four terms as Governor he had reformed and simplified the administration of his State, showing himself to be that rarest of beings—a popular politician with a gift of executive leadership and a complete grasp of the science of democratic government. But he knew almost nothing of America outside his own State. America in general had only lately become aware of him. His New York adherents felt certain that no American crowd, West and East, would be able to resist him; and the event proved that they were right. But every Democrat knew that, as a candidate for the

Presidency, Al Smith was a challenge and a peril. New York is the worst of cities for a candidate to come from, and no presidential candidate hitherto had been produced by the city's immigrant East Side. Al Smith politically is a product of Tammany Hall, the first Tammany politician to appeal for the nation's suffrages. The American public in general abominates Tammany, and the notion that a President from that quarter could address himself to the one great economic grievance which made a noise in this campaign—the plight of the Western farmers—seemed ludicrous. Add anti-prohibition and membership of the Roman Church, and we have a union of disqualifications so overpowering that, if the man in question had been any other than Al Smith, his name would not have received five minutes' consideration in the counsels of the party. The fact that Governor Smith's character and political record outweighed everything was the outstanding fact of the summer. His winning of the American populace was the fact of the autumn. His tours through the West made politics live again for a people which, after responding to Bryan and Roosevelt, had been starved for twelve years, and, with Al Smith on the radio, they enjoyed for the first time a realisation of what the full use of the air is to mean in the way of political education and entertainment. The wireless, we may note, has been the means in America of restoring personal influence to machine politics, while this new interest, awakened especially in the remote communities, compels the completion of the register of voters.

Governor Smith fought through the campaign as a candidate dealing with actual issues, prepared to meet all challenges (concerning anything, from his religion or his views upon government ownership to his habitual use of the good old English “ain't”!). He attacked the Republican record, was as specific in his references to Republican corruption as in his treatment of Mr. Hoover's statements on unemployment, and showed by his candour and acuteness that he believed in the democratic practice of discussing all matters with the electorate. His resourcefulness and good humour were inexhaustible; he invited attack and gloried in his daily encounters with the crowd. He kept going with an energy that was astounding in view of the constant admission among his own followers that it was impossible for him to come within sight of the goal.

The methods adopted by Mr. Hoover made still more striking, if that were possible, the personal contrast between the two candidates. Wisely recognising his own limitations, Mr. Hoover made the minimum of platform appearances. “He stands for self-reliance, for audacity, courage, and broad views,” is the statement of an admirer and co-worker in a recent character sketch. The words have abundant warrant in Mr. Hoover's administrative

record. They have none whatever in the chronicles of the political contest that has just come to an end. Mr. Hoover refused until the last stage to recognise the existence of the Democratic Party or its champion. He declined either to express himself upon any of the great questions of the hour or to meet the attack of Governor Smith on the record of the two Administrations of which Mr. Hoover has been a member. He took his stand upon Prosperity, as the achievement of the Republican Party. In his speech of acceptance he identified national well-being with material possession—wages and savings, houses, motor-cars, and radio sets. His speech in New York added the full garage to the "full dinner-pail" as rounding off the familiar symbol of Republican prosperity; and his claim was that these benefits had been secured to the American people largely by means of high tariff walls and the closing of the gates against the undesirable immigrant.

Now, it may be admitted that any other candidate might speak in this fashion without exciting remark. But such words and claims come strangely indeed from Mr. Hoover, for the reason that his place in the esteem of the world was gained by six years of noble public service, planned and carried through without reference to nationalist or material aims. It would be a very reasonable criticism of Mr. Hoover that as candidate for the Presidency he made a plea markedly below his own standard; and further, that he strove to prevent debate upon the urgent issues, and in so doing deprived the American people of something that he of all men had it in his power to bestow—the opportunity for an open and courageous national assize, directed by a statesman who, by virtue of his training and his achievements, could have conducted the campaign upon a high level of courage and magnanimity. Mr. Hoover, we have regretfully to record, resolved to rely upon generalities, leaving to his lieutenants the work of propaganda. And among those lieutenants were two in particular who call for mention in passing. One is Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney-General in Washington, who entered the campaign as an impassioned crusader for Prohibition and Protestantism. The other, most curiously, is Senator Borah, transformed from the most determined opponent of Mr. Hoover and his policies into the most eloquent and vigorous of his apostles on the platform.

We should be led into serious error if we were to conclude that the election was a simple conflict and that Mr. Hoover's victory means that a clear popular judgment has been pronounced upon certain great questions—including especially Prohibition. This is most certainly not so. The conflict was exceedingly complicated, but it had a single central issue—the man Al Smith. It was not exactly true, as some asserted, that no one was voting for Hoover. Very

few men, relatively speaking, were voting for him, but large numbers of women were. They had learned to reverence him as a great humanitarian, as a supreme organiser of relief, a tower of strength in famine, flood, and war. The positive pro-Hoover vote was that of, probably, a good half of the women citizens. The remainder—say, 25,000,000—were voting for or against Smith. They were saying Yes or No to the one question, whether Al Smith—Tammany politician, Catholic, and Wet—could be entrusted with the Presidency of the United States. The popular judgment does not mean that the question of Prohibition, as a national issue, is settled: Mr. Hoover as President will not be able either to enforce the law or to compel a decent respect for it among Republican politicians. But the popular judgment *does* mean that the principle of the Protestant Dynasty has been affirmed; that no Roman Catholic citizen of the United States can hope, within the next quarter or half century, to gain the great prize of the Presidency, which, in time-honoured theory, is open to every American boy, and which, in the sacred Constitution itself, is guarded by the express provision that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification."

This is a subject far too large for treatment here, and two comments only can be made. They are: first, that against the Catholic candidate the militant Protestants of the South and West (in this respect, an enormously extended Ulster) organised an appeal to religious fanaticism and ignorance that revealed the possibility of a terror which we cannot contemplate without deep misgiving; and secondly, that the Catholic Hierarchy in America is in no small degree responsible for the outbreak of anti-Roman feeling. Certain circumstances connected with the Eucharist Congress in Chicago two years ago made a deep impression on the country; in many large cities the Catholic Church is accused of arrogant claims that are denounced as un-American, and, undoubtedly, the violence of the Church and State conflict in Mexico, with the murder of Obregon (and the broadcast trial of the assassin), have created an active suspicion throughout Protestant North America.

Al Smith was defeated, first, as a Roman Catholic—the representative, it is believed by "Anglo-Saxon" America, of a vast organised ecclesiastical system which must for ever be alien from, and antagonistic to, the spirit, the institutions, and the public life of the United States. Al Smith was defeated, secondly, as a champion of those newer, immigrant, urban communities: those masses of European labour, polyglot, unassimilated, "non-Nordic," which, escaping the action of the great American crucible, have made the peculiar and baffling problem of the great cities, from New York and Boston to Chicago, Detroit, and Denver, and of the raw industrial regions from the mills of New Jersey and the mines of Penn-

sylvania to the lumber-camps of the North-West. Al Smith was defeated, thirdly, by the uprising of all Main Street in defence of the American structure: of Business and Prosperity, church and fraternity, family and puritan tradition (to all of which Prohibition is related), stiffened in an incalculable degree by the pride of the small-town woman voter who, contemptuous enough of a New Yorker speaking the lingo of the East Side, had been led by the whispered gossip of a year to tremble before the vision of Mrs. Al Smith in the White House.

The election has been crowded with contradictions, many of them well worthy of study. I can speak, and very briefly, of one only in this article—the one which, I doubt not, is more puzzling than any other for English observers of contemporary movements in the United States. Why is it that Al Smith has had the support to so large an extent of American Progressives: and especially, why is it that so many men and women known for their devotion to social causes have been working for him with religious faith and hope? Why should such people be found among the most resolute of Mr. Hoover's opponents? A full answer to these questions would need a volume; I give it, so far as I can, in a few sentences.

The American Progressives of the classes I have now in mind say this of Mr. Hoover: that since 1919 he has reversed his attitude on such crucial questions as America's place among the nations, being now a Republican isolationist; that, although a Quaker, he is identified with the great-navy group; that he has accepted the aid of the most corrupt political machines, with their indescribable bosses, in one Republican State after another; that, as a member of the Cabinet, he kept silence through all the shameful corruption of the Harding epoch, and has never at any time spoken a word in public reprobation of the "Ohio gang"; and that as President Mr. Hoover must pay the price of the big-business interests which assured his election.

And, concerning Al Smith, these same Progressives say (I quote Professor Felix Frankfurter of the Harvard Law School): that his election would have decisively established the principle that "the Presidency is a function of no creed," and would have been a valuable force in liberating those large sections of America which are now the prey of bitter religious strife; that it would have meant the reaffirmation of an essential democratic reality, "the social fluidity of America"; that it would have been a recognition of the truth that government is neither business nor technology, but "the art of making men live together in peace with reasonable happiness," Al Smith in New York having effected great reforms with the popular assent. To these points I would add one more, which I believe to be the most important of all. It is this: the victory of

1928, resonant as it is, may be the final stand of 100-per-cent. Americanism according to the traditional Anglo-Saxon definition. Mr. Ellery Sedgwick, the able editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, says that not since the days of Andrew Jackson, a century ago, has the stratified social consciousness of America felt, as to-day, the tremor that seems to precede the earthquake:

The old order may close its ranks and withstand the shock.
But the great forces are unchained, and in the end, some time,
• they will have their way. Will the time and will the leader be
so propitious as they are to-day?

Mr. Sedgwick's question implies a doubt which I should state in somewhat different form. The structure of American society, industrial and commercial, which to Mr. Hoover seems at once inevitable and beneficent, is poised over the gulf that divides the men and ideas of the past from those of a rapidly emerging future—a future which, whatever else it may be or not be, must be utterly unlike the America of Washington and Lincoln, of Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. Mr. Hoover lives and works in a department of the scientific present; politically, he speaks like one who is trying to think the thoughts of Lincoln and to recall the verbal thunders of Daniel Webster. But, in either character, he seems to have no conception of that vast submerged America which, shaped by the institutions of the older order, will in due time dominate the Republic. If I were an American and had voted for Al Smith, I should have, in the misery of defeat, a disturbing fear that the verdict of the electorate in 1928 had gravely reduced the chances of a pacific and friendly transition from the epoch of the money power to the stage of conscious social control. If, on the other hand, I were an American who had voted for Hoover, I should want to urge the companions of my rejoicing to realise that the term of Herbert Hoover as President cannot end without enormous changes in America, accompanied, in all probability, by a decisive turn in the relative positions of the British Commonwealth and the United States.

The Republican victory is as complete as the party could wish for. There will be a clear majority in both Houses, so that in relation to Congress Mr. Hoover will have a position of strength such as his predecessor has at no time held. Mr. Coolidge throughout has been balked by the Western bloc in the Senate, and he has had no regular supporters to rely upon. In the newly-elected Congress the Administration party should be coherent enough to override the group of Western Senators, who have the lightest notions of party loyalty; but to say this is not the same thing as to say that Mr. Hoover can fulfil the Roosevelt-Wilson idea that the President should be legislative leader as well as Chief Executive.

That must depend entirely upon himself. And in the immediate future there can be no more interesting question than this : whether Mr. Hoover, with his special training in scientific industry and his long term of public service, during which he has exercised dictatorial powers, will be able to adjust himself to the political system of Washington, in some ways the most difficult system in the world.

And what of Prohibition? It was important in the election : as regards the women's vote, most important, and closely interwoven both with the activity of the Evangelical Churches and with the general Prosperity argument. Mr. Hoover has described Prohibition as "a noble experiment." Since making use of this phrase he must often have reflected upon the shocking irony of the situation, with Republican politicians scandalously defying the dry law and the terrific vested interest of bootlegging massed behind his own candidature. The Drys will expect the new President to make a decisive move towards national enforcement, and the next Congress will vote a large appropriation for the purpose. Mr. Hoover, it is believed, will sanction the effort. And yet it must fail. There is no representative in Congress, there is no official in the Federal enforcement department, who does not know that all efforts must come to nothing—unless a widespread redemption can be wrought among those prosperous classes which, by their systematic—not to say impassioned—repudiation of the dry law, and their alliance with organised crime, are making this most remarkable of social experiments a mockery. Without Prohibition, with its rapid production of a sober working population, American prosperity as we know it to-day could not have been. It is impossible to make a forecast in respect of Prohibition. But I will hazard this guess : that the Hoover Administration will enlarge and intensify the machinery for enforcement ; will thereby force a full disclosure of the violence and corruption that are now spread over the country, and, being far more realist than the Administration just ending, may be ready to confront the American people with the facts and alternatives.

The change from President Coolidge to President Hoover will mark a transition of incalculable import for Britain and the British system. The Republican Administrations since the fall of Woodrow Wilson have stood for a negative policy in the affairs of the Old World, if we except the two Conferences on Naval Disarmament and the recent, and sudden, adventure of the Kellogg Peace Pact. President Coolidge's speech on Armistice Day was, it may be thought, sufficiently positive, inasmuch as it contained a hard declaration upon war debts and a reassertion of the later Coolidge doctrine as to the necessity of a great Navy for the assurance of peace. Mr. Hoover cannot have welcomed that speech, for its

délivery, in November, 1928, tends to create an international atmosphere something less than sympathetic for an incoming President of the United States. In his policy towards Europe Mr. Hoover will be governed by a resolve to aid in the speediest clearing away of all that remains of the wreckage of war. He will be for a final solution of Reparations, a free Rhineland, a Continent moving at last into the normal conditions of self-healing. It is in the still uncharted sphere of world commercial rivalry that we shall meet President Hoover, and he will be a formidable new influence. He is a very decided American, and is rightly described as an economic Imperialist : the first American statesman of a new order. There is nothing of the amateur about him. He has a knowledge of the world, and of Governments, unapproached by any preceding American President ; he has an expert understanding of many, though not by any means all, of the shaping economic forces of the age. With reasonable good fortune he should be President for a double term, eight years. It may therefore be said, without a tinge of exaggeration that, from March, 1929, the pivotal figure of our Western civilisation will be Herbert Clark Hoover.

S. K. RATCLIFFE.

THE BISHOPS AND THE LAW.

ARE the majority of Bishops in the Church of England losing touch with the feelings of the nation? Can they fail to realise how deeply their moral authority must suffer if they make themselves, even provisionally or tentatively, parties to evasions of the law? These are questions which the recent Lambeth manifesto suggests to many loyal churchmen, and which, with all respect to individuals, it is the object of this paper to explore.

How does it come to pass that so many of the Bishops—an important minority must not be forgotten—find themselves driven to the singular conclusion that the only possible way to inculcate order among clergy who disregard the law is to authorise changes in public worship to which Parliament has refused assent? The answer is that this episcopal decision is the climax in a long course of agitation on the part of one powerful and high-minded party, whose avowed object has been to transform the doctrine of the English Church. The movement to undo the Reformation in this country, and to reintroduce mediæval practices and dogmas which the Reformation disavowed, is a familiar page in our history, but its origin and influence are not always borne in mind. It is just a hundred years since John Henry Newman preached, as Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, the earliest of those memorable sermons, which were destined to stir and to divide so deeply the churchmen of his day.

"I will not shrink from uttering my firm conviction, that it would be a gain to this country were it vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy, more fierce in its religion, than at present it shows itself to be."

The Tractarian movement, it must be remembered, was, for all its merits, an unprogressive and reactionary movement, a reversion to primitive theology and mediæval ways. Hurrell Froude, its most ardent representative, was never tired of protesting his "hatred" of the Reformation, his admiration of churchmen like Thomas à Becket and Charles X of France, his contempt not only for Cranmer and his colleagues but for men like Hampden and Milton and every type of Puritan or Whig. Keble and Newman, for all their high gifts, were deeply involved in these reactionary opinions. They frankly dreaded "the shallow and detestable liberalism" of their day. Freedom was to their minds the danger, authority the ideal. The first Tract, Newman's work, struck the note which rang through the whole movement. The clergy had forgotten their own claims. They must exalt their leaders and magnify their office. Their authority was built on their apostolical

descent. Priestly power, fortified by primitive tradition, must be made the ruling force within the Church of England. And the consequences which always follow from the exaltation of the priesthood were only too quick to show themselves in the new crusade.

At first, it is true, though the Reformation was denounced and Pusey rebuked by Froude for speaking incautiously of the Reformers as the founders of our Church, there was no intention of encouraging communion with Rome. Popery was still anathema. Bishop Cosin's treatise on "the leprosy of Transubstantiation" was reprinted among the extracts from English divines—startling Froude, who accused Newman of "finessing too deep." But ere long the situation changed. Newman advanced so far as to tell his Bishop that the Anglo-Catholics did not profess a different religion from the Romanists. They professed "their Faith *all but* their corruptions." In 1838 there followed the famous Tract on Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge, which startled most plain-dealing and clear-thinking men. In 1841 came Tract 90, the last desperate effort of a subtle and tormented mind to explain away the cardinal doctrines of the Church to which it clung. W. G. Ward, going still further, asserted that the Articles must be interpreted in a "non-natural" sense. And in 1844 Archbishop Whately summed up the story of the Oxford Movement in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor which commanded wide assent:

"At first principles were advocated which appeared to some persons (though not to others) to be fundamentally at variance with those of the Reformed Church, and to lead, if fairly followed out, to Romanism or something equivalent to it. By degrees stronger and stronger complaints against our Church, and censures of the Reformers, were put forth; and ultimately a bitter detestation of the Reformation was avowed, the most exceptionable tenets of the Romish Church were defended, the censures that had been at first passed on that Church were retracted, the Articles were explained away in a 'non-natural sense,' and men were taught to look forward with hope to a penitent submission of our Church to that of Rome."

Tractarianism for a time went under. Newman passed to a communion where intellectual liberalism need not be feared. And the Bishops of that day successfully resisted the attempt to assimilate the practice of the Church of England, by devious methods and ambiguous phrases, to the practice of the Church of Rome.

It is worth while to recall this page of history, for history is strangely apt to repeat itself. The Tractarian leaders failed, but the Tractarian spirit survived in Oxford. Keble and Pusey refused to be bound by Newman's logic, to share Manning's horror

of the Royal Supremacy over the English Church. Under their leadership the Anglo-Catholic forces drew together, and the search for a *Via Media*, for some way of attenuating the Protestant traditions of the Establishment, was renewed. The foundation of Keble College gave a centre and a stimulus to the new campaign. The noble character of the new leaders again won public sympathy. The dogmas underlying their teaching and their reactionary ideals were to a large extent forgotten in the new liberal spirit which on many subjects they displayed. But though the tone and methods had altered, the objects remained as before; and those objects were, primarily, the exaltation of the priestly office, and the substitution of the Mass and the superstitions which flow from it for the Communion Service of the English Church.

As years went on Anglo-Catholicism gained ground, in many parishes, in training colleges, among the active spirits, even among the leaders, of the Establishment. The habit of accepting formulas without intending to obey them grew. Some Bishops of the new school were too ready to make excuses for it. It was difficult perhaps to condemn in their clergy what they had done themselves. The Diocese of London became, as it is to-day, a scene of administrative chaos, the Diocese of Truro—if one may quote two outstanding cases only—a flagrant example of revolt against the law. Other Bishops, who had little sympathy with the extremes of Anglo-Catholic opinion, found themselves embarrassed by the action of their colleagues, and gravely at a loss as to how to deal with their refractory priests. It was disagreeable to enter into controversy with them. It might prove difficult and costly to bring them to book. It was easier and more comfortable to abstain from action, to shut one's eyes to irregularities as far as possible, to dwell on the good intentions of the offenders, to resort to kindly commonplaces about the need for tact and tolerance and charity in a comprehensive Church. The Archbishop of Canterbury did indeed declare that tolerance had passed its limits, that "stern and drastic action" was required. The Bishop of Durham denounced "the plausible sophistry which excuses disobedience of rubrics by toleration of opinions." But with all this strong language nothing was done. The growth of Anglo-Catholic irregularities, of Anglo-Catholic aggressiveness, went on. Men notoriously determined to set aside their legal obligations continued to receive encouragement and promotion. And Bishops who need not have been by any means helpless in checking disorder, had they had the courage or the will to act, drifted into the unsatisfactory position of hardly knowing how to lead or govern the clergy whom they undertook to rule.

II.

On this singular situation there supervened the Enabling Act and the Deposited Book, a doubtful piece of statesmanship and a doubtful compromise in doctrine, both intended to meet the demands and to further the aims of the Anglo-Catholic party. The Enabling Act, advocated with studied moderation by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who certainly never intended it to be used as a means of defying the authority of Parliament, was, as Lord Hugh Cecil recently reminded us, framed by a Committee presided over by Lord Selborne, and its most active advocates in the House of Commons were Lord Wolmer and Lord Hugh Cecil himself. As has happened so often in recent years, the Archbishop's great authority was used to recommend—one might not unfairly say to minimise—purposes widely different from his own. Dr. Davidson represented the Enabling Bill as largely if not chiefly a matter of machinery.

"We are not dealing at all with deeper spiritual things. Doctrines of our faith, the duties of the Christian ministry, the help we can render publicly or privately to the souls of men—these are spiritual fundamental things, the very essence of our work, and with them we are not dealing directly, or I think hardly even indirectly, in this Bill in any way."

The Archbishop also insisted strongly that the Bill made no change whatever in the power of Parliament, and explicitly invited Parliament to use its power, "if it will and if it can." On that understanding the Bill was carried in the somewhat confused political atmosphere of 1919. The House of Commons devoted only one Friday afternoon to the subject: and the Speaker ruled out of order any amendment to alter the constitution of the National Assembly set up. But the misgivings felt about the Bill found voice. One Bishop described it as "a Bill to enable the Church to disable Parliament." Lord Haldane pointed out with vigour that its proposals went far beyond the objects avowed, and might exclude the greater part of the people of England from effective influence in the affairs of the National Church. Lord Crewe laid his finger on one of its worst features, the refusal to allow Parliament to amend or alter any measure which the Church Assembly passed. The Bishop of Manchester tore to pieces, as the Bishop of Durham has done elsewhere, the contention that the Church Assembly could be regarded as representing English churchmen as a whole. There was to be a House of Bishops, all sitting, naturally, in virtue of their office, a House of Clergy, largely sitting *ex officio* and largely nominated by the Bishops, and a House of Laity, indirectly elected, which by no form of computation could be made to represent more than a quarter of a million out of all the millions of the Established Church. The

Bishop of Durham has done a service in pointing out the wholly unrepresentative character of what he once called this "petty fraction" of the English people.

The Enabling Bill passed. But the unfavourable impression left by some of its proposals was deepened by the history of the Deposited Book. This book was in every sense the Bishops' Book. They gave infinite pains to its composition. It was intended primarily to help them out of their administrative difficulties and to enable them to keep their clergy in obedience to the law. But neither the Book nor the Bishops offered any guarantees for the restoration of order, and many people doubted if its adoption would be followed by that result. The Bishop of Exeter was moved to write:

"A book which is so unclear that even its promoters do not know its meaning is not a book likely to restore order in the Church."

The Bishop of Durham, it is not unfair to recall, had at an earlier stage (1925) inquired with emphasis why it should be thought that new rubrics would be obeyed any better than the old. It is alleged that the new Book has an "immense weight of ecclesiastical authority" behind it. But it is certain that several able Bishops opposed it all along. It is widely admitted that church-goers, as a whole, did not want it; that the clergy accepted it chiefly out of loyalty to the Bishops; and that on the vital point even the comparatively small portion of the laity represented in the Church Assembly gave it at best a guarded and limited assent. The resolution of the House of Laity was quoted by Archbishop Davidson in the House of Lords:

"While this House believes that the great majority of the laity are satisfied with the present service of Holy Communion, the House will nevertheless agree to the insertion by the Bishops in the Prayer-Book of one alternative form containing provision for vestments and reservation for the sick only, if in their opinion this will promote peace and order in the Church."

Yet when the House of Commons, sharing the doubts of many clergy and laity in the Church Assembly, and representing a far wider and stronger feeling in the nation, having been deprived of the power to amend the Bishops' proposals, ventured to exercise the veto which they still possessed, the high Anglicans were up in arms at once. Parliament was denounced in intemperate language as guilty of an intolerable act of interference. The prayers offered for its right guidance were forgotten. The reiterated assurances of the Archbishop that it retained unquestioned its right to pronounce on measures sent to it by the Church Assembly were forgotten too. Curious efforts were made to analyse and explain

away the votes of the majority, without remembering that the same analysis applied to the votes of the minority might have disquieting results. And the Bishops, the Church's responsible leaders, guides of public conduct and high-placed servants of the State, proceeded to sanction on their own authority grave changes in the rules of public worship, which they had failed to induce Parliament to pass into law. Can such methods of statesmanship be justified? Can they in a constitutional country win or deserve to win popular respect?

Nothing perhaps has roused in the minds of ordinary laymen a stronger sense of unfair dealing than the contention that the new Prayer-Book involved no serious change of doctrine, that it was due merely to a desire to modernise the "obsolete" portions of the Prayer-Book of 1662. One eminent supporter of the new Book has said bluntly that this contention is "manifestly contrary to the fact." Had the Bishops desired only to liberalise old-fashioned formulas, they could, of course, have secured their objects—could secure them now—with almost universal assent. The crux of the whole matter has been, not the attempt to modernise obsolete practices, but the attempt to surrender to reaction by legalising the mediæval service of the Mass. Even members of Parliament are not altogether destitute of understanding. And if the changes proposed in the Communion Service were so unimportant as to give no cause for question, there is no conceivable reason why churchmen of the type of Lord Selborne and Lord Hugh Cecil should support them, and should so vehemently insist that, with the law or without the law, they will have the Deposited Book. Rightly or wrongly, the changes proposed seemed to many Englishmen to involve the difference between two opposite theories of religion; and on such a point English people will not forgo their right of private judgment, however abhorrent such an attitude may appear to Anglo-Catholic Bishops and Professors. It is comforting to remember that the Bishop of Gloucester shared in 1923 the feelings of many who voted in the majority in Parliament:

"It is difficult to conceive a more complete failure in statesmanship than the proposal to stereotype the two parties in the Church of England by allowing disunion in exactly the service in which most of all we should be united."

But it is disappointing to find the Bishop so ready to criticise to-day those who venture to echo the opinions he recently expressed.

The resentment shown against the action of Parliament, and the determination of the Bishops to show how little they respect it, are probably due to the shock caused by the discovery that the Bishops had gravely misjudged the feelings of the nation in trying to legalise the Anglo-Catholic conception of the Church. It is

not convincing to assert, as has been done so freely, that the House of Commons was moved by inconceivable levity, passionate prejudice, senseless fanaticism and the like. The fault of the majority, if fault it be, was that its members cared too deeply for the issues involved to be willing to treat them as secondary matters to be settled as episcopal convenience might dictate. The truth is that the inarticulate laymen, who form the real strength of English feeling, have been compelled at last to ask themselves reluctantly what is the meaning of this strange ecclesiasticism which some of the Bishops seem so unwilling to repress. How does it happen that English clergymen are found not only indulging in extravagant ritual, harmless enough if a little absurd, but recommending the Mass and the Confessional, and preaching without disguise the doctrine of Transubstantiation, once the cardinal doctrine which separated us from Rome? There is little natural inclination nowadays to be afraid of Romanism. To many men there is something slightly ridiculous about a No-Popery scare. But when we see clergymen of the Established Church, who have solemnly assented to Articles which declare Masses to be "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits," forcing the Mass upon their parish churches, bringing young children from the Church schools to attend it, telling the children that their greatest Friend is up on the Altar, behind the curtain and the white light, have we not some reason for thinking that our religion is being made "vastly more superstitious," as Newman wished, and for inquiring in no uncharitable spirit whether the limits of tolerance have not been passed? When we find an English Suffragan, the Bishop of Woolwich, declaring that he would accept ordination from a Roman Bishop if the English Church were reunited with the Church of Rome; when we find Lord Halifax, as chairman of a great Anglo-Catholic meeting at the Albert Hall, advising the English clergy to accept the primacy of the Holy See—and this apparently without a word of protest from the Bishop of London at his side; when we find the same Lord Halifax selected by the Archbishop of Canterbury to represent the English Church in discussions regarding reunion with Rome; is it unnatural that plain men should ask themselves whether this is comprehensiveness or treachery, and how far the leaders of Anglo-Catholicism and the Bishops who abet them mean to go?

What is Reservation? Why does it matter? Why did a Parliament of laymen, always reluctant to interfere in questions of theology, feel bound to dissent from the uncertain and ambiguous proposals of the Bishops on the subject? Because Reservation, once allowed, is made, and many Anglo-Catholics intend to make it, an occasion for worshipping the elements reserved: because this

worship is based on the theory that the priest has converted those elements into the actual body of Christ*: and because the claim that priests can work this miracle in virtue of their office, and all the other claims of sacerdotalism and priestcraft which flow from it, were definitely repudiated by the English people at the Reformation, and cannot, in the view of Parliament, be rightly reimposed upon them now.

"The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped."

Is it hopelessly old-fashioned to suppose that the Thirty-Nine Articles, subscribed to by "all Clergymen within our Realm" in their "true, usual, literal meaning," have still some binding force on the consciences of honourable men? When the Bishops tell Parliament that it is "impossible" not to sanction Reservation, having made, some of them, for years past no serious attempt to check it, is Parliament really bound to acquiesce in so helpless and unsatisfactory a plea? To the minds of most Englishmen priests who claim supernatural powers have no place in the Church of England. If they want the Mass and its doctrines re-established, their proper place is in the Church of Rome.

III

It is hard to believe that the majority of the Bishops can be comfortable at having allowed their disappointment or resentment to tempt them into direct conflict with the House of Commons. They set out, as Archbishop Davidson told us, to induce their disobedient clergy to keep within the law: and it would be ludicrous were it not pitiful that their endeavours should so far have ended in a public declaration that, if their clergy will abet them, they will make no further effort to keep within the law themselves. Archbishop Davidson gave a definite pledge in 1919, in answer to Lord Chaplin, that the permission of Parliament would have to be obtained "in any circumstances" before changes were made in the rubric of the Prayer-Book. What faith can laymen put in pledges which Bishops so lightly disavow? What authority attaches to the Synods of clergy which have been summoned, with no support in constitutional practice, to encourage the Bishops in setting such pledges aside? Even these clerical Synods, it seems, are by no means unanimous in admiring the tactics of their episcopal leaders. The "Sacred Synod" of Truro has seized the opportunity to intimate that it prefers the Prayer-Book of 1927 to the Prayer-Book of 1928. The Synod of London has returned answers which irresistibly suggest that all sections of the clergy in that

* See the declaration, signed by the President of the English Church Union and over 2,000 "Catholic" priests, in *The Times* of June 9th, 1928.

great Diocese are weary of the ecclesiastical leadership which has made it a byword for disorder for over twenty years. Other Synods—and other Bishops—have struck equally dissonant or uncertain notes. Apart from the Die-Hards, who are determined to assert their “spiritual” independence at any cost to the Church, and whose ideals of statesmanship appear to be drawn from the days of James II, there are few Bishops who do not feel grave misgivings about the wisdom of the decision taken at Lambeth, and who would not probably welcome some opportunity of retracing a false step. Men who really believe in their own policy are not generally so anxious to describe it as provisional or informal. If the thing is right, there is no need to excuse it. If the thing is wrong, the excuses only betray the misgivings behind. Archbishop Davidson, whose statesmanship and moderation many Englishmen for long relied on, is understood to have little responsibility for this unhappy mistake. He has thrown the reins to younger men. But some significant words which he used in Parliament may be worth recalling to his successors:

“People say, ‘Why don’t you do these things without caring about the exact law; no one is going to stop you; you had better do it, though the law does not allow it.’ That is a most dangerous piece of counsel to give to those who are bearing charge and responsibility. It is bad in itself. It recoils upon those who have to exercise discipline in other ways if the retort can be made to them, ‘Are you obeying the law when you ask me to obey it?’ and it is a baneful example for other fields than those of the Church’s life that we should take the law of the land and encourage people by our example to feel that it does not matter, and that, provided nobody is going to object, we can act without regard to law.”

Can it be that Dr. Lang and Dr. Temple, who now bear “charge and responsibility” for us, will adopt the “most dangerous piece of counsel” against which they were expressly warned by their old chief?

No one will be convinced by Lord Hugh Cecil’s assertion that the Bishops, in sanctioning the very thing which Parliament refused to sanction, do not dream of transgressing the decision of the House of Commons. The question is not what they dream of, but what they do. And the public is bound to consider what the results of the Lambeth manifesto will be. Will it restore order in the Church? What answer will the Bishops have for rebellious priests who tell them that, if the law is to be set aside at pleasure, they will set it aside in their own way? Will the manifesto promote peace? Will Church Parochial Councils submit without protest to services which Parliament has now definitely refused to allow? Will congregations, which have long murmured under illegal prac-

tices in parish churches, acquiesce in them more readily when the leaders of the clergy range themselves on the lawbreakers’ side? Is it not only too probable that men who feel keenly on these matters will decide that they are as much entitled as the Bishops to take the law into their own hands, and will claim the same freedom to disregard it in “emergencies” as those responsible for order in the Church? And if grave trouble follows, if incidents like those at Darwen are repeated up and down the country, what will be the feeling of rulers who have set the example of dispensing with legal sanctions, and have forgotten that the only sure foundation for authority is always the obligation of obedience to the law?

But it is not too late yet to hope that time will be found to reconsider a decision so fraught with serious consequences, so full of anxiety for all who look for self-restraint and patience in the leaders of the Church. It cannot be that the two new Archbishops, whose careers so many Englishmen have watched with warm regard and admiration, really desire to head a revolt against the power of Parliament, to challenge or end the historic connection between Church and State. Yet Parliament in these days represents the Crown, and in effect controls the choice of Bishops. And it needs surely little logic to teach us that its nominees will never in the long run be permitted to set at naught the gravest decisions which it makes. To claim the privileges of an Established Church and to evade its obligations is an impossible policy for honourable men. But the lead now given by the two Archbishops may well prove to be decisive in the history of the English Church. It is not an easy thing for leaders in a crisis to advise withdrawal from a false position, to resist the pressure of short-sighted counsellors indifferent to all considerations which conflict with so-called spiritual claims. But churchmen will not cease to look to Dr. Lang and Dr. Temple for a higher quality of wisdom and of courage, for more power of understanding the feelings of the nation and of taking action which both clergymen and laymen can respect.

CHARLES MALLET.

THE PROBLEM OF ITALIAN OVER-POPULATION.

I.

TO feed her population, Italy has to import vast quantities of wheat; and to keep her industries going she has to import almost all raw materials: iron, coal, cotton, copper, oil, etc. She pays for these imports in three ways. Firstly, she exports her own products in exchange; secondly, she sells Italian products to the foreigners who throng to Italy, attracted by her natural beauty and her art treasures; and thirdly, she pays through the work of her emigrants: the money they send back to their families in Italy, and on which their families live, helps the latter to pay for the imports which are necessary to their existence. If exports, or the tourist industry, or emigration decline, Italy's capacity to pay for her imports undergoes a parallel decline.

The importance of emigration for Italy's economic life may be gauged from the following figures. In 1880 Italy had 28,000,000 inhabitants; she has now 41,000,000. During the last half-century 28,000,000 Italians emigrated in search of work; 18,000,000 returned, 10,000,000 settled themselves abroad. In the five years immediately preceding the war, there was an annual average of almost 700,000 emigrants, and an annual average of 500,000 repatriations; that is to say, the net emigration was round about 200,000 per year. Since the war, some of the channels which before the war carried the currents of Italian emigrants have been blocked. The United States and Canada have closed their doors. Germany, Austria and Switzerland absorb to-day only a slight part of the pre-war immigration. Immigration into France is steadily diminishing since 1925. In 1927 Italy had 240,000 emigrants, against 170,000 repatriants; that is to say, the net emigration fell to 70,000.

One of Italy's vital problems to-day is how to find work for her surplus population which is no longer absorbed by the foreign countries.

The Fascists think that this problem can only be solved by acquiring new colonies and sending Italian emigrants there. "Italy's future"—Mussolini declared in a speech of April 8th, 1926—"lies on the water." "Italy demands from the other Powers the recognition of her incontestable need of sun and earth." (Mussolini's interview with the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, November 14th, 1926.) "Italy must either expand or explode." (Mussolini's interview with the *Daily Express*, January 12th, 1927.)

Italy's new colonial empire should include as much as possible of Germany's former colonies in Africa and of France's possessions on the Mediterranean shores. Signor Roberto Canta-

lupo, former Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in Mussolini's Cabinet, stated in the *Corri re della Sera*, November 9th, 1927:

"There exists a declaration made by the Powers during the Peace negotiations of Versailles, in which they accord to Italy—excluded as she then was from a share in the African spoils of the common victory—a prior claim in the event of changes in the mandates agreed upon in 1919."

Pending an opportunity of vindicating this right, the Fascists never miss a chance of repeating that no mandate must be changed into annexation, nor any of Germany's former colonies be restored to her, without some of them being secured to Italy.

As regards the Mediterranean, the Fascists cast their eye on many different territories. On April 6th, 1926, Senator Morello, one of Mussolini's right-hand men, wrote:

"Our fathers held sway over the whole vast semi-circle which stretches from Morocco to the Black Sea, over all the inlets of the sea, Tripoli, Benghazi, Smyrna, Byzantium; and to keep it they had to wage war against powerful and cunning enemies on the opposite shores. There, where the fathers passed, the sons are passing now, and the grandsons will pass in the future."*

Three weeks later, on April 24th, 1926, the Duce's brother, Signor Arnaldo Mussolini, gave an interview to the *North American Newspaper Alliance*, in which he said:

"Tunisia? Perhaps, but later on. We already have Tripoli. But Tripoli is only a beginning. There is the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. There are the remnants of the old Turkish Empire. There is Albania, a country comparatively rich in oil, which we need. There is also Syria, which France will never colonise because she has not an exuberant population. Then there is Smyrna, which might well belong to us. Finally there is Adalia."

In a speech to the Chamber of Deputies on May 22nd, 1928, the Fascist deputy, Signor Fera, demanded that France should hand over to Italy her mandate over Syria.

The territories belonging to the British Empire, such as Canada and Australia, do not appear to have any attraction for the Fascists. Yet hundreds of thousands of Italians find in France, Tunisia and Algeria work and material well-being, while of all countries in the world, Canada and Australia have the largest uncultivated or sparsely cultivated areas admirably suited to Italian labour, and with the United States they are the most ruthless in excluding Italian immigration.

The reason for Fascist special hostility to France is that France has a declining population, or at least a stationary one. *Ergo*, France is a decadent country compared with Italy. *Ergo*, she will

* *Stampa*, April 7th, 1926.

not be able to resist the pressure of the overflowing Italian population.

The Fascists expect that France sooner or later will be involved in new conflicts with Germany, and this discord will pave the way for the Fascist colonial empire. Mussolini is equally ready to act as an ally of Germany against France, or of France against Germany. Alliance with Italy would give Germany the certainty of crushing France, after she had guaranteed to Italy a sufficient share in the spoils of the French colonies. On the other hand, France could avoid the disaster of an Italo-German alliance by pledging herself to pay for Italy's help against Germany with a generous colonial reward.

In accordance with such hopes, the Fascists are far from regarding the population surplus as an evil or a danger. On the contrary, they speak of it as Italy's greatest strength. The deputy, Signor Andrea Torre, repeats one of the catchwords of Fascist doctrine when he writes in his report of the financial estimate of the Foreign Office for 1928-29 :

"An abundant population, when directed by a common tradition, a common rule and a common end, makes itself felt as a material force, and is at the same time a moral force which creates new international rights while strengthening those already existing. An abundant population is the stoutest of defences, and a formidable weapon in international contest."*

In his speech to the Chamber on May 26th, 1927, Mussolini said with historical simplicity :

"All nations have felt the sting of decadence when their birth-rate began to fall. A diminishing population does not build up empires."

And he issued the command to Italian women to produce by 1950 not less than 50,000,000 subjects. While waiting for the Italians to number 50,000,000 in 1950, Mussolini requires to have in hand 5,000,000 men of fighting age between 1935 and 1940, the moment when "European history will reach its crucial point," and Italy "will be able to make her voice heard and will at last receive recognition of her rights."

The Fascist Government, therefore, is striving to promote the increase of the population by checking emigration, promoting repatriations, imposing a tax on bachelors, granting exemption from taxation and other privileges to large families, and prohibiting birth-control propaganda. Thus, the steam accumulates in the boiler, and an explosion becomes more certain. The growing population provides Fascism with both the reason for desiring new colonies and the strength to conquer them.

* *Stampa*, May 20th, 1928.

"Though Italy hopes to obtain by negotiation the share which is her due, other countries would be assuming a grave responsibility if they opposed stubborn resistance to her claims." (Mussolini's interview with the *United Press*, December 21st, 1925.)

II.

Anyone who accepts the "Real-political" outlook on which the Fascists pride themselves, is not required to ask whether Fascist colonial demands are justified or not. Might is right. The only question is whether they have the power to carry out, in full or in part, their colonial programme, and whether by so doing they would really solve the problem of Italy's surplus population. On this "real-political" plane, the Fascist programme appears anything but "real-political." France is less easy to dispose of than the Fascists imagine. If the strength of France and Italy were to be measured only in terms of the quantity of "cannon fodder" which the two countries can put into the field, the Fascists would have to set against the 41,000,000 Italians not only the 40,000,000 French, but also the 60,000,000 colonials controlled by French administration. It would take the Fascists at least until the year 2,000 before they could equal the 100,000,000 of France and her colonies, and oblige France to surrender some of her possessions. Meanwhile how are they to solve their over-population problem?

Cannon fodder, moreover, is not the only factor of national strength. There is also the degree of civilisation and national organisation which results from wealth, the possession of raw materials, the efficiency of economic machinery, the moral compactness of the people, etc. The Fascist claim is that the moral organisation bestowed on Italy by Fascism is superior to that of France. This is impossible to prove or disprove, since moral forces cannot be mathematically measured. Those who know something of the history of France will surmise that the Fascists under-value French moral solidity.

Even apart from this, the Fascists themselves recognise that Italy cannot by her own unaided efforts conquer a part, whether great or small, of the French colonial empire. They hope to attain this end by exploiting Franco-German discord. But even allowing the Fascist contention that Franco-German disagreement will be permanent, it seems unlikely that it will yield in the near future the opportunities which the Fascists expect from it. Germany and France, like the rest of Europe, will need peace for many years to come. The fruits of the Franco-Prussian Peace Treaty of 1871 only matured in 1914. The fruits of the Peace Treaties of 1919—if their defects are not corrected—will not mature so soon as the Fascists hope. The future, a future which would

permit Italy to intercalate a colonial programme of her own into international crises, is with statesmen who are wise enough to bide their time, maintaining friendly terms with everybody, not with turbulent "bluffers" who spend their time quarrelling with everybody, signing treaties of friendship with everybody and breaking out into quarrels again with everybody.

On the other hand, Fascist colonial policy would not solve the problem of Italian over-population, even if it succeeded in acquiring new territory. Germany's former colonies in Africa are unfit for white labour. Italy possesses the colony of Eritrea on the Red Sea. For thirty years this colony lived at peace, and was governed by able administrators who did their best for its welfare. This territory has to-day 4,283 inhabitants of Italian origin, i.e., has only absorbed an average of 150 Italians per annum. The acquisition of territory in Central Africa would increase the "prestige" of diplomats and politicians; it would benefit military and civil officials at the expense of the taxpayer at home; if it were rich in natural resources, it might be exploited by capitalists enjoying Government monopolies, and thus indirectly increase the wealth in Italian hands. It will never absorb an appreciable proportion of Italian emigrants.

More fitted to Italian agricultural labour, especially to that of Southern Italy, are the lands on the shores of the Mediterranean. But Mediterranean lands are incapable of admitting a denser population than at present, unless their economic conditions were revolutionised. Large-scale transformations involve huge investments of capital, spread over a long period. To furnish the capital necessary to promote agricultural development in new colonies, the Italian Government would have to bleed Italy. Thus work for emigrants in the colonies would be created only by starving economic development in the mother country. The numbers of unemployed in Italy would mount more rapidly than the number of emigrants absorbed into the colonies. The disequilibrium between population and employment, far from being readjusted, would be aggravated.

To sum up, the Italian population problem would be desperate if there were no methods of solution other than "expansion or explosion." Italy would be condemned to hunger and anarchy. But fortunately things are not so bad as the Fascists claim.

III.

It is true that the crisis of the Great War had disorganised Italian emigration currents towards Central Europe, and the situation is rendered more serious by the rigid labour protection of the United States, Canada and Australia. But we must remember that during the war 560,000 men of working age fell at the front; of the million wounded, many died in the following years, and a

further half million died of epidemics. Thus between 1915 and 1919 Italy lost about one and a half million workers: emigrants who do not return!* This means that although the net emigration has diminished in the last few years, the gaps made by the war in the Italian working classes have not yet been filled. The problem of population in Italy is not yet urgent: Hannibal is not yet at the gates. The present situation will have to last for at least ten years more before it becomes dangerous. Meanwhile Central Europe is rapidly reconstructing and developing its economic activities, and will probably again need Italian labour. The United States are beginning to realise the inconvenience caused by the stopping of immigration from Southern Europe; in the Northern States negroes are now taking the place of the missing unskilled workers from Europe. It is probable that before long the Americans will once more want white immigration.

Moreover, the Italian birth-rate is slackening. In 1902, when the population was 32.5 millions, 1,100,000 children were born in Italy. In 1925, with the population at 40,000,000, the births numbered 1,150,000. In 1926, 20,000 children less than in 1925 were born. Births remained almost stationary, while the population increased by more than 7,000,000. The increase in Italian population during the last twenty-five years is caused, not by a high birth-rate, but by a decline in the death-rate due to improvement in the standard of living and in hygiene. But while life cannot be prolonged beyond certain limits, a decline in the birth-rate has no set limit. After the speech of May, 1927, in which the "Duce" gave them peremptory orders to increase and multiply, the Italian women did worse and worse: they produced in that year 50,000 infants less than in 1926. It is therefore likely that in the next quarter of a century the population increase will follow a downward trend.

"If this phenomenon were to continue—the *Popolo d'Italia* gravely announced on December 28th, 1927—even without acceleration, in twenty years at the latest there would be no surplus of births, and the decay of the population would set in."

If not so urgent and desperate as the Fascists make out, a population problem does exist in Italy. The decline in the birth-rate is a slow phenomenon, and depends on economic, moral and religious conditions over which no Government has control. Until a steady decline in the birth-rate re-establishes the balance between population and means of subsistence large numbers of Italians will have to emigrate for many years to come.

In these conditions, what attitude should be adopted by those outside Italy who think not in terms of "Real-politick," but of justice and peace?

* Mortara, *La salute pubblica in Italia durante e dopo la guerra*, Bari, Laterza, 1925, pp. 107, 536.

Firstly, they should realise that to talk about peace, international solidarity and even socialism, and at the same time ruthlessly to exclude Italian immigrants, as do the trade unions in the United States and the Labour Parties in Canada and Australia, is to play into the hands of Fascist propaganda. Unless the problem of Italian immigration into the sparsely-populated countries of the world is solved in a spirit of good faith and good will, an overcrowded and restive Italy will be tempted to throw in her lot with other discontented peoples and break down the barriers which pen them in. Of course, Italian immigrants cannot demand freedom to pour pell-mell into any country and throw its labour market into confusion. The receiving country has the right to control the currents of immigration, even to arrest it entirely in time of economic crisis. But to control does not mean to stop entirely and for ever, while wide spaces still remain unfilled.

On the other hand, people of good will outside Italy should see through the Fascist bluff, composed half of complaints that the growing population in Italy cannot be fed, and half of threats against peace if the neighbouring countries do not hand over territories to this growing population. A Government which boasts of repressing emigration and promoting increase of its population is not entitled to make this increase an excuse for demanding colonies, which in any case would not absorb emigration. The Fascist Government should cease to repress emigration as though it were a crime, and to encourage Italians to have children, even if they have no wish to do so. Then only will it be entitled to ask other countries to consider in a friendly spirit the problem of the Italian over-population.

The experience of the fifty years preceding the war points the way along which the solution must be sought. During these fifty years the Italian population increased by a quarter without dying of hunger; nay more, its standard of living steadily rose, and yet Italy did not possess colonies suited to receive her people. The problem was solved by peace and labour, thanks to the increasing prosperity of the other countries. The products which Italy exports are silk, wine, early fruit and vegetables, textiles: goods which find a market only if other countries are prosperous. Foreigners do not come to Italy unless well enough off to spend money on luxuries. Other countries do not absorb Italian labour if they themselves are not in a phase of economic expansion.

An Italian Government guided by commonsense and having the real interests of the people at heart would, as its first duty, work for peace. The whole Fascist propaganda, in Italy and among Italians abroad, aims on the contrary at keeping the young men in a state of patriotic exaltation and apocalyptic expectation of some great coup,

By which Mussolini will lead the country to the new "Empire." Article I of the Militiaman's *Vade-Mecum* runs:

"Be it known that the true Fascist, particularly the Militiaman, must not believe in perpetual peace."

Signor Federzoni, Minister of Colonies in Mussolini's Cabinet, wrote in the *Rassegna Italiana*, December, 1925:

"We would like to be loved, but we prefer to be envied and feared."

Mussolini himself teaches:

"War and revolution are always coupled together: either war crowns revolution, or revolution develops into war." (Speech of June 21st, 1925.)

Remember that Fascism is a revolution, nay, the greatest revolution in history. He declared to the Chamber on December 11th, 1925:

"I conceive of the Italian nation as in a perpetual state of war. (*Hear, hear.*) I have always said, and I repeat, that the next five or ten years will be decisive for the destiny of our race. (*Cheers.*) They are decisive because international strife is increasingly rampant, and it must not be said of us that we came a little too late into the world arena."

When foreign diplomatists and financiers are perturbed by such bellicose manifestations, they are soothed by assurances that these are intended only for home consumption, and an occasional pacific speech is thrown to them, said to embody the real intentions of the Duce. And the propaganda agents of Fascism exhort them to pay no heed to words but to mind facts: "What are the facts? Fascist Italy has not yet to go to war with anyone." Undoubtedly there is a grain of truth in these words. Mussolini repeats day in and day out that the 41,000,000 Italians who live in Italy, and the 10,000,000 Italians who live abroad, are ready at any moment at a sign from him to march as one man against any enemy. And there are people outside Italy who believe or make feign to believe him. Yet no one would be less willing than Mussolini to pass from threats to deeds. Any attempt to arm the Italian masses for a foreign war would plunge the country into civil war. The first day of a war would be the last day of Fascism.

This is why it is highly probable that Mussolini's fire-eating talk is not backed by any concrete war-plans. It is meant to keep the enthusiasm of his followers at the required pitch. The peril is that these latter will one day break away from the control of those who are exploiting their fanaticism, and demand deeds, not words. In politics, and especially foreign politics, "words are deeds." It is not the first shot which begins the war. It is the first word provocative of that warlike mentality out of which the first shot will some day be fired.

GAETANO SALVEMINI.

CHINESE LABOUR AND WESTERN RESPONSIBILITIES.

THERE is a side of Chinese life which has never been examined by impartial observers: I mean the creation, in some centres at least, of a Chinese proletariat based on conditions analogous to those in Europe. It is easy to see why the problem has never been studied impartially: if consuls attempt to do so they find themselves with the best intentions dependent for their information upon American or European employers, often compatriots, unable, apart from other possible reasons, to see the importance of the problem. If the reports are made by Labour or other socialistic western delegates, they judge by western standards and are therefore equally misled, if not equally wrong. The difficulty of ascertaining material and moral facts lies in the almost complete impossibility, for a Westerner, of getting into authentic touch with Chinese workmen. If we approach them through their heads we are probably even farther removed from them. Their leaders have been to South Africa or Europe, they speak some pidgin English, but they have forgotten all the peculiar qualities of the Chinese. I think, for instance, of the unconscious effort towards beauty which one finds often among Chinese coolies, the sort of impulse to create folk-song that has almost disappeared from our Aryan family. It is probably through industrialism and the high pressure at which we live that we have lost the gift of popular beauty and joy of life which is still to be found in China.

On approaching Shanghai last spring, after an absence of several years from China, I probably ought to have found that the most striking among the new spectacles offered to me were the barbed wires cutting across the Shanghai avenues: the shadow of the great war on the full bustle of an intense industrial life was indeed matter of wonder. Of even greater wonder and food for reflection was the sight of the Chinese peddlers, who, when our sentries were rather far off, hung their toys and sundry goods on the very wires of the trenches, making them useful for once—but in a way quite unforeseen by our gallant general staffs. All that was so Chinese; Chinese the excess of fear with which foreigners were encountered: Chinese the indifferent adaptation of the natives to any troublesome European innovation. But thanks to my previous five years of Peking life I might have known all that before landing. What struck me as new was the stream of coolies at the end of labour hours coming out of the factories—all western-owned factories—buying newspapers, glancing at them rapidly, then hiding them carefully in the depths of their filthy robes. It was but a

few years since I had left China: but at that time not a Chinese would have given a sapeque to buy political news. This decided me to spend more of my Shanghai days in visiting Chinese factories.

What has been the Chinese labourer's life, and what is it to-day? Generally speaking, no document should be read with more distrust than the speeches of the Chinese delegates to the League of Nations: Geneva's atmosphere amplifies the Oriental's natural gift of painting his country's affairs in a style as far removed from reality as were the Chinese tales and prints of Chinese subjects so popular with us in the eighteenth century. But for once the life of the Chinese labourer before the beginnings of industrialism was efficaciously described by the Chinese delegate to the last session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva. The idyllic note may have been slightly forced, to dazzle the Western barbarians, but it was true at bottom, especially viewed as an antithesis to the life which the recent industrialism of Shanghai has tended to create.

The Chinese peasant is happy—to quote Mr. Chau's report—not because of any great material comfort, but because the fulfilment of his tasks carries with it a certain feeling of independence. It is as though he recalled the maxims of his old philosophers, which have taught him the value of a simple life and of human dignity. The Chinese workman's life was as simple as the peasant's: as a matter of fact, he was a peasant himself originally. There was no strain after material comfort such as the Western workman exhibits; no asking either for amusement or holidays; no complaints of a wage which merely enabled him to buy rice to live on. But Chinese workmen expected, they still expect, to be treated like human beings and not like machines. Hence it is not surprising that, during the last Shanghai crisis, their chief demands were: greater courtesy from the superintendents and the right of talking to each other during working hours. The question of increased wages and shorter hours of work was secondary. These are facts to remember in studying the Chinese labour problem.

Let us admit that, for once, Chinese evidence is nearer to the truth than the statistics compiled in answer to a circular which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald issued to Consular agents in China when he first went to the British Foreign Office. The Consuls applied for information to employers, mainly English, who were truthfully and in good faith able to show by figures the huge improvements brought about by modern industrialism in Labour conditions, especially from a hygienic point of view. The importance of these things is far smaller in China than in Europe.

I visited at Shanghai a big Japanese spinning factory—one of those in which the first strikes of 1925 broke out: I found that the

pay is good and the hours are not long for those parts—only 10½ hours a day. I went through the work-rooms, accompanied by a Japanese inspector; thousands of young Chinese girls stood rigid and dumb, as on parade, their eyes fixed on their machines. Those were the orders. The following day I went to a Chinese factory, rather similar to the Japanese one. In the Chinese factory, where everyone certainly was paid less, and where everything was dirtier, a general merriment reigned among the workmen, who even made jokes about the height of the foreign devil as he went by between two minute Cantonese directors.

This little is all that remains of the old genial Chinese industrial life. In saying old I speak of twelve years back, when everything was based upon the family system, as were all Chinese ways of life. It applied even to the few factories in Shanghai and in Tsing-tao, which already numbered some hundreds of workmen. The fact is that family links reach very far in China. Every Chinese was, and still is, obliged to keep and to protect wherever possible his sons, nephews and brothers' nephews, *ad infinitum*. When there are no ties of cousinship, a certain connection and duty exist between folk from the same village and members of the same guild. A Chinese employer who was not surrounded by his relations or countrymen would have been looked on as a monster, socially. From this resulted a kind of intimacy in everyday life. Those of us who, not content to play golf on the dusty links of old Peking, visited carpet factories or porcelain works, will remember the impossibility of distinguishing clearly between masters and men. There was no need for the owner to maintain authority by keeping his men at a distance, since no one would have dared to fail in due respect to their "uncle," for the sake of their own self-respect. As a result, under the old system there was a family feeling between masters and men, such as Europe knew in the old cloth-weaving cities of Flanders, or in Dante's turbulent but intimate Florence.

The hours of work were long—though no longer than in present-day Shanghai with its violent strikes—but they were broken up by impromptu rests. Did a procession with music pass down a neighbouring street, headed by the master everyone would run out to look and only return after exchanging many quips and jests. There was no weekly holiday, but long breaks—sometimes three weeks—at the New Year. During the dinner hour the same itinerant sellers would bring practically the same ragoût for masters and men; at any rate, all had the same rice.

What a gulf between yesterday and to-day! The workmen are no longer relations or pseudo-relations, neighbours or friends of neighbours, they are nothing but an unstable mass of individuals

brought by hunger to Hankow or Shanghai from the neighbouring provinces; each speaking a dialect often unintelligible to anyone not of his own region, ignorant each of the other, knowing only the superintendent who engaged them. He, their paymaster, comes between foreign master and men, but that pay rarely reaches them intact, a certain percentage remains in his pocket as a fee for having engaged the workman. The European owner is aware of this and guesses that the wage he pays becomes a starvation wage: but not knowing a word of Chinese, he can never speak to any of his men. With the will to intervene, he would not know how to prevent a "squeeze" of which, in many instances, he himself is the victim. So it happened that, after some years of mute endurance, strike began to succeed strike. The men have realised that the workshop is no longer a big, noisy family centre, but a grim prison. Murders of foremen are becoming more and more frequent, which I take as a proof that such manifestations of discontent would have occurred even without the suggestions of agitators, foreign or otherwise. A Russian agitator would probably have advised a more brilliant stroke than the suppression of a brutal but humble superintendent. In killing him, the Chinese workman proves that he is satisfying a direct and personal hatred.

There is, in the Chinese industry of to-day, no workman who has not previously cultivated the soil, and who does not in hopeful moments dream of returning to his native village when he has saved a few taels. Those taels are never saved but homesickness is sometimes stronger than hunger; the workman goes back to his peasant life, but goes back with a new knowledge and new hatreds: a fresh ingredient added to the memories of horror brought back to China in 1918 and 1919 by those tens of thousands of Chinese who worked in the rear of the allied armies in France during the Great War.

These are the sources of the propaganda causing certain sporadic movements of Bolshevism which have recently appeared even in distant parts where it is certain no Russian agent has ever been. The Shanghai strikes are becoming legendary: workers in small native factories have been following the fashion, and so there are, even in lost towns of the interior, "movements" among tailors, barbers, pigkillers, "huoch'i" (shop-clerks). Exaggerated reports reach Consuls who are nearer to "civilisation" and who explain it all finally and easily, in their official correspondence, as Russian influence. The Labour troubles in China do not need any foreign assistance. They are unavoidable; they are the result of the sudden breaking of an ancient equilibrium, the necessary outcome of a painful transition period, the consequence of the complete anarchy into which so many poor human beings are suddenly

thrown after having grown up in villages and communities where the only law for a social and moral life was a familiar conception of authority. This authority has been broken and nothing has come to replace it.

Let us look at the other side of the problem: the foreign employer. If the industrial worker is a novelty, so also is the modern type of employer. A good half of the cotton or silk spinning in China is in foreign hands, in the following decreasing proportion as regards nationality: Japanese, English, French, Italian, American. Even if the foreigners were a minority, to them goes the responsibility of the origin of modern industry in China. And if Japanese factories only remained, their origin would be none the less Western. The first establishment of modern European industrial type erected in China was a silk spinning mill at Shanghai belonging to an English Company under Italian technical management, some forty years ago.

There rests on us a sort of moral, or at any rate historical, responsibility, and foreign employers would have been wiser not to try to escape therefrom, especially when the Chinese Government in Peking began to promulgate social legislation intended to dazzle—by naïve copies of foreign laws—the bureaux of the “Office du Travail” at Geneva and the inquirers sent to China by the British Labour Party. Those who, with mediæval respect, are spoken of as the “merchant Princes,” have shown in China the most obtuse ignorance of psychology and an utter want of foresight. They had no doubt—and they were right—that the new Chinese laws would only be fresh instruments in the hands of Chinese “Inspectors” for applying the screw to the inspected factories. They decided consequently to take refuge behind the privileges guaranteed to them by “extraterritoriality,” and to refuse point-blank all access to their factories to the “Inspectors” from Peking. A recent British official publication contains a typical reply of the British Consul-General at Hankow: “The British Establishments have no reason to fear the most searching inspection, but cannot admit the right of the Chinese Administration to interfere in their business.”

Truly, the absolute incapacity and almost certain corruption of the Chinese Inspectors justified every reserve. The employers moreover might have based their refusal upon the right that we have established in the open ports during the last sixty years: a customary right, to say the truth, not a legal one; in fact, the primitive “Regulations” that created the Settlement of Shanghai might, in the last resort, have admitted of inspection. But the old “Regulations” have been forgotten by everybody, beginning with the Chinese, who find it easier to clamour against “unequal

Treaties” than to study them. A true understanding of the interests of foreign employers should have suggested to them generously free measures at the moment when they were refusing their Chinese workmen the *soi-disant* Chinese guarantees. Alas! the following sentence is not taken from a Labour inquiry, but from the most recent Decennial Report of the Inspectorate-General of the Chinese Maritime Customs, the most important and conservative citadel of all the institutions created in China under British influence and with a British spirit. “It cannot be denied that the level of existence of this class of the population (unskilled labourers) has sunk to the most cruel and painful extent.” At the same time, most of the English newspapers in Shanghai were treating as “grotesque and unheard of” the demand, which formed the object of recent strikes, of seats for the working girls or young mothers—working eleven hours a day with no break for meals. Indeed, with the exception of Japanese firms, foreign houses employ women and children under twelve in a greater proportion than Chinese factories. These are the latest figures for Shanghai: 46,000 workers, of whom 57 per cent. are women, in Chinese-owned factories; 86,000 workers, of whom 70 per cent. are women, in European and American factories.

The promulgation in Peking of a law for industrial workers coincided with a movement organised in Shanghai by a group of enthusiastic and zealous Englishwomen, such as are always ready to espouse a cause with a humanitarian side to it. Urged from within and without, the Municipal Council (the supreme authority in the Settlement) appointed a Child Labour Commission which presented its report two years ago. The report recommended the following measures:

Employment of children under ten to be forbidden (age limit to be raised to twelve in four years’ time):

A maximum of twelve hours’ work per day, with one hour’s rest for children under fourteen;

Employment of children in dangerous or unhealthy work to be forbidden.

No one dared to claim that the adoption of these mild measures would have entailed any serious loss. All the same, this is what happened. The Land Regulations—the Magna Charta of the Shanghai Settlement—requiring a referendum of taxpayers on all measures of a general nature, the taxpayers were summoned to a meeting where they should have made their voting declaration. Taxpayers having the right to vote numbered only 2,700 (Chinese proprietors in the Settlement being excluded from all administration rights, either because or in spite of the fact that they form 85 per cent. of the taxpayers). The English Ladies’ Committee set to

work to ensure a full attendance at the meeting, but less than 400 voters came to it. The quorum was wanting and the meeting had to be postponed. At the second meeting the attendance was even less. Thus the opponents of the regulations gained their cause.

It is only fair to add that these opponents are not very pleased with themselves. They excuse themselves with such poor reasons as are usually given in these cases. A leading member of the Shanghai Club, the great English Club which prides itself on having the longest bar in the world and of having invented the "Million Dollar Cocktail," said to me: "It was a movement got up by lunatic women such as we have many of in our islands. How could we let ourselves be led by them?" The good man was trying to make anti-feminism his excuse.

SFORZA.

• THE FASCIST FACTOR IN AUSTRIAN POLITICS.

AUSTRIA, who constantly voices her need of publicity (but owing to the lack of unity among her various provinces, rarely secures it in the measure she needs and deserves), has grasped the "Monkey's Paw" of Mr. W. W. Jacobs. Wiener Neustadt certainly brought fulfilment to her desire for publicity, though in a peculiarly malicious form. So much so that after the event there was a certain amount of recrimination as to who was responsible for securing publicity in this undesired form. The Socialists pointed to the callousness towards Austria's suddenly developed stream of tourist traffic shown by the insistence of the *Heimwehr* (Fascists) on marching 20,000 men from other provinces through the predominantly Socialist, industrial town of Wiener Neustadt, a bare thirty miles from the capital. Certainly nervous guests left in shoals, and, remembering that during the riots of July 15th, 1927, visitors were isolated for four days in Vienna and that American visitors missed their boats, one cannot consider a premature departure on the days preceding the Wiener Neustadt demonstration as other than a wise precaution. Newspapers of the Right which had done as much as anyone to create panic by loud demands for big military contingents to go to Wiener Neustadt, and also for Vienna to be well guarded by troops and police, discovered after the event that all the alarm had been a Socialist manoeuvre to force the hands of the Government. Reproaches were levelled at the heads of foreign newspaper correspondents in Austria for "exaggerating" the dangers by those who did not stop to consider where there could have been room for further exaggerating the perils of a situation which induced Herr Vaugoin, the Minister for War, to move to Wiener Neustadt nearly one-third of the Austrian Army, including artillery detachments, in order that both Socialists and Fascists might shake their fists at one another at the public expense across a barrier formed of the public forces.

Austria is to be congratulated on having escaped the threatened explosion on this occasion, but *en passant* only—one need not waste much breath on congratulations over the escape from a peril which ought never to have arisen. The danger was at last brought home to Austria when from various quarters abroad, which are never other than well-intentioned towards this generally popular little nation, came veiled or open warnings that a country, whose Government was unable or unwilling to prevent so lamentable an exhibition and so purposeless a waste of money as the Fascist-Socialist marching and counter-marching in Wiener Neustadt, offered no very tempting security to the foreign investor. The warning was certainly kindly

in intent, but quite naturally was received with resentment by the Viennese who, as Hermann Bahr, that merciless psycho-analyst of his countrymen, wrote, "meekly accepts everything unless anyone tries to help him. Then, indeed, he defends himself."

What is the nature of this *Heimwehr* force which has suddenly written its title across the front pages of the world's newspapers and has procured for Austria the same undesirable publicity which the July riots obtained for her last year? Sometimes it is described by a literal translation of its title as "Home Defence Corps." A statement issued to the foreign Press to the effect that the *Heimwehr* "had never been intended for use against foreign countries" emphasises the looseness of the translated title as a description of the force. Strictly speaking, however, the communiqué was inaccurate, since the *Heimwehr* originated in many parts (Carinthia, Styria and Lower Austria, for example) as a "Home Defence Corps" to resist the Slovene and Hungarian invaders after the war. But that aspect of the force has long ceased to have any meaning. It is now an internal weapon designed purely for use by Austrians against Austrians.

I have heard objections raised to the application of the term "Fascist" to the *Heimwehr*. Though obviously not literally accurate, I think that the word suggests, to Anglo-Saxon readers at any rate, something very close to what the *Heimwehr* really means. Much could be said of the probable reluctance of some of its supporters to see Austria placed under such a régime as that of Signor Mussolini, but the touchstone is that the *Heimwehr* is an extra-parliamentary political weapon. It would meet with the unqualified approval of Signor Mussolini, the Ku Klux Klan and the Duke of Northumberland; it must be condemned by every believer in parliamentary methods—or, as its supporters here and abroad would put it, by everyone who makes a fetish of the ballot-box. Some of the Fascists will assure you that they are not opposed to the working-classes, that they do not desire to paralyse Socialism, that they only wish to break what they call the "Red Dictatorship" in Vienna. The truth is that the *Heimwehr* is largely an expression of impatience at the toughness of the Socialist resistance to all attempts to weaken their power, which has often been abused but was indubitably acquired and is maintained through the ballot-box.

No complaints about an alleged system of rewards for party faith in the allotment of municipal posts, no allegations of "conscience-pressure" (*Gewissenszwang*) can alter this fact. The forces behind the *Heimwehr* are many, and powerful. Austrian particularism, the dislike of the provinces for the capital, of the peasant for the townsman, of the devout Catholic for the Social-Democrat whom the priest tells him is Anti-Christ—these furnish the nucleus. The

assiduously-propagated legend of a great "Bolshevist plot" having been at the back of the rioting of July, 1927, gave the spur to the revival of the *Heimwehr*. Austrian industry, seeing a chance to curb the power of the "Red" trades unions in the factories and to build up an anti-strike force, made a special levy among employers to provide the *Heimwehr* with ample funds. The malcontents with the Republic—the young men of the professional, semi-professional and official classes, deprived of their prospects of a career since the collapse of the Monarchy—rushed to the "colours." The anti-Semites fell into line—indeed, they and the class last mentioned are largely identical, for as the corresponding social orders do in Germany, they allude to Austria as the "Juden Republik" and attribute all the sufferings consequent on defeat and dismemberment to the same cause to which their ancestors in the days of Margarethe Maultasch, "the Ugly Duchess," attributed the Plague—to the Jew.

The *Heimwehr* cannot be considered the army of the "bourgeoisie" in the sense in which the *Republikanische Schutzbund*, the Republican Guard, is the army of the Socialists, largely because of its anti-Semitic character. The big bourgeois-Jewish section of the population of Vienna has, indeed, been glad to use the name of "*Heimwehr*" as a threat to scare the Socialists, but the revelation that the notorious German Fascist leader, Major Waldemar Pabst, was the moving spirit behind the Austrian *Heimwehr*, came as an unpleasant shock to these people. This man's connection with political assassinations and with the Kapp Putsch in Germany is undisputed; his attitude was simply that, as the German Republic was the result of Jewish-born revolution, all those attempting by any means to upset the Republic were practically fighting on the side of dispossessed law and order. Such are the ideas which have been imported from the ultra-Nationalist German secret societies and the desperate "Baltic troops" to inspire the Austrian *Heimwehr*. Obviously they must be unacceptable to many of the Christian Social Party, with its backing of Jewish bankers. These little suspected that behind the eminently respectable, if somewhat bombastic, person of Dr. Steidle, the official head of the *Heimwehr*, was concealed (under a false name) the German nationalist desperado, until the Socialists published a number of extracts from their own secret dossiers concerning the *Heimwehr* at the time of Wiener Neustadt. Nor, of course, is it flattering to the pride of patriotic Austrians in the *Heimwehr* movement to find behind it an *eminence grise* from the Reich—and less so to those ex-officers of the Old Monarchy in the *Heimwehr* who still entertain feelings of loyalty towards the vanished dynasty.

Does the *Heimwehr* contemplate "a march on Vienna"? I do

not see how any reasonable person can doubt that at least they envisaged the possibility of this, for Dr. Steidle himself has threatened something of the sort in far clearer terms than ever Mussolini employed to prophesy the "March on Rome." If they did not, wherefore the hidden stores of rifles, machine-guns and howitzers? Wherefore the steady rifle practice and machine-gun practice of which anyone with his ears open may often become aware during week-ends spent in quiet corners of the Austrian provinces? Wherefore the recent artillery rehearsal in Tyrol? Anyone, in touch with the undercurrents of Austrian politics knows that last winter *Heimwehr* circles were discussing freely the advisability of removing the present Austrian Government and replacing Dr. Seipel by "someone who would stand no nonsense." Since the Chancellor (as he himself has said in Parliament) insisted from the start that the Socialist proposal to prohibit both Fascist and Socialist parades in Wiener Neustadt was indisputable, because to prohibit the march of the Fascists would have been "an interference with the right of public demonstration," the *Heimwehr* have certainly abandoned that attitude. The Socialists, who used to declare that the Chancellor was helpless under Fascist pressure, now accuse him of having become a whole-hearted Fascist himself and of requiring no pressure at all to support their cause.

With the example of Mussolini and the Vatican before his eyes, it is impossible to believe that a great clerical statesman like Dr. Seipel wishes to place Fascism in control of Austria. Those who nicknamed him "Austriehelieu" and think of him as a quite remarkable Roman Catholic after the pattern of the great French Cardinals, with the interests of the Roman Catholic hierarchy always in view, are probably not far from understanding the man who has guided the destinies of the Austrian Republic almost continuously since its birth. If this is so, then Dr. Seipel need not be expected to cease using the *Heimwehr* as a useful auxiliary in his fight against Social-Democracy so long as he believes that he can advance his general policy by its aid. For that matter, if it were ever possible for him to detach and use a section of the Social-Democrats to crush the power of Dr. Otto Bauer, Dr. Seitz (the Mayor of Vienna), Dr. Julius Deutsch (the organiser of the *Republikanische Schutzbund*) and other of his principal opponents, he would doubtless have no scruples about doing so.

The Austrian Chancellor did not create the Austrian Fascist movement, but his action in the matter of Wiener Neustadt has given it such encouragement that one may, perhaps, be permitted to employ the appropriate though well-worn simile of Frankenstein and his monster. How long will the *Heimwehr* (which immediately after its re-birth in 1927 indulged in rebellious mutterings against

the Chancellor) consent to remain a pawn on the Chancellor's political chessboard? Major Waldemar Pabst does not give the impression that he would consent to become any man's catspaw. From the official utterances of *Heimwehr* leaders one can prove anything. At one moment they have spoken with the voice of the turtle, at another with the threatening growl of the tiger about to spring upon its prey—in their case, Vienna. Supposing they do spring without consulting the Chancellor, who can hold them in check? The officers of the army and the police are being taught that the enemy is to the Left. Many of them are secret, some of them open, sympathisers with the *Heimwehr*.

The Social-Democrats, as the *Heimwehr* and the Chancellor himself must know, are practically powerless the moment that a Fascist *coup d'état* is attempted. It is not merely a matter of inferior armament, though that is important. You cannot conceal batteries of howitzers—machine-guns and rifles only with difficulty—in a city where a vigilant police force is neglecting no chance of discovering and seizing them. It is a far more simple proposition to conceal extensive stores of heavy armament in the remote ravines of the Tyrolean, Styrian and Carinthian Alps from a gendarmerie which, it may be suspected, can on occasion handle its telescope with the "Nelson touch." The *Republikanische Schutzbund* is well disciplined—that is to say, it stands under good trades-union discipline. The *Heimwehr* consists largely of ex-imperial officers and non-commissioned officers, ingrained with the iron discipline of a great army. But the real power of the *Heimwehr*, of course, is the power of blockade. The Socialists are in strength only in the cities, and the only city of importance on which they can count is the capital, Vienna. For their enemies to cut communications and starve them into submission would be child's play compared with the alternative of the town-bred Socialists pursuing their mountain-bred opponents into the crannies of the Alps. The certainty that a Fascist *coup* which was not immediately successful—and Vienna could obviously resist for a few days—would mean invasion and partition of Austria will, one may imagine, act as a restraining force on the *Heimwehr*. But their ranks are permeated with fanatics at least as irresponsible as the most extreme Socialists—people who are liable at any moment to "damn the consequences" and plunge the country into final disaster.

Meantime, the Chancellor has stated in the clearest possible terms that he is not prepared to accept the Socialist proposal for simultaneous disarmament and disbandment of the illegal armies, both of the Left and of the Right, as it stands. He insists on coupling with this a revision of the powers of the trades-unions in the workshops, and a cessation of the obstinationist tactics of the

not see how any reasonable person can doubt that at least they envisaged the possibility of this, for Dr. Steidle himself has threatened something of the sort in far clearer terms than ever Mussolini employed to prophesy the "March on Rome." If they did not, wherefore the hidden stores of rifles, machine-guns and howitzers? Wherefore the steady rifle practice and machine-gun practice of which anyone with his ears open may often become aware during week-ends spent in quiet corners of the Austrian provinces? Wherefore the recent artillery rehearsal in Tyrol? Anyone in touch with the undercurrents of Austrian politics knows that last winter *Heimwehr* circles were discussing freely the advisability of removing the present Austrian Government and replacing Dr. Seipel by "someone who would stand no nonsense." Since the Chancellor (as he himself has said in Parliament) insisted from the start that the Socialist proposal to prohibit both Fascist and Socialist parades in Wiener Neustadt was indisputable, because to prohibit the march of the Fascists would have been "an interference with the right of public demonstration," the *Heimwehr* have certainly abandoned that attitude. The Socialists, who used to declare that the Chancellor was helpless under Fascist pressure, now accuse him of having become a whole-hearted Fascist himself and of requiring no pressure at all to support their cause.

With the example of Mussolini and the Vatican before his eyes, it is impossible to believe that a great clerical statesman like Dr. Seipel wishes to place Fascism in control of Austria. Those who nicknamed him "Austriehelieu" and think of him as a quite remarkable Roman Catholic after the pattern of the great French Cardinals, with the interests of the Roman Catholic hierarchy always in view, are probably not far from understanding the man who has guided the destinies of the Austrian Republic almost continuously since its birth. If this is so, then Dr. Seipel need not be expected to cease using the *Heimwehr* as a useful auxiliary in his fight against Social-Democracy so long as he believes that he can advance his general policy by its aid. For that matter, if it were ever possible for him to detach and use a section of the Social-Democrats to crush the power of Dr. Otto Bauer, Dr. Seitz (the Mayor of Vienna), Dr. Julius Deutsch (the organiser of the *Republikanische Schutzbund*) and other of his principal opponents, he would doubtless have no scruples about doing so.

The Austrian Chancellor did not create the Austrian Fascist movement, but his action in the matter of Wiener Neustadt has given it such encouragement that one may, perhaps, be permitted to employ the appropriate though well-worn simile of Frankenstein and his monster. How long will the *Heimwehr* (which immediately after its re-birth in 1927 indulged in rebellious mutterings against

the Chancellor) consent to remain a pawn on the Chancellor's political chessboard? Major Waldemar Pabst does not give the impression that he would consent to become any man's catspaw. From the official utterances of *Heimwehr* leaders one can prove anything. At one moment they have spoken with the voice of the turtle, at another with the threatening growl of the tiger about to spring upon its prey—in their case, Vienna. Supposing they do spring without consulting the Chancellor, who can hold them in check? The officers of the army and the police are being taught that the enemy is to the Left. Many of them are secret, some of them open, sympathisers with the *Heimwehr*.

The Social-Democrats, as the *Heimwehr* and the Chancellor himself must know, are practically powerless the moment that a Fascist *coup d'état* is attempted. It is not merely a matter of inferior armament, though that is important. You cannot conceal batteries of howitzers—machine-guns and rifles only with difficulty—in a city where a vigilant police force is neglecting no chance of discovering and seizing them. It is a far more simple proposition to conceal extensive stores of heavy armament in the remote ravines of the Tyrolean, Styrian and Carinthian Alps from a gendarmerie which, it may be suspected, can on occasion handle its telescope with the "Nelson touch." The *Republikanische Schutzbund* is well disciplined—that is to say, it stands under good trades-union discipline. The *Heimwehr* consists largely of ex-imperial officers and non-commissioned officers, ingrained with the iron discipline of a great army. But the real power of the *Heimwehr*, of course, is the power of blockade. The Socialists are in strength only in the cities, and the only city of importance on which they can count is the capital, Vienna. For their enemies to cut communications and starve them into submission would be child's play compared with the alternative of the town-bred Socialists pursuing their mountain-bred opponents into the crannies of the Alps. The certainty that a Fascist *coup* which was not immediately successful—and Vienna could obviously resist for a few days—would mean invasion and partition of Austria will, one may imagine, act as a restraining force on the *Heimwehr*. But their ranks are permeated with fanatics at least as irresponsible as the most extreme Socialists—people who are liable at any moment to "damn the consequences" and plunge the country into final disaster.

Meantime, the Chancellor has stated in the clearest possible terms that he is not prepared to accept the Socialist proposal for simultaneous disarmament and disbandment of the illegal armies, both of the Left and of the Right, as it stands. He insists on coupling with this a revision of the powers of the trades-unions in the workshops, and a cessation of the obstinationist tactics of the

Socialists in Parliament. Unless the Socialists will agree to this, he intends the *Heimwehr* parades to go on. In his fighting speech to a party meeting on October 23rd, the Chancellor, referring to the Socialist peace offer and to the so-called "Disarmament Conference" (what an *opéra bouffe*, that such a thing should be needed in little Austria who could resist no invader, and what a tragedy that in a couple of sessions it should prove abortive and collapse!), Dr. Seipel said:

"The Socialist peace offer would have led to a more rapid success, did we not know them so well. . . . I was certain that there would be no civil war in Austria on October 7th . . . for the reason that I had determined to employ the necessary number of police, gendarmes and of Herr Vaugoin's troops. If the Socialists desire a real peace they must first of all cease to be a party with a guard indulging in military marches. Then they must abandon the war which they have kept up since July 15th (the day of the Vienna Riots) last year against the forces of the State Police, gendarmerie and army. So long as I am not assured, not that the Socialists are not afraid, but that no one need fear them any longer, there will be no peace and no disarmament in Austria!"

It seems not unfair to treat this as a frank statement by the Chancellor that he intends to retain the *Heimwehr* as a reserve weapon, not only until the Socialists disband and disarm their own militarised force, but until they abandon their feud against the police (of a feud against the Army I can find little trace) whom they accuse of brutality in Vienna in July, 1927.

It is deplorable that the bitter memories of that terrible tragedy should be kept alive as they are by both the Socialists and their opponents. The continued personal onslaughts on Herr Schober, the Police President of Vienna and an ex-Chancellor of the Republic, as a bloodthirsty murderer by the Socialists who rule the city, make the worst possible impression, for whatever else may be true in the Socialist allegations as to the behaviour of the police on that occasion, no one but the most fanatic partisan really believes that this gentleman is a lover of bloodshed. These considerations, however, are really outside the scope of this article, which seeks only to make clear the continued perils of the situation in Austria and the definite adoption by the Christian Socialist Party of the dangerous weapon of a Fascist-like militarised body to enforce a change of Socialist party tactics, while declining to consider the simple proposition of mutual disarmament.

G. F. R. GEDYE.

THE NEW METHOD OF THEISM.

THOSE who are acquainted with the recent literature of Theism, whether expository or apologetic, whether specifically Christian or more broadly philosophic, are aware of a great change of method that has taken place during the past generation. The way in which the problems of Theistic belief are approached is different. The selection and handling of the materials for their solution have altered. Even the problems themselves are differently conceived. And these differences of apprehension, approach and emphasis are due, not to a desire to find more effective arguments in support of the belief in God, but to a fundamental change in the point of view that has been brought about, in part, by the general advance of science, but more particularly by psychological investigation, and by the philosophical reflection that has taken account of both. It is necessary to explain this change before noticing some recently published books of importance that illustrate and take advantage of it.

The older Theistic arguments were based upon a sense of discontinuity; of a dichotomy between Man and Nature, as perceived by Man, each of these being treated as a complete, self-contained and, therefore, separate whole. Hence these arguments fell into two classes that were kept apart from one another. They were cosmological so far as the general nature of the Universe was concerned, predominantly ethical in regard to Man. The former dealt with the necessity of a First Cause and emphasised the existence of a universal order in Nature and particular instances of Design in order to deduce the personal and purposive, the rational and beneficent, character of this First Cause. The latter dwelt upon the nature of Man as a responsible being, who was conscious of the Categorical Imperative of Duty. The treatment conformed to the great confession of Kant that two things filled him with awe and wonder, "the starry heavens above and the moral law within." To establish the primary existence and the unconditional authority of conscience and to interpret its existence and nature as evidence of a Supreme Moral Lawgiver was to complete on independent grounds the reasons for Theistic belief, which were derived from the contemplation of the Universe as a dependent and orderly whole. It should be added that, of course, this division of Theistic argumentation reflected the dichotomy prevalent in most of the current philosophy and science. A preparatory or subsidiary argument was drawn from the general or, as was urged, the universal belief of mankind in a God, or in gods. Yet this *Consensus* was treated simply as offering presumptive justification of the truth of Theism without any, or at all events without any comprehensive,

endeavour to investigate the origin and growth of this universal belief, or to discover either the immanent grounds or the intrinsic spiritual values of this universal religious belief. The varieties of faith and practice were construed, for the most part, as perversions of original and standard Theism, due to the sinful and corrupt ignorance of Mankind. The Nature and Evidences of the Christian Religion were kept apart from the main Theistic arguments except in so far as certain general presuppositions were involved. So far as formal discussion was concerned, the specifically Christian interests of faith, doctrine and practice were only dealt with after the rationality of Theistic belief had been established without reference to Christ, and then were determined by a treatment of historic facts and by processes of dogmatic reasoning that were almost exclusively relevant to the Christian Religion, treated, in the main, as organically independent of the historic development of Mankind, and of human nature as a whole. Finally, the world, whether looked at from the Cosmological, the Ethical, or the Christian standpoint, was conceived statically, that is as an external and completed system, composed of separable, though related parts.

The new method of Theism has changed all this, because it proceeds from the conception of continuity—the *Continuum*, as it is technically called—instead of from that of discontinuity. The meaning and effect of this predominant sense of continuity may be summed up as follows:

1. The Christian Religion—including its characteristic content, its Hebrew presuppositions and preparation, its Hellenic moulding for thought and its Latin formulation for organisation and practice—is set frankly in the wider context of Universal Religion. Its Divinity is to be sought, not in its isolation from all other religions, but in its fulfilment of the very Idea of Religion itself. It is unique, because it proceeds from a transcendent historic Personality, Who is transcendent because He includes and consummates, thereby correcting and proportioning, all that is involved in and emergent from the truth and life, partly revealed and partly concealed in Religion as a whole.

2. Religion, in general, is treated as a vital and immanent, not as a separate endowment, of Human Nature, and therefore is studied in the context of Psychology as a whole. It is organically related to and therefore absorbs all the intellectual, affectional, and volitional activities of human nature, and cannot be explained except as their joint product and consummation.

3. Psychology can only be fruitfully pursued by taking full account of the Actuality of the Human Situation, and of the manifold and conative activities that react to the Situation. In particular, it must take due account of the Values, by which conation

passes into volition; by which man enlarges, moulds and serves himself of his situation—by the apprehension of which, in short, he advances to full Personality and mature Manhood.

4. The individual and the social in men and in human nature cannot be treated in isolation from one another. Man, as a personality, must be described and explained not only by introspection, but in the light of his social relationships, his history—family, national and racial—and of the institutions which have been created by him and for him.

5. Human psychology is treated in the context and by the aid of the emergent and wider consciousness, whether infantile or animal, out of which human personality arises and from which it becomes eventually distinguished.

6. Human consciousness holds Subject and Object together in the inseparable whole of experience. The two are indeed distinguishable, yet the old dichotomy of Metaphysics between the Subject, as characterised by Thought, and the Object, as Matter independently existing and extended in space, has become obsolete, with all the difficulties for thought that this abstract separation created.

7. Human faculties, conceived as such, are abstractions from the Whole of Personal Activity. Such abstractions are inevitable and useful for the more limited purposes of Psychology, but they will not bear examination from the standpoint of actuality. Even sensation, for instance, contains more intellectual elements than were recognised by the old philosophers, or even by Kant, while the loftiest soarings of human thought and aspiration have sprung out of the lowly origin of sense experience, when the intellectual and conative elements involved in it have justice done to them.

8. Man has sprung from what is commonly called Nature, and, therefore, continues organically related to it, though he transcends it.

9. Hence Human Nature reveals the Universe, just because and not in spite of the fact that Man is conditioned by it. All the activities of human thought—scientific as well as philosophic or religious—are, of necessity, anthropic in their character, but are, according to their degree, trustworthy guides to the Nature of the Universe, out of which they have sprung. Their relativity, so far from disparaging their veracity as interpreters of Reality, is the best credential of their trustworthiness, although at present “we know in part, and we prophesy in part.” And this applies at least equally to the supreme Values—by which Man comes into his Manhood and by which the world satisfies his reason, as well as his heart—as to any more limited activities of his perception and understanding.

10. Finally, Christ, like His Religion, is interpreted in His

living relationship with Mankind, and not in isolation from it. Even the Miracles are explained and estimated, not as a mere breach of Natural Order, but as the supremely natural expression of a transcendent Personality in organic contact with it.

All these elements of the newer standpoint spring from the fact that the conception of Evolution has passed from being a mere scientific doctrine into a habit of thought, and is leading Theologians, as well as other thinkers, to regard the Universe, Man and Religion from the genetic and not from the static point of view.

It follows from all this that the new Method of Theism, instead of starting from the dichotomy of Cosmology and Ethics, takes as its basis and material the subjective-objective, which is the condition and substance of all human experience. By this is meant that the inner side, so to speak, of experience is treated as the indispensable means of its interpretation, while this inner side, the subjective, is safeguarded from the dangers of mere subjectivity through being "clothed upon" by the objective realm, which calls out, fashions and supplies contents to its activity. Stress is laid upon the purposiveness, by which personality is realised, and upon the Supreme Values, which are discerned by personality as indispensable to its realisation and satisfaction. Since these Supreme Values are not merely subjective—seeing that they become manifest through the inter-relation of the subjective with the objective—they are treated as having as vital a share in the interpretation of the Universe as those Categories of the Understanding, to use Kant's term, which are employed in the ordinary sciences. And, finally, Christ is seen as the transcendent Personality of human history, not because He stands apart from and over against it, but because He so completely realises the Values, upon which humanity is dependent, that human progress can only be conceived as and realised by the fulfilment of His Purpose, by the triumph of His Spirit. Hence the key to the Meaning of Reality must be found, if anywhere, in and through developed Personality as emergent from the whole world-process; transcending it, yet organically related to it; to be taken in its completeness as our only means of interpreting the Universe, and as entitled to trust, not in spite of, but because of its relativity to the Whole of Reality out of which it springs. So truly is this the case that without the subjective of Personality, in its organic and immanent relationship to the objective, no Universe exists for Man, either to be perceived or to be explained.

This method of approach to and handling Theistic belief and religious experience in its largest sense is illustrated by important books that have been recently published, to which attention should now be directed. First of all, consideration should be given to Dr.

F. R. Tennant's new book, *Philosophical Theology*, Vol. I, *The Soul and its Faculties* (Cambridge University Press. 21s. net). It will be seen from the title itself that Dr. Tennant treats Psychology, with the philosophic conclusions that arise from it, as the only satisfactory instrument for reaching a philosophical, that is a reasonable, Theology. As he lays down in his Preface, "It is through knowledge about the Self, Mankind, and the world that belief in God is mediated; and it is in relation to such knowledge, its nature, presuppositions, scope and validity, that the intellectual status of theology, and the reasonableness of Theistic conviction, are to be estimated."

Dr. Tennant's general position is clearly set forth in the three following statements:

"Science postulates what is requisite to make the world amenable to the kind of thought that conceives of the structure of the Universe, and its orderedness according to quantitative law; Theology and Sciences of valuation postulate what is requisite to make the world amenable to the kind of thought that conceives of the why and wherefore, the meaning or purpose of the Universe, and its orderedness according to teleological principles. Both are necessarily interpretative, anthropic, interested, selective" (p. 299).

And again:

"Theology's opportunity does not first emerge at Science's extremity. Alike human interpretations, science interprets in one fashion a relatively narrow, and theology interprets upon another fashion a relatively more extensive, range of observable fact; they are complementary, not mutually exclusive or needful of any reconciliation; and can lodge in unity, domiciled within one mind content with reasonableness when it cannot have rationality. It is only when faith is construed as the conative source of all knowledge, however, that this happy state of things can obtain. On any other construing, religion and theology become unreasonable or baseless from the point of view of a scientific mind" (p. 303).

Once more.

"Reason is made, not born: an outgrowth of the understanding which has a common root with sense. There are no pure *sensa*, nor any sense perception that is not implicitly conceptual, no pure forms in intuition devoid of matter, no matter of thought without form; no understanding in the formal sense, i.e., no intuitive induction (the only 'rational' apprehension that is immediate as sense) without impressive data, in the first instance, nor any understanding, in the sense of use of 'real' categories, apart from conation and ejection; no pure and ideal science that does not arise by abstraction from, the idealisation of the originally *in sensu*, nor any knowledge of Actuality that is not interpretative or anthropic, no deductive physics that is not at bottom suppositional and grounded on induction, and no induction that does not transcend logical computation by assuming the indemonstrable, the hoped for and the unseen" (p. 193).

Close and careful consideration of these quotations—and this is requisite—will convey the substance of Dr. Tennant's conclusions and contentions. Each of them is reached by closely reasoned exposition and argument, in which the variant conclusions held by previous thinkers are examined and criticised. Dr. Tennant is an avowed disciple of the late Professor James Ward, to whose writings frequent reference is made, and the fundamental principles of this Volume are Dr. Ward's, though with minor variations and presented with the freshness and cogency of independent thinking.

It will be seen from the above summings-up that in Dr. Tennant's view the Method of Theistic inquiry is prescribed and the materials for it are provided by Psychology—or the doctrine of the Soul, as he calls it—that is through the study of developed Self-hood as the subject of all experience and as the centre of all the faculties, the source of all the Categories and Concepts by which experience is interpreted. And Psychology is treated genetically, the living process from Sense to Science—and it may be added to Philosophy—being closely studied and carefully traced. Following Ward, Dr. Tennant finds the secret of the soul and its development in conation, rising eventually to purposive will and demanding, at every stage and for every purpose, the ventures of faith. Science, Philosophy and Theology are all in the same boat, since each starts with a venture of faith that is coloured by hope. All are, or may be, reasonable, but cannot be purely rational, if by that term be meant a complete system of thought, which does not involve certain assumptions treated as postulates at the start. For example, when Science seeks to present the postulate of the Uniformity of Nature as rational, in the strict sense of the term, it always argues in a circle, importing the universal concept into the particulars from which it is supposed to be derived. Dr. Tennant makes the passage from Psychology to Philosophy, from Knowledge to Actuality, by means of an effective criticism of Kant's arbitrary division between the Categories of the Understanding and the Ideas of the Reason, in which he treated the former as furnishing the Knowledge of phenomena and the latter as merely regulative—that is as indispensable assumptions for completing the Knowledge of phenomena, but unable either to verify the existence or to reveal the Nature of "Things-in-themselves." As to this Dr. Tennant rightly remarks, "We know the noumenal through the phenomenal. The phenomenal is, so to say, the utterance of the ontal to us; if the noumenal shines forth, or appears to us, as the phenomenal, it cannot be totally unknowable" (p. 252). He adds, "What matters is whether Knowledge is *relevant* to Reality, not whether it is a pure copy thereof."

In one important respect, his treatment of Values, Dr. Tennant's

position calls for criticism, or rather for further elucidation. He asserts that,

"If Theology is thus an existential Science, it cannot be derived from consideration of Values alone. The existence of a Reality cannot be inferred from the worth of an ideal Object, or from the doctrine concerning ideal Objects. That Theology derives its *apologia* largely from considerations as to Values is, of course, true; but these Valuations must be appreciations of the existential, and so pre-suppose existential and theoretic Knowledge of the world and Man, in order to gain purchase and to yield any Theistic argument" (p. 304). "That they *ought* to be conserved, is irrelevant to whether they *will* be conserved, until the world has been found to be teleological, so as to guarantee reasonable hope that higher human aspirations are destined to be fulfilled."

In a sense this is, of course, true, but it is loosely expressed, and is somewhat inconsistent as a whole. Can this "existential and theoretical knowledge of the world and man," with Teleology as its governing concept, be attained without due regard being paid from the first to the Supreme Values, which are revealed, appreciated, and pursued as the result and condition of Man's full commerce with Reality; and indeed as the means of his attaining to fulfilled Manhood itself? If, moreover, there is "no induction that does not transcend logical computation by assuming the indemonstrable, the hoped for, and the unseen," wherein does valuation come short, as the means of knowing Reality, because it uses the assumptions that are essential to all Knowledge. It is the appreciation and quest of the Supreme Values that creates the need of world-explanation—that in calling out the activities of Man reveals the teleological character of his nature and his world. Surely this is sufficient to show that they have a vital function—though, of course, not taken alone—in furnishing the existential judgments that guarantee their place and preservation in the Universe, which has given them birth.

What use of his psychological arguments will be made by Dr. Tennant in his projected Theistic Argument remains to be seen when his Second Volume is published. Sufficient has been said, however, to indicate the importance of Volume I as it stands, and to illustrate the features of the New Method of Theism, which have already been described.

If complete Personality, despite its limitations, be the only available and the trustworthy key to the Meaning of Reality, and if Philosophical Theology must found itself upon Psychology, particularly the Psychology of Religion, then it follows that, in order to reach firm and satisfactory conclusions due account must be taken of the Supreme Personality of human history, in Whom the

Whole Meaning of Religion is expressed and its ideal End attained. To treat either Personality, the Supreme Values, the Psychology of Religion, or the Philosophical Theology which draws its conclusions from all these, without placing Christ in the foreground of the discussion, as the centre of the whole context, is to argue from an abstract *torso* and not from the living whole. For Christ is the personal embodiment, the Home and Spring of all the Supreme Values in which the meaning of religion is disclosed, by which the progress of mankind can be effected, by which personality can be fully realised and satisfied. His reality as a historic Personage is, for many reasons, of the greatest importance. Yet even if He be dissolved into a Myth, its genesis, content and energetic vitality call for examination as a disclosure of Reality. The fact that the ideals and values that are made manifest in Christ reveal their presence and exert their influence, in part, without any obvious dependence upon Him, and may, therefore, be claimed as intrinsically human and therefore truly natural to Man, strengthens, instead of weakening, the central position of Christ. For Christ is the focal centre in which all these ideals and values meet, are harmonised and fulfilled. His personal transcendence is not to be found by isolating Him from Mankind, but from placing Him, frankly, in His organic relationship to the Spiritual history, to the inmost strivings and highest aspirations, of which that history is the record.

Hence even in the religious and theological study of Christ the standpoint of Continuity is coming to replace that of discontinuity. This change is strikingly illustrated in the recently published book of Professor Leonard Hodgson, entitled *And was made Man, an Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* (Longmans. 9s. net). Professor Hodgson explicitly and frankly accepts the Creeds of the Christian Church, in their full significance, as setting forth, not merely the past belief of Christians, but the essential faith of the Christian Church. He insists upon the fact that Christ's Idea of the Kingdom of God was supernatural and ethical to the core, thus recognising the Eschatological, as well as the more purely spiritual, elements of His Teaching. He insists upon the objective character of the Atonement as the Supreme Deed by which Sin is Divinely repudiated and yet redemptively put away. Apart from repentance Salvation is impossible, for the sinner is left at cross purposes with God and with His Universe, in which sin has been repudiated by the Sacrifice of Christ. The beliefs concerning the Birth and Resurrection of Christ are treated as being ultimately a matter of faith, and of faith which has sprung out of and rests upon belief in His Godhead. The miracles wrought by Christ are inseparably interwoven with the narrative. "Faith in

the Messiahship of Jesus based on their conviction of His Resurrection gave the disciples their Gospel" (p. 119).

Yet, in Professor Hodgson's view, the Incarnation implied the full and frank entrance by Christ into human life, so that He submitted to all its limiting conditions and was educated by means of all its traditions. His historic character and complete humanity involved Him, not only in suffering, but in ignorance. The old alternative, if He was Divine He was not ignorant; if He was ignorant He was not Divine, must be set aside altogether, if the implications of His Incarnation are to be recognised. Professor Hodgson—who vindicates the claims of the Fourth Gospel as a trustworthy record, not only of the Life, but, above all, of the inner consciousness of Christ—considers that even such teaching as "before Abraham was I am" sprang out of the current Messianic doctrines with which Jesus was familiar. The unique perfection of Christ lay just in this, that in accepting to the full the human situation as it came to Him under the indispensable conditions of true incarnation, He saw all things unfailingly in the light of God, and dealt with them all in conscious and complete union with God. "I and My Father are one." Hence, the transcendence of Christ emerges from His organic relation to Mankind. Faith in His Godhead was evoked by the way in which He solved the problems of humanity. His Saviourship depends, not upon His isolation from, but upon His identification with Mankind. It is impossible, within the limits of this article, to discuss this view in detail. It is sufficient to point out how it recognises the principle of continuity and to add that the fundamental position, which treats the Fact of Christ as bound up with the context of human history, is consonant with both the Johannine and Pauline doctrines of the New Testament, and is indispensable to the attainment of a "philosophical Theology." The Divine Values made manifest in Christ are enhanced when He is seen in His organic relations with Mankind, and not in the isolation from the whole context of Reality, which was the fundamental error of the Ritschlian standpoint.

Only inadequate space remains for calling attention to the importance and great value of the Volume of Essays by various writers, entitled *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation*, edited by the Rev. A. E. J. Rawlinson, D.D. (Longmans. 21s. net.) Taken as a whole it appears to the present writer to be by far the most remarkable composite contribution to the study of Christian doctrine that has appeared in recent years. The eight Essays deal, in succession, with Hebraic Theism as presupposed by the Christian Movement, the Christ, Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Background, the Evolution of the Doctrine of the

Trinity, Augustine and Plotinus, God and Time, and the Incarnation. Breadth of outlook, careful scholarship and competent knowledge of history mark the treatment of all these subjects, and as several of the writers are examining Chaplains, the appearance of this book is welcome evidence of the mind and temper that are coming to prevail in Episcopal circles. The whole volume merits the careful attention of all students of Christian doctrine. What is important to note, as bearing upon the subject of this article, is that while these Essays deal with some of the most distinctively Christian doctrines and do so from the Anglican standpoint, yet all the writers are concerned to exhibit these doctrines from a philosophical point of view that places them in living relationship with modern thought, and to treat them as in such wise the culmination of its progress as not to destroy their continuous relationship with it. As evidence of this attitude Dr. Rawlinson's statement in the Introduction may be quoted. "That the Christian view of the world," he says, "presents difficulties the writers of this book would be the first to acknowledge. They would, however, point out that, of the more serious of the difficulties which it presents a considerable number are in no wise peculiar to Christianity. They are the common problems which confront every form of philosophy which attempts to reach a coherent account of the ultimate Nature and ground of Reality." In reference to Canon Streeter's view that the ultimate Nature of Being is best apprehended by the human mind on its "qualitative" side under the form of a Myth, Dr. Rawlinson, still speaking for all the contributors, adds "But there are some of those who do not wholly despair of Philosophy . . . and to those who are of this temper of mind the writers of this book may perhaps be allowed to express their conviction that no philosophy can be adequate which is not also, in a full and real sense, Christian." Hence there is a knitting together of Theological and Christological doctrine with Science, Psychology and Philosophy from start to finish. This is to say that all the dogmatic constructions of the Christian Church are viewed in relation to a consistent philosophy of the Universe, and that from this point of view, the theoretic contents of the Christian Religion are treated, not only as relevant and trustworthy, but as the indispensable guide to the interpretation of Reality, despite its mysteries and unsolved problems, as being, or rather giving promise of becoming, a consistent and satisfying whole. Only in this comprehensive way and in this sympathetic spirit can the needs, whether of Science or Religion, whether of Philosophy or Theology, be met and their respective claims satisfied for the modern mind.

J. SCOTT LIDGETT.

SALVING THE "OUTCASTS OF THE WAR."

IS the prolonged cry of anguish from the Outcasts of the War giving way at last to glad outbursts of joy? It may be somewhat early to prophesy, but for the first time for eight years there is now clear evidence that brighter days are everywhere dawning for the Outcasts of the War—subject always to the continuance of sustained effort by everybody concerned.

The Great War, the Greco-Turkish War, the Russian Revolution, together turned adrift on the face of the earth probably the greatest tide of derelict humanity known to history. Men, women and children who had been industrious, law-abiding citizens were turned into herds of famished and starving humanity, without shelter, without clothing, and, what has proved worst of all, without any anchorage of citizenship in any civilised country of the world. The mass misery of these panic-stricken, homeless people is beyond the power of human pen to portray. Thousands perished of hunger, unknown thousands perished from pestilence, whilst even little children literally died in heaps.

Now that the problem is at last reduced to manageable proportions, the figures of the problem are strikingly eloquent of the frightful havoc wrought by war in this particular respect. The following is the total refugee problem towards which the League of Nations directed its energies immediately after the War :

(1) Refugee Soldiers, belonging to twenty-six nations	427,386
(2) Greek Refugees, 1922-3	1,250,000
(3) Armenians	350,000
(4) Russians	1,500,000
	3,527,386

The scattered and varied problem of soldier refugees was committed to Dr. Nansen in April, 1920, and by July 1st, 1922, the task was completed and every refugee soldier returned to his home, at a cost of less than £1 per head—and without a single serious casualty. This undertaking, however, was but a prelude to a far greater task, namely, the relief and settlement of civilian refugees. The great majority of the refugees, who were absolutely destitute, came from the most varied ranks of Society; middle and lower classes, the professional classes and the peasants, were all in the woeful condition of being without the necessities of life, and in most cases completely ignorant of the language of the countries into which they had drifted. In the main they were incapable of following any trade and entirely unfitted for settlement in a foreign

country. The Russian and Armenian refugees had been de-citizenised; such documents as they carried lost any validity, and a solution of this difficulty constituted one of the most urgent and pressing requirements of the situation, for without some kind of legal status it was impossible effectively to deal with the problem.

The great success which attended the efforts of Dr. Nansen in settling the refugee soldier problem pointed to this great-hearted Norwegian as the man to undertake the gigantic task of dealing with the whole refugee question, and in 1921 the Council of the League of Nations, on the report of M. Hanotaux, appointed Dr. Nansen as High Commissioner, with the following almost impossible terms of reference:

- (a) the determination of the legal status of the refugees,
- (b) their removal to countries capable of absorbing them.

The task, therefore, was partly political and partly labour. One important part of the legal aspect of the question was settled by what are known as the "Nansen Passports," or certificates of identity, which up to the present some fifty Governments have recognised. This "Nansen Passport" is in fact the first international legitimisation document. The system has given every satisfaction to the refugees themselves and to the Governments of the countries to which they may go; in addition to which, the passports issued to non-indigent refugees constitute a source of revenue for the settlement of indigent refugees.

An illustration not only of the humanitarian value but of the practical value of these passports is now being witnessed in the urgent problem which has arisen in Constantinople. There remain in Constantinople 2,500 refugees, very largely of Russian nationality. They are determined not to go back to Russia, because they know too well what fate awaits them. The Turkish Government is equally determined to expel them from Turkish territory. The League of Nations has intervened, and has managed to persuade the Turkish Government to postpone expulsion until February 6th, 1929, but only upon the condition that active and sustained measures are taken to remove the whole of these unfortunate refugees before that date. A large proportion of them are only fit for special occupations, and their fate would be deplorable if it were not that they have two splendid friends in Miss Mitchell and Miss Phelps-Stokes, American women working for their repatriation. Indeed, the League of Nations was so impressed by the self-sacrificing efforts of these two ladies, that at the last Assembly they passed a special note appreciative of their work. By the aid of £20,000 collected by these ladies, and their personal efforts in securing Nansen passports, there is every reason to hope that these 2,500 unfortunate people will be satisfactorily placed in

some other part of the world by the stipulated date of February the 6th of next year.

In the process of time the labour question became of more urgent importance than the legal one, with the result that in January, 1925, that part of the work of Dr. Nansen and his fellow Commissioners was transferred to the International Labour Organisation, in order to carry through the work of seeking employment, and arranging for the emigration and settlement of the refugees. This year a recommendation has been made to the Council of the League of Nations that the work shall undergo a further evolution by the appointment of a special Advisory Commission consisting of representatives of Governments more directly interested in the refugee problems, assisted by certain persons with exceptional knowledge of these problems.

In point of time, the first refugee problem to reach a definite stage of settlement was the Greek inundation. The League of Nations had barely commenced to deal with the Russian refugees before the great calamity of Smyrna occurred. It will be remembered that in the autumn of 1922 the Turks drove the Greek Army out of Asia Minor. Half-starved, suffering in many cases from disease, the refugees from Smyrna poured into Greece, until some 25 per cent. of the population of that country, then labouring under defeat, was regarded as refugee. Over 700,000 were absolutely destitute, and nearly 80 per cent. of them were women and children. By the aid of the international loan of £10,000,000 raised under the League of Nations' auspices, the Greek authorities, with great courage, and with the assistance of men like Mr. Morgenthau, Mr. C. D. Eddy, Sir John Campbell and Sir James Hope Simpson, have created a network of farms, villages, towns and workshops. So successful has this effort been that by the end of 1927 over 600,000 people had been established, at a cost of less than £100 per family. The Report of the League of Nations, dealing with this, says truly:

"It is hard to believe that these decently dressed men and women, full of life and with something to spend on their amusements, are the same who landed on the shores of Greece three years ago, naked and starving and in many cases carrying in their arms dead children whom they did not know where to bury."

But the Russian and Armenian problem, involving nearly 2,000,000 of people, was much more difficult, arising chiefly from the fact that to return to the citizenship that they had known in former years would in many cases spell speedy and violent death. Dr. Nansen's Commissioners were, therefore, compelled to look to other countries for places of settlement. Yet another factor had to be borne in mind, namely, the lofty ideal which the League has

imposed upon itself of making its human salvage work pay for its own salvation. The following figures, covering only a few areas, give some idea of the magnitude of the problem, and, incidentally, the distances to which some of the refugees have drifted :

<i>Russian Refugees.</i>			<i>Armenian Refugees.</i>		
Present total, 754,700.			Present total, 162,130.		
Bulgaria	...	25,942	...	...	22,000
France	...	400,000	...	...	
Greece	...	2,356	...	...	39,789
China	...	88,548	...	...	500
Poland	...	100,000	...	...	1,000

At the end of 1921, when the High Commissariat was established under the League, there were 1,500,000 Russian and 350,000 Armenian refugees without work or the means of subsistence. By 1925, the number of these refugees, apart from those in the Caucasus, had been reduced to about 400,000. During 1925 the League managed to place 23,000 refugees on a self-supporting basis. By 1927 the total number of refugees out of work had been further reduced to less than 250,000. To-day the figure of unemployed refugees stands at about 200,000, as compared with 1,500,000 in 1921, and nearly 2,000,000 in 1922.

When M. Hanotaux in 1921 persuaded the Assembly of the League to accept the great humanitarian task of succouring the 1,500,000 Russian outcasts, he estimated the cost at £4,000,000, or less than a modest £3 per head. The collective enthusiasm of the delegates at Geneva was immense—the £4,000,000 seemed at that time a trivial matter. But alas! the Governments behind the delegates—apart from the French, the Bulgarian, the Czecho-Slovakian and the Jugo-Slavian—quickly allowed their enthusiasm to evaporate when confronted with their Winston Churchills, and Dr. Nansen and his colleagues were, and continue to be, starved for funds, to such an extent that the British delegation in 1928 only grudgingly voted the miserable pittance required to pay Nansen's administrative and clerical staff! Having, then, shifted the work on to the shoulders of Dr. Nansen and his colleagues, having intimated that this delegated responsibility might cost £4,000,000, the Sovereign States produced for Dr. Nansen out of their eloquent enthusiasm, from first to last, the prodigious sum of about £100,000!

Yet what a responsibility upon the nations! History records few cases where responsibility was so explicit in its commitments, and so tragic in the results of its betrayal, as that of the Armenians. Nowhere has this been so clearly set forth as under the joint authoritative signatures of the late Lord Oxford and Mr. Baldwin,

the present Prime Minister. This statement was issued in 1924, and it is well to recall its main points to-day. They first quoted the statement of the British Foreign Office in 1918, in which it was pointed out that at the outbreak of war Turkey offered the Armenians autonomy if they would assist the Turks; that the refusal of the Armenians to respond led to the massacre of more than 700,000 men, women and children; and that during the War the Armenians themselves bore the brunt of some of the heavier fighting in the Caucasian campaigns.

They proceeded to point out that during the War and since the Armistice statesmen of the Allied and Associated Powers gave repeated pledges to secure the liberation and independence of the Armenian nation. These pledges in turn included the promise of an Armenian Independent State, the boundaries of which were to be set by the late President Wilson. They further arranged that the Treaty of Sèvres should be signed by a representative of the Armenian Sovereign State, and in 1921 supported in the League of Nations Assembly the creation of a national home. Lord Oxford and Mr. Baldwin then proceeded to point out that these projects were abandoned owing to circumstances beyond the control of nations, but that Great Britain was in part responsible for the final dispersion of the Ottoman Armenians after the sack of Smyrna in 1922. When taking into consideration the plight of the Armenian refugees, the fact should not be overlooked that the sum of £5,000,000 (Turkish gold) which was deposited by the Turkish Government in Berlin in 1916, and taken over by the Allies after the Armistice, "was in large part (perhaps wholly) Armenian money."

The statement concluded with an appeal for financial assistance, including one to our own Government, in the following language:

"It is in our opinion the duty of Great Britain to give substantial support to this scheme.

"We desire to express our view that, as some compensation for unfulfilled pledges is morally due to the Armenians, the British Government should forthwith make an important grant."

The prime need of the Armenians to-day is not charity but the means to work out their own salvation. Torture, massacre, starvation and disease have in turn done their worst; from the fierce fires of a veritable hell the Armenian race is once again emerging, strong in its own strength. It is true that money is wanted to acquire more lands for the refugees; it is true that money is wanted to build houses and purchase cattle, but under the League of Nations, schemes of colonisation are now so firmly established that any moneys advanced to the Armenians will be repaid to the League, with interest at 5 per cent., in order that the League may

use the refunded loans with interest to succour their fellow-Armenians.

There are two main schemes (a) Syria, (b) Erivan. The Syrian colonisation scheme was designed to turn 40,000 wholly indigent Armenian refugees into producing citizens. Nearly 8,000 men, women and children have been taken from the fever-haunted refugee camps of Aleppo, Beirut and Alexandretta, and are now in full and thriving occupation of lands purchased largely from funds subscribed by the British United and other private relief committees. If the refugees are fortunate in the controlling genius of Dr. Nansen, they are equally fortunate in the local French Administrator, General Dr. Duguet, and M. Burnier, the League representative, whose interest and enthusiasm emerge in the vivid pictures they give of the progress of the Armenian colonisation. They say :

"With the gardens nicely cultivated and the cattle grazing in the fields, Soug-Sou presents a very peaceful picture. The people will be able to feed themselves this year and begin their repayments next year."

"The refugees are constructing their houses with enthusiasm and speed, and two villages will be ready before the winter. One hundred men are working night and day in order to get the houses finished in time, while the women and children wait at Aleppo and are fed by the Committee."

It is with joy that workers for the Armenian race can now say that the day of charity is passing away, and that the settlement of the Armenians is a *good financial proposition*. How is it done?

It is one of the first principles of the League of Nations that its so-called philanthropic ventures must be economically sound; applied to individual colonists, this means, in the words of General Duguet and M. Burnier, that :

"The colonists must be enabled to become self-supporting as soon as possible so that they may be in a position to repay their advances and become owners of their lands and houses."

For the purpose of making these advances the High Commission of the League has created a "Revolving Fund," to which States and private organisations have been invited to contribute.

But perhaps the most encouraging fact is that, given a *loan* of £100,000, the settlement of the whole Armenian colonisation problem in Syria will be completed; the Armenians will repay every penny of that loan to the "Revolving Fund," with interest at 5 per cent. All advances to the Armenians for land, houses, stock and implements, are made upon the basis of repayments within ten years; but such is the industry shown by the Armenians, and—*account for it how we may*—so abundant are the harvests now being raised, so fruitful are the vineyards and the stock tended

by the Armenians, that many of them will, it is known, complete their repayments in five, three, or even two years! In spite of persistent efforts to persuade the British Government to do so, they will not honour the appeal of Mr. Baldwin in 1924, which was for "substantial support" by joining with the French Government in providing the loan of £100,000. Happily, there is now good reason to hope that the French Government will respond to the extent of reinforcing private gifts and loans by periodical State loans.

The second great scheme of Armenian colonisation is in the Erivan district of the Caucasus. The opportunity presents itself to irrigate the Sardarabad Plain and the districts of Kirr, Kara Su and Zangabassar swamps. The plan involves the irrigation and drainage of some 33,000 *dessiatines* of land (nearly 90,000 acres), and the total cost is estimated at something under £1,000,000. As the areas are irrigated, the Armenian settlers could be placed upon the land. It had originally been proposed that this work should be undertaken by a public loan. This, however, was found to be impossible. The whole scheme has been examined by experts, and reports have been submitted to Sir Murdoch MacDonald, who advises that the irrigation and settlement scheme is "technically sound." The position to-day is that Dr. Nansen has been requested to go forward with the scheme with such private resources as he possesses; and the Assembly of the League of Nations, at its recent meeting, gave its blessing to the scheme in the following words :

"Decides that the work of establishment of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan shall be carried on under the auspices of the League of Nations;

"Requests the Council to continue negotiations with those Governments which have offered assistance in this work, in order that the conditions under which other offers have been made may be fulfilled;

"Approves the inclusion in the budget of the sum of 50,000 Swiss francs to meet the administrative expenses of this work."

but, up to the present, they have graciously allowed Dr. Nansen to go forward, making his bricks *without straw*!

JOHN H. HARRIS.

EILEAN A' CHEÒ.

WEST of the Scottish mainland many islands lie, but the greatest of them all is Skye. Sometimes Skye is spoken of among Gaels as An t-Eilean. That is *The island par excellence* of all the Hebrides. In Ossian it is always known by the poetic name of Eilean a' Cheò, the Isle of Mist. It is also written of as An t-Eilean Sgiathanach, the Wingèd Isle, from its promontories that sweep far out into the ocean like wings.

No isle of the Hebrides can compare with Skye. You have in that island every conceivable variety of scenery. Each portion of the isle has its own especial "atmosphere." How different is Trotternish from Sleat; how different Tallisker from "MacLeod's Country" at Dunvegan! And how different is the scenery! Skye is an island of hills, but even so the Cuillin range rise up and dwarf their neighbours.

The Cuillin—the Black Cuillin they are sometimes called—are without doubt the most magnificent hill range in all Scotland. Their name, it is believed, is Norse, and they resemble the hills of the Lofoden Isles, or of distant Spitsbergen, rather than of the Scottish mainland. At a distance, whether across the sea as viewed from the Outer Isles or over the land, the Cuillin are always inspiring. They are perhaps at their best on a fine day of early summer, where they rise, clear-cut and blue, on the horizon. In their corries the snows of winter gleam. The summits are etherialised. They catch the floating clouds and are hidden awhile. The clouds pass, and again the tapering crests are seen. Near at hand the Cuillin are sometimes overpowering. Their flanks are naked rock; often sheer precipice. Nothing grows here save a few alpine plants. The fierce gales of winter rush past these rock walls, and thunder (which in the Hebrides is a thing of winter rather than of summer) often reverberates from one splintered summit to another.

In the old days the crofters and their families went up to the shielings in the corries of the Black Cuillin each summer. One corrie is still known as Coire na Banachdich, or the Milkmaid's Corrie. Its name conjures up visions of the old summer life in Skye; of the families with their stock in the corries; of the milking of the cows beside the swift-flowing burn; of the singing of Gaelic songs at dusk. But now no human foot treads the grass of Coire na Banachdich, except perhaps when a shepherd "gathers" the sheep, or a mountaineer scales the arduous hill pass which leads, by way of Coire na Banachdich, from Glen Brittle across the heart of the Black Cuillin to Loch Coruisk.

Coruisk! What loch in all Scotland has drawn so many distinguished men to its shore? Artists, poets, men of letters. They

are inspired by the beauty of Loch Coruisk, which lies no more than 25 feet above the Atlantic and is separated from the sea by a river only a few hundred yards in length. But to me there is a still more delightful loch in Skye. It is cradled high in the Cuillin, in a lonely corrie. Few have seen it, for the climb to it is long and steep. Its name is Loch Coire a' Ghrunnda (the Loch of the Corrie of the Earth), and its clear waters are just 2,400 feet above the Atlantic that lies so near them. Although it is high, Loch Coire a' Ghrunnda is in a sunny corrie, sheltered from all winds from the north and east, and the sea-thrift which grows in the corrie flowers almost as early as at sea level. During the past spring a friend of mine was actually bathing in this hill loch when, farther to the east, dry snow was falling in the central highlands of Inverness-shire!

Of the Black Cuillin as a field for rock climbers it is unnecessary to write. They are known to every mountaineer; even the Inaccessible Pinnacle of Sgurr Dearg is scaled many times each year. But of the unrivalled views which the hills can give the world has not been told enough. In summer a sunset from the dark summit of Sgurr Dearg, 3,300 feet above the Atlantic, is a memorable experience. The night I spent on the hill—it was the first or second day of July—the sun dipped behind the far distant Sound of Harris at twenty minutes to eleven, and all night the dull red afterglow shone in the sky and crept round from north-west, through north, to north-east. There was no darkness. In a silent, watching company black Cuillin peaks rose north and south. Beside me, bathed in soft light, was the grim Inaccessible Pinnacle. Three thousand feet below, across leagues of ocean, the orange flashes of Hyskeir's light glimmered through the haze. And with the morning, before sunrise, came thick mist, driven in upon an increasing southerly wind, hiding the hills, the friendly sea, even the Inaccessible Pinnacle itself.

But it is not only to Uist, Harris, and the other isles of the Outer Hebrides that the view from the Cuillin peaks extends. On days of unusual clearness—days which portend a change of weather—a faint shapely hill may be seen to rise on the far western Atlantic, beyond the island of North Uist. It is Hiort, or Saint Kilda, a remote island with some forty-five inhabitants, lying just under a hundred miles west of the Black Cuillin of Skye. Iort is an old Celtic word meaning "death." The island may have been named so because in bygone centuries it was a penal settlement. Into the dim mists of antiquity it has always been owned by the MacLeods of Dunvegan, hereditary chiefs of the clan, and thither were sent those convicted of sheep stealing, cattle lifting, and other offences.

On Hiort are the highest sea precipices in Britain, the cliff falling

sheer for 1,300 feet, but every object is softened and idealised at a distance, and so when seen from the Cuillin Saint Kilda seems like the embodiment of that spiritual isle of the blest in which the Celtic race has always believed. Some called it Tir nan Og (the Land of Youth), some Tir na Sorchá (the Land of Light); to others it was known as the Land of Peace, but many of the old people saw it, and by many more it was seen in visions. St. Kilda I have seen from the Cuillin; the Cuillin I have seen from St. Kilda. And there was a great fascination in seeing that splendid hill range at so vast a distance.

There are now few woods in Skye. In Sleat are hazel-clothed glens; around Broadford are birch woods. But generally speaking Skye is now tree-less, although in an earlier era Skene in his *Celtic Scotland* quotes that "in this isle (Skye) are . . . maney woods, maney forrests, maney deire, fair hunting, games maney, grate hills, principally Cuilluelum and Glannock." Adamnan in his *Life of Saint Columba* mentions that the Saint had an encounter with a boar in the forests of Skye. (It is interesting, by the way, that Columba had a great affection for Skye, and it is one of the few Hebridean Isles outside Iona which he personally visited.) In the peat the trunks, roots, and even the nuts of the hazel are frequently unearthed, in an excellent state of preservation. The bog fir so prevalent in the Cairngorms is not found in Skye.

I have mentioned that the Cuillin of Skye own a Norse name. That is only proper, for in the year 1098 Skye was ceded to Norway when Magnus devastated the isle, and in Norse hands it remained until the year 1266, when it was restored to Scotland. It is remarkable how many place-names in Skye are Norse. Skeabost, Elgol, Soay, Trotternish, Uig, Sleat—to name only a few that come quickly to the mind—were all named by the imperious Vikings who a thousand years ago crossed the Minch when King Haco's fleet sailed proudly through Kyleakin, and gave it its present name, which is Caol Haco, or Haco's Narrows.

The first mention of the Island of Skye is believed to occur in Ptolemy. He, in the second century, names it Skitis or Sketis. Five hundred years later Adamnan writes of it as Scia Insula. In his *Life of Saint Columba* Adamnan mentions that the Saint, when on a visit to Skye, baptised an ancient chief named Artbranan, who came to him by sea, and that the river where the chief was baptised was called Dobur Artbranan, the Water of Artbranan. In the Norse sagas Skye is called Skith. Skye, spelt in its present-day form, first occurs in a charter of 1498. Ever since the Norse occupation Skye has been the home of three great highland families, the MacDonalds, the MacLeods, and the MacKinnons. The chiefs of the MacLeods have had their home at Dunvegan Castle, in the west

of Skye, for close on a thousand years, and it is believed that the family is of Norse origin. In the castle are priceless relics, among them being the renowned Fairy Flag, of great antiquity. Concerning this flag two traditions exist. According to one legend the MacLeod of a past day married a fairy wife. After living happily with the chief for a time the fairy decided to return to her own race. At the Fairy Bridge near Dunvegan she parted from MacLeod, but before she disappeared she gave him the Fairy Flag, which should save the clan on three occasions. The second tradition tells us that when a son and heir was born to MacLeod and when, to celebrate the event, a great banquet was held in the castle, the nurse left her precious charge for a moment to peer down upon the banquet hall below. When she returned she found the infant wrapped in the mysterious flag. She took the child down to show him to the assembled clan, wrapped as he was, and when she reached the great dining hall the air was suddenly filled with innumerable fairy voices singing the croon or lullaby that is even now sung by the nurse at the birth of the heir to the chiefship of MacLeod.

Another interesting relic within the walls of Dunvegan is the bagpipe belonging to Iain Dubh (Black John) MacCrimmon, who died just over a hundred years ago. The MacCrimmons were hereditary pipers to the MacLeods. They were peerless among pipers, and at their music college at Boreraig (which lies opposite Dunvegan on the farther shore of the sea loch) all the chief pipers in the Scottish highlands and islands studied. The origin of the MacCrimmons is obscure. It has been suggested that their ancestor was Ruman MacColmain (called in the Book of Leinster the Homer and Virgil of Ireland) who lived in the year 747. Ruman was grandson of King Laegaire, and was the royal poet of Ireland. Another tradition makes the MacCrimmons descended from Crimthan, high King of Ireland.

Whatever may have been their origin, the MacCrimmons were for some four hundred years pipers to the MacLeods. In the composition of the classical music of the highland pipe they were without equal. This music (it is sometimes called Ceol Mor or the Great Music, sometimes Piobaireachd) is entirely different from the more modern march, Strathspey, and reel. It has been compared to a recitative sonata. Beginning with a theme (Gaelic, Urlar) the tune develops. Each movement in turn becomes more testing, and the piece ends with the intricate Crunluadh, which many pipers are never able to master.

The MacDonalds of the Isles also had their hereditary pipers, the MacArthurs, but they were scarcely so celebrated as the MacCrimmons. The former castle of the MacDonalds, Dun Tulum, or Dun

Tuillym, is now a ruin. It stands in the north of Skye on a bold headland against which the Atlantic surf beats. The castle was deserted two hundred years ago, and shortly after leaving Dun Tulm the family built the castle of Armadale in Sleat, where they now reside. Why Dun Tulm castle was abandoned is a mystery. According to one tradition a child fell from an upper window of the castle to the sea beneath, and after this tragedy the MacDonalds never wished to return to their ancestral home. But another tradition affirms that the restless ghost of Donald Gorm (a ruthless and renowned member of the family) so distressed the inmates of the castle that there came a day when they could live in it no longer.

The MacKinnons, the third great Skye family, received a charter of lands in the island at the hands of Robert the Bruce after Bannockburn in 1314. At the rising of 1745 Iain Dubh, thirtieth chief of MacKinnon, rose at the summons of Prince Charles Edward and joined the prince with 250 of his clan. After Culloden MacKinnon was taken prisoner, but at the close of 1747 he was pardoned and returned to Skye. In the island of Skye it was customary (until the year 1755), when a tenant on an estate died, for the laird to claim the best horse in the possession of the widow. In 1755 MacKinnon's factor or land agent treated a widow so brutally that she cursed him and told him that her one-year-old son would in time revenge her ill-treatment. Seventeen years later, on the factor behaving even more insolently towards another widow, the boy met him on his return home, fought with the fellow, slew him, and appeared at the laird's gate with the factor's head on the point of his dirk. MacKinnon, on hearing his story, pardoned the lad, and there and then appointed him ground officer. He also gave instructions that the old custom of claiming a widow's best horse was to cease.

There are in Skye many ancient ruined castles. Of them all, the two most celebrated are perhaps Castle Maoil and the Castle of Dunscaith. All who cross from the mainland to Skye at Kyleakin cannot fail to observe Castle Maoil. The old ruin stands beside the tide, just to the south of the village of Kyleakin. According to tradition it was the home of a princess of Norway at the time when the Norse ruled in the Isle of Skye. Across the sound between Skye and the Scottish coast (the passage is here rather less than a mile in breadth) this princess is said to have stretched a chain and levied toll upon every ship that passed.

Dunscaith is believed to have been a residence of the MacDonalds of the Isles five hundred years ago, and is renowned as being the supposed home of Cuchullin, one of the Knights of the Red Branch of Ulster in the fourth century. Dunscaith was the *dun* or fort of Queen Scathach, an amazon ruler, in those distant days, and thither

Cuchullin voyaged from Erin to learn the arts of war. The castle of Dunscaith stood upon the shore of Loch Slapin in Sleat. The situation is singularly wild and inspiring. Across the wide sea loch the heights of the Black Cuillin rise: one looks over to Strath, to the ancestral lands of MacKinnon, where Prince Charlie when a fugitive remained a night under the old chief's protection before he was taken with great secrecy across to the Scottish mainland.

Skye—Eilean a' Cheò (The Isle of Mist), Eilean Sgiathanach (The Winged Isle), An t-Eilean (*The Island*), call her what you will—has at every season of the year a charm that draws those who love her again and again to her shores. In spring, while on the uplands of the mainland frost and snow linger, daffodils spread a yellow carpet beneath the trees of Sleat and beneath the woodlands of Tallisker of the Waterfalls. In May, when the daffodils are fading, primroses scent the sea air, for on every sunny terrace of the great ocean cliffs they blossom in profusion. The wild hyacinths follow the primroses, and during the early days of June the blue carpet of their innumerable flowers is altogether delightful. Here and there one sees a white hyacinth—a single snow-white flower head rising from a sea of deep blue above which willow warblers make soft music and the wandering cuckoo chimes his aerial bells when, at high noon, a sea mist sometimes slips in from the cool ocean over the sun-parched land.

Close upon the wild hyacinths follow the yellow iris and the wild rose. Beside the tide is the sea thrift, with pink and rose-coloured blooms. On south-leaning banks the foxglove is at its best at midsummer and the first of the bell heather is already purple.

At midsummer in Skye no darkness falls. From Dun Tulm the sun sinks in golden glory behind the peaks of Harris at half-past ten at night. Through the twilight hours the sunset merges into afterglow, but never leaves the sky. At midnight it burns due north, then, with the strengthening day, creeps north-east, growing in power until the sun once again climbs above the horizon. At midnight a grey twilight broods above the Minch. The evening breeze, we will suppose, has fallen light, so that on the still air are borne the cries of querulous kittiwakes, which are sleepless, it would seem, throughout the day and night.

Before sunrise the white-winged fishermen from Saint Kilda are passing along the coast of Skye. These are the solan geese, tireless fliers all of them, which have their home upon the cliffs of Boreray close on ninety miles distant, and may be seen returning from Skye to Saint Kilda with food for their hungry families.

August passes, but summer still lingers on Eilean a' Cheò, the Isle of Mist. In October are halcyon days, when the hills of Harris are lifted on a mirage above the earth—when the spires of the

Cuillin are clear cut, yet mystic and surrounded by a blue haze that might well be the magic mist of Manannan himself, god of the ocean. Late in October, flying down from the Arctic north, come the swift-winged tribe of the barnacle geese. They populate the lesser uninhabited isles of Skye. Upon Fladda Chuain they stand in great companies upon the rocks at the water's edge when first they arrive, and when seen at a distance give the illusion that the rocks are thickly encrusted with barnacles. Wild swans from Iceland seek Skye as the season of winter storms commences, and in the hurrying snows their deep-toned clamour may be heard in the gathering dusk. But frost and snow are fleeting things beside Atlantic tides, and before January is gone the ground is white with snowdrops, and from the windy fields the lark (Fosag Mhuire or Mary's Linnet) mounts with joyous song into the air.

SETON GORDON.

BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

"Out of Africa comes ever some new thing."—*Pliny*.

SOUTH Africa has recently presented the world with a new fact in racial and industrial development, the significance of which is only now emerging into public view. For the first time, in the history of the human family, the formula declared by Cecil Rhodes, when Prime Minister of Cape Colony, has been translated into action. For the first time in industrial history coloured workers and white workers, the natives of South Africa and the European settlers, have joined forces in organised alliance.

"If you un-Scotch us," wrote Sir Walter Scott to his English friend Croker, "you will find us damned mischievous Englishmen." Is it possible to un-tribalise the native tribes of South Africa in such a manner as to preclude their becoming the coloured counterpart of "damned mischievous" whites? The South African natives themselves, led by that sagacious native leader, Clement Kadalie, are answering this question in a rapid affirmative. Certain of the white leaders, and portions of the white population, are showing signs of alarm at the new thing in their midst. This alarm has flared up in the recent Cabinet crisis, created by the act of a Cabinet Minister in receiving a deputation of a native Trade Union which numbers some 100,000 members. To the Englishman such an act would appear to be the merest incident of good government. To a section of South African opinion it assumes the guise of truckling to "the native menace." It is clearly of importance for Englishmen to be in a position to weigh, justly, the claims made by this new phenomenon, this federation of organised coloured labour in South Africa, to speak for the masses of native workers who are also citizens of the British Empire.

Two misconceptions must be cleared away before it is possible to get a clear view of the sudden growth of the African Native Labour Movement, under the leadership of that very remarkable young Atonga, Clement Kadalie. In the first place the movement is *not* one of racial war. When Kadalie returned, just a year ago, to South Africa from his visit to England, he announced that the admission of any anti-white native to the ranks of the great organisation of native labour which he has built up, would not be tolerated. He has declared repeatedly that this organisation known as the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, the I.C.U., has no intention of fostering antagonism to white men, as such. The I.C.U. has been frankly antagonistic to Capitalism; but it cares nothing for the shade of the capitalist's complexion, or for the texture of his hair.

Secondly, this new movement has, quite definitely, cleansed itself of the strong element of International Communism with which it was, at first, impregnated. Kadalie carried out a vigorous purge of his Communist officials at the close of 1926. He steadily refused to have anything to do with the notorious Communist Conference, held in February of that year, in Brussels, organised by the "League against Colonial Oppression"; and he very justly described this Conference as "a Bolshevik affair, financed by Moscow." He made his position perfectly clear during his recent visit to England. "What good," he asked, "can the Red International of Labour Unions and the Communist Party do to my people?" The phrase falls naturally from the lips of the grandson of that farseeing Atonga chief who gave hospitality and assistance to Livingstone. In speaking to his English audiences Kadalie does justice to the gifts of education, of material progress, of civilisation which Livingstone, and those other intrepid explorers of Africa, brought to the native races. He does not forget that he owes his own education, his trained elocution, his powers of organisation, to the years spent at the white man's college at Livingstonia. And he is fully aware that the skilled agents of Moscow, so active in South Africa at the present moment, are emissaries not of construction but of destruction. Of what use are such men to his people?

It was in January, 1926, that the International Federation of White Labour, the "International Federation of Trade Unions," which meets in Amsterdam, and is commonly known as the I.F.T.U., made industrial history by granting affiliation, with full membership, to the federation of 90,000 black workers built up by Kadalie, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa, or the I.C.U. The mere fact of this affiliation has revolutionised, at one stroke, the whole position of native labour. The terms of affiliation intensified its effect. For the Amsterdam Federation laid down the condition that there should be created, in South Africa, a national trade union organisation of both black and white workers. Accordingly, four months later, the South African Trades Union Congress instructed their incoming Executive to invite all workers' organisations, *irrespective of colour*, to affiliate to the Congress; and directed that a meeting be arranged with the coloured workers of the I.C.U. "for the purpose of discussing matters of mutual interest." Last month (October, 1928), as a result of a canvass of the Unions in the Transvaal, Natal, and the Orange Free State, the Trade Union Congress Executive issued a statement recognising the right of non-European workers to organise industrially; and contending that industry as a whole will benefit where the Unions now admit to membership all workers, *irrespective of race and colour*. The Trade Union Congress Execu-

utive recommended that the practice should continue; and urges that where joint membership of a Union is not effected, then parallel Unions should be formed for non-Europeans. This statement was anticipated by the action, in July, of the A.L.C.D. Union in deciding to affiliate all the natives employed in the laundry, cleaners', and dyers' industry, an action which inaugurated the association of native workers in a European Trade Union. Also, last month, the Executive of the South African Mine Workers' Union has decided to remove the "colour bar" from their constitution.

Political action has moved in the same direction. During a debate in the House of Assembly on the Native Administration Bill, the Labour Member for Bloemfontein declared emphatically that the South African Labour Party had decided to support the I.C.U. as long as it confined its activities to the Trade Union Movement and avoided racial propaganda. For the first time in the history of South Africa, a member of the African Labour Party defended native trade unionism on the floor of the House.

These are events of interest sufficient to call for inquiry as to their origin. Kadalie, as National Secretary of the I.C.U., writing to Mr. W. Citrine, Secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, claims that the coloured workers of South Africa can now stand "shoulder to shoulder as an auxiliary section of the great army of International Labour." How has a native clerk of a missionary college in Nyasaland accomplished this bloodless revolution? Kadalie, son and grandson of Atonga chiefs, has, of course, the necessary qualities of leadership. He has also bedrock experience of native labour; and he possesses a sagacious judgment. He has worked, after the conclusion of his college education, as secretary, as a native teacher, as clerk to the management of a farm, as a clerk in the gold mines of Southern Rhodesia. On the outbreak of war he applied for facilities for joining up in the South African Labour Contingent; but he was dissuaded by his brother and he then took up work in factories and stores. During the terrible days of 1918, when the British armies were fighting, in the words of Lord Haig's despatch, "back to the wall," Kadalie, discussing the situation with two companions in a street in Cape Town, observed that he thought the British would win. A Dutch policeman, overhearing this remark, furiously assaulted him; and from that moment his lot was thrown in with that of the coloured workers. In the following year, 1919, the I.C.U. came into being, with a membership of twenty-four. At the close of the year the new Union was sufficiently strong to call a dock strike in Cape Town. Two years later the white workers received a sharp lesson in the need of alliance with the coloured workers whenever it was decided to resort to the clumsy weapon of the strike. The Johannesburg strike

of 1922 failed because the employers were able to fill the places of the white strikers with coloured workers. The infuriated strikers shot down the unhappy "blacklegs"—for once the name was appropriate; but the shedding of innocent blood did not bring success to the strike. This incident must have given the white unionists furiously to think.

In 1923, and 1924, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union was sufficiently grown up to hold conferences; and in the latter year a branch was opened at Durban. In 1925 the slogan was issued, "We want to be free men and women in the land of our forefathers." And in this year something more than a suspicion of Communist influence appeared in the aims, openly professed, of breaking down the wall of white autocracy and of overthrowing the capitalist system of government, in union with the workers of the world. Kadalie quite frankly admits his early errors. In a manifesto issued last August he says, "mistakes have been made in the past, but they have not been wilful; they have been largely due to our inexperience." It was almost inevitable that the young movement should go through the growing pains of Communism. For years the native population of South Africa has been honeycombed by the activities of the Third International. Store boys and mine labourers, and the men and women in the kraals on the veldt, have been taught alluring doctrines, by teachers specially trained for this work at the propagandist colleges established in Moscow. In 1924 the Communists of Johannesburg, two of whom were members of the Moscow Propaganda College, were enthusiastically recruiting native membership. In the same year the native newspaper, the *Izwi-Lama-Afrika*, mentioned that "coloured Communists were visiting the Cape Province, including two who had lately returned from Russia." The latter were addressing meetings in Cape Town. Communist propaganda was being carried out on the Natal plantations, as reported at the European Congress of the "Communist Youth International." Communist pamphlets written in the native languages, and Communist posters with popular slogans, were distributed. The propaganda was also conducted under the cloak of religious gatherings. It was noticed that the "number and size of organisations, mostly of a religious-political type, have reached amazing proportions throughout South Africa." These sects will have nothing to do with "religion that is preached by a white man"; and they aim at preserving the most degrading of the native customs. They are known as the Brethren Church, the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church, the Ethiopian Church, the Christian Catholic Church for the preservation of Native Customs, the Church of Sion, and innumerable other designations. Needless to say, they have no shadow of right to the name Catholic. The entire

movement, as the Catholic Fathers of the Zambesi Missions have pointed out, is one of racial strife; and it brings nothing but evil to the unfortunate natives who are caught in its toils. The fundamental teaching is, "The white man is a spy and an agent of the Government. Africans, come away from these Churches of the White People and build up your own Churches!" It is a movement that serves the subversive purposes of Communism, even if it is not definitely allied to the activities of the Third International. In 1926 the Commissioner of Police stated that Communist propaganda was being carried on in every kraal in South Africa. In Moscow, South African native delegates are confidently declaring that "the Communist Party in South Africa expects to free the enslaved negro workers from the British yoke." In the spring of last year a Communist demonstration at Johannesburg, attended by 2,000 natives, together with Indians and Chinese, was told that "if you will do what the Russian workers have done, and the Chinese are doing now, you, all the workers in this country, black and white, will be able to secure freedom." Last month (October, 1928) the first act of the new Political Secretariat at Moscow was "to lay down important directions for work among the natives of South Africa."

The young I.C.U. would have been something more than human had it been able to withstand so widespread an epidemic of Red infection. For a brief period it suffered what Lenin, in a famous phrase, called an "infantile disorder." Communists attained principal executive posts in the Union. White Communist speakers monopolised the native platforms, to the annoyance of the native speakers and audiences. Membership of the Union began to fall off. Then the innate capacity for leadership flashed out in Kadalie. At a meeting of his National Council, held in December, 1926, at Port Elizabeth, a resolution was passed, by a 50 per cent. majority, requiring officials of the I.C.U. to refrain "from becoming members of, or identifying themselves in any way with, the Communist Party." A swift and efficacious purge followed. The General Secretary of the Union, the Financial Secretary, and the Provincial Secretary of the Western Province of Cape Colony, were all expelled. The financial cost for the young Union was heavy, for the three officials, with a characteristic Communist eye on "expropriation," demanded £95 10s. in salaries, in lieu of notice of dismissal. But the bold and rapid tactics of Kadalie proved his quality as a leader. *He knew his people.* No sooner had he freed the I.C.U. from the alien Communist incubus than the membership of the Union increased by leaps and bounds. Ten new branches were opened in the Transvaal and seven in the Free State. In July, 1927, the membership of the I.C.U. was estimated at 90,000,

including from 10,000 to 15,000 women workers; and the figures were then increasing by thousands. Chiefs are assuring Kadalie of the whole-hearted support of their tribes. The official organ of the I.C.U., the bi-lingual *Workers' Herald*, claims to have the largest circulation of any Labour paper in South Africa. The Union has acquired, and has paid for, a headquarters property at Durban, at the cost of £15,000.

The international intriguers of Moscow had to acknowledge defeat at the hands of a young Atonga. But it takes more than one blow, however shrewd the knock, to put the Third International out of action; and by February, 1927, the diplomats of Moscow were urging Kadalie, in whom they perceived a key organiser, to come to Brussels as delegate to their Conference of the "League against Colonial Oppression." This League, the more correct title of which would be a "League for the Destruction of the British Empire," has its headquarters in Berlin, and its directive organisation in Moscow. It was an invitation which meant, for Kadalie, a first visit to Europe; and it is not difficult to estimate the temptation to a young African of Kadalie's education and temperament. It was met by an uncompromising refusal. Kadalie declined to go himself. Further, he moved and carried a resolution, at a meeting of the I.C.U., declaring that no other delegate should be sent. He denounced the huge international gathering, at which delegates from twenty-three countries were present, as a Bolshevik invention paid for by Moscow.

Four months later Kadalie achieved his first visit to Europe under happier auspices than those of the Red International. In June last year his own Native Union sent him to Geneva, during the sitting of the International Labour Conference; and then to London and to Paris. From London he carried out an extensive campaign of meetings in England and in Scotland, with the object of putting the actual position of the black workers in Africa before the British political and industrial Labour Movement. He has addressed one of the Left Wing groups of the Labour Party, within the precincts of the House of Commons.

Students of South Africa told us, twenty-five years ago, that "the crux of South African progress, political, social, and economic, rests in the Native Labour question."* Mr. John Buchan, in his book, *The African Colony*, which might well be reprinted, has laid no less stress on the vital importance to South Africa of a right handling of the native question. Colonel Buchan points out that the central problem is how best to render the native races capable of "incorporation in the body politic," a phrase which anticipates the solemn utterance of Kadalie at the I.C.U. Congress, held last year:

* Davis and Stewart.

"Above all we desire that we should become a part of the citizenship of South Africa." This is the desire of the Colonial Secretary, and has indeed been the historical policy of the British Colonial Office. The Government of Great Britain has always recognised the obligations of trusteeship, incurred wherever the rulership of native races is assumed. That trusteeship has been happily defined as the development of the native African upon sound lines, so that he may become a useful citizen in his own country and a loyal and industrious asset to the British Empire. It is an obligation which the white settler in South Africa has not sufficiently recognised, to his own exceeding detriment. The general assumption among South African settlers that manual work is only to be done by the coloured population has created a class of unemployed "poor whites" who are unfitted for skilled work, and yet for whom it would be a disloyalty to the traditions of white society to undertake the only class of work of which they are capable. The derogatory treatment of the natives by the white settlers and the inadequate rate of the native wage is also detrimental to the "poor white" worker. The findings of the Government *Economic and Wages Commission*, published in 1926, include the assertion that "The economic position of the native must be raised, or the unskilled white must go down to the native's standard of living." And the whole question of the unequal political and economic treatment of the white and coloured races affects the white race in a yet more vital manner, as Colonel Buchan has pointed out:

"The existence of a subject race, on whatever terms, is apt to lead to the deterioration, in moral and mental vigour, of its masters . . . if the white population become an aristocracy based on a kind of slave labour, then with the abolition of an honest hierarchy of work degeneration will set in with terrible swiftness. With such a degradation of white manhood we are very deeply concerned. The old tribal system is crumbling, and in a hundred years or less we shall see the Kaffirs abroad in the land, closely knit to all industries, and touching social and political life at countless points. If they are a portion, however small, of the civic organism there is hope for the future; but, if they are a thing apart, denied the commonest of all rights, and remaining in their present crude and stagnant condition, they will be a menace, political and moral, which no one can contemplate with equanimity."

Those words, written twenty years ago, are no less appropriate to-day; and it would be well for South Africa if the Government of General Hertzog would give heed to a further recommendation from the same pen: "No rigid economic or social barrier should be placed between the native and the white inhabitants."

It is matter for wonderment whether English men and women are aware that their fellow citizens of Empire in South Africa, if

coloured, are forbidden to enter a public library, and are thereby denied the means of that self-improvement which should be one of the first obligations of imperial trusteeship. Do we realise that only in Cape Colony are natives, however well educated, allowed to exercise the franchise? Have we taken to heart the Report presented, last year, by the Government Economic and Wages Commission, with its considered statement: "The rates of pay of the industrialised and detribalised natives living in towns are so low that they and their families are inadequately fed, clothed, and housed"? Have we considered the ethical import of the "Colour Bar Law" of the Hertzog Government, forbidding coloured workers from doing mechanical work, i.e., working machines "in any mines, works, or industries," or realised that, by passing this law,

"the South African Government made a new departure, unique in the history of the British Empire, if not of all civilised peoples of the modern world, in importing the principle of discrimination, founded on colour or race, into the industrial law of a State heretofore based on the British Imperial theory of equal rights"?

It was in support of the British Imperial policy of equal rights—that policy of Dual Control, the application of which is subject matter for the Special Commission appointed by the recent Colonial Conference—that Kadalie visited England last year. His English campaign of meetings was left entirely in the hands of the I.L.P. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that he has presented the problem of the native African worker in the terms of the "Class War." To inflame the minds of the black workers of South Africa with the virus of class war is, possibly, a more dangerous act than the effort to rouse racial antagonism. It was a great South African chief, Khama, who said: "I dread the white man's drink more than all the assegais of the Matabele." The rank spirit of class war is an intoxicant far more deadly for the coloured races than was the physical drunkenness against which Khama protected his people. Kadalie has declared, "All we ask is fair play, British justice, and equality of opportunity." Let him realise that, by working for the extension of British justice now demanded by the rapidly-increasing civilisation of the native workers, he can command assistance of far greater value to his people than that of the visionary fanatics under whose Left Wing he has been sheltering. Let him get in touch with the administrators of the historical British Imperial policy of fostering native development; with which policy both colour-bar laws and class-war propaganda are radically at variance. It would be a good day for the industrial peace of South Africa, which affects in no inconsiderable degree the industrial peace of the world, if Kadalie found himself in friendly conversation with the British Colonial Office.

G. M. GODDEN.

NATURE IN ART.

THE "advanced" criticism, not to speak of the practice, of pictorial art seems at present to be suffering from a plethora of *a priori* theories, which deduce from arbitrary general principles and from analogies with other arts what a picture should and what it should not be. The deductions as to what it should be have produced so far nothing but confusion and bewilderment; but the theorists have reached at least one almost unanimous conclusion as to what it should *not* be. It should not be an imitation of nature. This conclusion is so different from both the precept and the practice of previous authorities that it obviously requires the most careful verification, if such can be secured. But it clearly cannot be secured by the *a priori* method.

There is, however, another method of criticism, the analytical, which builds up its generalisations from the observation of what actually happens in the individual cases on which they are based. This has superseded the *a priori* method in most other branches of knowledge, and there seems no reason why it should not now be employed in the knowledge of art. What is required in the present case, it seems to me, is to apply the analytical method, firstly, by asking ourselves why, if nature is not to be imitated, are pictures based upon nature at all? What is the beauty which we see in nature and seek to reproduce in art? Is it nature as a whole, or only some part of her, or something only indirectly connected with her? Then, let us each look at some scene or some object in nature with eyes as impartial as we can make them—that is, striving to avoid being influenced by any doctrine about what we *ought* to see—and say frankly what it is that pleases us. I say advisedly, "let us do this," not merely, "let the artists do this"; for art, as many modern critics and some modern painters seem to forget, is concerned with general, not individual, values. It is the communication of beauty by the artist to his public; and if the beauty is not perceived by the public as well as by the artist, the latter might as well never put brush to canvas or pen to paper, but keep his productions within his own brain. If we all honestly analyse our sensations on these lines, I venture to think that we shall come to the opposite conclusion to that just noted—that the imitation of nature is not only justified, but can produce beauty of the highest class.

I have been moved to these reflections by the reading of a recently published book, *Portrait Painting: Its Nature and Function*, by Herbert Furst (The Bodley Head, 31s. 6d. net). Mr. Furst is not an out-and-out "modernist," or I would not propose to waste my own time or that of my readers upon him. He does not

VOL. CXXXIV

51

enthusiast about Cézanne; he says frankly that Gauguin and Van Gogh were unbalanced and not to be imitated; and he has, above all, an appreciation of the Old Masters which seems to contradict the theories he has adopted. But however moderate or traditional his practice, the following extracts will show that his theory is, essentially, the same as that of the Post-Impressionists and their successors:

"To-day we have reached a turning-point, a definite extension of art, which will cause expectation to undergo a change. The public must learn to look at a picture as a picture instead of a substitute for nature; they must cultivate a sensitiveness to values which, not germane to nature, are, or should be, inherent in works of art. . . ."

"The picture as such depends on design and painting on colour, but the design and the colour are not necessarily the design and the colour of nature. The artist is, in these two respects, if not above nature at any rate independent of her, since he is the creator of a new reality—his work of art. He must exploit her psychologically and translate her significances—she has many—into his medium. Neither the rendering of 'forms in movement' nor of the 'fugitive phenomena of light' can in themselves constitute a work of art inasmuch as they govern lines and colours in accordance with the laws of nature. The artist, however, must create his own lines and his own colours in conformity with his art, that is to say with the ideas he wishes to express in his work. The only question is how far he may deviate in this necessary process of abstraction from the palpable forms of nature."

And particularly:

"I have dwelt at length upon Giotto and his appreciators because this teacher of 'the better path' caused European painters to take a turning which they had not thought of doubting or abandoning until the end of the nineteenth century."

"From Giotto onward all European painting, whatever its ostensible subject matter, was essentially portraiture. 'Even a tree, even still life,' as Bastien-Lepage would have it in reference to his own outlook. 'Nature' might be corrected, made more beautiful, but the intention was always to produce an illusion of Nature: the standards of the majority were, and perhaps still are, those of Nature rather than those of Art."

And:

"The only common ground of all so-called 'advanced' art is the acceptance of an obvious and palpable fact that a picture is, before all else, a reality and not, as hitherto generally believed, an illusion, an imitation, a copy of nature. As a work of art it must, consequently, be judged by the values it contains rather than by the illusional resemblance to values that exist outside it—that is to say in objective nature. That sums up, I think, the essential difference between the old and the new way."

These last quotations bring me to the fundamental ground of my quarrel with Mr. Furst. He admires the Old Masters, yet is obliged by his theory to assume that they worked on a fundamentally wrong principle. I find it easier to assume that the Old Masters knew what they were about when they worked on the principle that the beauty of representational art is the beauty of nature (the word "beauty" being, of course, used in the widest sense of "whatever is pleasing to the eye"). As their practice shows, they worked on this principle, not because they thought nature invariably beautiful in all respects, but because they thought, or rather felt, that there was something in nature, as nature, that appealed to the eye in a way that nothing else could do, that was altogether of a different quality from the "expression of ideas" which Mr. Furst considers the proper function of all art, and that was different again from purely decorative beauty, though elements of decorative beauty might also be contained in it.

To show why they felt this, let us apply the analytical method to a particular case—say, a landscape. If we admire a landscape in nature we admire not merely the general outlines or composition of the masses, or the light and shade, or the colouring, or the ideas and associations, if any, which it may conjure up in our minds, but the *tout ensemble*, made up of an almost infinite number of features and details subtly interacting upon each other to produce upon the eye that peculiarly satisfying effect of beauty in reality which it is so difficult for the artist to reproduce. Because it is so difficult to reproduce, many schools of art have deliberately abandoned the attempt and devoted themselves to the production of purely decorative beauty, which is a different class of beauty and requires a different method for its attainment; such schools are those of China and Japan and those arising in periods of declining technique, such as the later Roman Empire (when, as history shows, the decline of technique preceded, and was the main cause of, the change from representative to decorative art). But it is the glory of European art in antiquity and since the Renaissance that it has not shirked the task of reproducing natural beauty—a task which, contrary to the belief of many since the days of photography, is more difficult than that of producing decorative beauty, as the features of nature are more subtle than the forms of geometry.

In our example of the landscape the *tout ensemble* which we behold when, for instance, we stand upon the terrace at Beatenberg and survey the lake, the pastures, the forests, the rocks and the snow beyond, gives, at least in my case, and in all others I have known, a satisfaction to the eye so intense that an absolutely exact reproduction, if one can imagine such a thing—a reproduction which would make the beholder believe that he were standing

there, in the atmosphere of nature, and seeing the real landscape itself—would be, in its own way, a thing of more beauty, that is, of more satisfaction to the eye, than almost any work of decorative art. For it would contain decorative elements—a satisfactory landscape in nature has the same qualities of arrangement that we admire in the “composition” of a painted landscape—and yet it would have more than this: that something more which distinguishes nature from a mere pattern of lines, tones and colours. To prove this it is only necessary to look at one of the numerous modern works of art produced on the theory that beauty consists of decorative qualities only. Mr. Furst’s illustrations give several examples of these, the best being perhaps the picture entitled “Poise” on Plate XLIII. This is not a bad picture in itself, and succeeds in fulfilling its painter’s purpose of creating the decorative effect which its title suggests without any violent distortion of nature, which is more than can be said of many other examples. At the same time, it is unsatisfactory because incomplete, only achieving its purpose by a sacrifice of detail and subtlety which destroys the greater part of the natural beauty in the subject represented. One feels that one hardly wants to look at it more than once, whereas Holbein’s “George Gisze,” which Mr. Furst reproduces on the same plate and apparently wishes to disparage by the comparison, can be looked at almost as many times as a natural object before its beauties are exhausted. If these features of design were all that could be seen in, say, the view from Beatenberg, it would be a mere skeleton of a landscape, and would certainly not give the beholder the satisfaction which it does. The Pre-Raphaelites, with all their insistence on detail, were nearer the truth than this. The opposite example is that of Caravaggio, to whom some of the moderns, like Mr. Roger Fry, have even presumed to deny the title of artist because his works are deficient in composition, but who charms the unsophisticated eye by the vivid life and intense feeling of reality which he gives, largely by the exploitation of natural effects of light and shade, even to the most undecorative subjects. Though his pictures would certainly be improved by more care in arrangement, they are often more pleasing than the most carefully composed works of his rivals, because they bring out the intrinsic beauty and interest of their subjects in nature.

Mr. Furst, however, apparently holds that the beauty of a picture is quite independent of the beauty of its subject. At least, that is the only meaning I can extract from the following passage:

“There is no reason why a picture of, say, Windermere should not be as beautiful as a view of Wapping, or why the representation of a dean should be as a picture superior to the representa-

tion of a donkey. But the problem is not quite so easy as that. I have, for example, heard a well-known architect and writer quite seriously dispute the æsthetic value of a certain painting because the subject was taken from the architecture of a ‘jerry-built suburban villa,’ his view being that ‘St. Paul’s Cathedral’ would *ipso facto* make a ‘finer’ picture; ‘its architecture is so much better!’ There are painters who would agree with him, but the majority would rightly ridicule such a contention; they know that the value of a work of art depends upon what is in it, and not on what was outside it. They know that the beauty of cottage picture and cathedral picture depends on the arrangements, organisation is the newer word, of its lines, shapes, and colours, in short on the ‘pattern’ the whole design makes, in each case, within the limits of its frame.”

I do not know where Mr. Furst has found his “majority of painters”—presumably among the Post-Impressionists, certainly not among the Old Masters. For, pressed to its logical conclusion, his contention amounts to this: that a subject possessing no beauty in nature can be made to possess beauty in a picture, the beauty being derived from a source unconnected with the subject. (It is, of course, true that an able painter can “bring out” in his picture the good points of an apparently unpromising subject; but Mr. Furst says that the good points are in the picture, not in the subject at all.) If the “organisation,” in a picture, of “lines, shapes and colours” which are not beautiful in nature can produce as beautiful a result as the “organisation” of things beautiful in themselves, the process is not “organisation” but transformation, resulting in the creation of an entirely new object. In that case why trouble to represent nature at all? Why not obtain your “organised” beauty without any compromise with a recalcitrant subject? Considered as decoration only, geometrical forms and proportions, such as are used in architecture, are more satisfactory than any natural objects. The Cubists soon realised this; with the result that their productions (of which Mr. Furst gives a typical example in Plate XVI) are the *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole doctrine.

The Cubists, however, differ from the other “modernists” only in being more logical. For they all assume that “organisation” is the sole thing required for a good picture, their arguments and comparisons being drawn sometimes from music, but mainly from architecture. In this respect, as in others, they seem, like the Bourbons, to have “learnt nothing and forgotten nothing”; for to-day, a century and a half since the publication of Lessing’s “Laocoon,” they are still arguing about one art in terms of another. If there is one axiom that the philosophic study of æsthetics has placed beyond discussion, it is surely this: that there is no one Art, but several Arts, connected only by their common

aim—the creation of beauty. If representational art can, by any method, even photography, produce a result pleasing to the eye, that result is the sole justification it requires; and, if an artist can produce beauty through the imitation of the beautiful in nature, he should not be debarred from so doing by any *a priori* theory of art.

Photography, a stumbling-block to many, is an art if it can produce this result, though it has obvious limitations of technique when compared with hand painting. Its title to the name is often denied by amateur critics on the ground that art must be the production of beauty by the conscious agency of man; but this is to ignore the fact that a considerable amount of conscious human agency in the choice of subject, light, etc., is required in any artistic photography, while some non-human agency is equally required in any artificial reproduction of natural beauty, the difference in this respect being simply one of degree; and it can hardly be held that the *result* of any process should be judged by the degree of human effort in the process itself. Mr. Furst, of course, considers that "it was the invention of photography that wrought most havoc in nineteenth-century art," but he admits that it was welcomed by genuine artists like Ingres and Delacroix, and quotes the following remarkable tribute to its influence from the pen of the great Romantic:

"Combien je regrette qu'une si admirable invention arrive si tard, je dis pour ce qui me regarde! La possibilité d'étudier d'après de semblables résultats eût sur moi une influence dont je me fais une idée seulement par l'utilité dont ils me sont encore, même avec le peu de temps que je puis consacrer à des études approfondies: c'est la démonstration palpable du dessin d'après la nature dont nous n'avons jamais autrement que des idées bien imparfaites."

The advantage of photography lies indeed precisely in showing that representative art is not purely subjective and individual, but that there can be such a thing as "le dessin d'après la nature," and in providing within limits that "impartial eye," the attainment of which was the supreme objective of Holbein, Velasquez and all the great realists. People possessing only a conventional and decorative art, like the Chinese and Japanese, can at once appreciate in photographs the beauties which they, and we, admire in nature. The Japanese does not, of course, see nature like a print by Hokusai or Hiroshige; nor (as I know from residence in Japan) does he think that such a print is more beautiful than its original in nature. He thinks, as I do, that the print has beauty of a different kind; and he is quite ready to welcome the beauty of an exact representation.

The above argument is, of course, perfectly consistent with holding that the artist is entitled in certain circumstances to "improve upon nature." The Old Masters habitually "composed" a picture when nature had not composed it for them; and they knew, as well as any moderns, that natural features can often be re-arranged or "idealised" with advantage; but they knew, too, that the alteration in a professed representation of nature must not be such as to interfere with the illusion of "naturalness"; for it is the "naturalness" of nature for which we chiefly love her. I remember once reading an article in a daily paper by a gentleman called, I think, Wilenski, who attempted to justify the distortions of the Post-Impressionists by comparing them with the ideal types of the Greeks, such as the Hermes of Praxiteles; whereas there is, of course, all the difference in the world between types which are congruous with the rest of nature and might exist in nature in favourable circumstances—I have myself seen more than one head which might have served as model for the Hermes—and distortions which would at once be recognised as deformities if they were seen on any living persons. Mr. Wilenski's article, I remember, called up at once to my mind a drawing in *Punch* which furnished a complete answer to it. A Post-Impressionist Pygmalion was represented in horror-stricken confrontation with his Galatea come to life. If you make a representation of nature which you would not find beautiful if it were actually in nature, you may be sure that it has no place in representational art. Even in decorative art it would be better, from the purely æsthetic standpoint, for the resemblance to nature to be entirely foregone, if the beauty of decoration cannot be combined with the beauty of nature.

In short, as "there is one glory of the sun and another glory of the moon," so there is one beauty of representation, another of decoration and another of architecture; and all are "in the eye of the beholder." Representational art is not yet played out—indeed, it never can be, until it shall have discovered and represented all the different beauties of nature, beauties of form, of colour, of light and shade, in all their countless combinations, and reached the apparently impossible pitch of perfection which would enable it to give to the normal human eye the illusion of beholding those beauties as they are, or might be, in nature herself; and, for its further progress, it requires nothing but to eschew all *a priori* theories and to base itself, like the art of the Old Masters, on the impartial observation of whatever in nature is found to please the eyes of nature's beholders.

L. COLLIER.

THE GROWN-UP CHILD IN COWPER.

PERHAPS one of the most immediately patent things in the work of Cowper, the moment one sets oneself to any exact analysis of his charm, is the union of two things which are superficially contrasted, if not almost contradictory. One finds in him an utter simplicity, and yet a remarkable complexity—at any rate a remarkable multiplicity—of themes. For the first—well, the various books of *The Task*, the work of the poet's which so far as bulk is concerned ranks first, bear, as need hardly be stated, the quite simple titles *The Sofa*, *The Timepiece*, *The Garden*, *The Winter Evening*, *The Winter Morning Walk*, *The Winter Walk at Noon*. In one edition of Cowper's collected writings, picked up at random, one finds that the first poem is called "Verses written at Bath, on finding the Heel of a Shoe"; and looking down the list, one sees that practically all the pieces deal with what might justly be termed elementary (it is not said unimportant) themes. So much for simplicity. And yet, how widely the poet's gaze ranges! How it travels from such topics as "Hope" to "The Benefit received by His Majesty from Sea-Bathing"; from "The Picture of a Sleeping Child" to "The Retired Cat"! One might make many such journeys from pole to pole in Cowper's company. And how he picks up all manner of things which others would ignore, but which to him are treasures to be fondled—the parish Bill of Mortality, a dead bullfinch, Gratitude, Boadicea, and a thousand more! Always simple, yet always looking far as well as near—alive to the possible significance in the small things that lay within reach of his hand, and yet always mindful that even the common world has distant horizons and that everything within the bounds of those horizons sends a voice to those who have ears to hear—that is Cowper. And to say these things is just to say that Cowper possessed the child's entirely simple, but intensely alert, outlook upon the great wide world. He was the grown-up child.

For if we attempt to characterise the child-soul, the child-mind, we should have to begin by saying that it is open to impression from very simple things, and feels that there is magic and revelation in much that is unvoiced and commonplace to the ordinary adult. The child sees more than the outside of things: in fact, the outside is to him the least important matter of all. There is a spirit speaking to his spirit out of table and chair, stone and flower, and all those furnishings of the world which we, the older folk, have lived with so long that for us all their outlines have grown fixed and all their suggestion has faded away: the child passes behind the mere external shape and utilitarian value of common-

place things: his imagination gets into touch with a living spirit inhabiting what to us is just so much wood and iron and soil and grass. In the freshness of his nature he is sensitive to many voices that call to us in vain. You could never say of the child that "A primrose by the river's brim, A yellow primrose was to him, And it was nothing more." To him everything speaks, and to everything he responds. So with Cowper. He has not grown old in the sense of out-growing childhood's susceptibility or leaving it behind. Coleridge speaks of "the divine chit-chat" of Cowper. No one knew better than Coleridge that the phrase is not an exhaustive criticism; but so far as it goes, it is correct enough; and it exactly hits off one of Cowper's fundamental qualities. He chats with common things, and they talk back to him. Of course to say this is in the last resort merely to say that Cowper was the true poet; for this susceptibility to the impression and suggestion of the commonplace content of life is precisely the poet's first mark; and it is in virtue of possessing this susceptibility that the child is the poet. We were all poets (if it be any consolation to us to recall it) when we were young. Cowper kept the susceptibility quick and living to the end, not losing it as the most of us do; and possessing also, what in the nature of things the child cannot usually possess, the power of and the impulse to poetic expression, he became the Cowper we know.

And if we carried our analysis of the child-soul and the child-mind a step further, we should have to say that the child finds, not only some, but all things, thus suggestive and vocal, has no exclusions, holds commerce with the *whole* world so far as he knows it. Of course, he cannot know it very far; but each new thing as it swims into his ken drops, without giving him any particular surprise, into its place among the companions of his days. Each new thing is just a new friend and a new voice. He takes it almost as if he had been waiting for it, and adds it on to his list of callers, so to say. So with Cowper. He kept the child's susceptibility to common things; but, because he kept also the child's spirit of ready welcome to new sources of impression, and because life led him through constantly-enlarging fields of experience, he came to that wide range of poetic outlook and poetic work which we noticed at the outset as one of his characteristics. It was said just now that the child holds commerce with the whole world *so far as he knows it*. Well, Cowper's world was, or came to be, far larger than the child's. So, though he remained the child, he became the *grown-up* child, possessing the child's keen sensitiveness combined with the man's wide knowledge of the world and with the man's touch upon all that the world holds. So it comes to pass that we may justly call Cowper a man of the world immediately after we

have called him the perpetual child. For that child-like susceptibility of his fed itself upon everything that enters into the full life and experience of ordinary men. Even the spirits of wit and humour spoke to that child-sensitiveness in him from the things and the circumstances in which they dwelt. He kept the child's original readiness to receive impression from ordinary things; he kept, as life's scope widened, the child's catholic and wide-armed welcome for the impression not merely of a few, but of all, ordinary things. And so, once again, he was the grown-up child.

It is here that Cowper's method most emphatically marked a reaction from the artificiality of the age preceding his own. It is a commonplace, of course, to speak of the contrast between Cowper and Pope, of Cowper's return to nature in contrast with Pope's starched and powdered and stilted unreality. Perhaps the contrast may best be put in this way, because we get its full flavour so—that Cowper was essentially, as we have already called him, a man of the world, and that Pope and his school were not. Very likely the statement may at first be met with a questioning smile. Pope not a man of the world! Well, if by "the world" is meant drawing-rooms, and the fashionable tricks of the moment, and the whole apparatus of the machine-made society programme, then Pope was a man of the world. But what a narrow world! To call it so is like making the mistake of the mouse in the old story. A little hole like that is not the universe, after all. Cowper's work was a protest against the smallness of the "world" as his immediate predecessor had understood it, the "world" with which current poetry was satisfied to deal. He knew that the method of these people involved slighting so many things, shutting the door upon them with a slam of contempt. The poets of the Pope genealogy are *not* men of the world, precisely because they have nothing of the child in them: they have as it were put on blinkers which shut out all the far horizons to right and left, a thing the child never does; and while they respond to the impression of the rout and dance, of the garish colours shown up under the artificial illumination of court and stage, the wide ranges of the great world as God made it leave them cold. Cowper, the grown-up child, beats them because he knew how big the world really was, and took it all to his arms. It may be added, too, that his work in its breadth of range was a protest in advance against that different kind of "naturalness" which so-called "men of the world" trumpet loudly to-day, and which is really unnaturalness because it is so small. When we are bidden to follow "natural instinct" (which means, in the philosophy of many a dramatist and novelist, that an instinct which convention and morals and religion esteem a lower instinct is at least as good as any and probably a little better than

the others) and are told that this is the true method for the "man of the world," we are entitled to reply "No! The method of the man who lives in just a part of the world, and a particular unsavoury part at that, perhaps. But the world is a larger thing. It is just the old mistake—calling the part the whole." On again, Cowper never did that. We saw and responded to the *entire* world, and so preserved the true proportion among all its sections. He heard the full chord struck out by all its constituent elements, each one of these getting and giving its full value, no more nor less. He did not hear merely the shrieking of a single note. The grown-up child faced the *whole* world. And so, too, he became a moralist, which by the way the child always is, and stood—as the world does stand when we see it all—for right, for the simple piety and moralities, for truth and straightness and God. The child trusts "natural instinct," but it trusts *all* natural instinct and blending the various messages of them all into one, it learns that the really "natural," normal thing is goodness, not the miasmatic moral or immoral programmes which our "natural" folk of to-day want to substitute for it. When you have found a child to whom the ten commandments appear "unnatural," then you may begin to fancy that the "natural instinct" people of our enlightened age are in the right of it. You will look a long time. And Cowper, the grown-up child, protested alike against the artificiality of his predecessors and the artificiality of his successors in so far as either mistook or mistake the part for the whole. For he saw the *entire* world.

One admits that Cowper's method and spirit—the method and spirit of the grown-up child—sometimes has its own particular danger, at any rate when it has the faintest trace of unreality about it. The danger is that when the method is adopted, deliberately *adopted*—when the poet or prose-writer *forces* himself into it in his own despite—it drops easily into bathos. The simplicity of the child, if it be merely an affectation or pose of the man, straightway makes itself ridiculous, and gives one much the same impression as does an elephant trying to dance. To change the figure, it is so obviously a suit which does not fit the wearer at all, and which he has only managed to get into by contorting himself and it into all sorts of grotesque shapes. In another department, the "simple life" people who reduce the true programme of life to existence on a diet of nuts and in a dwelling of rushes and raiment of camels' hair, only make one sardonically sigh "how complicated a matter it is to be simple!" Unless simplicity of action and utterance be the unforced expression of simplicity of mind and soul, it must always have a touch of the ludicrous about it. But simplicity of speech with Cowper is precisely that—the unforced expression of

simplicity of mind and soul. He is not the stilted or bewildered or half-worn-out grown-up aping the child. He is no actor doing the child's part. It is all as natural to him as breathing, as automatic, one might almost say, as the needle's swing toward the pole. So one need never be afraid, as one reads him—since simplicity is his veritable companion and the indwelling friend of his heart—of seeing him make the mistake so often made by those who proudly ejaculate "Go to now, let us be simple!" and finish up, after carrying through a complicated and laborious hunt for simplicity's elusive form, by seizing the figure of bathos (that very distant relation of simplicity and of all other true emotions) and passionately clasping it in an affectionate but slightly maudlin and over-done embrace.

Also one admits that Cowper's poetic method has this for its inevitable limitation—it does not lead to a searching dealing with those great problems which beset the mind of man when man looks before and after and sighs for what is not, or when he is sadly burdened with the weary weight of all this unintelligible world. No overwhelming sense of mystery hangs broodingly upon his pages: at least, in so far as he has that, it is only the child's sense of mystery; and the mystery is only a veil drawn across a friendly face, which will reveal itself presently with a smile, not one hiding a threatening power or perhaps a bottomless void. Speculation, keen straining toward the uncharted spaces which lie beyond the confines of knowledge, the poignant stab of doubt concerning the ultimate realities, the seeker's passion—these things are not in Cowper's range. We may not go to him when questions about what and whence and whither are clutching at our heart-strings. Nor is he introspective in the manner of poets like Browning or Tennyson or Shelley—a rather strange thing, perhaps, when we remember the dark places of spiritual experience through which he was himself called to pass. But the fact is so. In his normal moments, life and truth were simple things to him. He wrote no poems to an unknown God. All that passionate dissatisfaction with the old formularies and doctrines—that passionate dissatisfaction which our time alternately (or perhaps simultaneously) weeps over and is so proud of—that is not there. Of course, this is to confess that one misses the deeper notes. And it is true that this puts Cowper at a distance from the great master-poets who go out on an anxious quest through the eternities and come back to speak to us with an uplifted look upon their faces, and with the prophet's halo round them, and with voices which strive to say the unsayable and to give a garment of language to things which it is not lawful for man to utter. It is also true that this same limitation makes Cowper unfit to be the poet of the

dilettante dabbler in philosophy and religion—so frequent a character in our time—who has learned a few philosophical catch-words out of a sixpenny text-book and is ever ready on the strength of them to supply a philosophical reconstruction of the universe between two puffs of his cigarette. Cowper hardly has a direct message either for the man who is genuinely torn asunder by the pangs of doubt or for the man who pretends to be.

Well, what then? We may at least say that he saw enough to prepare the way for those who were to see deeper still. Bringing men back, as he did, from the artificialities of an earlier time to the simple pieties and trusts too long forgotten, he at any rate helped to make it possible for his successors to find new foundations for those pieties and trusts, new vindications of them, new revelations of their eternal secrets and ground—ministries performed for us by the poets of supreme genius and fame. From Pope to Browning is a long stride. Would poetry ever have taken it, one is inclined to wonder, if Cowper had not laid down a stepping-stone between start and goal? That much at least may be said. But besides (for one does not need to be apologetic about Cowper) one may say with all possible emphasis that this poet's spirit is the spirit we want more and more to recapture. After all, to be converted and become as little children is, we have high authority for saying, the true way of blessedness. The prophet-poet's path to a satisfying vision of life and death, this world and the other world, God and man—the path which leads through the gloomy valleys of carking doubt and over the precipitous crags of anxious questioning, the path so strewn with jagged and cruel stones that the vision is often despaired of because the pain of bleeding feet and aching hearts is so sharp—that path may be noble. Nay, not may be. It is noble. But to reach the vision, as Cowper the grown-up child reached it and as the child always reaches it, by one quiet beat of the soul's wing and one effortless uplifting of the inner eye, that at least has its own sweet peace, and is at least as blessed a thing. And one often wishes that our tired and over-speculative world could once again become young enough to trust and not be afraid. It may be that the moments when Cowper's poetry comes home to us most strongly are in reality our best. For if the spirit which dwelt in him—the spirit of the child—dwell in us, it at the same time makes us heirs of all the world and sets us nearest to the kingdom of heaven.

HENRY W. CLARK.

BURMA'S POSITION IN THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

THERE is one aspect of the Indian problem that has so far received very little attention in England, and that is the future relation of Burma to the rest of the Indian Empire. But though this problem is overshadowed by the greater one of India's own immediate destiny, it is one which will shortly receive wide attention when it is appreciated that Burma is making an enormous effort to obtain separation, using the Simon Commission as a means to that end. The separation of Burma from India will certainly be viewed with an open mind by people who have not yet given the question much attention: but there may be some surprises that such a thing should be brought into prominence at this advanced period in India's history. It will be recalled that Burma is not only one of India's biggest provinces, but also the richest, and that India could ill afford the loss of revenue. As a matter of fact, the whole crux of the situation lies in that. Burma is the richest province, with huge resources in the way of rice, timber, silver, tin, oil and many other valuable products, which, though they are not yet properly exploited, produce an annual revenue amounting to about Rs. 10 crores. In 1923-24 the exact revenue was 9.75 crores, of which only 2.75 crores were allotted to Burma. The balance, a little matter of 7 crores, was grabbed by India.

Now India, and the Central Administration, is clearly entitled to contributions from Burma, but on the other hand it is claimed that Burma has been systematically neglected and fleeced by India, and that, in fact, the rapacity of India will be unchecked under any form of self-government. It has to be remembered that Burma is a distant country, geographically remote, ethnologically Mongolian not Aryan, and spiritually Buddhist. In no sense is it a natural part of India, with which it became incorporated more or less accidentally as a result of the three Burmese wars. In theory, Burma since 1884 has been paying off a war indemnity to India; but so cheap was that war of long ago, and so enormous are the sums that Burma has paid, that even opponents of separation have abandoned the indemnity argument. Meanwhile, official demand for a statement of the accounts has met with the reply that these are so complicated that they cannot be produced. Nevertheless, the looting continues. In 1923-24 India grabbed 7 crores. By 1926-27 this amount had risen to 8 crores, while Burma is literally at the end of her financial resources.

That such a state of affairs should really exist may seem incredible, and that such an oppression should be exercised by India, which is all the time shouting at the tyranny of England, may appear

amazing; but let it be remembered that not only is the thing possible, but poor Burma has been complaining bitterly of it for two whole decades. This country is, in point of size, larger than Germany, and with a population of over 13 millions, yet it is an undoubted fact that a great many people in England are not quite sure where Burma is. If they found it in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, as they might with the help of an atlas, they would be surprised to learn that this enormous territory overseas from India is merely an Indian province. Further, we have no hesitation in saying that most Indians themselves would be astonished. There is absolutely no sympathy, racial, social, geographical, or religious, and it is largely owing to this ignorance of Burma that the present tyrannical state of affairs has arisen. And be it noted that the greatest and wealthiest province of India is represented in the Indian Legislative Assembly by 5 seats out of 144, and in the Council of State by 2 seats out of 59!

Obviously, then, Burma has little chance of having her problems heard on the distant slopes of the Himalayas, and no chance at all where her interests clash in the smallest degree with those of India. As it happens, her interests have clashed very violently in the matter of an export tax on rice imposed by India. Now that is hitting Burma hard, since rice is essentially her chief product, and the tax has already damaged Burma's trade. Then there is the case of hides, and a protective import tax on steel for the express benefit of Bombay.

Meanwhile, this country, which is being deprived forcibly of about 8 crores of rupees a year out of 10 crores, is left almost wholly undeveloped. The late Governor, Sir Harcourt Butler, effected a very great deal, but it is only a beginning, and, as we have said, Burma is again at the end of her financial resources. What has been done has been largely financed by Burma borrowing her own money back from India at interest. This unfortunate Cinderella borrowed 75 lakhs in 1927-28, and 1½ crores in 1928-29. In addition to the stolen revenue of 7 crores in 1921, Burma paid back a little loan to India of 3½ crores. There is finance for you!

As I was going to say before the memory of these fresh iniquities recurred to me, the country is almost wholly undeveloped. Larger than Germany, it has only 1,920 miles of railway, and these include the miserable 393 miles added in the last sixteen years. Within that period the metalled roads have increased by 252 miles to the astonishing total of 1,925 miles. Ceylon, which is only 160 miles long and 140 miles broad, has 4,000 miles of metalled roads; and British Malaya with a population of less than 3 millions has 1,500 miles of railway. Both these are close neighbours which were at one time dependencies of India, and

which were given up in a state of bankruptcy because they could not be made to pay. Unfortunately for Burma, no amount of neglect can keep *her* from paying.

Perhaps enough has been said to show that Burma is living under a very real tyranny, which is growing, and which, to quote the words of one of her ex-Lieutenant-Governors, Sir Reginald Craddock, will "be intolerable" under a self-governing India. It is already wellnigh intolerable, and as a result an effort is to be made to lay the situation before the Simon Commission when it shortly visits the country. The major addresses are submitted by the Burmese, the Karens, the British, the Burma Chamber of Commerce, and the Anglo-Indians. All these reports have now been published, and all, without exception, advocate the separation of Burma from India. The case is based on an array of damning facts and figures, submitted with a restraint and coolness of language that cannot fail to make an impression. It is sincerely hoped that the Press in England will give Burma all the much-needed support that it can, bearing in mind that Burma's ambition is simply to develop herself so that the fullest use may be derived from her unexploited wealth. With free control of her revenue, Burma will be placed on an equality with Ceylon and British Malaya, and the prospects of trade are almost unlimited. It should be remembered that the Burmese are industrious cultivators, and though they are not specially hardworking in other directions, those failings are rectified by other communities, such as Chinese and British.

Further, the Burmese are a people of very unusual charm. They are, in fact, a most lovable race, tolerant, open-minded, merry, and possessed with that rare quality in the East—sense of humour. India is already too big and too self-centred to appreciate Burma, or to give her the necessary attention; and indeed, as has been already suggested, India is almost entirely unaware of Burma's very existence.

We are now within a brief period of the arrival of the Simon Commission, and then we shall see what we shall see. But it is certain that if the unanimous petitions for separation are granted, Burma will be completely content; and in face of the case that has been made out, it is hard to believe that the Simon Commission will not be impressed.

THEOPHILUS.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE EPITAPH OF A COMPROMISE.

LITTLE public attention was paid in England to the British Government's "Papers Regarding the Limitation of Naval Armaments" (Miscellaneous No. 6, 1928, Cmd. 3211) which were published on October 23rd. That White Paper created less interest, and more gloom, than probably any State paper issued anywhere since the war. Its full contents, with one exception, were known accurately beforehand. It therefore had little value as news. It had still less value as comfort for those who had doggedly refused to believe that British diplomacy could be as bad as it appeared to be.

The exception above alluded to was the disclosure that in negotiating the "compromise" the British Government did regard the naval and military aspects of the problem as the two sides of a medal; that, in short, H.M.G. imagined itself to be attempting a bargain with France. That disclosure was surprising, because the tenour of British official comment on the matter, as made before the publication of the documents, was that the agreement about land armaments had been reached independently and on its own merits. It unfortunately tallied too well with the muddled story of British diplomacy during the past summer that the official explanations of it were themselves inconsistent. The truth emerged from the publication of two messages exchanged between Sir Horace Rumbold and Sir Austen Chamberlain. Telegraphing from Berlin on August 4th, Sir Horace reported: "German Government seem somewhat disconcerted by news of Franco-British naval compromise, and fear that it may imply some concession on the part of His Majesty's Government in regard to the question of the limitation of land forces. Some colour has been lent to this view by recent articles in the French Press which attribute far-reaching importance to the compromise. I propose to see the Secretary of State shortly, and I presume that if he refers to the question I may refer him to the statement which you recently made in the House of Commons, and point out that there is nothing in the compromise inconsistent with the Locarno treaties."

Sir Austen answered on the following day: "You are authorised to give Secretary of State proposed assurance. The text of the compromise itself refers exclusively to naval limitation, but there is an understanding with the French Government, made before the text of the compromise was actually drawn up, that if they could meet His Majesty's Government on the question of naval limitation, the latter would be prepared to withdraw their opposition to the views of the French and most other Governments on the question of

trained reserves, which caused the deadlock in the Preparatory Commission in March, 1927. . . ."

The important word in Sir Austen's telegram was the word "if." Clearly Sir Austen Chamberlain on August 5th regarded the matter as an attempted bargain; and Sir Austen ought to have known the nature of his own handiwork. On Sir Austen's falling ill, however, Lord Cushendun took up the threads, and lo! they were not quite the same threads. On August 10th—five days only after Sir Austen's telegram to Sir Horace Rumbold—Lord Cushendun telegraphed to the British Embassy in Washington, and in the course of a long explanatory exposition of what had been done, made this observation: "It has been stated in press telegrams that this naval agreement with the French represents a bargain, one part of which is that His Majesty's Government agree to support the contention of the French Government in the matter of military reserves. Here again there is some misapprehension. His Majesty's Government have reluctantly reached the conclusion that it will be impossible to move the French and the majority of other European Governments from the attitude which they have consistently adopted on this question, and that, in present conditions, no further progress in regard to land disarmament will be possible as long as this stumbling-block remains in the way. They do not, therefore, propose to offer any further resistance to the French contention at the present time."

On an important point therefore Lord Cushendun flatly contradicted what Sir Austen Chamberlain had stated five days before. If such a state of affairs had developed behind the scenes in Whitehall, is it any wonder that confusion was created outside? When Sir Austen Chamberlain returns to his room in the Foreign Office and to his place in the House, he may have light to shed on some of the dark corners not illuminated by the White Paper. Is it true for instance that after he went sick no documentary trace could be found of the "understanding" with France to which he referred in his telegram of August 5th; and that both Lord Cushendun and his subordinates at the Foreign Office were genuinely at sea about the whole business? It will be odd if Cmd. 3211 does not impair the proverbial reputation of British diplomacy for subtlety. That reputation was always as unfair as it was tenacious; for British diplomacy is rarely guilty of subtlety in the Continental sense. More often, as in the present instance, its simplicity is exploited by subtle Continentals.

The epitaph to the incident was a document of great length; but one may permit oneself to quote just one more sentence from it. In his dispatch of August 10th to the British Embassy in Washington, Lord Cushendun made this perplexing reflection: "It is not

believed that any American interest can be prejudiced by the withdrawal of His Majesty's Government's opposition on the military reservist question. An agreement on land disarmament, even if it is in our view not entirely satisfactory in the matter of military reservists, would represent an important stage in the general progress of disarmament, and would be far better than no agreement at all. Moreover, an acceptance of the French Government's thesis on the reservists question will have the important effect of winning the French Government over to the British and American side in the matter of the classification to be adopted as a basis for naval limitation."

To quote that passage at this day seems almost unkind to its author; but can it really be true that those who were charged with British diplomacy in August, 1928, took such a view; the view, namely, that in discussing "disarmament," an agreement with France allowing to France the maximum military armament would not only be "far better than no agreement at all," but "would represent an important stage in the general progress of disarmament"? If a man were to discuss with his conscience the problem of smoking less or drinking less, and found he could agree with his conscience only on the basis of smoking more and drinking more, could he fairly represent such an agreement as "far better than no agreement at all"? Indulgent people might sympathise with him in his condition; but if he went on to argue further that such an agreement "would represent an important stage in the general progress towards" non-smoking and non-drinking, indulgence would stiffen into irritation, for the argument would be trifling with words. Yet that would be a precise analogy to Lord Cushendun's argument of August 10th. One might expect to find such an argument in "The Hunting of the Snark," but not in "Miscellaneous No. 6 (1928)."

It remains only to record that the British White Paper and the French Blue Book having been published on October 23rd, an Italian Green Book emerged on October 25th, and on the intervening day the French Government ordered the prosecution of Mr. Horan, the correspondent of the *New York American*, and a Quai d'Orsay official for the leakage that had taken place on September 21st (see CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, November, 1928, p. 649 and pp. 652-653).

The chapter was closed except for some further attempts at rescue-work by Mr. Baldwin, by Lord Cushendun, and by Lord Salisbury. Mr. Baldwin, who has a way of soothing and disarming his critics, declared on October 26th that "Our interests and our inclination alike prompt us to preserve and even strengthen the cordiality of our relations with Germany as well as with France."

(A sentiment which might with more effect have been expressed two months before); Lord Cushendun on October 31st stated that "When I say we have still an entente with France, I should add that we also have an entente with Germany"; and Lord Salisbury on November 6th, speaking in the House of Lords, administered the *coup de grâce* on behalf of the Government in these words: "Undoubtedly that naval arrangement is at an end."

It will be a hard struggle for British diplomacy to live down the summer of 1928. German opinion has made it clear that it regards Lord Cushendun personally as pro-French, just as it has always regarded Sir Austen Chamberlain as pro-French, the word "pro-French" in this context meaning that they are influenced by subjective prejudice in favour of France and against Germany. It is not good that such a notion be abroad. One effect is that German diplomatists and German financiers alike have become less interested in London and more interested in New York and Washington. The effect on American opinion has been that Great Britain is more and more regarded as merely a European unit. Mr. Coolidge, for instance, in his remarkable Armistice Day speech, bracketed London and Paris all the way through. In one specific respect his point of view—which will now represent White House for the next eight years—may have a practical bearing on an important phase of European diplomacy, perhaps the most important phase during those eight years. A new attempt is being started to liquidate the financial legacy of the Treaty of Versailles, not fully liquidated by the Dawes Plan. Every level man in Europe knows that the only ultimate hope of a practical solution lies in an all-round cancellation of war debts. Such is by implication the essence of the Balfour principle. The attitude of the United States must be the cardinal factor in any such achievement. Yet Mr. Coolidge on November 11th, reacting palpably to the Anglo-French blunder, declared, among other things, that "there is little reason for sending capital abroad while rates for money in London and Paris are at 4 or 5 per cent. and ours are much higher. England is placing very considerable loans abroad; France has had large credits abroad, some of which have been called home. Both are making very large outlays for military purposes. Europe, on the whole, has arrived at a state of financial stability and prosperity where it cannot be said we are called on to help or act much beyond a strict business basis. The needs of our own people require that any further advances by us must have most careful consideration. For the United States not to wish Europe to prosper would be not only a selfish, but an entirely unenlightened view. We want the investment of life and money which we have made there to be to their benefit. We should like to have our Government debts all settled, although it is probable that

we could better afford to lose them than our debtors could afford not to pay them."

The justice of such a view may reasonably be challenged on this side, and the bracketing of Great Britain with France in a generalisation about military expenditure is lacking in elementary scholarship. The serious thing, however, is Mr. Coolidge's state of mind, influenced as it clearly is by resentment against Franco-British diplomacy.

MR. COOLIDGE'S EDICT.

The speech made by President Coolidge on November 11th calls for the careful attention of all those who wish to appreciate the nature of the misunderstandings which hamper the harmonious collaboration of the United States with Europe. The 3,000 miles of ocean separating the two continents make the problem more difficult, for personal discussions often dissipate, while written exchanges often create misunderstanding.

It seems to be common ground among serious students that the peace of the world for a generation ahead depends upon an understanding between the United States and Europe. The mischief-making constitution of the United States has to be taken for granted, not as an excuse for despair, but as a spur to action. The overwhelming victory of Mr. Hoover on November 6th settles the prospect of a continued Republican policy for another eight years. In the matter of foreign policy Mr. Hoover is a repetition of Mr. Coolidge. Mr. Coolidge on November 11th spoke as President of the United States and as head of the party which four days earlier had won at the polls a new lease of power. His speech was delivered in Washington under the auspices of the American Legion, was broadcast to the whole nation, was the central feature of America's celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Armistice, was one of the most remarkable, most deliberate, of all his utterances; its substance had clearly been postponed till the definite result of the election was known, and presumably he would never have uttered it unless Mr. Hoover, the President-elect, had agreed with every word of it. Its importance, therefore, is that it may be taken as the philosophical basis on which the policy of the United States is likely to be based during the years immediately ahead. Being adapted to the particular occasion of an Armistice celebration it was mainly concerned with the world problems resulting from the war. His exposition of America's attitude to those problems is a text to be read, marked, digested and remembered by all those who are responsible for, or who are interested in, the diplomacy that will be called into operation.

The fact that his speech caused consternation (of which there was ample evidence) among certain European statesmen was the proof that those European statesmen had neglected an essential, perhaps the most essential, factor in their own business. Read carefully, Mr. Coolidge's pronouncement was not lacking in constructive ideas, and shot out feelers which a wise European diplomacy would be quick to meet. He started from the axiom that peace was the supreme blessing, its maintenance the supreme duty. "We want peace," he said in an advanced part of his speech, "not only for the same reason that every other nation wants it, because we believe it to be right, but because war would interfere with our progress. Our interests all over the earth are such that a conflict anywhere would be enormously to our disadvantage. If we had not been in the world war, in spite of some profit we made in exports, whichever side had won in the end, our losses would have been very great." That aspect of the "almighty dollar," its vested interest in peace, is itself a blessing for which realists are grateful. European diplomacy is entitled fully to exploit it.

It is true that Mr. Coolidge in one part of his philosophical exposition, showed that his mental arteries (as it were) had not grown younger. He repeated much of the conventional emptiness about America's having won the war (as if anybody won the war), and fell back upon the second-rate stock-in-trade of politicians whose thinking capacity was stabilised and stunted in 1914, and who still regard as clever the idiotic notion: "*si vis pacem, para bellum*." The details of his star-and-stripe ecstasy about "the greatest power that any nation on earth had ever assembled" are hardly worth quoting, nor his conception of the American people awakening "to the drum beats of a new destiny"; but his thesis that adequate preparation for war is the best guarantee of peace showed where his brains had been sticking in the mud for fifteen years. "All human experience," he said, "seems to demonstrate that a country which makes reasonable preparation for defence is less likely to be subject to a hostile attack. . . . To be ready for defence is not to be guilty of aggression. We can have military preparation without assuming a military spirit. It is our duty to ourselves and to the cause of civilisation, to the preservation of domestic tranquillity, to our orderly and lawful relations with foreign peoples, to maintain an adequate army and navy."

It would perhaps be a mistake to regard Mr. Coolidge's trite fallacies on such a subject too seriously, because there are not many men left besides Mr. Coolidge who have not learnt the great lesson of the Great War. Mr. Kellogg, for instance, speaking on the same day as Mr. Coolidge, gave us the true doctrine—fortunately for the world the now commonplace doctrine. He was addressing a meeting

of the World Alliance for International Friendship in New York. He said: "If the people are minded that there shall be no war, there will not be." Has Mr. Kellogg never shown to Mr. Coolidge the golden pen with which he signed the Renunciation of War Treaty in Paris on August 27th, the pen presented to him by the Mayor of Havre when he landed in France? The pen bore the device: "*si vis pacem, para pacem*."

One may ignore Mr. Coolidge's uncritical subservience to exploded ideas about war and glory. What he said about the need of an understanding with Europe was by contrast first-class doctrine. "It is always plain," he said, "that Europe and the United States are lacking in mutual understanding. We are prone to think they can do as we can do. We are not interested in their age-old animosities; we have not suffered from centuries of violent hostilities. We do not see how difficult it is for them to displace distrust in each other with faith in each other. On the other hand, they appear to think that we are going to do exactly what they would do if they had our chance. If they would give a little more attention to our history and judge us a little more closely by our own record, and especially find out in what directions we believe our real interests to lie, much which they now appear to find obscure would be quite apparent. . . . We want limitation of armaments for the welfare of humanity. We are not merely seeking our advantage in this, as we do not need it, or attempting to avoid expense, as we can bear it better than anyone else. If we could secure a more complete reciprocity in good will the final liquidation of the balance of our foreign debts, and such further limitation of armaments as would be commensurate with the treaty renouncing war, our confidence in the effectiveness of any additional efforts on our part to assist in the further progress of Europe would be greatly increased. As we contemplate the past ten years there is every reason to be encouraged. It has been a period in which human freedom has been greatly extended; in which the right of self-government has come to be more widely recognised. Strong foundations have been laid for the support of these principles. We should by no means be discouraged because practice lags behind principle. We make progress slowly, and over a course which can tolerate no open spaces. It is a long distance from a world that walks by force to a world that walks by faith. The United States has been so placed that it could advance with little interruption along the road of freedom and faith. It is befitting that we should pursue our course without exultation, with due humility, and with due gratitude for the important contributions of the more ancient nations which have helped to make possible our present progress and our future hope. The greatest responsibilities that can come to a people in this world

have come to us. We must not fail to meet them in accordance with the requirements of conscience and righteousness."

Few statesmen in Europe will complain of the general spirit of that pronouncement. If Mr. Coolidge's frankness about debt payments is disappointing to enlightened people, it will be conceded that Europe has not been uniformly tactful in encouraging the United States to adopt the far-sighted policy.

So far as immediate practical policy is concerned there are three main issues which will engage the combined work of American and European diplomacy, namely, debts, disarmament and pacificism. The two last are ultimately identical, but in the meantime for technical reasons have to be treated separately. What Mr. Coolidge said about the first issue, namely, about debts, was of little constructive value, amounting as it did merely to a repeated demand for payment without reference to the real financial problem of the world, and therefore without reference to America's own ultimate interests. That aspect of American policy therefore must be reserved for later clarification. On the subject of disarmament and pacifism, however, he made a considered statement which will have to be taken into account at Geneva, if the Geneva work is to fructify. On the first subject he said: "We have most urgently, and to some degree successfully, advocated the principle of the limitation of armaments. We think this should apply both to land and to sea forces, but, as the limitation of armies is very largely a European question, we have wished the countries most interested to take the lead in deciding this among themselves. For the purpose of naval limitation we called the Washington Conference, and secured an agreement as to capital ships and aeroplane-carriers, and also as to the maximum unit tonnage and maximum calibre of guns and cruisers. But the number of cruisers, lesser craft, and submarines has no limit. It no doubt has some significance that foreign Governments made agreements limiting that class of combatant vessels in which we were superior, but refused limitation in the class in which they were superior. We made altogether the heaviest sacrifice in scrapping work which was already in existence. That should for ever remain not only a satisfaction to ourselves but a demonstration to others of our good faith in advocating the principle of limitation. At that time we had 23 cruisers and ten more nearly completed. One of these has since been lost and 22 are nearly obsolete. To replace these we have started building eight. The British have since begun and completed seven, are building eight, and have five more authorised. When their present legislation is carried out they will have 68 cruisers. When ours is carried out we shall have 40. It is obvious that, eliminating all competition, world standards of defence require us to have more cruisers. This

was the situation when I requested another Conference, which the British and Japanese attended, but to which Italy and France did not come. The United States there proposed a limitation of cruiser tonnage of 250,000 to 300,000 tons. As near as we could figure out their proposal the British asked for from 450,000 to 600,000 tons. As it appeared to us that to agree to so large a tonnage constituted not a limitation but an extension of war fleets, no agreement was made. Since that time no progress seems to have been made. In fact, the movements have been discouraging. During last summer France and England made a tentative offer which would limit the kinds of cruisers and submarines adapted to the use of the United States, but left without limit the kind adapted to their use. The United States, of course, refused to accept this offer. Had we not done so, the French Army and the British Navy would be so near unlimited that the principle of limitation would be virtually abandoned. The nations have already accomplished much in the way of limitation, and we hope may accomplish more when the Preliminary Conference called by the League of Nations is reconvened."

It is true that Mr. Coolidge, in making that statement, uncritically adopted figures supplied to him by a subordinate whose main ambition was to "score off" Great Britain. The figures are demonstrably all wrong. The figure 68 British cruisers, for instance, can be obtained only by including in it small cruisers not designed for deep sea work and many others hopelessly out of date even for their own work. The real comparison is between the 26 large British cruisers now foreshadowed and the 33 American large cruisers now foreshadowed, with the further difference that the American cruisers will all be of post-war design. Mr. Coolidge, moreover, either completely forgot, or completely ignored, everything that was said on the British side at the 1927 conference and since: but the imperturbable, if ignorant, persistence of Mr. Coolidge is a quality typical of American thought on this subject, and the fact has to be faced. The dominant consideration clearly is that America has the money to outbuild the whole world in fighting ships. The British argument that the objection is not to 10,000-ton cruisers as such, but to the 8-inch guns they carry, seems unanswerable to anybody who takes the trouble to listen to the argument. But neither Mr. Coolidge nor Mr. Gibson has taken the trouble to listen to it, even when expounded by an American authority. Mr. French, Chairman of the House Naval Committee, in presenting the naval estimates in the House of Representatives on January 4th, 1927, said: "The people of Great Britain 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 for 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."

The decisive fact seems to be that American official opinion, as represented by Mr. Coolidge's party, has not seen fit to recognise the argument, and Mr. Hoover's party is Mr. Coolidge's party. One has to take the United States as she is, and not as one thinks she ought to be. Realists will argue that it is better to accept America's theory of parity than to accept no arrangement for parity at all, for in an armaments race America would simply walk over. Lord Jellicoe's argument that merchantmen mounted with 6-inch guns are of no belligerent value against cruisers armed with 6-inch guns because they are defenceless, falls on deaf ears, because America will not listen. Similarly the general British argument that 8-inch guns can have only an aggressive purpose, and that if an agreement were reached never to have guns of more than 6-inch calibre were reached, the principle of parity would be automatically safeguarded, falls to the ground for the same reason. The deduction has to be faced that America wishes to agree to "parity" only as defined by herself, that such parity is no parity at all, but that as America is in a position to enforce either that arrangement or a worse, commonsense prescribes acceptance of the smaller evil with a good grace. At any rate, Mr. Coolidge had again underlined America's view of the matter; and no progress can be made until the diplomatists on this side recognise that one cannot argue against the almighty dollar.

On the subject of pacifism, however, Mr. Coolidge's doctrine was less controversial. "Meantime," he said, "the United States and other nations have been successfully engaged in undertaking to establish additional safeguards and securities to the peace of the world by another method. Throughout all history war has been occurring until it has come to be regarded by custom and practice as having a certain legal standing. It has been regarded as the last resort, and has too frequently been the first. When it was proposed that this traditional attitude should be modified between the United States and France we replied that it should be modified among all nations. As a result, representatives of 15 Powers have met in Paris and signed a treaty which condemns recourse to war, renounces it as a national policy, and pledges them not to seek to resolve their differences except by peaceful action. While this leaves the questions of national defence and limitation of armaments practically where they were as the negative supports of peace, it discards all threat of force

and approaches the subject on its positive side. For the first time in the world the leading Powers bind themselves to adjust disputes without recourse to force. While recognising to the fullest extent the duty of self-defence, and not undertaking, as no human ingenuity could undertake, an absolute guarantee against war, it is the most complete and will be the most effective instrument for peace that was ever devised. So long as promises can be broken and treaties can be violated we can have no positive assurances, yet everyone knows they are additional safeguards. We can only say that this is the best that mortal man can do. It is beside the mark to argue that we should not put faith in it. The whole scheme of human society, the whole progress of civilisation, requires that we should have faith in men and in nations. There is no other positive power on which we could rely. All the values that have ever been created, all the progress that has ever been made, declare that our faith is justified. For the cause of peace the United States is adopting the only practical principles that have ever been proposed, of preparation, limitation, and renunciation. The progress that the world has made in this direction in the last ten years surpasses all the progress ever made before. Recent developments have brought to us not only a new economic, but a new political relationship to the rest of the world. We have been constantly debating what our attitude ought to be towards the European nations. Much of our position is already revealed by the record. It can truthfully be characterised as one of patience, consideration, restraint and assistance. We have accepted settlement of obligations, not in accordance with what was due, but in accordance with the merciful principle of what our debtors could pay. We have given of our counsel when asked and of our resources for constructive purposes, but we have carefully refrained from all intervention which was unsought or which we believed would be ineffective, and we have not wished to contribute to the support of armaments. Whatever assistance we may have given to finishing the war, we feel free from any responsibility for beginning it. We do not wish to finance preparation for a future war."

Thus Mr. Coolidge. It is the way of the world that the newly-rich men or nations have to be taken for granted, style and all. It is a test of quality on the part of those who have to deal with such men or nations that irritation should not be allowed to interfere with realism. The newly-rich have to be given their head, up to a point. If the politicians of the world were of the highest human quality, all would be well. Unfortunately, politicians as a class (with, of course, the inevitable exceptions), are not men of the highest quality. Mr. Coolidge, for instance, is

not below the average. Probably during the next eight years the European politicians will have to be kept up to the mark by more enlightened opinion if America is to be kept on the lines.

THE BALTIC DEADLOCK.

An agreement on a minor matter was signed by Lithuania and Poland on November 7th. The thin streak of light thereby thrown into Polish-Lithuanian relations serves mainly to accentuate the darkness. If truth were not stranger than fiction, one would regard the condition of life in those two neighbouring countries as intolerable; yet this dispute drags on without end. There have been conferences and meetings of committees in Kovno, in Warsaw, in Berlin, in Königsberg, all in vain. They have all broken on the old rock, whereon Poland clings to Vilna and Lithuania refuses to prejudice her claim to Vilna by accepting any arrangement with "Poland" while Poland retains Vilna.

There is an absolute barrier between the two countries along the present administrative boundary. Traffic of every kind stops dead at that line. The general European movement for the conclusion of treaties of non-aggression, security pacts and the like has been ineffective against the absolute prohibition of the Lithuanian-Polish dividing line. The French, British and even the German Governments have tried to soften what they regard as Mr. Valdemaras' uncompromising stand against any accommodation with a Poland which refuses to disgorge Vilna. Oddly enough it does not occur to them to try and soften Poland. Mr. Valdemaras is infused with the spirit of a holy crusade, against which appeals for moderation fall flat. At Geneva and elsewhere he has listened with apparent sympathy to those who have urged him to accept the accomplished fact of Poland's possession of Vilna, and to think constructively of the economic and political interests endangered and damaged by the chronic dispute. The moment, however, he has found himself face to face with Mr. Zaleski all his fire has broken out afresh. Regularly every year all progress breaks down. The thought that one-third of Lithuanian territory is still in Polish hands quenches every feeling on the part of Lithuanian officials except indignation. Speaking at an agricultural exhibition near to the Lithuanian frontier on August 26th, that is, shortly before leaving for Geneva to meet the Polish representatives and to seek a settlement, Professor Valdemaras declared: "The Lithuanian Government has repeatedly declared that it is impossible to establish consular and diplomatic relations before the Lithuanians are masters of Vilna, and we can receive the representatives of Poland only in our own capital of Vilna."

In the meantime the fate of those who live along the administra-

tive border becomes increasingly tiresome. There are farmers whose lands have been cut in two by the dividing line, others whose properties have been separated from their homes. If a particular farmer happens to be a Lithuanian, he is not allowed to enter that part of his estate which happens to lie on the Polish side of the line: and vice versa. Without prejudice therefore to the major diplomatic issue Mr. Valdemaras met Mr. Zaleski at Königsberg on November 3rd to arrange that such unfortunate people should, under certain conditions, be allowed to cross the frontier. The detail of the arrangement throws a pathetic light on the condition to which these neighbouring peoples have been reduced. The Preamble to the arrangement begins thus: "The Lithuanian Government on the one part and the Polish Government on the other, desirous of granting certain facilities to the inhabitants of the two sides of the Lithuanian-Polish administrative line, inhabitants whose properties are cut or separated by the said line, to the end that a provisional arrangement be concluded to that effect, have designated their Plenipotentiaries, to wit. . . ." It is provided in the treaty that the people who live near the dividing line and whose property is either cut into two or separated from them shall be given "passes" enabling them to cross the line; that minors under the age of fourteen shall be allowed to cross without passes, provided they are accompanied by people carrying passes; that the passes shall record full details of the bearer's name, age, address, business, the precise purpose and scope of the pass and what not, the names of minors who might accompany the bearer, a photograph and autograph of the bearer, officially certified; that the authorities on both sides shall exchange lists of the people authorised to cross the line; that the efficacy of the pass shall be confined to the daytime, that is between 4 a.m. and 9 p.m. from March 1st to September 30th, and between 7 a.m. and 5 p.m. from October 1st to March 1st. It is provided in minute detail what commodities, agricultural implements, animals and the like may be taken across the line; it is even provided that those who cross the line by the authority of the pass shall be permitted to take food with them, but not more than one day's food. There are other clauses of the like detail. The necessity for such a treaty shows how strained and artificial are the conditions under which the people live. The treaty was signed on November 7th.

In the meantime the major problem of Vilna is as far from solution as ever it was.

REPARATIONS AND THE RHINE.

Not much progress has yet been made towards the evacuation of the second and third Rhineland zones. The day on which this

paper will be published, December 1st, 1928, will be the third anniversary of the signature of the Locarno treaties, which not only implied but promised an earlier evacuation of the Rhineland than that prescribed in Articles 429-431 of the Treaty of Versailles. Now the second zone is due to be evacuated next year, even on the Versailles principle. The comic anti-climax therefore threatens the Locarno treaties that they may be proved in one important respect, not to have precipitated the restoration of normality between Germany and the "Allies," but to have missed the fair altogether.

That was one reason why the German Government at the beginning of August, acting no doubt under the charitable motive of saving their "enemies" from themselves, gave notice to the Locarno Powers, in particular to France and to Great Britain, that Herr Stresemann would raise the question of Rhineland evacuation either at the Paris signature of the "Kellogg" Pact or at the Geneva meetings of the League of Nations. Now the French politicians, who have a sense of the ridiculous, came to the conclusion that, in view of next year's prospect, the German agitation for the fulfilment of the Locarno policy could no longer be simply ignored. Paris therefore put about a counter-agitation to the effect that the French Government would be prepared to do the right thing towards Germany, if Germany for her part would be prepared to pay for it.

It happens by another coincidence that the four provisional years of the operation of the Dawes Plan, during which time a partial moratorium was allowed to Germany and the full scheme was tentatively and progressively approached, came to an end on August 31st of this year. The first "standard" year, during which Germany is due to pay £125,000,000, began on September 1st. The successful operation of the Plan during the four years of trial suggested to French minds that it might be made to succeed beyond the measure of the Plan itself, and that an evacuation of the Rhineland to take place now, that is shortly before the normal date of their evacuation, might be held out as an inducement to Germany to pay more by paying more quickly. The British Government, which is apparently suffering from a morbid fear of French submarines, acquiesced in M. Poincaré's somewhat crude opportunism, while lamely protesting at home that it would prefer the questions of reparations and of the Rhineland to be kept separate. In the first week of November, Lord Salisbury stated in the House of Lords that, "we have always been in favour of the evacuation of the Rhine . . . and we reserve the right to push forward that policy even independently of reparations."

The German Government was never much impressed by M.

Poincaré's threat to use the Locarno spirit as a means of extorting money from Berlin, but Dr. Stresemann, in the second week of September, showed that he was prepared to be broadminded about it. He agreed with the British, French, Belgian, Italian, and Japanese representatives at Geneva that:

(1) Negotiations be opened between those parties and Germany about the evacuation of the Rhineland; and

(2) a committee of financial experts be set up by the six Governments to explore "a complete and definite settlement of the reparations problem."

The delicate question whether the two agreements were interdependent was evaded, French official opinion at home protesting the affirmative, German official opinion the negative, British official opinion (according to a recent principle of British diplomacy) remaining silent for several weeks. Lord Cushendun, it is true, immediately (September 16th) announced that British policy in the reparations problem continued to be based on the Balfour principle. In a press interview he said: "We cannot come to any arrangement (about reparations) whereby we should get less from Europe than we have to pay the United States. We cannot make a financial sacrifice."

During October and the early part of November exchanges took place between the British, French, Belgian, and Italian Governments on the question whether the experts contemplated in the September resolution should be independent financiers or political delegates. Berlin, of course, postulated independence. Mr. Parker Gilbert made it known that the United States would take no part in the work unless the work were to be severely expert. The distinction between experts in the sense of the Dawes experts of 1924 and delegates circumscribed by political instructions is hardly as important now as it was in 1924. The scope is smaller. The danger would arise if an attempt were made from any quarter to subordinate the purely financial element in the work to some political bargain extraneous to it. "Experts" would at any rate lay down the limits within which a solution would be practical. Up to the time of writing this paper the exchanges on that point were still taking place.

It has again been made clear that although the British Government is anxious to reach a final and definite settlement of Germany's reparation liability, and although the full evacuation of the Rhineland remains a cardinal principle of British policy, every scheme advanced for the attainment of one or both of those objects will be judged by the two criteria, that the Balfour principle be not impaired, and that no further financial sacrifice, direct or indirect, be incurred by the British Treasury.

It is the British view that a final reparation settlement is readily possible without such sacrifice. It follows that the reports already current that Mr. Churchill, Mr. Parker Gilbert, and M. Poincaré are agreed on the general principle of a capital reduction of the reparation figure are somewhat beside the point. The British Treasury approaches the matter simply and exclusively from the point of view of cash annuities.

The arithmetical aspect of the matter is perfectly simple, and may be put in this way. The annual amounts due from Great Britain to the United States are known. The British Government will find little difficulty in accepting any scheme agreeable to the other parties concerned, provided that the total annuities in any given year receivable from France, Italy, Germany, and other debtors are the equivalent of the British annuity to the United States *in that same year*. It is a principle of British policy, not yet fully grasped by the commentators across the Channel, that the British Government divides the whole problem into strata of separate years, from April 1st to March 31st, and that the calculation is based only on the sums falling on both sides of the account during each of the accounting periods. To state the problem in terms of capital sums is therefore regarded in London as an irrelevancy.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

November 15th, 1928.

No. 327.

December, 1928.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. REVIEWS	793
THE LATER YEARS OF LORD CURZON; CHARLES JAMES FOX; RICHARD HAKLUYT; THE B.B.C. HANDBOOK, 1929; SCHOOL BOOKS; THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CRIME; THE ENGLISH BIBLE.	
2. SHORTER REVIEWS: "The Poets and Music"; "The Legal System of England"; "Alice in Wonderland"; "An International Language"	807
3. NOTICES OF BOOKS: "Post-War Banking Policy"; "The Lure of Bird Watching"; "The Land Pirates of India"; "The Alcohol Problem"; "Luc de Clapiers Marquis de Vauvenargues"; "1918-1928: A Short History of the World"; "A Wayfarer in Austria"; "A Bohemian Scholar at Heidelberg and Oxford in the Sixteenth Century"	810

THE LATER YEARS OF LORD CURZON.*

The closing volume of the Life of Curzon strengthens the conviction that Lord Ronaldshay has written one of the best biographies in our language. Curzon lived for nearly twenty years after his return from India at the end of 1905, and rose again to high office in the State; but for the first decade he was, next to Lord Rosebery, the loneliest figure in public life. Declining to accept the customary peerage from the leaders of his own party, whose decision in the Kitchener conflict he never forgave, refused the coveted honour by the newly-enthroned Liberal Premier, and unwilling to return to the Commons after the splendours of Calcutta and Simla, he found himself without a seat in either House, and utterly indifferent to the Protectionist revival. He had suffered severe pain in the back and leg ever since his Oxford days, and, worst of all, he lost the wife to whom he was passionately devoted after no more than eleven years of unclouded bliss. An elective Irish peerage at length opened the door to the House of Lords, and he intervened in the debates on the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, the Budget of 1909, the Veto Bill of 1911, and Lord Roberts' campaign for compulsory service. But he was still something of a stranger in the land, and he found an outlet for his superabundant energies as Chancellor of Oxford University and Presi-

* *The Life of Lord Curzon*. By the Earl of Ronaldshay. Vol. 3. Ernest Benn. One guinea.

dent of the Geographical Society. Whatever he took up was carried out with incomparable thoroughness.

The First Coalition made him Lord Privy Seal in 1915, but it was not till he became a member of Mr. Lloyd George's War Cabinet in 1916 that he at last found work commensurate with his ambitions. Cabinet office, however, proved less agreeable than it had appeared in prospect, and he had to swallow some bitter morsels, such as Woman Suffrage and the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Another youthful ambition was fulfilled in 1919 when Lord Balfour's absence in Paris gave him temporary charge of the Foreign Office, and in the autumn of the same year he succeeded to the coveted post. The latter half of the volume describes his policy towards France and Russia, Turkey and Egypt; but he lacked a free hand, for, as he bitterly complained, "there are two Foreign Offices." Sometimes he and the Prime Minister agreed, as in their desire for the expulsion of Turkey from Europe. Sometimes they disagreed, as when Mr. Lloyd George encouraged the Greeks in their Smyrna adventure and made a Trade Agreement with Russia. That the autocratic Curzon, whom an irreverent undergraduate once compared to Rostand's Chantecler, submitted to being sidetracked or overruled is attributed by his biographer to the sapping of his vitality by ever-increasing physical pain. We learn, however, from these pages that he had determined to resign when the fall of the Coalition in 1922 rendered it unnecessary. A few months of welcome independence under Bonar Law were followed by the crowning disappointment of Mr. Baldwin's accession to the Premiership. Other men have experienced political disappointments of a far graver character, but few have suffered so poignantly as the man who had in far-off days resolved to be Viceroy of India, Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister. He retained office till the defeat of his party a few months later, but the cup of public life was now bitter to his taste. He found some consolation in his second marriage and the re-modelling of his ancestral home; but life had lost its savour, and kindly death ended his sufferings a few months after Mr. Baldwin, on returning to office in 1924, gave the Foreign Office to Mr. Chamberlain. If it is difficult to love a man so self-centred and self-satisfied, it is impossible to withhold admiration for his splendid powers and services or to watch unmoved the pageant of a bleeding heart.

G. P. G.

CHARLES JAMES FOX.*

Mr. Drinkwater has written a very interesting account of the life of Charles Fox, the great Liberal orator. The book is very

* *Charles James Fox*. By John Drinkwater. Ernest Benn. 25s. net.

well written and should appeal to historians interested in the public and private life of the second half of the eighteenth century. With his hero always in the foreground, Mr. Drinkwater nevertheless gives a lively account of the corruption of government and the supremacy of Tory faction. It was this against which Fox fought in the interests of political liberty, and Mr. Drinkwater poses as a champion and defender of Fox's career.

Charles James Fox was born on January 24th, 1749. He was the third son of the first Lord Holland, who was notorious as Paymaster of the Forces. His mother was Caroline, grandchild of Charles II and Louise de Keroualle. Charles Fox, the especial favourite of an indulgent father, was brought up and educated in the exclusive and narrow circle of the Whig and Tory aristocracy. A precocious boy, he went to Eton at the age of nine. Already Charles was taking an interest in Parliamentary debates. In 1764 he entered Hertford College, Oxford, where he immediately gained a reputation as a hard worker. However, on leaving Oxford, Fox definitely settled down to a life of extravagance and licence. At the age of sixteen he had been elected to Almack's, the famous club. Three years later, on his return from continental travels devoted principally to gambling, Fox "became an indefatigable patron of the Table, playing at a rate that is reserved in our age for the more respectable medium of the Stock Exchange." Mr. Drinkwater quotes Horace Walpole in a delightful description of a night at Almack's. The players

began by pulling off their embroidered coats, and put on frieze great-coats. . . . They put on pieces of leather, such as worn by footmen when they clean knives to save their lace ruffles, and to guard their eyes from the light, and to prevent tumbling their hair, wore high crowned straw hats with broad brims adorned with flowers and ribbons; masks to conceal their emotion when playing at Quince.

This lasted from ten at night till six o'clock on the following evening. These habits, however, failed to prevent Fox taking an active part in politics. In 1768 at the age of nineteen Lord Holland provided him with a seat in the House of Commons. He sat for the pocket borough of Midhurst. As was natural, Fox started his political career as a member of the governing aristocracy. In consequence he opposed at first those principles of freedom and equity which he was in the future to proclaim so loudly. He, indeed, first made his mark in the House by denouncing Wilkes and the Middlesex Elections. But the suppression of liberty was contrary to the whole of his nature. He began to realise the value of freedom and the right of the nation to have a share in its government. Moreover, there now began that classic friendship with Burke, the champion

of liberty, which only after twenty years was to be broken by differences of view on the French Revolution.

Fox's career, as a politician, really begins with his opposition to the North Ministry. He wholeheartedly believed that the American War of Independence was absolutely unnecessary. He felt that justice was on the side of the Americans and that England was acting dishonourably in carrying on the war. He built up a small but solid opposition which opposed the Government on every score in regard to America. At the age of twenty-seven "he was becoming the most effective voice of the opposition and was astutely ringing the changes in his method of attack. At intervals he re-asserted his objections to the war as an evil conception . . . then he would . . . confine his censure to the incompetence of ministers in their own designs." Mr. Drinkwater explains this apparent paradox. Fox did not wish to win or lose the war. He wanted it stopped, and he thought the charge of incompetency was more likely to bring about the downfall of the Government than the repeated utterance of a principle.

Fox was also opposed to the Government with regard to the power of George III. He saw that North was merely a royal tool. It was largely Fox's opposition to the King's interference in government that created the enmity between them. This dislike of the royal influence must be taken into account when we consider Fox's alliance with Lord North. Shelburne had succeeded to the head of the ministry on the death of the Duke of Rockingham. In that ministry, as one of the secretaries of state, Fox had found it impossible to work in harmony with Shelburne. Moreover, he was becoming the tool of the King, a second North. Correspondence was taking place on State affairs without the knowledge of the Cabinet. This naturally became more serious when the King appointed Shelburne to the head of the Government. Fox found it impossible to remain in the ministry, and saw that the only way to bring about its fall was to unite with Lord North. "It was plain that Shelburne was daily falling more and more under the influence of the King, and the consequent danger to the State was one that to Fox's mind, in the light of seven years' experience, must be averted at any cost. The chief aim of his long and impassioned opposition had been directed against this very evil." Fox's action was not due to any desire for office. He must have realised that alliance with North would be fatal to his future as a member of any government. He was always intensely sincere, and provided he felt that his actions were right the risk of unpopularity or the possible loss of office would never move his resolution or determination. This is perhaps more amply shown in his opposition to Pitt and the French War. He agreed that the Convention's decree

was an offence, but not sufficient to endanger our security. He believed that the war could have been averted by negotiations, but "allowing the necessity for war at the outset he insisted that no movement should be considered as improper for exploring possible approaches to peace."

Mr. Drinkwater effectively shows how Fox resisted "the shambles and demoralising interference with the constitutional rights of the people." After speaking of Howe's victory in 1794 on the "glorious first of June," Fox said cynically that "he had hoped that Lord Howe had not only conquered the French fleet, but reconquered the Habeas Corpus Act." Until 1797 Fox with speech after speech urged the Government to begin negotiations. He felt that France was impotent to attack this country and that war should be defensive only. There was no sense in protracting a useless wasteful conflict. In holding these views Fox became the most unpopular man in England. Yet he was undaunted in his purpose. Mr. Drinkwater resolutely refutes the charge of lack of patriotism:

He loved her institutions, her Parliamentary procedure and life, her social manners, her historical tradition, her literature, her sports, and her landscape as devotedly as any Englishman who ever lived. And with a patriotism that no adversity could daunt he loved her honour.

Mr. Drinkwater sums up extraordinarily well the value of the services of Charles Fox to the nation:

If patriotic service consists merely in beating the Froggies or making the damned Yanks run, and in planting suitable flags from pole to pole, then Fox little merits the admiration of his countrymen. But if to find that corruption in your own house is even more intolerable than elsewhere; if to care more for honour than for gain . . . if, in short, to have been, more perhaps than any other man, the origin of much that is best in English Liberalism, its courage and generosity and far-sightedness, is to deserve the gratitude of Englishmen, then Fox's place in our national life is a secure and eminent one.

* * * RICHARD HAKLUYT.*

The original eight volumes of this notable editor of an immortal work—Richard Hakluyt is one of the immortals—has been extended to ten to include those portions of the *Navigations* which "contain the voyages by foreign, as distinct from English writers, with

* *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or Overland to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at any Time within the Compass of these 1600 years. By Richard Hakluyt.* With an introduction by John Masefield. Fully illustrated with sixty-four drawings by T. Dorrick and many reproductions from contemporary portraits, engravings, etc., in ten volumes. J. M. Dent. 7s. 6d. per vol. Sold in sets only.

other records bearing on the oversea traffic between Europe and America and the East." This is an important addition, since it provides the text of Carpini's *Tartars' Land* drawn from the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beuvais; the Tartary mission of the Minorite William de Rulrughe in 1253; the voyages of Jacques Cartier: all of extreme interest and aptly commented on by Mr. Ernest Rhys.

Hakluyt was a Herefordshire man born about the year 1553 and educated at Westminster School. While at school he acquired his passion for travel stories from a cousin in the Temple. At Oxford the boy became a linguist and read all that Oxford could give him in the way of foreign travel. In 1582 he published his first collection. In 1583 he went to Paris as Chaplain to the English Ambassador and there for five years worked at his great collection, *The Principal Navigations*, which was published in one folio volume in 1589. In 1590 he became rector of Wetheringsett in Suffolk, and later, in 1602, he was made prebendary and eventually Archdeacon of Westminster. In 1612 he became rector of Gedney in Lincolnshire, where he died in 1616, the same year as Shakespeare, aged sixty-three years. The final form of the *Principal Navigations* was issued in 1599 in three black-letter folio volumes. Other material he published and left many manuscripts which were brought out by Samuel Purchas in four huge folios as *The Pilgrims*. Mr. Masfield says that while Hakluyt was a perfect editor Purchas was a bad one, and the two works are, therefore, not on the same footing.

Mr. Masfield's account in his Introduction of the Elizabethan sailors and ships, of the "High-charged" men-of-war—a technical and clear description of a difficult subject—the rig of the Elizabethan ships, its armament—another very technical subject—the life on board in ships "dark, crowded, badly ventilated, wet and noisome," with a frightful mortality, the officers of the ship, all make it possible to follow with intelligent interest the wonderful sea-stories of the English clergyman. In fact, the Introduction has great value in enabling the reader to understand the conditions under which sailors lived and fought and died in the great Elizabethan days. It was indeed a dreadful life, but one that was filled, despite the horrors of it, with a romance all its own, the romance that Hakluyt has immortalised for all time.

* * *

THE B.B.C. HANDBOOK, 1929.*

During the last few years the life of the whole country has been profoundly affected by the rise of broadcasting. It has become to-day a real influence in the life of the people. The work of the

* British Broadcasting Corporation, Savoy Hill, London, W.C.2. Price 2s. .

British Broadcasting Corporation must be carefully watched so that its power and influence may be always used for the advancement of national humanism. The B.B.C. Handbook for 1929 is especially valuable for the information and evidence by which we may judge of the value of broadcasting. The present policy of the B.B.C. may be divided into two parts. In the first place the Corporation has definitely begun its work of providing alternative programmes for the whole listening population. The first step is the construction of the London regional station. It is to be a twin wave-length high-power station which is "firstly to cover larger and wider areas without interruption, and secondly to give to all south-east England sooner or later an alternative programme." By a series of these regional stations the whole country eventually will be adequately served with alternative programmes.

Secondly we have to consider the programme policy. The alternative programme scheme is an attempt to satisfy the tastes of the great majority of listeners. "By what principle of contrasted programmes is it possible to ensure that the great majority of listeners will be able to find one of the two programmes available at a given time suited to their tastes?" On this problem the B.B.C. have been experimenting, with the result that the question comes down to one of concentration in listening. "Every individual must be conscious that there are times when he is ready to sit down and listen solidly for an hour and a half, and times when, for reasons of tiredness or restlessness, he prefers to hear a programme which does not call for such prolonged periods of concentration." This formula will be used for solving the composition of alternative programmes.

The Handbook well shows the scope of the work of the Corporation. During the past year many ceremonies of State and great national functions have been broadcast. Men and women distinguished in every sphere of life have talked "with the authority which only an intimate and firsthand knowledge of a particular subject can give, to an audience which grew larger every month." It is through these talks that the B.B.C. can best give that knowledge and love of knowledge which is so essential to the progress of the English people. In the realm of music the Corporation is doing great work. It provides every class of music played by the finest musicians; but above all it is trying to teach its listeners how best to enjoy it. The B.B.C. realises that the value of music lies in the ability to appreciate it. Perhaps, however, the most interesting feature of last year's work was the popularity of services and religious programmes. The Sunday evening Epilogue has obtained a very strong hold and "of new programme features the introduction of

the regular morning religious services has been the most appreciated." This speaks for itself.

The publication of this Handbook presents a natural opportunity to scan the whole work of the Corporation. But we must not forget the value of this book to the average listener. It endeavours to be all-embracing. The greater part is devoted to articles on the various subjects which compose the programmes, and gives an excellent idea of the scope and size of the Corporation's task. For the man who makes his own set and who is interested in the technical side of broadcasting the Technical Articles and references are especially interesting. The B.B.C. must be congratulated on this publication.

SCHOOL BOOKS.*

All school masters and school mistresses, whether engaged in elementary or secondary or intermediate education, should read this excellent report, which though it only deals directly with books in elementary schools yet has much to tell to all teachers. The history of the period from about 1810 to 1928 in relation to the books used in the elementary and preparatory or perhaps pre-preparatory schools (to use the jargon now in vogue) shows that there is a good deal to learn from the days before 1850. The earliest government school inspectors were as a rule sound, often brilliant, scholars and ardent educationists, and they knew what they were about when they induced the Committee of Council on Education to issue a list of books and make special grants for the purchasing of such books for the new schools. There were admirable books to be had at that date for the use of young children, and Mrs. Barbauld was not the only compiler. The Official Book List was unhappily discontinued in 1862, and the present report notes the peculiar regret expressed on the abandonment by Matthew Arnold, who wrote in his general report in 1867 the following bitter words:

"In this country, where little importance is attached to the science of public administration, a public department is apt first to attempt to exercise a critical function with insufficient means, and then, when the result appears unsatisfactory, hastily to retreat altogether from exercising it. The better way, perhaps, would be to exercise it properly."

No doubt sixty years later the science of public administration is better understood or, at any rate, has attached to it more importance than when one of the greatest of English educationists was perambulating the elementary schools of England. But in this matter of

* Board of Education. *Report of the Consultative Committee on Books in Public Elementary Schools*. H.M. Stationery Office. 2s. 3d. net.

school books public administration in many parts of England is probably at a lower level than in the days of Mrs. Barbauld. "The data supplied to us by twenty-three Authorities" (the report states in a shamefaced footnote in small type) "shows that the average annual expenditure on books alone per pupil in the areas of these authorities during the three financial years 1924-25 to 1926-27 was about 1s. 8d." Moreover, the general conclusion is reached that the amount spent on school books is less than 1 per cent. of the total expenditure per child incurred in maintaining public elementary schools. These figures may be described as amazing, even if the fact is taken into account that the methods of training enable teachers to dispense with books on some subjects. It is possible that in secondary schools, where boys and girls do not need to be stimulated to read, it is, more often than not, a feasible or even a desirable thing to dispense with books in some subjects, but in the case of the elementary schools, where to inculcate the love of good and competent books is a fundamental part of education, the meanness of the authorities in the provision of books and the slackness of the inspectors in failing to insist in season and out of season on the need for books is a sign that in 1928 as truly as in 1868 this is a country "where little importance is attached to the science of public administration."

It is no answer to this criticism that the London County Council and other great urban authorities are doing their best with the books that are on the market, since a national educational system must be measured not by the authorities who are doing their best but by the authorities who are doing their worst. So long as a low standard is tolerated in any region of our national education anywhere that system, in so far as it is national, stands condemned. This is as true of school books as of school buildings. If a central authority tolerates insanitary school buildings anywhere in the system, the system must be measured nationally by that toleration. A system is like a chain, the strength is the strength of the weakest link. What is true of school buildings is true of school books.

The Consultative Committee summarise the plea of their report in one sentence: "It is that the schools should be supplied with more books, and better books, for the children to read." The books must be adequate in number and satisfactory in quality. "To show children how to use different books rightly—how to extract their information and appreciate their beauty, how to study, digest and select is the business of the teachers." There can be no doubt that the teachers of England and Wales are competent for this work if they can only get the books: if the right books can be written and purchased. There is the double problem. As to the production of the books a sense of despair might well be in the minds of education-

ists, since at the present time the market is flooded with so-called school books which on investigation prove to be books to enable children to pass this or that particular examination. Successive Governments have rightly refused to issue official text-books. That is a matter for the Universities to deal with. But head-teachers would be well advised to close their school doors to any book that purports to be a book to be used for what is in effect cramming purposes. The right books can be produced on every school subject, and it is for the schools and the local education authorities to set a high standard in the books that they are willing to use.

Assuming that books of the right type are available, then there comes the question of choice. The Consultative Committee recommends the establishment of Local Book List Committees to draw up short annotated lists of books suitable for use in public elementary schools, and also recommends that the Board of Education should convene from time to time a Central Library Conference (including representatives of the local committees) "to deal with the general questions relating to the supply, quality and content of books for Public Elementary Schools." This proposal is open to criticism. The year 1928 is not the year 1862. The Board of Education is not the right central authority for this purpose. Text-books are a University subject. The problem would be better approached by the creation of a Central Committee convened by the Universities of the country. There could be no question then of the Government interfering in the production of books or indirectly providing official text-books. But however the approach may be made, the problem of the adequate supply of school text-books is one that must be solved at once. National progress in education depends on a right solution.

J. E. G. DE M.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CRIME.*

The great success of Lord Birkenhead's first series of famous trials has naturally involved a sequel, and here the eminent ex-Lord Chancellor gives the reader an account of twenty trials of which four are French, three Scottish, two American, and eleven English, thus revealing interesting differences in procedure in various nations and in periods so remote from each other as the age of Joan of Arc and the present decade.

This question of comparative procedure is well illustrated in the civil case of Teresa Longworth or Yelverton, where the battle on the validity of a marriage was fought in the courts of England, Ireland

* *More Famous Trials*. By the Right Hon. the Earl of Birkenhead. Hutchinson & Co. 21s. net.

and Scotland, and revealed the determination of an heroic woman to set her case and the infamies she had suffered before a sympathetic world and perhaps not less sympathetic Courts of Justice. The procedure of different ages and political circumstances is, moreover, illustrated by the tragic farces that are implicit in the trials of Joan of Arc and King Charles I, the swift dealing by Act of Attainder with the Duke of Monmouth, the long-drawn-out agonies of murderers as famous in the seventeenth century as the Marquise de Brenvilliers, and in the nineteenth century Landru the Bluebeard of France who had had some three hundred "wives." Nor indeed are trials in the British Isles necessarily short, though there is not or was not the preliminary torture of examination at the hands of the police, day in day out. The trial of Madeleine Smith in 1857 lasted nine days.

But when the questions of procedure and of historical interest are put aside there remains, what is the chief interest of Lord Birkenhead's book, the question of psychology: why did the deed occur if the deed was in fact murder? In addition to this question many readers will find interest in the personality of the criminal and will be tempted to wonder whether education and other opportunities would have made a man like Charles Peace with his extraordinary abilities not only a peaceable but a fruitful member of ordered society? Yet strangely enough the real criminal rarely seems to be a product of a lamentable environment. No doubt in some cases, such as the body-snatchers William Burke and William Hare, who turned murderers in order to supply the unscrupulous demands of the Edinburgh surgeons for subjects, poverty and brutal life are the reasons that make men criminals on a great scale. In the Edinburgh case the surgeons ought to have been hanged as well as the garroters, but at any rate the horrors of this case of 1828, in which some sixteen people had been strangled to provide the surgeons with bodies, led to the Anatomy Act of 1832. The true psychology of that case was the popular panic. The whole country was throbbing with the thought that anybody anywhere was liable to be slain to provide surgeons and students with bodies. There was a good deal of ground for the panic, since it cannot be supposed that Burke and Hare were the only persons who adopted this hideous trade. Fear was universal.

The public psychology in poisoning cases is of the same type, the fear that secret poisoning might become usual. That fear persists, and possibly there is some reason for the fear, and for the belief that exists in at any rate legal circles, that there are many undetected cases of poisoning. It is a belief that stands in the way of the general adoption of cremation, and is supported by the continuous demand of coroners all over the country for a safer system.

in the registration of deaths. In various poisoning cases in recent times it was said that if the criminal had had the body of his victim cremated there could have been no trial. That is a very grave state of things. At present death certificates are often given without any medical man seeing the dead body. The public psychology of fear in respect to poisoning is as sound as the fear that swept the country in the case of the Resurrection Men, and it should lead, as that case led a century ago, to speedy legislation.

But public psychology in murder cases is also one of curiosity raised by the doubts incidental to a capital charge for which if the sentence is carried out there is no remedy. It is true that every precaution possible is taken and, in fact, what is practically a rehearing and consideration of the evidence, with additional evidence not admissible at the trial, are gone through with meticulous care at the Home Office before any capital sentence is carried out, apart altogether from the safeguards given by the Court of Criminal Appeal. But that doubt is not always illusory is shown by the recent Scottish case in which the doubt led to a reprieve, and after twenty years' imprisonment, the unfortunate man had to be compensated for an error of justice. The case of Mrs. Maybrick was also one of almost impenetrable doubt, and for that reason, though convicted, she was reprieved. Though the jury convicted it was in fact impossible to dispel the fundamental doubt in the case, and she was rightly reprieved. There are such cases, and when there is a reasonable doubt in a criminal case the prisoner, as Lord Birkenhead says, is entitled to an acquittal.

But the psychology of the accused person is also, and perhaps chiefly, the attraction to the public of a criminal trial. It is not always easy, indeed, it is generally difficult, to plumb the secrets or motives of a personality. The great tragedies of literature all turn on the depths of personality. Can we understand Lady Macbeth, Iago, Hamlet? To each generation these immortal personalities present new problems, and no one has yet said that they were the unreal creations of the poet's mind. So in the case of real persons we are faced by the same difficulties. Browning, in *The Ring and the Book*, dealt with an actual trial of the eighteenth century in Italy and brought out a great number of the psychological issues that are raised in many criminal trials. The trial of Madeleine Smith in 1857, the most famous poisoning case of the nineteenth century, presented a series of facts that were psychologically insoluble on the assumption of her guilt, but were quite easily soluble on the assumption of the suicide of the victim. A shrewd Scottish jury declined after nine days, in which the greatest advocates struggled with the evidence, to hold her guilty. She has survived, a happy married woman, into our own times, and died this year at the age

of more than ninety years. That Madeleine Smith was wholly innocent, there can be little doubt, but she created the doubt and the difficulty by her own utter foolishness in entering into a secret love affair with a man of whom she knew nothing and who did not belong to her own sphere of social life. Many of these problems are of the greatest intellectual and psychological interest, but on the whole it is perhaps not healthy to dwell too much on them, for after all, they are of the rarest character, and often arise by a combination of circumstances that are not likely to occur again. That is not true of certain forms of murder, and the public are right in demanding further security from the poisoner. Science has provided some security. Poisoning practically always can be detected if the medical profession play a more careful part in diagnosis and in the registration of death.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE.*

The current complaint (which has its most recent form in the report on School Books of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education) that the knowledge of the English Bible grows weak among the pupils of the public elementary schools is a very serious matter, and not only in respect of faith and literature. The struggle to win the right to read the Bible in the vernacular is indissolubly associated with the English struggle for the freedom of democracy, and it would be a heartbreaking result if one of the chief instruments that secured religious and in a sense political freedom were cast aside when the form if not the fact of that freedom had become universal. What freedom is, especially political freedom, is not easy to define, but what it is not is plain. Freedom is inconsistent with ignorance, with lack of self-knowledge, with official control of the sources of knowledge.

It is here that the history of the English version of the Bible is so important, and it is here that the critic may suspect ignorance on the part of the teachers in the schools. No school teacher who realises the history of the English Bible and the part that it has played in the life of the people would do anything that could place any obstacle between the child in the elementary schools and the Bible. Yet in fact there is some stumbling-block between the children and the Book, since that Book is part of his or her daily lesson in every school in the land, and yet the children have little or no knowledge of the Book, and have not gained any of its literary nervous force. The only explanation of such a state of things is

* *The English Bible and its Story: its Growth, its Translations and their Adventures.* By James Baikie. With many illustrations. Seeley, Service & Co. 10s. 6d. net.

that the teachers know little of the history of the English Bible and do not make the text the thing of interest that it essentially is. This explanation must be traced back to the training colleges, or some of them. The Bible is a daily subject of instruction in the schools, and yet in too large a percentage of cases the teachers fail to arouse in their little pupils any interest. If this were true of any other subject the fault would be traced back to the training colleges.

The corrective to such a lamentable position is the study of Dr. Baikie's book, which traces with learning and with vigour the moving history of the English Bible. He tells the reader frankly that he writes from a Protestant point of view, but he certainly is not a partisan in any unfair sense. It may be that the ignorance of the clergy in the thirteenth century has various reasonable explanations, but Dr. Baikie has certainly the right to dwell upon the fact, which must be laid beside the learning of many great scholars in Paris, Oxford and Cambridge, who considered an intellectual outlook consistent with loyalty to the Church of Rome. Moreover, if there be placed upon one side the sanctions, brutal and horrible, which Rome used to enforce her rules of discipline, there was in fact something to be said for the theory that the contents of the Bible should be communicated to the laity by priests who were also teachers. The Church of Rome succeeded to the control of a Church that had been rent with heresies in every direction, a Church whose Bible consisted of a collection of books that had been brought together with the labour of generations and after long struggles of selection. On the face of things, it was not unreasonable that a Canon won with such difficulty should be burdened with the rule that it should not be cast before the illiterate in doubtful vernacular translations. It did not occur to the Church of Rome that a different position would arise with an educated laity and an unimpeccable translation; it did not occur to the Church authorities that it was absurd to treat the laity as children, and to treat the Canon of Holy Writ as if it were a magical thing.

Dr. Baikie gives a very vivid picture of the early days of the Old Testament. The lack of early manuscripts of the Hebrew text seems strange until it is explained that a copy duly checked was in the eyes of successive generations of scholars as valuable as an original. That point of view is not ours, but it explains many things. In considering the upbuilding of the text of the New Testament Dr. Baikie does not consider the forerunner of the synoptic gospels "Q," a document that must have existed and may some day come to light. He is only concerned with the accepted text, and he tells in much detail the earliest days of the Bible in its later form in England. These early days are part of the history of

England. The story of the conversion of King Edwin of Northumbria is history indeed. Something perhaps might have been said of the Irish manuscripts of the Bible that to-day are throwing new light on the accepted text.

But the main point of the story that Dr. Baikie tells is that of the successive efforts to secure a pure vernacular text. There were efforts to give to the Saxons the Bible in their own tongue. Bede finished St. John's Gospel on Ascension Day, 753 (the text, alas! does not survive); the Lindisfarne Gospels survive, as do other versions for West Saxon and Anglo-Saxon use, but it was not until almost the days of the Black Death, three hundred years later, that we get the first traces of the Bible in English: William of Shoreham was translating the Psalms about 1320. Wiclif was born soon after that date, and the Wiclif Bible was in a sense born in William of Shoreham's effort. Dr. Baikie tells with much vigour the now familiar story. Certainly Wiclif, the great Oxford scholar (who in recent years has been connected with the introduction of English into the schools of the country in place of Anglo-Norman after the Black Death of 1349), was responsible as the creator, if not partly as translator, of what is known as Wiclif's Bible. The first version was completed about 1384, just before Wiclif's death, while the second and better version appeared some time after 1388. The tide had begun to rise. No power, no persecution, could prevent the demand and the supply of the vernacular English Bible, and throughout the fifteenth century the demand grew among all classes. The printing press made control in the long run impossible, and the work of Tyndale and Coverdale led to the Great Bible of 1540, and eventually to that monument of literature the "Authorised" Version of 1611. It was in fact only authorised by merit. The whole story throbs with interest, and it may be commended once again to the teachers of England.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

*The Poets and Music** by Dr. Edward W. Naylor, the Lecturer on the History of Music in the University of Cambridge, will delight not only all lovers of music but will instruct all lovers of poetry. The opening essay on Robert Browning is very excellent though a little superior. In the famous Galuppi poem the poet's use of musical terms is "intelligent" though he is criticised for using "diminished sixths" for "minor sixths," a somewhat futile criticism since the poet's phrase has more value in the region of sound than the strictly technical phrase. *Master Hugues of Saxe Gotha* is "Browning's preachment against Formalism," but *Abt Vogler* "has greater value than either" since Browning here leads us into the highest

* J. M. Dent. 6s. net.

region of musical apprehension, the region of immortal things. The earlier verses "splendidly describe the magic pictures which music can paint" and reaches "the foundation stone of musical æsthetics." Browning's poem *Charles Avison* is important as distinguishing the essential from the illusory in music. It gives Dr. Naylor the opportunity to tell the student a good deal of Charles Avison, the eighteenth-century musical critic, and his record of current views about music. Tennyson's attitude to music "is just that of the well-educated middle-class gentleman of about 1850," the attitude that it represents mere amusement. Dr. Naylor is an admirer of Tennyson the poet, but regards his treatment of music as "merely comical." Mr. Kipling keeps clear of music as a rule "and when he mentions it, just falls like a careful man who has not been careful enough." Coleridge though ignorant of music reckons with it both as a poet and a philosopher. His phrase "a lonely flute" is right. Milton "is one of the few great poets who take music seriously" and is very well informed as to the instruments of his time. Dr. Naylor dwells with pleasure on "the three seventeenth-century poet-parsons," Herbert, Herrick and Traherne. It is glad news to hear that "the treatment of music in Shakespeare's works is nothing short of astonishing in its fullness and variety" and it is well to be reminded that "the lack of special knowledge displayed by Shakespearean scholars in musical matters is still a prominent feature in their work." Consequently Dr. Naylor's very full chapter on Shakespeare's musical references will prove of the greatest importance to students of Shakespeare. On the other hand, Spenser has only one passage of great interest to musicians (*Faerie Queene*, Lib. II. canto ix. s. 22) but John Skelton "is full of interest to a musician," while "we find Geoffrey Chaucer's musical knowledge and allusions very similar to Skelton's." Dr. Naylor has built up an excellent book that should find many readers.

* * *

Professor J. E. G. de Montmorency's contribution to *Benn's Sixpenny Library* is a little masterpiece. To the man in the street a book entitled *The Legal System of England* suggests boredom and intricate technicalities. In this case, however, he will find, if he is wise enough to open its pages, that a magnificent theme has been handled with remarkable skill in arrangement and clarity in literary presentation. The prologue on the History of English Law reminds us that it is a story of organic growth, not the deliberate creation of a science and a machine, but the result of the needs of a community steadily advancing towards ever higher standards of social organisation and political experiment. Fine tributes are paid to Blackstone and Bentham; but it is the glory of our race, rather than of individual lawyers, that "all classes are equally subject to the ordinary law of the land administered by the ordinary law courts." Next to its unbroken historic continuity the uninstructed reader is chiefly struck by its vast and expanding range. We are told of common law and written law, of public law and private law, of commercial law and criminal law. The evolution is not complete and never will be; for though certain branches have been recently codified, codification "has not dislodged those principles of growth by the process of judicial decisions which lie at the root of English Common Law."

It is a legitimate source of national pride that the main ideas underlying our legal system have become the inspiration of legislators, publicists and judges of the United States and of our Dominions beyond the seas. Professor de Montmorency writes as one having authority, and the reader will be dull indeed if he fails to respond to the enthusiasm which throbs in these scholarly pages. G. P. G.

* * *

The resuscitation of *Alice in Wonderland* (if such a term is permissible concerning one who has never died) by a new and cheap edition,* comes at an opportune time when the MS. of that famous work has lately been sold and resold at a price which would have been deemed fabulous fifty years ago; but that also is part of the wonderment. When "Alice" first came out, she took the world by magic; will she hold her own to-day? Every age grasps at the wonders which it cries for, and Victorians felt that they had got them "through the looking glass." We, in this new age, ourselves live in wonderland, annihilating our boundaries of time and space, breaking all records by air, and land, and sea, and by these means bringing into union all nations of the earth. "Alice" (meaning the world) is growing up, not by nibbling at the magic mushrooms, but by patiently conning "Nature's book of infinite secrecy." She can read a little of the secrets of things and she stands waiting—as, indeed, her Victorian creator the Mathematician stood waiting—for all the wonders that will be." Alice is the forerunner of ourselves. A book that wove itself into the hearts and minds of the later Victorians as a sign of things to come must be welcomed with pleasure and respect, apart altogether from its intrinsic literary charms. The illustrations, as in the original, by Sir John Tenniel, add to the interest of this new edition.

* * *

In a small volume, entitled *An International Language*† Professor Otto Jespersen, the well-known Danish philologist, has given himself the task of inventing a new language, called "Novial." Such inventions are always interesting. In an introduction Professor Jespersen lays stress on the need for an interlanguage. He does not intend it to become a world language in the sense of superseding the native tongue of every nationality. "The new interlanguage would not infringe the sacred rights of the mother tongue, but be used only when two or more persons ignorant of one another's language had occasion to talk or to write to one another." The writer dismisses the idea of adopting an existing language on the ground that it "would meet with unsurmountable difficulties on account of international jealousies." Latin is dismissed because it "has become so utterly antiquated that we of the twentieth century wince at the idea of having to clothe our thoughts in that garb." Constructed languages, such as Volapuk, Esperanto and Ido, have failed because they are unnatural and arbitrary. Moreover, "the scientific and political world will not accept a language that can be justly and severely criticised by competent authorities." However, "all recent attempts show an unmistakable family likeness and may be termed dialects of one and the same type of international language." Professor Jespersen holds that the time has approached when one standard type of interlanguage can be

* Macmillan. 2s. net.

† Allen & Unwin. 4s. 6d. net.

fixed authoritatively. Convinced, moreover, that the technique of language construction is well nigh perfect, Professor Jespersen has invented and constructed "Novial," which he fully describes. It will no doubt be judged on its merits. If it succeeds in becoming a recognised international language he will certainly deserve the greatest praise.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mr. Reginald McKenna here publishes a series of addresses on "Post-War Banking Policy" delivered at the Annual Meetings of the Midland Bank of which he is Chairman. Consequently, there is in this volume a mirror of high financial problems and solutions or partial solutions for the decade since the war closed. He prints an address to the American Bankers Convention in 1922 on Reparations and International Debts, a subject on which in his preface he makes the entirely useful comment that "the experience of the last three years has shown us how readily the means of making external payments can be provided by incurring other, chiefly private foreign debts; but the total of foreign indebtedness is not thereby diminished, and the normal difficulties attending external payment in money are only postponed." The essays deal with Bank Deposits, Prices and Currency (1920), Monetary Deflation (1921), the Problem of Unemployment (1922), Currency, Credit and Trade (1924), Commodity Prices and the Gold Standard (1925), the Transition to Gold (1926), American Prosperity and British Depression (1927), the Development of a Central Bank Policy (1928).

After reading the Introduction by J. C. Squire to E. W. Hendy's new book "The Lure of Bird Watching,"† it is a relief to turn to the first chapter on "The Aesthetic Appeal," where the author describes some of those rare moments in which all circumstances combine to show us a bird at its very best. Mr. Squire contends that one can watch birds sympathetically when out with a gun, whereas Mr. Hendy more nearly attains the ideal approach. Doubtless many valuable observations can be made by the watcher who carries a gun, but the more intimate aspects of animal life can be observed only when the mind is at rest and one's whole attention available, undisturbed by so disruptive a thought as killing. Mr. Hendy appears to hold this view, and a phrase such as "while following on foot the chase of the red-deer I frequently hear the cry of hounds and ravens in conjunction," strikes a disturbing note in a book which is otherwise a step in the right direction in the sympathetic observation of living creatures. The volume contains many interesting and valuable passages on the rarer birds in the West of England, the chapters on the Woodlark and Pied Flycatcher being of particular interest. In one chapter the author appeals to those who keep birds in captivity to go into the country and see for themselves all those " manifold little excitements and activities " of a wild bird in the spring time, and to compare their happiness with that of captive birds. Several excellent photographs add greatly to the charm of the book.

* William Heinemann. 7s. 6d. net.
† Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d.

Mr. W. J. Hatch in "The Land Pirates of India" * gives a valuable account of "The Kuraners, a remarkable tribe of hereditary criminals, their extraordinary skill as thieves, cattle-lifters and highwaymen, and their manners and customs." Seventy years ago some Indian officials made a study of the criminal tribes and there have been some technical publications on this tribe now out of print, while much information is to be found in Mr. Edgar Thurston's "Castes and Tribes of Southern India." The Kuraner abound in the Madras Presidency. In 1921 there were 220,906, while many thousands of the same stock in the Bombay Presidency are called Kackaries. These migrated from the south about four centuries ago. Farther east the same people are called Korwas. This tribe is naturally not popular but they have good points. The Kuraner is a sportsman and regards stealing as a highly-skilled craft and scorns murder as contemptible because it is so easy, the work of a coward who has no craftsmanship. Mr. Hatch says that apart from "the nasty communal habit he has of stealing, the Kuraner is a very decent fellow" and may be made into a useful citizen. They have an early Tamil origin and it has been suggested that they were originally servants of the temples in southern India who were driven out by a higher class of priests: Mr. Hatch does not accept this theory. There is some evidence that they are of the same stock as the Vedas in Ceylon and it may be that they can be traced back to the ninth century of our era. Mr. Hatch deals with their community life in an attractive fashion.

Dr. H. M. Vernon, the Oxford authority on chemical physiology, in his admirable book, "The Alcohol Problem,"† deals successively with complete prohibition, partial prohibition, the war-time methods of control, the public house and its improvement, the effect of moderate drinking, the effect of food and of dilution on the action of alcohol, and the influence of alcohol on longevity. Dr. Vernon doubts whether total prohibition will ever be effective "without the legalisation of wines or beers, or at least of beers containing too little alcohol to render them intoxicating." The problem at issue is "the choice of the best methods for the promotion of increasing sobriety." A scheme of reform with improved public houses controlled by disinterested management points to a distinct improvement of sobriety. The war-time system of psychological regulation of hours was very effective, and this is still to some extent followed, but unfortunately the mid-day hour of opening has been changed and persons can once again drink on an empty stomach. Taxation is, of course, a great check, and Dr. Vernon would raise the rate on strong spirits and generally apply a rate which increases in proportion to alcoholic concentration. Lord D'Abernon, in an interesting preface, commends Dr. Vernon's practical suggestions.

Miss May Wallas has published her doctorate volume on Luc de Clapiers Marquis de Vauvenargues (1715-1747) the young friend of Voltaire, who referred to him in 1746 (it was in Voltaire's *discours de réception* at the French Academy) as "un homme éloquent et profond s'est formé dans le tumulte des armes." The praise was due

* Seeley, Service. 21s. net.
† Ballière, Tindall & Cox. 9s. net.
‡ Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d. net.

to the publication of the *Introduction à la Connaissance de l'Esprit humain* by this young but death-stricken French soldier, a wreck after the Bohemian War. It was well to publish the book which tells this story for English students of de Vauvenargues' life and intellectual development and his considerable contribution to pure thought. Fortunately this was possible, for though de Vauvenargues' MSS. were destroyed by fire in 1871 they were edited and published by Gilbert in 1857. The volume of 1746 and the editions of his philosopher's works of 1806 and 1874 are not in the British Museum Library.

* * * 69558 *

The substantial volume by Mr. C. Delisle Burns entitled *1918-1928: A Short History of the World* falls into three parts: The Transition to Peace (which includes an account of the system of the League of Nations); the New System at Work (which deals *inter alia* with the economic restoration, with reforms in the status of women and education and the efforts of the League of Nations) and finally New Issues and New Standards. Mr. Burns regards his book as "concerned with the fortunes of the common man" for whom it is written. He rightly insists that the citizen of a modern State has responsibilities which are not confined by his frontiers. We are all beginning to realise this at last, and not least in the secondary schools of this country, if text-books are any criterion.

* * *

Mr. G. E. R. Gedye's contribution to the well-known Wayfarer Series is assuredly one of the best. "A Wayfarer in Austria"† is written with great spirit, and the solid knowledge of land and people that the author possesses is lightly and indeed gaily borne. Mr. Gedye loves Austria and the Austrians, Vienna, Graz, Innsbruck, Galzburg, and all the other towns, mountains, castles and lakes which he describes. Is his enthusiasm excessive? No one who has travelled in that beautiful and hospitable country will think so, and, if there are sceptics, let them go and see for themselves. Every good book on a foreign land should make the reader wish to visit or revisit it. As Correspondent of *The Times* for a considerable period the author had, and used, opportunities which rarely come to the compiler of guide-books, and he writes with a great authority and charm on politics and landscapes, art and cookery.

* * *

In his brochure "A Bohemian Scholar at Heidelberg and Oxford in the Sixteenth Century"‡ Mr. R. P. Young continues his patient researches into the intellectual contacts between Bohemia and England. The present erudite essay traces the fortunes of Jan Bernart, of Prerov, who, though a man of humble origin and mediocre ability, was allowed to spend at least thirteen years at foreign universities before starting work at home. Mr. Young is well justified in concluding that the sect of the Bohemian Brethren "like most of their countrymen, set a very high value on learning and culture." English readers will be specially interested in the account of Oxford under her Chancellor, the Earl of Leicester, to whom the young student brought a letter of introduction.

*Victor Gollancz Ltd. 16s. net. †Methuen. 7s. 6d. ‡The School of Slavonic Studies, King's College, Strand. 2s.