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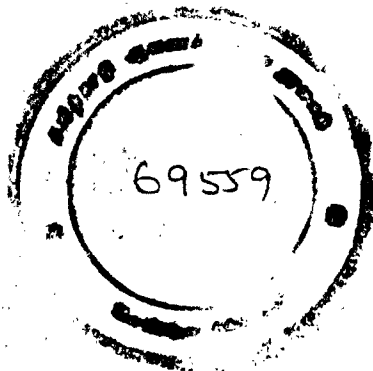
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THE KING.

AS the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW goes to press the entire nation and empire without distinction of race, or party, or creed, is watching by the bedside of His Majesty the King with the deepest solicitude and sympathy. No such period of prolonged and intense anxiety has occurred in the history of any previous British monarch: still less has there been hitherto any such display of a deep and universal emotion in which loyalty, respect, and affection are so perfectly combined. The prevailing feeling has converted the National Anthem into a fervent prayer in which all classes of the King's subjects have joined with equal sincerity and earnestness. Nor have the expressions of esteem and concern been confined to the British Empire. The whole world has been deeply moved and joins with the King's subjects in ardent hopes of his complete recovery and in sympathy with him, with the Queen and the Royal Family, in the grave and prolonged trial through which they have been passing and must continue to pass for weeks to come.

During the King's reign the course of events within the Empire and beyond has brought considerable changes in the conditions under which our constitutional Monarchy has to play its part. The British Empire has become in the fullest sense a commonwealth of free peoples whose status as such is frankly recognised and fully provided for throughout the entire system of our imperial relations. The Crown has become more than ever the bond between all the far-flung parts of the Empire; the expression of that community of tradition, interest and outlook in which the British Empire consists. The complete advent of democracy and the development of its political organs in every part of the Empire has in many respects restricted the personal powers of the King in government, except on rare occasions and in strictly limited ways. Yet politics, after all, are but a small, though an essential, part of the manifold life of the Commonwealth. And what the Monarchy has lost in power it has gained in opportunities of influence.

The enjoyment and exercise of such influence depends in increasing measure upon the correspondence of the character and conduct of the King with the prevailing and cherished ideals of his peoples throughout the world. The steady growth of the hold which King George V has so wonderfully established over all his subjects is due above all to the exemplary way in which he has given consistent and complete expression to what is best in the common mind and heart. His private and domestic virtues have been in perfect harmony with his public actions. His whole-hearted devotion to duty and to the interests of his subjects

throughout the greatest crisis of their history has been perfect. Dignified simplicity, deep sympathy and considerate courtesy, complete impartiality and good-will, have been remarkably blended in his character and expressed at all times in his attitude towards men and affairs. He has shown conspicuous courage in great emergencies and the truest fellow-feeling with all sorts and conditions of his subjects in their tasks and in their trials. Thanks to all this it has come about that while the calamity of the Great War has destroyed autocracies and brought about far-reaching changes elsewhere, the British Throne is more securely based than ever before in the loyalty of the nation and empire, as well as in the respect of the whole world.

It may safely be said that a remarkable Providence has been displayed in the way by which successive sovereigns since the accession of Queen Victoria have made distinctive contributions to the stability of the British Constitution and to the unity of the empire. The youthfulness of Queen Victoria at her accession, the purity of her life, and, in later years, the tragic loneliness of her position made her claim to chivalrous devotion irresistible. The personal popularity of King Edward VII with his unrivalled knowledge of European rulers and statesmen, together with the shrewdness of his judgment upon them, enabled him to make a distinctive contribution to the common weal despite the shortness of his reign. King George V has in different ways and with quite different qualities carried on the process by which his immediate predecessors raised the constitutional monarchy from the depths to which it had fallen to the height which it has at present reached.

In this beneficent work Her Majesty the Queen has played a conspicuous part with a devotion, dignity and good sense which are beyond all praise. In all their service the King and Queen have been greatly aided by their children, and the much-travelled Princes have contributed to strengthen by personal contact the sense of comradeship throughout the Empire. For all this we are profoundly thankful and grateful. The remembrance of it inspires our prayers and intensifies our hope that the King may be preserved to us for years to come and that the protracted anxiety of the Queen and the Royal Family may speedily be effectually relieved.

God Save the King!

M. POINCARÉ AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS.

THE task of the new French Government is as difficult as was the task of the old French Government. Two years ago M. Poincaré had succeeded in steadying the franc which had plunged violently; and, with public confidence centred in him, he was practically sure of remaining in power until French finances were placed on a sound basis. Everybody has praised him for his steadfastness and skill: his mission as saviour of the franc may be regarded as ended. But after putting the house of France in order the Prime Minister is called upon to undertake another job which will assuredly tax his unquestionable ability. It is chiefly international in character, though it has many domestic implications. National currency is restored: it is now time to consider international indebtedness, and if possible to make arrangements which will stand the test of time.

By a curious but not unhappy coincidence the moment of demarcation between the old and the new tasks was illuminated by a political crisis. It is always well that the different phases of public affairs should be lit up by Parliamentary bonfires. The Radicals kindly obliged M. Poincaré. They indicated that he had finished one piece of work and could therefore resign. Parliament as a whole, backed up by the public at large, then signified to M. Poincaré that he was expected to sign a fresh engagement and apply his energies to the settlement of external problems. Thus the November upheaval was extremely significant. It was the closing of one chapter and the opening of another.

We should first examine what are the prospects of the continuance of the present Cabinet for any considerable period. They are certainly not so good as were the prospects of the 1926 Poincaré Government. Then France was united. Everybody wanted the franc to be arrested on its downward course. All parties (with the exception of the Extreme Left) were willing to allow their leaders to serve under the one man who appeared capable of stopping the rot. There was a political truce which was bound to last for a reasonable time. Whoever had broken it would have been bitterly blamed. Upon him would have fallen the responsibility for possible monetary disaster. Moreover, the success of M. Poincaré stilled all criticism. He had accomplished something that M. Herriot, M. Clémentel, M. Painlevé, M. Caillaux, M. Briand, M. Doumer, M. Raoul Péret, and a number of others whose names do not spontaneously present themselves to my memory, had completely failed to accomplish. Further, the elections of April, 1928, demonstrated the gratitude of the country. The candidates all proclaimed themselves Poincar-

ists. Radicals and Conservatives alike, they were Poincarists. A plebiscite was taken on his name and, like nearly all plebiscites on names, it produced an overwhelming majority for the Prime Minister. He continued with the same Cabinet and there seemed to be no immediate reason for its upsetting.

Yet it was obvious that changes there would have to be at an early date. M. Poincaré could not go on saving the franc for ever. Once it was saved, party quarrels inevitably broke out. The militant Radicals chafed under restraint. For more than two years they had been obliged to preserve silence. They began to think that the business of franc-saving had lasted long enough. If only they had been patient for a few months more the Government would have run its natural course. Its Chief was himself tired of his heroic rôle, and it was necessary for him to discover another part. The play which had been presented to crowded houses for nearly eight hundred nights was showing signs of wear and tear. The applause was feebler, the actors were weary, the scenery had badly faded. Thereupon, the Radicals rendered M. Poincaré a remarkable service. He could not make up his mind to take off the piece. They provoked a riot in the theatre. That decided him. The Palais-Bourbon was closed for several days and reopened with a new piece. There were changes in the cast, but most of the former troupe remained. M. Poincaré was still the leading actor in the diplomatic drama entitled "Settling the Reparations Problem," which succeeded the financial tragi-comedy, "Saving the Franc."

Yet his triumph is by no means assured. Elsewhere I have expressed my astonishment at the misconceptions which are prevalent in England regarding French politics. It is true that he has a strong Cabinet, that the elections went in his favour, that he has enormous prestige in the country, that he has found a majority in the Chamber. But these things are not enough. Before a statesman in France can reckon on a fairly long tenure of office he must not only possess remarkable authority but must persuade Parliament that, in the exceptional circumstances of the day, he is irreplaceable. I do not think that is the case now. Until recently it was. Nobody but M. Poincaré could put the finances right. But there are several politicians who might deal more or less well, though never satisfactorily, with the international questions that are now uppermost in the minds of the French deputies. There is no fixed doctrine. There is no rallying-point. No settlement can be altogether pleasing. France, when she contemplated her financial situation, had a single wish. At all costs the franc had to be stabilised. There might be differences of opinion about the precise figure, but these differences were negligible: they did not affect the fundamental fact that stabilisation had to be secured at whatever figure was

practicable. But on reparations there is room for a variety of opinions. We are in the realm of the arbitrary. Anybody is entitled to say anything. It is always possible to say, of M. Poincaré or of M. Briand, or of anybody else who is concerned in these discussions, that his attitude is too loose or too rigid, that he is asking for too much or too little, that he is not conciliatory enough or that he is too conciliatory. Besides, as I propose to show, it is rather nonsensical to talk of a "final" settlement in the conditions of international thought that still prevail.

By English standards the present Ministry should be safe for several years. But English standards do not apply to France. It is impossible to say that this or that side has won, that this or that side has a majority in the Chamber. I am afraid I have written this on several occasions; but it is necessary to repeat that the Chamber is not composed of two or three parties who will agree to give a certain tenure of office to the leader of the victorious party, but of a dozen groups which can be shuffled like a pack of cards. The Deputies consider that it is in their interest to shuffle the cards frequently. Those who are not Ministers have a chance of becoming Ministers at every fresh shuffle. Lately I recounted the number of Governments that France has had since the Republic rose, fifty-eight years ago, out of the ashes of the Empire. There are no fewer than seventy-eight. These figures are a terrible commentary on French Parliamentary methods. They show that the average duration of a Ministry is about eight and a half months. If one subtracts half a dozen comparatively long Ministries—those of Waldeck-Rousseau, Clemenceau, Combes, Méline, and Poincaré, none of them, however, lasting for three years—the average duration is brought down very low. It is difficult for Englishmen, accustomed to Ministries of four or five years, to realise that Governmental changes are the law of French Parliamentary life. This lack of continuity is a deadly defect in the French constitution; and though the system has gone on for more than half a century, it is generally believed by competent observers that sooner or later France will have to take serious notice of the perpetual Parliamentary oscillations. To bring down a Government it is only necessary that one or two of the Centre groups should slightly shift their positions. These Centre groups have many names, but there is only one which really fits them. They are Opportunists. Even in the Radical Party there is an absence of discipline. I think I am correct in saying that not for thirty years have Radicals been left out of any Government, except the present Government. It does not matter whether the so-called *Bloc National* or the so-called *Cartel des Gauches* has won the elections: the Radicals always supply their quota of Ministers.

Naturally they are angry at being excluded from the new Cabinet. Yet they excluded themselves. At the Angers Congress M. Caillaux, one of the chief strategists of the Radical Party, and M. Daladier, the titular head of the Radicals, and MM. Montigny and Bergery, two young men in a hurry, caused resolutions to be passed which smashed the National Union. A programme was put forward which made the presence in the Poincaré Government of MM. Herriot, Sarraut, Perrier, Queuille, quite untenable. M. Poincaré did not hesitate. He first obtained the resignation of the Radical Ministers, and then presented the collective resignation of the rest of the Cabinet. That was, as I say, the end of a chapter. When he was called upon to reconstruct his Cabinet, he offered places to the Radicals which they refused, believing that their refusal would mean the failure of M. Poincaré; and then he calmly proceeded to form a Ministry without the Radicals. The Radical tactics were uncommonly bad. They gasped when they found that M. Poincaré could do without them. Although they are only 125 all told, and although only thirty or forty are hostile to the Poincaré Government, they had become so used to dictating their terms that it appeared incredible to them that they could be placed in the cold shades of opposition. Logically, M. Poincaré should be able to count on sufficient support to stay as long as he likes. But in fact the militant Radicals and the Socialists may exercise an influence on the Centre groups. Indeed, the groups of the Right may easily turn against M. Poincaré on such questions as that of the ratification of inter-allied Debts accords.

There are three subjects to which M. Poincaré is now devoting his attention. In the French view they are (whatever nuances of language may be used) inseparable. They are the evacuation of Rhineland, the settlement of the Reparations problem, and the ratification (or non-ratification) of the Debts accords. In order to direct the negotiations on these matters M. Poincaré has renounced the post of Finance Minister. He has entrusted to M. Henry Chéron the portfolio which he held for so long. Here is a clear intimation that he believes that he has finished his financial job. No longer does he rely upon the belief that he is the supreme, unique, indispensable man in financial affairs. You can always see at a glance what problems the French regard as important. It is the practice of the Prime Minister (the Prime Ministership as a post does not exist) to take outstanding office for himself. During the war the Prime Minister—or President of the Council—was War Minister. Afterwards he became Foreign Minister. Then when financial problems were urgent he was Finance Minister. The rule is, of course, sometimes broken, but it is sufficiently followed to make M. Poincaré's surrender of the post of Finance Minister

highly significant. Finances are no longer the pivot of French politics.

Then surely, it will be remarked, foreign affairs are once more the pivot of French politics. The observation is not entirely accurate. The new problems are at once financial and foreign. M. Poincaré could not properly replace M. Briand at the Quai d'Orsay. M. Briand is too valuable. He presents such an admirable façade. His pacific speeches are excellent for the reputation of France, and when he launches a diatribe against Germany it does not hurt France's reputation as much as would a diatribe by M. Poincaré. He can even, when his policy appears harsh, somehow—to use an Americanism—"get away with it." He can say exactly the same things as M. Poincaré without incurring severe criticism abroad. If M. Poincaré had taken his place at the Quai d'Orsay a different atmosphere would have surrounded the negotiations. But I cannot state too strongly that the essential policies of M. Poincaré and of M. Briand are identical. They agree perfectly, but in their partnership they have different rôles. For the most part it is M. Briand's business to make pleasant oratorical manifestations. He has done this for several years. It is M. Poincaré's business to provide the necessary stiffening when the period of realisations must begin.

Therefore M. Poincaré has invented for himself a special post. He is Prime Minister without portfolio, but it is understood that he is in supreme charge of the negotiations, at once financial and political, which now occupy our attention. He is, in this respect, above both M. Chéron and M. Briand. M. Chéron obviously cannot complain. He accepted the post of Finance Minister on this understanding. M. Briand certainly does not wish to complain. From his personal point of view it is good that M. Poincaré should stand before him. Germany would expect more from him than he is prepared to give. If he were not conciliatory enough his reputation abroad would be compromised. If he were too conciliatory his reputation at home would be compromised. Besides, when it comes to real business, he is far less precise in his views than is M. Poincaré.

If I may make a personal confession it is that I am puzzled by much that is said and written about the problem of Reparations. For ten years I have followed closely these debates. I have even participated in them. It was inevitable that there should be a clash. Germany wanted to pay as little as possible and the Allies pitched their claims as high as possible. There was an appalling ignorance of economic realities. But one had believed that the old fallacies had been exploded. It is amazing to hear once more promises of a "final" settlement, when the contentions of the British and of the French are absolutely opposed to a "final" settlement. The

Dawes Committee did not really pretend to settle anything. It was appointed to supply a temporary working arrangement. It did not indicate what capital sum Germany should pay. It did not indicate how long Germany should go on paying. It merely relieved the tension in Europe by finding that, normally, for the present, Germany can pay two and a half milliard marks a year—though she has done this by further borrowing from the United States. It suggested that even these payments were doubtful, and it provided that should Germany be unable to effect transfers without injuring the currency Germany should be completely exonerated. The nominal total fixed in London in 1921 stands. That total is 132 milliards. A schoolboy can see that two and a half milliards a year do not even represent interest on a capital of 132 milliards, and that Germany could go on paying for a thousand years and at the end of that time owe more in capital and interest than she owes to-day. Regarded as a solution, the Dawes plan was crazy; but regarded as a political arrangement it served its purpose.

But are the conditions to-day so much better than they were in 1924, when the Dawes Committee reported, that one can safely talk of a "final" settlement? It is incredible that anybody believes it. Great Britain takes her stand on the Balfour Note. She is concerned with her own requirements. She demands Continental payments equivalent to her obligations towards the United States. They may come from France or from Germany, or from other countries, in any proportion you please. Since, however, there is a Franco-British accord on French debts to England, British expectations from Germany can be ascertained by a simple process of arithmetic. The French case is not dissimilar. France lays it down that she must receive from Germany enough to pay her debts to England and to the United States. She would also like a certain sum on account of material damages. There is here a margin which may be wider or narrower. Yet, basically, Germany is condemned in advance by France and England to pay the debts of these countries; and it would seem to follow that the Franco-British thesis renders a solution of the Reparations problem by a Commission of Experts utterly impossible.

A Commission of Experts which is expected to do what the Dawes Committee failed to do should certainly be entirely free. It is somewhat absurd to appoint it if you tell it, before it starts its work, that, roughly, it must determine that Germany is able to pay a sum which depends not upon Germany's capacity but upon Allied needs. Any clerk could ascertain the amount if he were given such instructions. It is, of course, just possible to imagine that the Commission might independently reach such a conclusion; but it should unquestionably be open to the Commission to find, without reference

to Allied needs, that Germany can pay nothing. That is an extreme position which the Commission would hardly take; but my point is that its findings will be without virtue if the Governments do not give it *carte blanche*. In the opinion of Germany the experts should have the fullest liberty; and I think it is difficult to refute the German opinion. Germany is paying punctually under the Dawes Plan. The working arrangement is really working. There was no need to raise the matter at this moment, but if it is to be raised the Commission cannot be told that it must examine the Reparations problem from the standpoint of Franco-British debts. Possibly Germany's capacity and the requirements of the Allies can be squared, but it is wrong to assume that this must, in defiance of facts, be the conclusion of the Commission.

Moreover, it is well known, in spite of vague statements to the contrary, that it is merely foolish to expect to "mobilise" or "commercialise" any substantial portion of the German debt. The money markets of the world can take up only a ridiculously small percentage of German bonds. An estimate which comes to me, which I think corresponds fairly closely to the truth, is that it would be unwise to launch more than a milliard and a half or two milliard marks' worth of German bonds. That does not help us very far towards a solution.

On this solution (though again the exact phrasing may be more or less subtle) depends, according to the French, the evacuation of Rhineland. Unless there is at least a substantial advance, France is not prepared to evacuate. She may later change her opinion, but, as I write, I see nothing which warrants the supposition that France is ready to relinquish her hold of Rhineland without adequate compensation. Now there is no doubt that Germany is entitled to evacuation. It may be that the legal case of Germany is not conclusive; but the logical case is unanswerable. Ten years ago the war ended. Germany has fulfilled, according to the Allies themselves, every provision of the Treaty that she can fulfil. She has done more—she has voluntarily pledged herself not to attack France again. Clearly Germany could not have completed the payment of reparations. It is now proposed that Germany shall pay annuities for sixty-two years, since that is the period over which the Allied debts to America are spread. Sixty or thirty years, the full fifteen years of occupation (the maximum stipulated by the Treaty) bear no relation to the payment of reparations. Civilised countries cannot employ troops as debt-collectors. Germany has disarmed, has signed the Locarno and the Kellogg Pacts, has been admitted to the League of Nations, and has for some years paid all that she has been asked to pay. To make evacuation contingent on a "final" settlement of reparations is illogical and unfair.

The Commission, as a result of these preliminary conversations, is handicapped. Perhaps the best outcome of its deliberations would be the proclamation of a deadlock. The Reparations problem cannot be solved until the Debts problem is solved. France and Great Britain officially connect the two problems. They try to make Germany the sole debtor of the United States. This is the vital element of the subject as it is submitted to the Commission, and if the Commission therefore declares that it cannot proceed unless and until the United States is prepared to permit debts as well as reparations to be discussed, then it will place the whole problem of international indebtedness in its proper light. I think it is a mistake for the French to try to prevent the Commission from reporting in this sense. In postulating that Germany can pay the Allied debts, they are postulating that France and England can pay the American claims. If, on the other hand, the Commission were free to find that Germany cannot pay the Dawes annuities for sixty years and more, it would be creating the presumption that France and England cannot properly be expected to pay. Ultimately, the United States holds the key of these problems; and it is better to seize and not to shirk the opportunity of saying so authoritatively.

SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

THE FINAL REVELATIONS OF COLONEL HOUSE.*

THE third and fourth volumes of the *Intimate Papers of Colonel House* equal in human interest and surpass in historical importance the instalments published three years ago. So long as mankind takes an interest in the World War, its problems, its personages and its settlement, these pages will be consulted for their authoritative testimony. The figure of Colonel House emerges with increasing definition as we advance. We see him in his letters and telegrams, his reports and his diary, and we watch him through the eyes of the men with whom he worked. That he was the close and chosen friend of Woodrow Wilson was known at the time to all the world. That he was not merely the mouthpiece and the agent of the President, but his partner and often his guide, has been revealed through the publication of his papers. It is now abundantly clear that he was a statesman and a diplomat; that he inspired confidence and affection to a degree unusual among public men; and that he is entitled to a substantial share of the merit which accrues to his eloquent chief for the organisation of the United States for war and for the foundation of a new international order. Professor Seymour has accomplished his editorial task with remarkable skill and judgment, never concealing his sympathy with Wilsonian idealism, yet never falling to the level of the propagandist or the partisan.

House will live in history as the friend of Woodrow Wilson, and the new volumes complete the picture of a unique relationship. He sought nothing for himself, finding sufficient reward in the service of the ideals which he cherished and in the confidence of the President whom he loved. Affection and admiration for his chief breathe through every chapter. "The more I see of him," he wrote after returning from his parleys with the British and French leaders in 1917, "the more firmly I am convinced that there is not a statesman in the world who is his equal." On the day of the Armistice he telegraphed to Washington: "Autocracy is dead. Long live democracy and its immortal leader. In this hour my heart goes out to you in pride, admiration and love." If this impromptu strikes readers ten years after the event as fulsome and exuberant, the friends of its author know that he meant every word, and that his attitude towards his chief is unchanged to-day. House showed his devotion not by flattery or pretended agreement, but by the free use of a constructive and independent brain. The relationship was one not only of perfect confidence but of complete sympathy. On the eve of Wilson's arrival in Paris for the Peace

* *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, arranged by Charles Seymour. Two vols. Ernest Benn. Two guineas.

Conference House warned Clemenceau to ignore any rumours that the President was "dictatorial, arbitrary, or hard to get along with. I assured him that I had always found him more amenable to advice than any public man with whom I had been thrown in close contact." Over and over again in these volumes we find House challenging, criticising, suggesting, sometimes asked and often unasked.

Wilson was well aware of the value of a friend who combined disinterested devotion with a clear head. For the President's letters we shall have to wait for further instalments of Stannard Baker's official biography, but there is enough material in these pages to show that House's affectionate confidence was fully reciprocated. "I think of you every day with the deepest affection." "I devour and profit by all your letters." "I hate to say good-bye. It is an immense comfort to me to have you at hand here for counsel and friendship. But it is right that you should go. God bless and keep you both. My thought will follow you all the weeks through, and I hope that it will only be weeks that will separate us." The latter was written on the departure of House for Europe in the autumn of 1917 to represent the President in the councils of the Allies. That a blight was one day to fall on this happy partnership seemed inconceivable, and the two men strengthened each other's hands and hearts in facing decisions as grave as any that have confronted statesmen in the modern world.

It is satisfactory to learn that the President's partiality for his unofficial adviser was in no way resented by the Secretary of State. Lansing emerges as a modest and unselfish public servant, at all times willing to co-operate with House and to watch him without a murmur discharging public duties which in ordinary circumstances would have fallen to himself. "I shall always remember with gratitude his attitude toward me," writes House. "My position was unusual and without precedent, and it would have been natural for him to object to my ventures in his sphere of activities. He never did. He was willing for me to help in any way the President thought best. The country owes Lansing much, and some day I hope appreciation may be shown for his services during the perilous days of the Great War." Like many others on both sides of the Atlantic, Lansing realised the value of unofficial channels of communication at a time when a multitude of questions of the most delicate nature arose. An impressive list could be compiled of the distinguished men with whom House worked during the two years covered in these volumes, not only without friction or misunderstanding, but in such a way as to earn their gratitude and esteem.

The immediate task of the United States Government on entering

the war was to mobilise its resources and to co-operate with the Allies in pursuit of victory. The latter presented greater difficulties than the former, and hundreds of pages are devoted to the search for its solution. To uninitiated readers the important rôle of Sir William Wiseman, Chief of the British Intelligence in Washington and afterwards *liaison* officer between the British and American Delegations at Paris, will come as a surprise. Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, our Ambassador in Washington, was ill and overstrained, and in any case the volume of business would have transcended the energies of a superman. One emissary accordingly followed another across the Atlantic—Northcliffe, Lord Reading, Lord Balfour—and in every case found a pillar of strength in House. "Wilson's power is absolute," reported Northcliffe, "and House is a wise assistant. Both are pro-English." He added that House always saw three months ahead. With Lord Balfour, whom he described as "the most liberal member of the present British Cabinet," House formed a warm and enduring friendship. The Reading Mission arrived in September, and House greeted with delight "this imperturbable negotiator with his fine diplomatic touch." The situation demanded the best brains of both countries if the cause of the Allies was not to fail. "We seem on the verge of a financial disaster," telegraphed Lord Balfour to House on June 29th, 1917, "which would be worse than defeat in the field." If it is too much to say that America won the war, it is clear enough that it could not have been won without her timely aid.

While the Allies in the old world were too engrossed in the deadly grapple to think much about anything but victory, Wilson and House never lost sight of the need for a new international order and for a settlement which would render possible such a beneficent revolution. As the watchword of the soldiers of the French Revolution was "war on the castles, peace to the cottages," so Wilson's voice proclaimed unceasingly "war on the German Government, peace to the German people." Readers of the earlier volumes will remember House's appeals to Allied statesmen during his visits to Europe to contemplate a moderate settlement; and the entrance of the United States into the fray, so far from attenuating this desire, rendered it the principal object of American policy. No more, it is true, was heard of peace without victory, but even in his declaration of war on April 2nd, 1917, Wilson declared that Americans had "no quarrel with the German people and no feeling towards them but one of sympathy." From this attitude he never departed; for "force without stint or limit" was to be applied in order to remove the obstacle to a statesmanlike peace.

The most interesting portions of the book describe the unceasing endeavours of Wilson and House to prevent the abuse by the Allies

of the sweeping victory which was rendered possible by American help. It was, no doubt, much easier for a Power which only became a belligerent in 1917, and whose existence was never endangered, to preach the gospel of an equitable peace. But even making allowances for the smaller provocation and the lesser strain, there was a real difference in the quality of statesmanship between the two sides of the Atlantic. Such men as Lord Grey and Lord Lansdowne, Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts were not impervious to the arguments and considerations which weighed so heavily at Washington; but some of them were swept from office before America entered the war, and the brunt of the fight for a reasonable peace fell on Wilson and House. It was in large measure in order to decline responsibility for the secret treaties, of which he was informed by Lord Balfour on his mission in April, 1917, that the President defined the United States as the associate, not the ally, of the Entente belligerents.

The first opportunity for stressing the American standpoint came with the Pope's peace proposal of August, 1917, which House implored his chief to utilise for his own purposes. "The mistake has been made over and over again in the Allied countries in doing and saying the things that best helped the German militarists. The German people are told and believe that the Allies desire not only to dismember them, but to make it economically impossible to live after the war. They are therefore welded together with their backs to the wall. . . . What is needed, it seems to me, is a firm tone, full of determination, but yet breathing a spirit of liberalism and justice that will make the people of the Central Powers feel safe in your hands." The President had at first felt inclined to take no notice of the Pope's action; but he finally adopted the advice of his friend and held out to the German people the possibility of "a covenanted peace" when their present rulers disappeared. It was to prepare the ground for such a settlement that House was commissioned to create and direct a group of experts whose labours were compendiously described as "the Inquiry."

British emissaries to the United States were not enough, and in September, 1917, Mr. Lloyd George begged for an American Mission. House agreed that it was desirable, and, though not wishing to accompany it, accepted the desire of the President and of leading statesmen in London and Paris to be its head. "His interest in the final settlement," writes Professor Seymour, "was much greater than in administrative problems connected with the war"; and during his crowded weeks in London and Paris he never lost sight of the wider aim. The efforts of the Mission to secure material co-ordination, however, met with greater reward than those of its chief to convert the Allies to his view of the settlement and of the

various means by which it might be attained. His interest was far from being merely academic, for he was genuinely alarmed at the situation created by the Caporetto disaster and the withdrawal of Russia from the war. The crisis was expected in the spring of 1918, and House was convinced that diplomatic no less than military preparations must be made to meet the event. "Unless a change for the better comes," he wrote in his Report to the President, "the Allies cannot win, and Germany may."

It was the failure to achieve diplomatic unity between the United States and the Allies that led Wilson to act on his own responsibility. On December 18th, 1917, House described his efforts "to join in formulating a broad declaration of war aims that would unite the world against Germany, and would not only help to a solution of the Russian problem but would knit together the best and most unselfish opinions in the world. I could not persuade them to do this, and now it will be done by the President." Working on the material provided by the experts of "the Inquiry," the two men drew up the Fourteen Points, which were duly announced in the historic utterance of January 8th, 1918. The speech echoed round the globe, but it was not till the following autumn that the Allies were persuaded to accept it as the basis of the coming settlement. "Not so much because of the specific conditions that Mr. Wilson laid down, similar as they were to those of Mr. Lloyd George," writes Professor Seymour, "as because of the spirit that inspired his speech, it became for liberals all over the world something of a Magna Charta of international relations for the future." Of this celebrated document, which looked beyond the din and passions of the strife, House, as we may read in these pages, was part author.

The final volume opens with two valuable chapters on the antecedents of the Covenant, in the making of which, as in the Fourteen Points, House played an active part. A curiously doctrinaire letter from Lansing, written in April, 1918, argued that no people desires war, particularly an aggressive war; that peace could only be guaranteed by self-governing institutions; and that the urgent task of statesmen was to make democracy universal, not to construct a League of Nations. Wilson and House knew history and human nature better, and aimed at a body exercising real authority. The British or "Phillimore" plan was too weak for their taste; but they were glad to adopt useful proposals from whatever quarter, such as the Council and the system of Mandates. Before, however, the President could concentrate his attention on the structure and functions of the League, the war had to be won and the Allies to be converted to the Fourteen Points.

When the end was in sight House was dispatched to represent

the President in the councils of the Allies. He had often reminded Wilson that with the approach of victory his power to control the situation would wane. His Mission is described by Professor Seymour as the most difficult and the most important of his career; for he had to "maintain Wilsonian principles without causing a break in the unanimity of the Allies and, if possible, without any loss of cordiality." He had no instructions, because the President remarked on parting, "I feel you will know what to do." Reaching Paris on October 28th, he was just in time for the Armistice conferences. He took little part in the discussion of the military and naval terms to be imposed on Germany, but he fought with all his strength for an explicit acceptance of the principles proclaimed by Wilson to the world. "I am proud of the way you are handling the situation," cabled the President on October 31st. The Allies declined to swallow the whole dose; but the Fourteen Points were finally accepted as a basis for the settlement, subject to reservations on reparations and the freedom of the seas. On the latter, to which House attached quite as much importance as his chief, there was some very plain speaking. "I told Wiseman," wrote House in his diary, "and later to-day told Reading that if the British were not careful they would bring upon themselves the dislike of the world. I do not believe the United States and other countries would willingly submit to Great Britain's complete domination of the seas any more than to Germany's domination of the land, and the sooner the English recognised this fact, the better it would be for them; furthermore, that our people, if challenged, would build a navy and maintain an army greater than theirs." Mr. Lloyd George promised to discuss the question at the Peace Conference; but the opportunity to settle what Professor Seymour describes as "the sole enduring factor of difference between Great Britain and the United States" was allowed to slip.

We already owe a great deal of our knowledge of the Peace Conference to American witnesses. Stannard Baker has given us three crowded volumes on the activities of the President; Lansing has described his own part at length, and has added a volume of vivid character sketches; David Hunter Miller has narrated in detail the making of the Covenant; while General Bliss, Baruch and other experts have added their testimony on their special spheres of work. And now we have the papers of Colonel House, who, even after the arrival of the President in December, 1918, remained a leading figure not only of the American Delegation but of the Conference as a whole. His friendship with Clemenceau, Lord Balfour, Lord Cecil, and other leading negotiators was of eminent service, and the clamorous throng which gathered in Paris to divide the spoils of victory flocked to his rooms. The spirit of compromise needed

for a rapid and enduring settlement was rendered difficult not only by the torturing experiences of the conflict but by the passions of the victorious peoples, whom the statesmen had lashed to madness and were now too weak or too timid to control. Nerves were badly frayed, and on one occasion, when Wilson resisted the demand for the Rhineland and the Saar Basin, Clemenceau called him a pro-German and abruptly left the room.

"It is now evident," wrote House in his diary on March 3rd, "that the peace will not be such a peace as I had hoped." The American elections of November had weakened the hands of the President as much as the British elections of December had strengthened those of Mr. Lloyd George. Clemenceau was impregnable, and Sonnino as obstinate as a mule. "I dislike to sit and have forced upon us such a peace as we are facing," wrote House. "We shall get something out of it in the way of a League of Nations, but even that is an imperfect instrument." Compromise was indeed the sole alternative to disruption; but in his eulogy of the President Stannard Baker has charged House with flabbiness and something like treachery. To the grotesque charge that he combined with the Allies to counterwork the principles and policy of the President, during his brief visit to the United States in February and March, the reader will find a complete reply in the chapter entitled "Speeding the Settlement." House had been empowered by Wilson to go ahead with the discussions, and the situation was reported to him by cable every day. "No commitments had been made for him in his absence," declares Professor Seymour; and a long British Memorandum, drawn up at the instance of Lord Balfour and here published for the first time, blows into thin air the legend of plot or intrigue. Wilson himself realised the necessity of compromise soon after his return, and was converted to the inclusion of pensions in Reparations at the cost of eating his own words. Indeed, he finally yielded so much that he has been denounced ever since—and not by Germans alone—for breaking faith with the German people, who had surrendered on the formulated promise of a Wilsonian settlement. There is no reason for the friends of House to attack Wilson, or for the champions of Wilson to censure House. Both did their best to secure the peace they desired, and both lamented the necessity of accepting some of the terms. The judgment recorded by House in his diary on the day following the signature of the Treaty recalls the somewhat similar declaration of General Smuts. "I am leaving Paris, after eight fateful months, with conflicting emotions. Looking at the Conference in retrospect there is much to approve and much to regret. It is easy to say what should have been done but more difficult to have found a way for doing it. . . . How splendid it

would have been had we blazed a new and better trail. . . . While I should have preferred a different peace, I doubt whether it could have been made, for the ingredients of such a peace as I would have had were lacking at Paris." With this verdict most readers of these absorbing chapters will probably agree, for they confirm the impression left by Stannard Baker's volumes and by Tardieu's powerful work, *La Paix*. It was virtually impossible even for an Anglo-American combination to press France harder or push her further than was done.

The book ends on a note of deepening gloom. House saw Wilson off at Paris a few hours after the signature of the Treaty, and the comrades never met again. The President embarked on an heroic effort to secure the approval of his countrymen for his handiwork, and broke under the strain. The sick man was allowed to see no one, and House's letters advising him to accept, or at any rate not to resist, the Lodge reservations were unanswered. The friendship that had meant so much to both and to the world faded away without a break and without an explanation. Perhaps the official biography may one day supply the clue for which we search these pages in vain. "My separation from Woodrow Wilson," writes House, "was and is to me a tragic mystery, a mystery that can never be dispelled, for its explanation lies buried with him. . . . While our friendship was not of long duration, it was as close as human friendships grow to be. To this his letters and mine bear testimony. Until a shadow fell between us I never had a more considerate friend, and my devotion to his memory remains and ever will remain unchanged."

G. P. GOOCH.

RUSSIA, A CONTRAST.

SO many conflicting accounts have been given of conditions in Russia that the average man gives up the attempt of arriving at the truth. In the following pages I have tried to contrast shortly Moscow before and after the war. Nothing has been set down for any political purpose, and everything is within my knowledge. But to get at the truth is difficult, even when one knows the language and even when one is free to move about without any restraint. The point of view of each observer also differs and further complicates the inquiry.

Before the war Moscow was the commercial and social centre of Russia; the business of the country was concentrated there, the great trading routes converged on it; the landowners of the surrounding provinces chose to winter there; and both the wealthy and the intellectuals met together there in good fellowship. Noblemen and merchants with luxurious mansions delighted at times to spend their evenings at the renowned restaurants of the town. The Governor-General held his little court, bestowing favours on the leading citizens and entertaining them with sumptuous balls and dinners. The churches, with their clusters of golden domes, were crowded with devout congregations standing throughout the long services. The Metropolitan of Moscow, the chief ecclesiastic of the Greek Church, dispensed his blessing on great occasions; priests and monks came forth in numbers from the many monasteries to mix with the people. Since the days of Peter the Great the political importance of Moscow has been secondary, but her spiritual supremacy was never shaken. In everything, even in the circulation in the streets, Moscow resembled a rich capital.

This condition of things brought a large part of the luxury trades—furs, diamonds and precious stuffs—to Moscow, while many merchants from other countries settled there and carried on a lucrative business. In the literary life of Russia Moscow may be said to have played a more prominent part than Petersburg; several of the great writers, Tolstoy, Gorki, and others, migrated there every winter and collected round them their friends and admirers. If men and women did not meddle in politics their private life was not interfered with; they could entertain and enjoy themselves socially as much as they liked without any Government restrictions; they could leave the country and travel at will; provided they did not hold converse with any "emigrés" or take part in any gatherings of political refugees when abroad, they were free to return to Russia and live unmolested. But the slightest interest in political affairs, when wandering from place to place, invariably led, on coming back, to unpleasant attentions from the Russian

police who had their spies everywhere. How they watched the traveller is well exemplified in what happened in 1900 to Dr. N. L., an old friend of mine. Dr. N. L. was arrested and his house searched, because he had been seen listening intently to a stump orator at the Marble Arch. The Chief of Police of those days, when pressed, informed him of this fact and said to him: "Vous savez! C'est pour les idées. Pour les faits nous envoyons en Sibérie." Moscow, being a university town, attracted hundreds of students who enjoyed a certain amount of liberty. When, however, their speculations impinged on the political demesne, the secret police immediately stepped in since it was strictly forbidden to form any society for the discussion of political questions. Nevertheless, the law was defied and in consequence large numbers were either exiled or escaped abroad. In other respects there were fewer restrictions in Moscow (always provided politics were left alone) than in any other town in Europe, a freedom that was particularly noticeable in Russian literature, which suffered no censorship but the political one.

In general terms it would be correct to say that under the Tsars only those who were members of the Greek Church enjoyed full civil rights. The Greek Church was the State Church and those who did not conform to its tenets were outside the pale. If the religious zeal of the latter brought them under the notice of the ecclesiastical authorities, the civil power undertook the task of persecuting them; they were guilty of trying to undermine the State Church. Every kind of dissent was regarded with disfavour. Many were persecuted and many went into exile. Liberty of speech was unknown under the Tsars, but liberty of conscience was allowed to everyone provided no attempt at proselytising was made. No one could have admired their administration or their policy.

Moscow is now the actual capital of Russia and the seat of government. But notwithstanding that fact the life of the city has completely changed its character. The theory of the Bolsheviks is directly opposed to the principles of the Tsarist Government. They hold that there should be no rich and that everything should be held in common. They have ruthlessly imposed this principle throughout Russia; they have confiscated palaces and apportioned the rooms to the working classes; they have taken the land from the landowners and given it to the peasantry; they have done away with the merchant as an unnecessary middleman; and they have treated shopkeepers as parasites who intercept the produce of land and labour; they have "exalted the humble and meek and the rich they have sent empty away." Hence it will be seen that the ideals of the Soviet Government involve that interference in the

private life of the individual which is essential to the carrying out of its theories. This was the great complaint that I heard in Russia. Whereas the Tsarist Government left the individual alone in his private life, the Soviet Government regulates it in every minute particular and intrudes itself into his home—if one or two rooms can be called a home. At the same time it gives him less political liberty than before. In regard to Christianity, the Soviet seems to hold that religion in every form has a tendency to make people more or less contented with their lot and averse from active revolutionary propaganda. Hence they do their best to discountenance and destroy it; they treat it as a drug and an opiate which hinders their doctrines from spreading. Just as the French inscribed the words: "Liberté, Egalité et Fraternité" on the churches in France, so they have built into the wall of a house overlooking the Chapel of the famous Iversky Madonna the phrase: "Religion is the opiate of the people."

The mere fact that such a dictum is suffered to remain unchallenged is in itself a sure sign that revolution has been achieved and that Russia has now settled down to Soviet rule. After ten years it should be possible to give some concrete examples of how circumstances have altered, to point out some of the differences of the present régime from the preceding, and to show to what extent the objects for which men struggled have been won. A short visit to Moscow forces these considerations on one's attention better than the reading of many books. The realities and details of life, hidden and unsuspected, are then seen in their true light. The most outstanding feature in modern Moscow lies in the disappearance of a whole class. To those returning to Moscow after an absence of twenty years, unaware of what has happened, the absence of an essential component part in the city's life would be, to say the least of it, disconcerting, while to those who have only visited it since the war it would hardly call for remark, especially if the observer were ignorant of the Russian language. To those who have never been in Moscow either before or since the war the situation is inconceivable. A whole class has gone, with its luxuries, its mansions and retainers, its well-appointed carriages and elegant ladies, the entire paraphernalia of riches. In its stead another class has taken control and introduced new methods in an attempt to reconstruct society. The face of Moscow has consequently changed; its complexion is uniformly sombre and gloomy. The crowds that hustle each other in the streets wear those dark brown clothes so familiar to frequenters of market places in Russia. Here and there a pavement is occupied by pedlars who obstruct the path of the pedestrian. Perhaps the most noticeable and significant change in the outward appearance of Moscow is the shop front

and its contents, and above all the facia of the shops. A proper comprehension of what is exposed for sale and how it is exposed would enable even a Martian coming down to earth to interpret the events of the last ten years.

The first thing to attract attention is the facia on the shop fronts; the old familiar names have been removed, and in their stead hang a remarkable series of strange and puzzling names. To master their meaning takes a little time, but once mastered, one realises that buying and selling has become a monopoly of the State or of a Co-operative Union. These facias with their clumsy nomenclature are, of course, repeated over and over again in the streets of Moscow, until they become quite familiar. They indicate that any idea of competition, as that between two firms dealing in the same goods, is a thing of the past, while no effort is made to induce a would-be purchaser to enter the precincts by a display of finery. The artificial words on the facia are generally formed out of the first syllables of the words of the title of the Government Store, Co-operative Society or Workman's Union, as, for example, Mosselprom (Mos = Moskovskaya; sel = selskokhozyeistvannaya; prom = promishlennost), Moscow Society for selling eatables and confectionery—Moscow has many shops designated "Mosselproms"; or Mosgubstrakh, i.e., Moscow Government Insurance Office, and so forth. Some of these shops are Government shops; some Consumers' Co-operative Societies; some Producers' shops. There are also private shops but none of them look flourishing. The Consumers' shops are run by bodies of consumers in a district much on the lines of our co-operative stores. Consumers enter into an agreement with each other to buy at the same shop what they require; they appoint a manager and hold occasional meetings to control the business. If the year's trading has been good a dividend may be declared, but the Government official regulates the prices of the goods sold and approves the dividends. As regards the necessary capital, it seems that a certain amount of so-called capital is allocated by the Government. Actually it is only a guaranteed Government credit, the shop probably paying a heavy rate of interest and certainly a tax.

In the Producers' shops the case is slightly different. A body of shoemakers, for instance, join together to sell their own make of shoe direct to the client. Here the intention is to get rid of the middleman, and in so far as they have been able to do this their business has been a success for themselves and their clients. But, of course, there are obvious drawbacks to the system. On the whole this co-operation has prospered in Russia, although not in great favour with the Soviet authorities.

The shop windows are a disappointing sight. Not only do

they bear no resemblance to what they once were, but goods displayed are unattractive. Pedestrians pass them by or look listlessly or carelessly into them. The contrast between the Russian and Western European shop front (as well as between those who gaze into it) is remarkable and deserves a careful study. The former looks dull and the poverty of the wares in the window suggests that the inside is empty, the latter has a gay and bright appearance with an obvious superfluity of goods.

The industrial class, i.e., the working class—the manual labourers in the towns—is now the most important class in Russia. Having turned out the rich and taken all their property, they have stepped into their shoes. In everything they take precedence. In housing accommodation they are given the first choice of rooms, and they pay a smaller rent than those who do "brain work." Their children take priority in the schools and universities, the children of the peasantry coming next, while boys and girls of employees or of the remnant of the bourgeois class are not accepted as pupils in any school until vacancies have been filled by the other two classes. In the days of the Tsars the Jews alone were subject to restrictions in matters of education. The gulf between the industrial and the peasant created by education has been widened still further owing to the food question. The industrials naturally look to the peasant for their supply, the more so now since they claim that the peasant has received his extra acres through their instrumentality. The peasant, however, is not willing to give his corn unless he receives something in exchange, a petticoat for his wife or clothes for his children, or a tool to add to his stock of implements. He refuses to be exploited or to surrender his surplus yields to the State without payment.

The campaign for an adequate supply of corn arouses in the peasantry hostility to the Government. A family of able-bodied men and women with good agricultural implements pay such heavy taxes on the crops they produce that there is no inducement to be industrious, for all the profits are taken. A peasant with two horses and two cows ranks as a "kulak" or rich peasant and thus becomes fair sport for the tax-gatherer, who never lets go of his victim until he has brought him down again to the common level. In the former case the family will often break up voluntarily into small units to reduce the standard of living and to lessen the amount that is paid in taxation; in the latter case, if concealment of corn in pits be unsuccessful, the peasant will sell some of his stock to avoid being classed as a "kulak." To remain a "kulak" is to court the attention of the Soviet authorities and certain confiscation of a cow or a horse. In principle Communism might be expected to be in favour of the family and collective

economy, but excessive taxation is destroying both. By its present actions it is threatening with ruin the greatest industry in Russia, the very foundations of national life and economy. More regrettable still is the fact pointed out above, that the peasantry are placed on a different footing from the workmen in the towns. The rural population has not fully realised what is happening, and one wonders how far this class hostility will be carried and what its effects may be in course of time.

The second experiment, the destruction of religion in Russia, has not been very successful. In the opinion of a psychologist and anthropologist this step was foredoomed to failure. A peasant population is not easily persuaded to give up its religion and its God at the bidding of any authority, especially if the only substitute offered is a Materialism which they do not understand. From the cradle to the grave the peasant is involved in the mysteries of the Church. Since every important function in his life—baptism, confirmation, marriage and death—is mixed up with some religious service, his only distraction, it is hardly likely that these old traditional ceremonies could be replaced by a cinema. In Moscow there were no signs of the people forgetting their God. It is highly significant of the attitude of the Soviet Government towards religious liberty that here again they are doing precisely the same thing as the Tsars did. The small handful of Tolstoyans whom one would imagine to be harmless in any community are subject to the same persecution as before. In a very notable speech during the recent Tolstoy centenary celebrations in September, the well-known Russian publisher, Mr. Posadov-Gorbunov, demanded freedom of thought for his co-religionists. "Even as I am speaking," he said, "my son-in-law is marching in a convict convoy somewhere near Tashkent for the sake of his opinions." In this respect little has altered. The same police as before have control, the same suspicion of sectarians exists, and the same censors condemn, but, as I have pointed out, for different reasons. The speech was an outspoken attack on Soviet methods; an historic speech, men said next day, for it was the first open attack on Soviet rule since they came into power ten years ago. Mr. Gorbunov demanded five things from the Government: the abolition of capital punishment; the cessation of militarism; prohibition; freedom of religion, and relief for the peasantry from heavy taxation. In this last demand the preferential treatment of the working-classes is again attacked.

But when the casual visitor turns to examine the economic condition of a country, the ground he treads on is more thorny. Before the war Moscow was a busy place where business flourished, where good clothes could be bought, where shops carried on a

brisk trade and where the atmosphere was commercial. That atmosphere, it seemed to me, had departed; the shops seemed to lack many articles, even a Kodak film was unobtainable. No more direct evidence of the unstable economic situation could be given than the action of the Soviet in preventing their own currency from crossing the borders by compelling travellers to hand it over in exchange for a receipt, valueless of course to anyone not desirous of purchasing goods in Russia. Presumably the rule that prevents Russians from travelling abroad as they used to do is also attributable to the desire of the present Government to compel citizens to spend whatever money they have in the country itself.

Whether one approves or disapproves of Soviet rule we must recognise that things cannot remain stationary; there is always either a going back or a going forward. To say how Russia will emerge from her present condition would require a seer with power to look into the future. But education is bound at last to rise triumphant over every obstacle. With 17,000 students (it is said) in the University of Moscow alone and thousands outside the schools craving to be let in, it is inconceivable that it should be otherwise. Two visits, one to the great library of Moscow, with its reading-room crowded with young men and women studying intently, the other to the Government Stationery Office, confirm this view. While the Soviet are trying with one hand to check education, the Stationery Office, their own institution, is responsible for an enormous output of literature, much of which is naturally for propaganda purposes. Printing is practically in their hands. No man is allowed to start as a publisher without first obtaining permission. When that has been granted, he is compelled to purchase the paper he requires from the Government, for that is its monopoly. In this way his activities are checked and curtailed. In doing this the Soviet are but following the precedent set by the Tsar's administration. A generation, or even two, may be prevented from availing itself of all the sources of knowledge; but it is a matter for consideration whether the present ruling class, probably correctly called "petit bourgeois," will not be succeeded by a much better educated people though possibly sprung from a lower rank. It is also hard to believe that this class will not gradually form a new bourgeoisie with a wider outlook, and refuse to endorse the infringement on private and political liberty now imposed.

The Tsar's Government persecuted those who strove to bring civilisation and culture to the people. The Soviet Government are just treading in the steps of their predecessors.

C. HAGBERG WRIGHT.

WOODROW WILSON—TEN YEARS AFTER.

TEN years ago one might have paused in front of an Arab tent to find the sheik reading Woodrow Wilson; one might then have passed into the presence of Georges Clemenceau and the talk would have been of the American President; and again in China, rubbing its dazed eyes after a long sleep, every serious discussion of public questions would have closed with "Woodrow Wilson?" Never for a moment was Abraham Lincoln so universal, or Washington so much in the minds of men. It was a dizzy height, that of the Master of the White House the day the German Kaiser asked for terms, an elevation to which the people of the United States could hardly rise on short notice. What think Arab sheiks and French statesmen to-day? A sketch of our history and a critique of men and issues may assist an answer.

I.

Fifty years ago one might have seen an awkward, long-faced, shy youth at Wilmington, North Carolina, just home from Princeton College, sauntering along the narrow streets, at the side of a tall, stern-looking "divine," clad in a long Prince Albert: walking together, father and son, talking of religion, the great civil war, of Richard Cobden and Walter Bagehot—of British politics, and American institutions, of right and duty, and the beckoning future. It was Woodrow Wilson and his greatest teacher, his Presbyterian preacher-father; the latter known and revered far and near in his adopted region, the old South, the former ere long to be a prophet and preacher to all mankind. And they walked about the little city of Wilmington where the wild feet of revolution had been set going in 1775, where North and South smeared the streets and house corners with their blood in 1865, fighting out their deadly feud; where the breakers rolled in from the Great Atlantic bringing scraps of ships and furniture, wreckage from the sand bars of Cape Hatteras, which, strange enough, beckoned and tempted the unplaced youth to try his fortune as a sailor upon the ocean.

The years passed, the wistful, dyspeptic youth, college days and legal training behind him, went alone, a meagre purse in his pocket, to Atlanta, the straggling, ill-kept town of the red Georgia hills, to set up as senior member of the new law firm of Wilson and Renick. He hardly earned his keep as a lawyer, though he met and engaged himself to marry one of the rare young women of the old South, Ellen Axson, the daughter of another Presbyterian "divine," and at the same time he sketched the outlines of *Congressional Government*, a critique of American politics not yet out of date in the schools. His manuscript and his fortune in

his grip, he abandoned the law and turned his steps towards Johns Hopkins whence the learned and genial Gildersleeve had drawn another and a stranger figure, the ugly, honest, high-minded Walter Page—poring over ancient Greek forms in the hope of finding a formula for rejuvenating decadent southern commonwealths, ambitious youths whose paths were to converge and diverge strangely in the years to come: Walter Page and Woodrow Wilson from North Carolina. The one worked his way slowly into western and southern journalism, the other found his niche in the great, dingy, smoky industrial North, now teaching, with Paul Shorey, the art of politics to young ladies at Bryn-Mawr, who had not the right to vote, now prodding strident Yankee football players at Wesleyan University. Finally he reached, in 1890, the haven of his desires when he took the chair of jurisprudence at Princeton, with Ellen Axson and two little children to make a home about him. It was the college where James Madison and Nathaniel Macon had learned the lessons of leadership, a school of the prophets where young men prayed at five in the morning and debated late in the evening. Ancient towers looked down upon him, the dust of Jonathan Edwards mouldering in the neighbouring cemetery, the cemetery in which the Wilsons took a plat. Were they at home?

But the patterns of life are not so easily cut. The college became a university, whatever that means, and Wilson its President. It was no longer Woodrow and Ellen to their intimate and undistinguished friends; it was President Wilson and the "President's" wife, Grover Cleveland calling in stiff afternoon clothes, President Roosevelt, Andrew Carnegie and Cyrus McCormick sitting down at his table, certain earlier friends not a little peeved at the heights to which the Wilsons had risen. George Harvey begged for "copy" of a *History of the United States* and Walter Page dangled good cheques before him for contributions to his magazines: *The Forum*, *The Atlantic*, and *The World's Work*. The joy of the home the Wilsons had made for themselves was lost in the mansion which others had made for them. It was life, the life of those who would lead. Wilson would make of Princeton (of all American colleges) an earnest training school to fit young men to guide a wayward generation; he would not allow donors to control college policy. Young college folk were beginning to dislike to be plagued with work and lectured about duty. Colleges had grown to be places of privilege. Conflict ensued; back-biting, intrigue and open quarrel followed, the scattered alumni of the country taking angry sides. Professor Henry Van Dyke roundly denounced his former friend before a vast audience

in Philadelphia, and members of the Board of Trustees made up their minds that Wilson must go. It was 1910.

For three years George Harvey of *Harper's Weekly* had seen in the eloquent President of Princeton the leader with whom he and his dubious supporters might eclipse the troublesome William J. Bryan. Wilson was "predestined" to lead the Democratic Party to high conservative performance. There were dinners of most respectable folk in New York, the members of the Southern Club, the New England Society, and the rest. Wilson made addresses to them all, George Harvey his sponsor and publicity man. There was a Sunday dinner in Deal, Harvey's home in New Jersey, in June, 1910, Wilson, Henry Watterson, and others present. James Smith, democratic boss of New Jersey, who had as Senator in 1894 wrecked Grover Cleveland's dearest reform, went to Chicago and lunched with Roger Sullivan, boss of unsavoury fame in Illinois. A leading Republican, a trustee of Princeton, sat down at the same table. Harvey's dinner in New Jersey and Sullivan's luncheon in Chicago were designed to make Wilson an "agreeable" President of the United States in 1912. Interesting people: Harvey, Smith, Sullivan and Watterson to whom I must add the famous Thomas F. Ryan, whose bottomless money bags were now made available; nor was Charles F. Murphey of Tammany Hall unaware. Wilson held his own counsels. To be put out of Princeton and then inaugurated President of the United States!

The Republican Party was preparing the way. William H. Taft, put into the White House by his friend Roosevelt to do the impossible, ran amuck the first year, trying to make a high tariff look like a low one. There was trouble ahead which the easy-going President did not know how to avert. Then Roosevelt returned from Africa, lions' skins on his ample shoulders—all the country celebrating his return like that of a conquering hero. It was a good time for a candidate for the presidency to become the governor of New Jersey. Harvey and Smith assembled a Democratic convention in Trenton. The majority of the delegates were "hand-picked." The minority, strong in numbers and in popularity, were restless and angry. They would have no nominee of the reactionary bosses of New Jersey and New York, even if he were the learned-President of Princeton. Wilson played golf that hot August day. When the time approached, George Harvey's car bore Wilson to a quiet room in the convention building. The regulars registered the majority vote for Wilson, James Smith and George Harvey on the platform. Joseph Tumulty and his fellow Liberals and Irish Radicals shouted in protest from the floor. The work was done. Wilson appeared upon the platform unperturbed in mind, immaculate in dress, an enigma the while to all who had

intrigued and contrived for that event. In earnest, urbane, telling words he accepted the nomination as an unsought, unpledged gift of the convention on behalf of the progressive forces of the State! Three months later he was elected upon a large plurality Democratic governor of New Jersey, a Republican State. It was not necessary to dismiss him from the Presidency of Princeton.

The new governor made Joseph Tumulty his private secretary. When James Smith offered as a candidate for the United States Senate, Wilson advised him to withdraw, and finally caused his defeat in a hand-picked legislature. Ingratitude? In a year Wilson was known to the country as the most liberal of Governors, and New Jersey was remade after the model of La Follette's Wisconsin! The road to the next Democratic national convention lay open. William J. Bryan was the one man who might bar the way. Smith and Harvey pondered events. When Taft delegations were being fixed for the next Republican convention, Roosevelt entered the ring. There was to be a furious contest in a convention which would be hopelessly divided. The country looked forward with eager excitement to June, 1912. The Democrats would probably nominate the successful candidate—Taft and Roosevelt in a bitter feud. Wilson wrote articles on public questions and held private conferences. Colonel Edward M. House, a quiet little man of bald head and soft voice, lived on East 53rd Street, New York. He was an *émigré* from Texas where he owned profitable plantations. He arranged for Wilson to speak in Dallas and the Texans promised him their votes in the Democratic convention to meet at Baltimore. Colonel Harvey managed a little luncheon and conference at the Manhattan Club, Henry Watterson and Thomas F. Ryan present. Should great men and Tammany Hall support the puzzling governor of New Jersey? *Harper's Weekly* wished no Radical President, "predestined" or otherwise. Harvey asked Wilson if his support were harmful. Wilson said it was, and personal relations became difficult. Then Colonel House arranged a birthday dinner in honour of Mr. Bryan at Lincoln, Nebraska; Wilson was present. Harvey and Watterson and the New York leaders opposed and attacked Wilson now as Tilden and Cleveland had been opposed and attacked. Politics or statecraft?

The Republicans met in Chicago. Their convention broke into halves, Roosevelt announcing that he would have no part with a party whose leader accepted stolen goods: the Taft nomination. The Democratic convention met in July. For two weeks the contesting forces wrangled and shouted and fought as the factions of American party conventions have wrangled and fought for a hundred years. It was democracy. At the end the stone rejected of the Princeton builders in 1910 was seized upon and offered at the

head of the corner for the greater structure that was to go up in Washington in 1913. Wilson did not take his vacation in the English lake country that year. Colonel House, already on his way to Europe, returned. Mr. Bryan spoke up and down the land as he had been wont to speak for "the matchless candidate of the greatest party on earth." On March 4th, 1913, Woodrow Wilson was inaugurated President of the United States, Ellen Axson at his side—great problems pending at home, a great war preparing abroad.

The representatives of the new régime assembled in Washington with a definite mandate. There was William Jennings Bryan, scarred in many a political battle, his rounded figure bobbing in and out of market booths on Pennsylvania Avenue, his basket stuffed with liver and cucumbers, a jovial figure, smiling and greeting hucksters and motormen as he made his way homeward—Secretary of State. There were cavil and derision; and one suspects that Wilson himself was a little peeved at the commonplaceness of his Premier. People forgot that Chief Justice Marshall had lugged his groceries. There was also the tall, sinewy, beak-nosed William G. McAdoo, half-Georgian, half-Tennessean, quick-witted, of elastic step, daring, just risen in the great dubious business world of New York, the builder of the Hudson tunnel, manager of the Wilson campaign, a widower, soon to be the President's son-in-law at great political risk, Secretary of the Treasury, and aware of the fact. He would not have "toted" groceries for half the fortune of J. P. Morgan. It was William Gibbs McAdoo, already known, soon to be known almost as widely as Bryan himself, market basket and all. Another and a different sort was Josephus Daniels, known far and wide as "Josephus of the *News and Observer*," a stocky man, with keen, restless eyes, a head like Samuel J. Tilden's, and hair combed in the same distinguished way—not unaware, I suspect, of the value of resemblances: Secretary of the Navy, hardly acquainted with the signs and signals of every ship captain; a genuine man, this Daniels of the long upward struggle in North Carolina, half a state for worshippers, half a state for enemies.

And there were others, David F. Houston, author of a good book, president of colleges, a big, well-formed man, cautious, not forgetful of "the recompense of the reward," nor quite willing to watch other men put his ideas into practice without acknowledgment—Secretary of Agriculture, though no deep sympathiser with the friendless American farmer. Four interesting men, all about the dubious age of fifty, apt to turn conservative in a pinch, especially the last named. I wish we might review them all: the attorney-general, the postmaster, with his able second, Daniel C. Roper; the bearded and nervous head of the Department of

Labour, and his better half, the assistant secretary, Louis F. Post, bruised in many a political and social battle in Chicago. It was a cabinet of new names; and business took note, tried to make connections with the Treasury only to have its private wire unceremoniously cut by the belligerent, square-headed John Skelton Williams, the new controller. A bad sign.

The sun shone brightly that far-off March day, a day which one recalls as a dream that is told. But Woodrow Wilson was President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson of the old South, student and prophet, an advocate of the eighteenth-century doctrines of equality, free speech, and free trade; and he had been elected to apply these doctrines. Semi-revolution. He called congress together, took over the reins of control, conferred with flustered committeemen and himself sketched the outlines of bills, and then pressed or drove them through both houses. Was it a new Jefferson or Lincoln? The tariff, a resting-place for filthy birds the past half century, was reduced by half—a widespread and angry cry coming back from the great industrial centres. The national banking system, the cover and screen of piracies and great manipulations since the days of Lincoln, was recast and articulated with the Treasury Department, an instrument of relief to the smaller sort of men. The atmosphere of late 1913 and early 1914 was surcharged with political and economic electricity. The President "was a rank demagogue." The work was not half done. Congress was held unwillingly to the hot committee rooms of Washington till there was a new Interstate Commerce Act, a new Federal Trade Act and three great expert commissions remodelled or created afresh to administer the new reforms; the Interstate Commerce Commission with real powers over railways; the Tariff Commission with Professor Taussig at its head; and the Federal Trade Board with authority to compel the most powerful to respect its orders. The United States was putting a new foot forward. Would the work stand? There was fierce social resentment in Washington. There was intense opposition all over the world.

II.

Wilson's régime was unpopular in the United States because it tended to strengthen the rural and small town groups at the expense of the industrial and metropolitan elements. It was unpopular because Bryan and Daniels, McAdoo and Wilson, of the Department of Labour, represented older and Jeffersonian views of life which Republicans had abandoned with Lincoln. And Wilson himself bore a lofty air, kept aloof from the polite circles of Washington and New York. He knew his own mind and he

charted for himself the course he would pursue, dwelling, as the great have ever dwelt, alone, "alone with his Presbyterian God." Nor was the new President liked in London or Berlin or Paris. He opposed "Dollar diplomacy" everywhere; he would not support with the army and the navy American or other nationals and their speculative investments in backward countries. In May, 1914, he sent Colonel House on a secret mission to London and Berlin to beg the great Powers of Europe to desist from their feverish economic, military and naval imperialism. For an hour in June, 1914, the quiet, unobtrusive little man from Texas stood by the blustering, imperious William of Hohenzollern in the Potsdam Palace and begged for a promise of co-operation and a more peaceful attitude in world politics. On the other hand, Walter Page went as ambassador to London. He fell in at once with the ways of British Imperialism and wrote long and urgent letters to his chief begging him to join England and "clean up" Latin America.

The murder of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne in July, 1914, was followed by the ultimatum which no free people could accept. There was a month of secret, feverish diplomacy and open public excitement all over Europe. The little group of men in Berlin who had long kept France on tenderhooks, the greatest and the best army in the history of the world waiting for the signal to move, were unwilling to sit down and take their chances in a European conference so honourably urged by Sir Edward Grey; and the Kaiser let go the dogs of war on the Danube. It was the great and long-dreaded world war. Wilson wrote the famous proclamation of neutrality, "be neutral in spirit"—a copy, almost verbatim, of Washington's proclamation of 1793. The Mexican revolution had not spent its force, English and German interests there depended on Wilson's attitude. American interests and residents there were immensely more important, but men like Edward L. Doheny waited about Washington and begged intervention, Secretary Lane abetting them. Cobb of the *World*, Lippman of the *New Republic* and Villard of the *Evening Post* saw the President when they would and influenced his policy. The able Boston lawyer and Jew, Louis Brandeis, was even more influential, while the silent Colonel House came and went, connected his little office on East 53rd Street by a secret cable with that of Sir Edward Grey of the British Foreign Office, scolded the anxious British ambassador in Washington, quizzed the impertinent German ambassador in his private office and kept the outside world all agog—gossip of women, scandal and intrigue filling the world of society. Every wind blew upon Washington and the high pinnacle upon which the President stood. The destiny of Europe and the well-

being of the United States depended upon him—and he none too well versed in the ways of diplomacy.

But the election of 1914 renewed his lease of power. He kept out of Mexico; he lent a hand to bewildered China; he held Congress in a firm and steady grip, senators and representatives peeved, resentful and angry. He brought the representatives of the greatest powers of Latin America together in Washington; he arranged the friendly entente with Argentine, Brazil and Chili, and together they agreed upon the policy of "watchful waiting" so much ridiculed then and later. The United States would never again annex a foot of unwilling territory—loud admonition to Berlin and London, though the President did not recall the marines in Nicaragua since Taft's stupid day. In Europe millions of men fought in mud and sleet, drove poisoned gas into each other's faces, torpedoed peaceful ships upon every ocean, and dropped bombs from the air upon helpless city populations. It was war unimagined and unmitigated. Millions died in a year. In 1916 the long Russian front yielded to the victorious Germans, the Kaiser talking of his shining sword, of himself and his Almighty partner; Roumania entered the war on the Allied side and collapsed like a house of cards, opening to the Germans the precious corridor to Constantinople. The Italians stood trembling and half-terrorised on their northern mountain front. Would the United States look on while Berlin became master of Europe and made ready to issue decrees to the rest of the world? A question often asked in anger in New York and Boston; a question unanswered over the wide expanses of the South and West—vast shiploads of war supplies at war prices leaving American ports every week. Colonel House communed mysteriously between New York and Washington; he packed off to Europe in early 1916 to ask for a peace without victory, for a new order based on the principle of self-determination. In vain.

Another presidential election impended. Roosevelt would forgive Taft to beat Wilson; and Taft would embrace Roosevelt to put the Democrats out of office. The Republican Party itself might disappear if something were not done. George Harvey was distraught. There was an American Defence Society in New York with money to burn; there was a Society for the Preservation of the Constitution in Washington with great names on the list of directors—defence and preservation against Woodrow Wilson. All over the North the Germans prayed loudly for the ancient Prussian power that had exiled their fathers to North America; in all the great cities hordes of Irishmen prayed to their Irish gods for the extermination of "perfidious Albion"—brought to book at last; all over the South the sons of men who had fought in the last great war cried: peace. Germans and Irishmen and Southerners held

controlling votes in the country. In the spring of 1916 Wilson held a conference with committeemen from both Houses of Congress. He warned them of the consequences of Allied defeat. The committeemen replied: "Keep out of war." The conference broke up in anger. The Republican convention met in Chicago. Gamaliel Harding from Ohio wrote its war plank: it said "keep out of war," but recommended breaking the English blockade of Germany. The Democrats met in St. Louis. They said: "he has kept us out of war." Only Colonel Roosevelt, among the great politicians, cried out for war, but his Progressives in convention assembled declared for peace. The country was opposed to intervention, even if the German armies overran all Europe; statesmen favoured intervention, because statesmen foresee events. Wilson was a statesman, perhaps Roosevelt; but the two could never agree.

With every party shouting for peace, Wilson and Hughes made the canvass of 1916, the Progressives having resigned in favour of the regular Republicans. On the day after the election all the papers of New York proclaimed Mr. Hughes successful. London, Paris and Berlin hastened to congratulate the new chief. On the next day the authentic returns showed Wilson successful—Europe could not shout, having shouted so loudly the day before; it could not remain silent, so much depending on the will of Washington. The "predestined" Woodrow Wilson held a mastery over the world never before held, I believe, by any other leader. Congress was still at his command, except for a declaration of war. Wilson called together great financiers and industrialists, like Morgan and Rosenwald. For once the doors of the White House opened to the rich; something was preparing. Once more he asked Europe for a peace of accommodation, his friend Walter Page beside himself with disgust and rage. Hindenburg and Ludendorff made ready to smash Italy and drive in the defences of Paris. A new fleet of submarines waited in Belgian harbours for the order to sink every ship, regardless of national colours, that carried supplies to England or France or Italy. With the prize of world control so near and so glittering, the Germans could not accept Wilson's wise demand. At Christmas time, 1916, the son of our Wilmington divine, the schoolmaster of Princeton, knew that he must thrust his country into the Great War. But he gave all the world notice, and to appease and satisfy the anxious but shortsighted at home, as well as to expose the purposes of Imperial Germany, he made the famous peace-without-victory speech, and elaborated his fourteen points. Bernstorff alone among eminent Germans was wise enough to see the direful end for his country. His warnings were ignored. Ruthless submarine war was declared, and on April 6th Wilson swung the country, almost without public

opposition, into the conflict on the side of the Allies. It was to be a war for democracy all over the world. Only a master could have made that stroke.

III.

There was silent opposition, however, everywhere as the unprecedented draft of June, 1917, went into effect, and started millions of young men to training camps, and toward the bloody fields of France. There were blunders and oversights, conscienceless profiteers, and drastic laws of compulsion. But Wilson's conduct of war diplomacy, his ordering of great loans and drastic income taxes to sustain them were beyond praise. In 1917 Russia collapsed and Germany exacted a German peace from the impotent Bolsheviks. In March, 1918, Ludendorff broke through the French-English line before Amiens on a front of twenty miles! Was it the end? In May Georges Clemenceau crushed a labour-defeatist movement involving 400,000 men. At the same time Foch became sole commander on the western front and American divisions began to take their places in battle—just in time to save Paris and prevent the Germans from realising their far-flung plans. As the star of the Kaiser and its connotations of might, efficiency and world-sway declined, that of Wilson and his philosophy of democracy, self-determination and a gentler world-order rose. The summer of 1918 brought Wilson and the American people to heights already mentioned and never again to be attained. Who could have stood long in the fierce light of that September? But there was a congressional election! Whoever carried that election would write the peace of 1919, the new constitution of Europe.

The greatness of men is sometimes as dangerous as mediocrity. Lee lost Gettysburg because he knew he was the greatest of American generals. The German commanders lost their cause in 1918 because of their success in the art of war. Wilson had made hardly a blunder in the deft and dangerous game of politics and diplomacy since those early days when he held George Harvey at arm's length. He said to the writer in September, 1918: "I am the greatest autocrat in the world. The constitution makes me so. If I am to succeed I must be master in Washington." He added in tones of deep earnestness: "This war must be the last great war. When we come to make peace, we must sit down in an open hall like that of the house or senate, the newspaper men present. There must be a league of nations with power to bring any militant government to terms. If such a nation fails to observe the warnings of the league, there must be an economic boycott. If that should fail the united forces of the other nations must be called into use. No country could withstand that." As

early as August, 1915, he had said: "In the new arrangement of the world there must be rules like those of the Marquis of Queensberry, rules to compel a fair fight in the opinion of all, or the fighter must be suppressed, after the manner of Major Bingham in his famous school in North Carolina."

Here was the President's central idea. If we recall that Wilson was of the school of Cobden, Bright, Bagehot, and Gladstone, the last and greatest of Liberals, we shall better understand him. Could such a Liberal carry the election in the United States, greatest of machine countries? Had the machine made Liberalism obsolete? Liberalism everywhere or nowhere was the problem. Early in October, 1918, the German Emperor asked for possible terms. Wilson replied, as he must have replied: let the German people resume control of their government. He thus dictated revolution to one of the great States of modern history. Revolution followed and the terms of the Armistice gradually matured. Meanwhile Wilson had lost the election, the first defeat of his party since he had entered politics in 1910. The enemies of Wilson, Roosevelt, Lodge, and the chiefs of big business prepared in anger and hatred to write the terms of the peace or defeat the treaty. Shorn of power at home, Wilson appealed to the people of Europe to sustain him as he thought the German people were doing. For a moment it seemed that he was stronger in France than Clemenceau, greater in England than Lloyd George. No man ever received such ovations in foreign lands as he, author of the Fourteen Points, received in December, 1918. But the signs were fallacious. When Wilson, in early January, 1919, asked that the Russians be invited to sit in the peace conference, in the hope of taming them, the House of Commons threatened to recall Lloyd George if he agreed, and Clemenceau, not the President, was quickly master in Paris. Wilson had no dependable support anywhere!

The world knows the rest. The tide of opposition, fear and hatred rose in the United States. The ancient spirit of negation and aggrandisement rose in Paris. Wilson went home to sign the urgent appropriation bills of Congress. When he was there and ready to sign, Congress, in a fit of passion, refused to pass the bills. Wilson returned to Paris ten years older than he was when I had seen him in September. There was now no master in Washington, and in Paris Clemenceau had taken the tone of Bismarck when he dictated the peace of 1871. There were deadlock, intrigue, secret diplomacy. Wilson read Clemenceau's instructions to Paris editors to attack the President. In April Wilson suffered an attack which Admiral Grayson said was but a warning of the final stroke. He called the *George Washington*

to take him home. Clemenceau yielded to the idea of a League of Nations as a concession to be met by Wilson's yielding to doubtful Rhine arrangements and the impossible reparations which Lloyd George urged, in fulfilment of election promises. And the Treaty was made, its good balanced by its evil, like treaties and constitutions from time immemorial. The Germans came on to sign quite in the spirit in which Thiers and his colleagues had been compelled to sign the treaty which closed the war of 1870. And there were insurance treaties which England, France and the United States were expected to adopt—insurance against an outbreak of war while the League came into operation. Nobody was contented, least of all Wilson.

Everybody was in a bad humour. The voice that had been heard round the world in the summer of 1918 returned in 1919 to beg the United States to ratify a treaty which was only half as good as he went to Paris to procure. Germany now called him "Kaiser Wilson." Bryan, long out of the Cabinet, was at the point of attacking his former friend and chief. Secretary Lansing returned to Washington to attack, before the Senate, the President with whom he had worked at Paris. Secretary Lane was soon to leave the Cabinet to seek, in the employ of E. L. Doheny, the private fortune he had so long denied himself. In a little while Herbert Hoover took pains to explain that he had never been a Democrat, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding. Senator Reed denounced the President in Missouri, Governor Dunne of Illinois no longer claimed political kinship with Wilson; Senator Walsh of Massachusetts would have no part with the leader who had made his election in 1916 possible; and Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia was a bitter enemy. Wise men abandon falling houses. If Cabinet members and Democratic senators saw the shadows of coming events, what was to be expected of great Republicans who had been kept away from the seats of the mighty since 1913? Senators McCormick and Johnson denounced their President in language which evoked shouts of "impeach him," and Senator Knox introduced resolutions in Congress offering a separate peace to Germany while the treaty was still under consideration.

In September the President went West to try the charm of his presence and oratory. Governor Cox of Ohio could not introduce him at Columbus. At Indianapolis, St. Louis and Des Moines the atmosphere was better. On the way to the Pacific coast it seemed that the country might rally and compel the ratification of the treaty. On the return trip, after earnest appeals and prodigious labours, the President was stricken with apoplexy. It was the end. Mr. Oswald Villard said with apparent delight: "His voice

will never again charm great multitudes." It was true. Mr. George Harvey made frantic appeals in his *Weekly* against his "predestined" Woodrow Wilson. The master of 1918 was carried a wreck into the White House early in October, 1919, Colonel House, returned now from Paris, earnestly seeking an interview with his stricken friend. In vain; the second Mrs. Wilson guarded her husband's health. Anybody who could, played at the game of national leadership that winter. The next autumn the Democratic Party was defeated upon a plurality of seven millions, and Warren Gamaliel Harding entered the wide spaces which Wilson had created. The weakened form and drawn face that had seen or felt so much retired to a quiet corner of the capital. Two years later Admiral Grayson told his distinguished patient that his time had come. He replied: "I am ready." Had he lingered four years too long? They bore his remains to the crypt of a cathedral in Washington, not to the plat in the Princeton cemetery. Was Wilson a great man or only an illusion of a terrible epoch? Had he been wrong in the great act of April, 1917? Every German in the world seems to think so; and most condemned him bitterly for the peace of 1919. What think Polish peasants, French and English plain people, this tenth anniversary of the Armistice? Or do men think on great international questions at all?

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THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL.

THE Local Government Bill, like other famous creations, springs from very mixed origins, and across it, just as across many ancient escutcheons, lies a bar sinister. Gathered up into this one gigantic measure of 115 clauses and 12 schedules is a confection of policies, purposes and objectives as strange and varied as the compost of motives and political aims responsible for its production at the present time. The principal objectives aimed at by the Bill are three. In the first place, its provisions will actually confer relief from all or three-quarters of the rates on those agricultural, industrial and transport hereditaments which the machinery of the Rating and Valuation (Apportionment) Act separates from all other properties. Secondly, the structure and powers of local government are to be more closely adapted to modern needs and circumstances by means of the Poor Law, Roads, and so-called Onslow Parts of the Bill. Lastly, the financial provisions effect profound and far-reaching changes in the financial relations between the Exchequer and local authorities, and pave the way for further changes still more profound. Politically the scheme is intended to strengthen the forces of so-called "economy," and simultaneously to present the Conservative Party and the country with an alternative to Protection—under its most modern sobriquet of "Safeguarding"—as a means for reviving trade. No measure of this magnitude could be entirely bad, and the Bill in fact contains many useful and a few meritorious proposals; but the good things embedded in it, like the raisins in an indigestible Christmas pudding, do not redeem its vast and soggy mass.

It is ground common to all parties that the burden of rates in recent years has become intolerable, but no such agreement exists as to the proper method of relieving them. Even when the Government's scheme was outlined in the Budget speech, and still more when its details were debated last session, during the passage of the Apportionment Act, the gravest doubts were voiced both as to its effectiveness and its equity. No facts or arguments since produced remove those doubts; on the contrary, the lapse of time has merely strengthened them. There are many serious objections to the Government's scheme. In the first place, the sum devoted to de-rating is too small, even were it wholly concentrated on needy industries and firms—which it is not—to produce a revival of trade. Out of the £24,000,000 devoted in England and Wales to rating relief, £4,000,000 will go to agriculture, £4,000,000 to transport (to be passed on in lower freight charges, partly to agriculture and the iron and steel trades, but principally to coal mining), and only £16,000,000 will remain for all the industries of the nation. The

coal subsidy of 1925 was nearly half again as large, and it completely failed to achieve its purpose. How then can a sum which at most equals only about 1 per cent. of the net value added by the entire process of manufacture to the cost of raw materials, and which amounts to far less than 1 per cent. of the selling price of the products of industry, create a trade revival, or even materially contribute to one?

The slender resources available for helping trade will be largely wasted by making relief depend solely on the amount of rates paid, regardless both of the severity of the burden and of the prosperity or depression of industries and firms. Out of the total amount of rates levied each year, the greater part is raised at rates in the pound which lay no excessive or unreasonable burden on the firms which pay them, and although reasonable rates, like the excessive rates common in necessitous areas, enter into the cost of production, their influence on prices is so infinitesimal that even their complete removal could effect no perceptible reduction. In all such cases, therefore, and especially when concerns are prosperous, the relief of rates through the Government's scheme will merely swell profits, and will do nothing to help a revival of trade. On the most careful and circumspect estimates based on official figures, at least £8,000,000, half the total relief available for industry, will now go to trades and firms in no way requiring it, and this sum will be increased when the new assessments at present proceeding under the Rating and Valuation Act of 1925 have raised the rateable value of prosperous firms and lowered that of necessitous firms throughout the whole country.

The waste of so much money is not only bad in itself, but also causes intolerable injustice. In South Wales, for example, and on the North-East Coast, the pall of distress hanging over shopkeepers and householders is not less black than the clouds gathered around the industries of those necessitous gloomy areas. But these shopkeepers and householders receive nothing through derating, however great their need. Were no money wasted by giving unwanted relief to prospering concerns, the claims of the shopkeepers and householders in necessitous areas might perhaps be rejected with some show of justice. But when millions are squandered while dire want goes unsuccoured, just criticism is not answered nor resentment allayed by saying that these classes will gain through improved trade, for the moneys given to the depressed areas are insufficient to revive them, and the improvement of trade in Birmingham or Coventry, even if it could be achieved through derating, would not directly help shopkeepers or lessen unemployment in the Rhondda Valley or on Tyneside.

Precisely as people generally agree that the intolerable burden of

rates must be lightened but differ over remedies, so also both practical men and students admit the existence of many defects in the structure of local government and in the powers exercised by local authorities but disagree sharply about methods of reform. The most serious defects are due to the emergence of new problems and the intensification of old ones with the passage of time. During the forty years since the enactment of the last great reforms of local government the population of England and Wales has increased by over 10,000,000. The result is a demand for greatly extended social services to meet the requirements of a population both larger and more closely settled, and to satisfy the higher standards and more complex needs of a more developed social conscience. Within the last twenty years the methods of road transport have been revolutionised. The result is far heavier expenditure on roads used largely by national traffic which does not contribute directly to the rates of the authorities responsible for their upkeep. Yet these more burdensome duties rest in many places on authorities constituted in an earlier age, authorities with areas too small and populations too sparse for the economic administration of modern services, and with financial resources too exiguous to bear the charges which modern needs impose. Few people realise that to-day there exist 430 areas with populations of 5,000 or under in which a penny rate actually raises less than £100, and that amongst them are numbered thirty-four financial pigmies with a population of 2,000 or under where a penny rate does not even produce £20. Obviously such authorities, however desirous of maintaining the highest standards, cannot possibly raise the wherewithal even to carry out their minimum duties satisfactorily. And yet, incredible though it may seem, no satisfactory machinery now exists for reviewing and altering their boundaries, or for spreading over a number of areas the charge for services which are most economically administered on a fairly large scale.

This absurd situation is dealt with in Part IV of the Bill (the so-called Onslow Part), which, embodying recommendations made in the second report of the Royal Commission on Local Government (of which Lord Onslow is chairman), provides for the periodical review of the boundaries of county districts and for their revision under suitable circumstances and subject to due safeguards. While useful as far as they go, most people will wish that these provisions were much more drastic. They will likewise regret that the Bill does not ensure that progress towards other desirable ends—for example, towards the complete replacement of part-time by whole-time medical officers of health—could not be more largely accelerated. And they will certainly consider that the changes in highway administration which the Bill effects are far from

sufficient; that while ostensibly taking all with one hand, too much is given back with the other; and that the present reforms will make more difficult the future creation of regional authorities upon which in the long run satisfactory highway administration must depend.

But these flaws are remediable. Not so the Poor Law provisions of the Bill. No local government service stands in such urgent need of drastic and fundamental change as poor relief. Even before the war the problem of destitution was acute; and the prolonged trade depression of post-war years, by intensifying the burden of poor relief and casting many local authorities into bankruptcy, has made an immediate solution essential. The compromise reached at the close of the war by the MacLean Committee, between the proposals for reform contained in the Majority Report of the Royal Commission of 1909 and the more sweeping changes propounded by the Minority Report, would have abolished the pauper status and effectively broken up the poor law. The provisions of the Bill, which follow the general lines of the scheme advanced in 1926 by the Ministry of Health, do neither. The Bill abolishes the Board of Guardians and the Poor Law Union, and transfers the administration of relief to County Boroughs and Administrative Counties. It provides that certain services—the relief of the sick, the mentally defective and the blind, the maternity and child welfare services, the education of pauper children and the relief of tuberculosis—may be administered under the appropriate Social Service Acts instead of under the Poor Law. The administration of relief will rest in all cases in a new Statutory Committee, to be called the Public Assistance Committee; in counties—and sometimes in county boroughs—there will also be established sub-committees of the Public Assistance Committee, called Guardians Committees, which will consider applications for relief and decide what relief shall be provided, but which in general will not administer poor law institutions. Both the Public Assistance Committees and the Guardians Committees may include a minority of co-opted members, some of whom shall be women.

These provisions are thoroughly unsatisfactory. They leave untouched the pauper status with all its numerous and humiliating disabilities. They do not break up the poor law. Although the whole experience of post-war years has demonstrated that the able-bodied poor are really part of the unemployed and should be aided by the State, the Bill leaves the able-bodied on the poor law. There is no certainty that those poor persons who should be dealt with under the Social Service Acts, suitably extended, will not continue to be treated as paupers; since the Bill only confers permissive powers in this matter, practice will vary from authority to

authority. There is consequently no guarantee that even the general mixed workhouse, the evils of which have again and again been conclusively demonstrated, will be everywhere abolished. The Bill makes no provision for the preventive treatment of destitution. While purporting to widen areas, and thereby to spread the area of charge, in many cases it actually narrows them; and in any case the new areas which it creates are very often too small, too homogeneous in character, and too weak to be satisfactory. Finally, however progressive some County Councils may be, a great number of them are amongst the most conservative bodies in the country; and to make them responsible for the poor law, while it may conduce to cheese-paring, will ensure that the administration of poor relief will often be unsympathetic and sometimes harsh. In short, by reason both of what it does and of what it leaves undone, the Poor Law part of the Bill stands condemned.

Of all the complexities of this vast and intricate Bill, the financial provisions are at once the most complicated and the most obscure. They are intended to compass six objectives. (1) To replace with money levied by taxation the losses of rates incurred by local authorities through the derating of agriculture, industry and railways. (2) To discontinue certain existing grants. (3) To substitute for these losses of rates and grants a new block grant. (4) To ease the financial transition to the new system, and lighten the burden of the rates, by adding new money to the new block grant. (5) To redistribute the whole of the new grant in accordance with the varying "needs" of local authorities, and thereby to help necessitous areas. (6) To limit the liabilities of the Exchequer towards local authorities by fixing the total amount of the new grant for five years at a time.

The machinery for achieving these ends is elaborate and ingenious. In the first place, a pool is made into which is poured the total loss of rates, estimated at £24,000,000 annually; the total loss of grants, estimated at £16,000,000 annually; and the new money, which for the first five years is fixed at £5,000,000 annually. The pool will thus amount to £45,000,000 during the first quinquennium. In subsequent quinquennia the £40,000,000 contributed in respect of the losses of rates and grants will be stereotyped, while the amount of additional new money will vary so as to maintain the ratio existing at the commencement of the scheme between the total amount of the new grant and the aggregate of rate-borne expenditure. Secondly, this pool will be allocated between the larger local authorities—county boroughs and administrative counties—and between the smaller local authorities—non-county boroughs and urban and rural districts—by means of two formulæ. The larger authorities will be subject to a major formula, framed

to take account of population, children, rateable value, unemployment and (in the case of counties, other than London) sparsity of population. The smaller authorities will receive uniform grants per head of population under a minor formula, the grant to rural districts being one-fifth as large as the grant to non-county boroughs and urban districts. In the third place, various cushions and baits are introduced, to ease the transition from existing arrangements to the new scheme and to lend it at the outset an attractiveness which, though temporary, and meretricious, will be glittering and seductive. Thus, during the first three quinquennia local authorities are to have returned to them a proportion of their loss of rates and grants—75 per cent. in the first quinquennium, 50 per cent. in the second, and 25 per cent. in the third—and only the balance is to be distributed under the formula. As from the fourth quinquennium, however, the entire sum will be allocated according to the formula. Again, during the first year of the first quinquennium the larger authorities are guaranteed a net gain of not less than one shilling a head, and the smaller authorities are guaranteed against loss; and the larger authorities—but not the smaller—are guaranteed that in subsequent quinquennia their losses, if any, shall be kept down to a minimum. To achieve these purposes an apparatus of additional and supplementary grants is set up, the additional grants—which minimise the losses of the larger authorities—being a permanent feature of the scheme; the supplementary grants—which diminish the initial losses of the smaller authorities—terminating fifteen years hence.

What will be the effects of these elaborate provisions? It is clear in the first place that the stereotyping of the loss of rates will prove hurtful to local authorities and burdensome to ratepayers. To-day new industries developing in any area pay rates on their full rateable value, and thereby contribute to the cost of the services which their mere existence necessitates. In future they will pay only on one-quarter of their rateable value; but since the sums thus lost to local authorities will not be replaced by money drawn from the Exchequer, the charges which new industries impose on the communities which receive them will fall mainly on the remaining ratepayers, and will be further increased by the narrowing of the basis of local taxation. Secondly, the inclusion in the new block grant of the existing health grants for certain services will certainly retard their future development. Block grants have always been less effective than percentage grants in stimulating the growth of social services; and very general agreement exists amongst all parties that block grants should not be applied to the vital maternity and child welfare services. Consequently it is quite possible that on the Committee Stage of the Bill the Minister of Health,

whose sincere devotion to these services is well known, may be persuaded to continue them on their present basis.

But such a concession, however welcome, will certainly prove insufficient to redeem the proposed new arrangements, for they are fundamentally undesirable, unjust and unsound. Their faults spring principally from the diversity of principles on which the new grant will be allocated, from the defects of the particular formulæ selected for distributing the money, and from the complexity and uncertainty of the ultimate results. The diversity of principles is startling. If a formula which takes account of needs is adopted for distributing the grant between counties and county boroughs, why is it not also used, perhaps with suitable modifications, for allocating their share to county districts? Why should these authorities be placed under entirely different machinery? And why, if either method or both is really suitable, should the utmost care be taken to prevent them from working themselves out to their logical conclusion? There is no reasonable answer to these questions, no simple and straightforward explanation of the variety of principles comprised in the new scheme; except perhaps that its defects are so great that every means must be taken to diminish them. But if this be so, then why elaborate at all so poor an arrangement?

The shortcomings of the minor formula—which applies to county districts—arise from its rigidity and from its disregard of the varying circumstances—and particularly the wide variations in the loss of rates—of different authorities. For areas near the average which has been arbitrarily chosen the defects may not be serious; but all areas which are much above or much below the average will either receive unwarranted benefits or suffer extreme and unjust losses. And all these bad results will be multiplied and augmented by the shortcomings of the major formula, which applies to counties and county boroughs. The composition of this mathematical device suffers from the ill-considered importance given to some of its elements, and the inadequate influence allowed to others—notably, to the loading for unemployment. But even the faults of its structure are insignificant compared with the results of its application. The formula contains no factor varying with the amount, poundage, or loss of rates in different areas. Yet it is applied *holus bolus* to the derating money included in the new grant. The results would be ridiculous were they less unjust. The immediate distribution of all the rating money *only* by means of the formula would result in gains to seaside and dormitory towns and cathedral cities, and in heavy losses to the most highly industrialised and very often the most necessitous areas. Thus the best calculations which can now be made show that were the £24,000,000 of lost rates now redistributed under the formula (though the absolute amounts are not

large) Eastbourne would gain about 270 per cent. over its present loss of rates; Hastings would gain about 200 per cent.; Southend-on-Sea about 290 per cent.; Southport about 150 per cent.; Brighton about 90 per cent.; and Croydon about 87½ per cent. On the other hand, the great industrial areas of Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire would lose about £500,000 each; the necessitous and broken counties of Durham and Glamorgan would lose respectively about £250,000 and £300,000; West Ham would lose about £125,000; and London over £1,000,000. That the allocation of the remaining £21,000,000 of the new grant would be more satisfactory, and would compensate for these unbelievable anomalies, does not justify the application of the formula to the loss of rates, but further condemns it. For were the rating money excluded necessitous and industrial areas would gain, as they should do, whereas at present their gains on the grants merely wipe out their losses on the rates, and they are left little if at all better off than before.

The formula at best is unsatisfactory; but unless the losses of rates are excluded from its operation and returned directly to local authorities, as they themselves desire, its injustice will bring it to an early end. The final condemnation of these financial arrangements is their obscure complexity. For in finance justice must not only be done, but it must be clearly perceived to have been done. Nothing in the new scheme is clear. And it is therefore certain that financial provisions producing arbitrary, uncertain, changing, and unpredictable results will never be permanently accepted.

Whether taken as a whole, or taken in parts, the Local Government Bill is unsatisfactory. The de-rating provisions are riddled with anomalies and injustices. The reorganisation of local government is carried out with a faltering hand. The changes in the machinery of the Poor Law fail to guarantee the preventive treatment of destitution. The substitution of a block grant for existing percentage grants for certain health services is dangerous if not reactionary. The financial scheme will not bring adequate relief to necessitous areas and sows the dragon's teeth from which will spring a host of new difficulties. By producing so vast and so far-reaching a measure in their last year of office, the Government may indeed have shown marked if misguided courage. The pity is that corresponding courage and energy have not been devoted to tackling the problem of unemployment, the greatest and most urgent problem before the country, a problem which this grandiose Bill does little if anything to solve.

JULES MENKEN.

THE SAAR VALLEY.

PEACE has no history; the fact that recently little has been heard of the Saar Territory is in some measure evidence that its problems have been solved. Up to a point this is the case; for in the Saar Valley the chief problems are either economic or political, and as at present there is a very fair measure of industrial prosperity the former are not urgent. This in itself has encouraged political peace—and after all, in Saar Valley politics, nothing much matters except the plebiscite of 1935. Then, according to the Treaty of Versailles which gave birth to this young European State, the population of the Saar Territory voting by districts will be required to choose between continuance of the present régime and union with France or Germany. All those men and women who were resident in the district and five years of age when the Treaty was signed, will be entitled to vote: foreign infiltration or changes in residence cannot affect the issue. In the meantime the Territory is governed by an international commission of five members appointed by the League of Nations and responsible only to the Assembly. One member of the Commission must be an inhabitant of the Territory and one a Frenchman; the President is the chief executive. The inhabitants are secured undisturbed the enjoyment of their laws and customs; they are also entitled to advise on new measures. But they have no right of initiative; the Government is not responsible to the people.

At Paris the Saar question was of primary importance; at one time there was serious danger that the Peace Conference would break up on this comparatively insignificant point. France wished to annex the Territory, basing her claim on a doubtful historical argument and on the fictitious existence of an important French minority. President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George were unable to acquiesce in the handing over of 700,000 Germans to France—the creation of a new Alsace-Lorraine. They were, however, sympathetic to the French claim to possess the important coalfield as special reparation for the wanton destruction of the pits of the Pas de Calais. The present experiment in Government is a compromise, intended to guarantee to the French the exploitation of the coal while safeguarding for the inhabitants their eventual right to determine their political allegiance. The future ownership of the pits is dependent on the result of the plebiscite, the German Government being obliged to buy them back (on reparations account) if the people vote for reunion with the Reich. The political sympathies of the inhabitants have never been hid; that the result of the plebiscite, with the possible exception of a few villages on the Lorraine frontier, will be overwhelmingly in favour of reincorpora-

tion in Germany is not open to doubt—unless, indeed, some agreement satisfactory to both countries as well as to the inhabitants of the Territory and endorsed by the League of Nations is reached before the expiration of the period of the present régime. In this respect, the fate of the Saar Valley is dependent on the larger question of the settlement of the Left Bank of the Rhine and the withdrawal of the armies of occupation.

To say that the inhabitants of the Saar Territory are satisfied with their present political fortunes would be grossly to overstate the truth. Praise and appreciation of the work done by the Commissioners is seldom heard. Much is made of all grievances. The French schools of the Mines Administration are still the cause of controversy. The existence of a customs barrier on the German frontier, however carefully the work of delimitation may have been carried out, necessarily involves serious inconvenience and an irritating severance of former connections. In all the necessities of daily life French imports have a great preference over German, but French goods do not supply the wants of German housekeeping. That by a satisfactory working arrangement the Territory obtains a large part of its income from these customs dues is easily forgotten by the ordinary citizen. In the same way the substitution of French for German coinage is unpopular—especially now that French money is in the inferior position. The population are more inclined to grumble that they have suffered from the effects of a double inflation than to reflect that they escaped the misfortune of the complete devalorisation of the mark. Much, too, is made of any unfortunate incident. The shooting, for example, in the spring of an inhabitant of Hamborn by a French customs official, who then committed suicide, was magnified into an attack on the carrying of arms by the customs officers. In this respect sections of the German Press are unscrupulous and persistent offenders. Giving rein to their dissatisfaction, the inhabitants like best to compare their charming country to a "Negro State," which though possibly well governed is virtually in a condition of slavery, for it is denied the supreme bliss of governing itself. And all over post-war Germany nothing is more evident than the self-confidence of the younger generation, which expresses itself politically in adherence to the principles of self-government and self-determination, and socially in the swing to the left.

The loyalty of the inhabitants is to Germany; their political affections are not unfairly reflected by the flags they love to fly on holidays. In the poorer suburbs of Saarbrücken (Burbach or St. Johann) and in manufacturing towns such as mushroom-grown Neunkirchen, red flags are common: they are everywhere outnumbered by the red, black and gold of the Reich flag: the Saar

flag, the black, white and blue tricolour, Prusso-Bavarian hybrid, is seen nowhere but on Government buildings and the President's motor-car. Thus also in the Landesrat, on which are imposed the not distasteful duties of an advisory council without executive responsibility, though of late there has been a hopeful improvement in the relations of its members to the Government, the parties are still united in opposition to the Commission and in protest against the enforced severance of their country from the Fatherland. The last elections showed a small increase in the Communist vote. This is not so much a measure of the spread of bolshevism as a general protest—giving a delusive and temporary success to fishers in troubled waters which is only increased by the knowledge that no harm, in fact nothing at all, will come of it. Domestic politics in the Saar Territory are not unnaturally at present a little unreal.

Nevertheless a visitor to the Territory will obtain a far more favourable impression than a year or so ago. The general atmosphere is one of prosperity and peace and comparative contentment. There is hope and confidence in the future. In part this is due simply to the passage of time—men have become used to the Commission, and since obstruction will benefit nobody, have decided to accept, though somewhat grudgingly, the good that it may bring. The first shock of severance from the rest of Germany has passed. In part, too, the improvement in French and German relations during the last two years has had its beneficial effect in the Saar Valley—national feeling is still intense, but less bitter than immediately after the war or during the unfortunate Ruhr episode. But chiefly the increased contentment is due to the removal of real grievances. Whatever there may have been to say from the point of view of practical administration for the appointment of a French official as the first Chairman of the Commission—and probably since the Territory was occupied by French troops, since the mines and customs were in the hands of French officials and since the country was surrounded on all sides either by newly-acquired French Lorraine or by Germany under French occupation, such an appointment was advisable—it certainly did not lend itself to the promotion of international concord. As the Commission was at first constituted there could be no pretence of impartiality, no possibility of persuading the Saar population that the Government had "no occupation and no interest except their welfare." Under an English President feeling in this respect has greatly improved. Other grievances have been removed. There is no longer an army of occupation, only "railway guards" composed of a few hundred French soldiers, fifty Belgians, and a British company from Wiesbaden. Normally they have no duties, but in the event of industrial trouble they would be required to protect the line and to safeguard

both the essential services of the Territory and the communications of the armies of occupation on the Rhine. There are not wanting critics who complain that as the French army can be massed at Forbach only a few miles away over the Lorraine frontier in readiness to take any action that a crisis may render necessary, the presence of any "railway guards" within the Territory is uncalled for: they add that their numbers are too small for effective action. In the meantime the "guards" are little in evidence, on friendly terms with the inhabitants and in no way a serious cause of irritation.

Under the Treaty, inhabitants of the Saar Territory are exempt from any kind of military service; they boast, however, in addition to local police, a thousand *Landjäger* or *Gendarmerie* locally enrolled—the only armed force subject to the League of Nations. It includes a mounted squadron and a cyclist company. In their smart khaki uniforms the men present an appearance of efficiency and serviceableness of which a larger State might well be proud. So far they have not been tested very severely, but during the Communist demonstration of last year, when they were still a newly formed body, they proved themselves reliable and efficient in maintaining order and dispersing rioters.

Ultimately, however, it is on the economic situation that the peace of the Saar Valley depends. An admittedly temporary State under an experimental form of Government which has been imposed on a people whose wishes have been freely expressed and in no way respected cannot look forward to political peace unless the economic conditions are favourable—and all the more so when one-half of the population is directly dependent on the prosperity of two great industries—coal and iron—for their livelihood. In this respect the general impression received is most favourable. Pits and works have an appearance of activity that is pleasant to see. The people, though there is a certain amount of overcrowding, and though there is talk of demands for higher wages, seem prosperous and contented. There is practically no unemployment. When 4,000 miners were discharged some months ago, half were absorbed by other industries and the remainder were employed by the Commission on useful road work.

The coal industry throughout the world is suffering from over-production; the capacity of iron and steel works all over Europe has as a result of the war been raised considerably above the present level of consumption. The Saar Valley has not escaped the resultant problems. Nevertheless, in some respects, it is not less favourably situated than before the war. Under the very capable French administration the pits (formerly the property of the Prussian and Bavarian Governments and severely handicapped by competition

from Westphalia) have been vigorously developed; production has increased. The average yearly quantity of coal raised for the five years preceding the war was eleven and a half million tons. In 1913, a good year, it was 12,000,000. During the war there was a decline, but in 1924 about 14,000,000 and in the following year over 13,000,000 tons were extracted. This high level has been maintained. Whether this exploitation is being conducted in the lasting interests of the pits it is not easy to judge; in the meantime it has contributed considerably not only to the profits of the present owners, the French State, but also to the prosperity of the population. The fact that pithead stocks are high is an ominous sign for the future, but it does not necessarily indicate the approach of a serious slump; rather the possibility that the exceptional production of the last few years may in face of competition from elsewhere have to be somewhat reduced. Markets for most of the coal produced in the Saar Valley must be found abroad and Lorraine is the natural outlet; but there Reparations coal and French coal are serious competitors. The dark side of the picture in the history of the Saar Valley coalfield has always been the misfortune that its coal did not make good coke unless mixed with a high proportion of better coking coals. In the last few years considerable improvements have been made in coking methods, with the result that coke made from Saar Valley coal with no, or a very much smaller, admixture of Westphalian coal and coke or Belgian anthracite is now, though friable, used almost exclusively in the blast-furnaces of the district, and can also to a limited extent be exported to Lorraine.

With the exception of coal, iron and steel take chief place among the industries of the Saar Territory. The remaining works are comparatively small—power stations, a porcelain factory, glass factories and lime works. Nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants are dependent on coal and iron and steel; the majority of the remainder on agriculture. There are eight or nine big iron and steel works in the Valley. Of these Burbach is a member of the great combine A.R.B.E.D., whose centre is at Luxemburg, and others—Dillingen, Dingler Karcher, the Mannesmann Tube Works, etc.—are now connected with French works whose head offices are often situated in Paris. During the first few years after the Armistice French economic penetration was intense. It was directed usually at acquiring a 60 per cent. interest in the share capital of the works with control of the Boards. Considerable pressure, including restriction of necessary supplies of minerals and coal, is said to have been put on recalcitrant proprietors. The result is that now only two firms, those of Roehling and Stumm owning the Völklingen

and Neunkirchen works, have succeeded in maintaining their individuality.

As a rule the foreign firms own iron mines in the Minette fields of Lorraine and Luxemburg, so that Saar Valley works connected with them are secured a reliable supply of this valuable ore, which though the iron content is low is cheap to work, as it is self-fluxing without the addition of limestone. There is also, it seems, little difficulty in securing ample capital for improvements at these foreign-owned works: much money is being spent in bringing their furnaces and rolling mills thoroughly up-to-date. In general, lack of capital, other than French capital, which is not everywhere acceptable, is one of the chief difficulties with which the industries of the Territory must contend. Not unnaturally in a Europe where money is nowhere cheap, investors are not anxious to lend at reasonable rates to enterprises whose prospects are dependent on an unsettled political future. This accounts for the fact that though the capacity for producing iron and steel in the Saar Valley has increased since the war, it has done so to a less extent than in the rest of Europe for continental works developed most immediately after the war—in Germany during the inflation period; in France and Belgium in replacement of works destroyed by fighting or sabotage. Some of the figures cannot be obtained, but in 1913, a boom year in which production approximated to capacity, works in the Saar Valley produced 1,350,000 tons of pig iron and 2,050,000 tons of steel ingots and castings. Now their yearly capacity is probably about two million and two and a quarter million tons respectively. In 1913, 5.2 per cent. of the total pig iron and 8.3 per cent. of the total steel produced in the five chief continental iron and steel manufacturing districts (Germany, France, Belgium, Luxemburg, Saar) were made in the Saar Valley. Now her capacity is 5.8 per cent. and 6.3 per cent. respectively. By the International Steel Agreement of September 30th, 1926, which regulates the proportional output of these five countries, the Saar is allocated a participation of 6.54 per cent.* The drop in her relative capacity for producing steel is of considerable importance.

Though the Saar Valley works have yielded ground by comparison with their neighbours, they produce a relatively high percentage of their capacity. The tonnage of pig iron made in the Territory in 1927 was 1,740,000 tons, or 87 per cent. of what the furnaces were capable: the tonnage of steel was 1,860,000 or 82.7 per cent. The corresponding percentages for total production of the five countries were 87.3 per cent. and 89.9 per cent. respectively—in the case of steel the exceptional output of the large German works

* Based on an aggregate yearly production for the five countries of 25,287,000 metric tons. If the total production rises to 29,287,000 tons, her participation will decrease to 5.78 per cent.

explain the high percentage attained—they produced over 16,000,000 tons of steel, equivalent to 94.4 per cent. of their capacity. We may compare the figures for the United Kingdom. Of pig iron we produced last year only 60.8 per cent. of our capacity and of steel 75.8 per cent. In other words, whereas many of our works stood idle or were working part time, similar plant in the Saar Valley was pretty nearly fully occupied though not working up to the maximum limit of which it was capable.

As these figures show, in the Saar Valley the iron industry has expanded more rapidly than the steel industry; in fact a larger proportion of the total European production of pig iron is now produced there than before the war. This is mainly attributable to shortage of ore in post-war Germany. Germany has made great efforts to regain her industrial supremacy: she has succeeded in re-establishing her position as a manufacturer of steel, but owing to the loss of Lorraine she suffers from a deficiency of the ultimate raw material. Hence she has been obliged to look elsewhere for ore—to Sweden, North Africa and Spain, and to some extent even to Newfoundland; she is also a ready customer for the products of the Saar Valley blastfurnaces. In consequence Saar Valley iron-works have prospered: whatever capital has been available has in the first instance been spent on their improvement: production has been stimulated.

The destruction of the German industrial unit is one of the most far-reaching consequences of the war. It has greatly increased the difficulties with which the continental iron and steel industries have had to contend. Formerly Lorraine ore and Ruhr coal were freely interchanged: the Saar could obtain supplies of both as well as of additional ore from Luxemburg (also in the customs' union). In return she exported coal and iron and steel products. Since the war intercourse has been checked. Saar Valley works are indeed assured supplies of ore as long as both Saar and Lorraine are included in the French Customs' Union, but both these districts are by customs barriers divorced from essential supplies of Ruhr coal (over and above Reparations coal): for this Saar Valley coal is an insufficient and not entirely suitable substitute. Further, the imposition by Germany on January 10th, 1926, of a tax on imported iron and steel seriously threatened their export trade.

After the war the French Government attempted to rebuild the industrial unit under their control, but failed: this is the significance of the abandonment of the occupation of the Ruhr. Some other remedy had to be found. The work of re-union was undertaken by French and German industrialists: they were in a position to influence the policies of their Governments: an agreement was formed. In return for limited supplies of ore and markets for

her coal, Germany agreed by the Convention of September 30th, 1926, to accept and dispose of imports of iron and steel from Lorraine up to an amount in any year equal to $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. of her own production—the sellers to pay full duty. At the same time the Saar obtained permission to import into Germany a quantity exceeding 500,000 tons, but less than 1,300,000 tons of iron and steel a year. As a part of the Reich only temporarily severed, she secured more favourable terms: these products were exempted from payment of duty.

As a result, the general situation in the Saar Valley is not unfavourable: it need cause little surprise to find that production in the first half of this year was greater than at any previous period, exceeding 950,000 tons of pig iron and 1,020,000 tons of steel, as compared with 880,000 tons of pig iron and 940,000 tons of steel in the similar period of 1927. Now with returning prosperity industrialists in the Saar Valley are turning their attention to their steelworks. When these have been renovated the plants as a whole will compare favourably with those of any other country. Moreover, though the "starvation of capital" of German-owned firms, of which so much is made in German newspapers, has perhaps postponed major reconstruction, it has certainly stimulated efficiency in the use of available plant and encouraged the adoption of all minor methods of cheapening production. It is not unreasonable to consider the remarkable growth in recent years of the town of Neunkirchen as contributory evidence of the enterprise, efficiency and prosperity of the works on which its inhabitants are dependent. Both Neunkirchen and Völklingen will survive the test of judgment by results. There is no reason why when political stability is assured this prosperity should not be maintained and the Saar Valley become an even more influential factor in European iron and steel production.

At least there is a probability that the Saar Valley will remain more than a geographical expression. Economically the district is bound together by the coalfield. Saarbrücken is its natural centre, not Munich or Berlin. For the first time in history by the Treaty of Versailles the Valley has been given political unity. The framers of the relevant chapters of the Treaty expressed the hope that whatever might be the future national adherence of the Territory, the Valley would remain an administrative whole, for its former division between Prussia and Bavaria was historically dependent only on the fortunes of unstable feudal principalities.

The whole Territory indeed is a natural unit, cut off from the rest of the world by an encircling range of wooded hills. Journeying there from Treves, the visitor leaves the Moselle near Conz, the site of the imperial villa described by Ausonius, and travels by the side

of the Saar—running swiftly in a charming valley through low red hills that are covered now with vineyards, now with beech woods; in one place narrowing to a gorge commanded by the ruins of a mediæval castle, more frequently widening to give space to a few rich fields of pasture or arable. Above Saarlouis in the Territory the country changes. The valley becomes broader and the ascent to the hills more gentle, though westwards the heights of Spickeren above Forbach in Lorraine—where the first battle of the Franco-Prussian War was fought—form a steep ridge. The river here is canalised, for this is the centre of the manufacturing district—unique surely in Europe. It supports a large industrial population and important works, yet is clean and to a large extent unspoilt—rich farm land interspersing with the industrial patches. Further eastwards on the rim of the saucer are the pits, hidden in the wooded hills. Absence of disfiguring smoke adds much to the charm of the country, and 40 per cent. of the mining population live in cottages with gardens on the edge of the beech woods. Still further to the east rolling agricultural land leads to the German frontier on the hills above Tholey (the site of Roman Baths and a fine Abbey) and St. Wendel. It would be hard to find a district that can rival this for beauty combined with industry—designed as one by nature, and at last by the accidents of war given political unity. It is much to be hoped that when the period of the present régime expires, the Saar will not again be severed. In the meantime many difficulties have been overcome; much good work accomplished; peace established. Half the period of international government is over—the auguries for the remaining seven and a half years are not unfavourable.

KENNETH HEADLAM-MORLEY.

CONSCIENCE AND AUTHORITY.*

IF the thirteenth century be the most wonderful the world has seen, surely 1492 is the most wonderful year Anno Domini. Three national monarchs were reigning in England, France, and Spain respectively. Bacon's *très magi*, Henry VII, Louis XI, and Ferdinand the Catholic ruled over consolidated kingdoms, the latter this very year conquering Granada. Then Lorenzo de Medici died, and with his death France entered upon her part in the creation of international relations in Europe. Thus she came into intimate contact with Spain and Germany, feeling powerfully the influence of Italy. Because of her relations with the last country, France in this fateful year began a career which in the issue compelled her to cast in her lot with Latin nations, and not with Teutonic, when the Reformation question pressed for settlement. With her England concluded the Treaty of Étapes, marking the rise of modern commerce. In Germany the peasants of Kempten still continued their revolt against feudal oppression. On the other hand, through the influence of Torquemada, the Jews were expelled from Spain, and 150,000 had to abandon their homes. The Moors also could this year read their doom of expulsion from the land where they had been settled for almost eight hundred years. The world of 1492 was then composed of mediæval and comparatively modern elements. Then, too, Columbus discovered America, and the mind of Copernicus was seething with the ideas destined to overthrow the Ptolemaic system.

Men, to use M. Taine's picturesque phrase, opened their eyes and saw. They saw the physical bounds of the universe suddenly and enormously enlarged. For the discoveries of Nicholas de Cusa and of Nicholas Copernicus shadowed forth the secret of the universe. The New World, in a sense not far different from Canning's, did undoubtedly redress the balance of the Old. The New World, or rather the New Worlds, were added to the Old, and the conception of an apparently limitless continent destroyed that of a limited one. The centre of Europe had been all-important, whereas now the circumference of the continent assumed this pride of place. As, sixteen centuries before, Corinth and Athens had yielded their position to Rome and Ostia, so now Venice and Genoa fell before the increasing sway of Cadiz and Lagos. It was the same in the north. The Atlantic immediately dominated the new situation, leaving the Baltic and the Mediterranean no more than inland lakes. Men had looked both ecclesiastically and commercially to the south, whereas

now they were to look to the north and the west. Westward ran the course of commerce from Lubeck and Stralsund to Amsterdam and Bristol. The new life at sea was one freer from tradition than most, with the result that individualism was encouraged.

Fortunate in many matters, the English have not been least fortunate in the spirit of individualism preserved in their literature. If on the one hand the State was growing, on the other hand the individual was also growing. The latter growth was altogether in keeping with our mediæval chronicles, which are more outspoken and more expressive of the particular opinions and the particular judgments of the writer than those of other countries of Europe. From the days of Walter Mapes there have always been men more concerned with saying what they would than in being in the line of general opinion. Langland was consumed with the desire of an Englishman who was intent on saying his say on things in general. As Hugh of Lincoln gave Richard I a good shaking when he refused to listen to him, so Grosseteste hunted Henry III from place to place, as the king fled from the scolding which he knew was in store for him.

The doctrine of the sovereignty of the individual was fraught with weighty consequences in the sixteenth century, and with almost weightier in its influence on Rousseau, and thereby on the French Revolution, in the eighteenth. Man emerged from his position as a mere member of the Church of the State, and acquired an individuality of his own. The old order had been the Empire or the Church, the commune, the guild, the scholastic system: the individual is always part of some group, and has no existence apart from it. The new order in the sixteenth century was the State, the national Church, the merchant, the individual. The old order had been authority and asceticism: the new was authority, but mingled with it there were reason and joy in the whole of life. For a thousand years there had been as much authority in social life as in intellectual. Unknown men had been content to build the cathedrals of the Middle Ages, whereas the men of the new age asserted themselves to the utmost. The thirst for glory became unquenchable. The statues used to be within the cathedral, for they were erected to the glory of God. Now they stood in the market-place to be seen of men. Man used to be bound to a bishop, a lord, a municipality, a school, or a body. Now he proudly steps on the stage as himself, eager to develop his capacities for his own benefit, with boundless confidence in his will, his superiority, and his infinite variety. The body dissolves during the sixteenth century into the units which compose it. There is no longer the Papacy; there is the Pope, who is a lord like other lords. There is no longer the city; there is the prince. There is no longer the

* *Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century.* By J. W. Allen. Methuen. *Authority in Church and State.* By P. S. Belasco, with a Foreword by G. P. Gooch. Allen & Unwin. *Allegiance in Church and State.* By L. M. Hawkins, with a Foreword by G. P. Gooch. Routledge & Sons.

university; there is the spirit of humanism. The painter ceases to depict the group; the portrait is his masterpiece. He used to describe on the walls of cemeteries the triumph of death; now he describes on the walls of houses the triumph of life.

The danger of the new individualism is obvious. It is as clear in Wyclif as it was to be in Cartwright. What alleviated the danger was the fresh importance attached to conscience. The most wonderful of all the mediæval centuries was the thirteenth, and it was late in that century, as Lord Acton used to point out, that the psychology of conscience was closely studied for the first time, and that men began to speak of it as the audible voice of God that never fails or misleads, and that ought to be obeyed, whether enlightened or darkened, whether right or wrong. Bishop Creighton insisted that conscience had a larger hold of the Teuton than of the Latin or the Slav, and that this formed the strength of the Reformation. "Conscience," so he urged, "was appealed to as the supreme judge, and the intellectual controversy was only an expression of this in the region of controversy. I admit that this setting of morality in the foremost place narrowed the scope of religion, and put Christian truth in a secondary place. I admit that it set up a standard of morality which was mainly dictated by social needs rather than by spiritual truth. But I think that conscience created the form of religion, not that the theology of the sixteenth century formed a morality."

The three books before us, Mr. Allen's *Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, Dr. Belasco's *Authority in Church and State*, and Miss Hawkins's *Allegiance in Church and State* are, directly and indirectly, concerned with the many problems arising from the conflict between authority and conscience. Of course, it is a question much more pertinent in the last two books than in the first, though Mr. Allen cannot help being preoccupied with it. On the principle that first things come first, Mr. Allen concerns himself with Luther and Calvin, with Calvin's French disciples and with Bodin, with the important English school on which he lavishes detailed treatment, and with Machiavelli and Guicciardini. On the principle that second things come second, he also concerns himself with such an intolerant thinker as Théodore de Beza and with such a tolerant one as Sébastien Castellion. Such a concern with the obscurer writers is a distinguishing feature of this learned and lucid book, and indeed its lucidity is as welcome a feature as its learning. No serious student of the history of political thought can afford to neglect the labour of one who knows it so intimately as Mr. Allen, and we read his book with as much pleasure as profit. Of course, there are omissions in it, and for our part we heartily wish that the author had seen fit to bestow more space on the massive volumes

that the Jesuits contributed to the political theory of the sixteenth century. To men like Suarez and Mariana there is eternal law in accordance with the Divine nature, and all other law ultimately comes from it. There is, in fact, natural law implanted in the instincts of man. Suarez assumes the existence of the law of nature that has been recognised by the most eminent philosophers of paganism, and by St. Paul, St. Augustine, and St. Thomas Aquinas as well. He takes up the position that Christ was the true Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. No one, not even the Pope, can abrogate or enfeeble a single one of its precepts. Here at once is provided a refuge against authority for the man who pleads that his conscience directs him to pursue a course of action other than that laid down by either the Church or the State, or, if we like to employ the sixteenth-century equivalent for these expressions, the Church-State or the State-Church, for no one till the days of Browne was willing to acknowledge that it was possible to recognise a Church apart from the State.

Mr. Allen may justly plead that within the limits of a little over five hundred pages he cannot compass everything. A more grave drawback to this volume is the circumstance that Mr. Allen is not deeply interested in the theology of an age peculiarly marked by the ardent study of the Queen of the Sciences. It is more than an epigram to state that with the cessation of the influence of Augustinianism the modern world begins. From this point of view Machiavelli is as modern as, in some respects, Luther is nothing of the kind. Slightly changing the famous Voltairean remark, we may place it in the mouth of St. Augustine, "L'Église, c'est moi," for these words represent the vast and permanent influence of the African thinker. Since the twelfth century his work had occasionally been eclipsed till Luther gave it fresh life. St. Augustine made his knowledge definite, giving it a rigid form. Shades of meaning, so dear to such admirers of conscience as Dr. Belasco and Miss Hawkins, were as abhorrent to him as they were to Luther. Legality characterised the Augustinian theology just as it came to characterise the Lutheran and the Calvinist. There was no place for toleration in the outlook of Luther or Calvin, with the result that both men inflicted injury and death on the conscientious. Mr. Allen indulges in many references to mediæval thinkers, yet it is a pity that he largely ignores the mind with the deepest influence on them, the mind of St. Augustine.

The problem of toleration, which is the problem of conscience, plainly exercises a lively attraction for Mr. Allen, and some of his most luminous pages attack the different forms this problem assumes. His chapter on it, short as it is, is suggestive in a high degree. Nor is he content to discuss the views of such men as

Bodin and Erasmus or of Hooker or Montaigne, for he also turns our attention to such lesser-known figures as Acontius and Aglionby, Bilson and Brenz, and he lays due stress on the large share taken by the Congregationalists. This forms a real merit in his volume, and a very welcome merit indeed. Broadly speaking, the moment the outward unity of the Church was broken it was evident to the thoughtful that terms must be made, somehow or other, with dissentients from her. The rank and file could not bear such a revolutionary idea. If, however, the Renaissance and the Reformation are truly one, then when the Church was rent, the State was at the same moment rent. The wounds dealt to the Holy Roman Empire by such sovereigns as Henry VII, Louis XI, and Ferdinand the Catholic meant that a Machiavelli was to justify their conduct by showing that the Prince of each State must rule, be the consequences to the Empire what they may. If the one State is torn in pieces, so is the one Church. The terms in the sixteenth century might be that the prince's religion was the people's religion. Yet nothing is more certain in the annals of the rise of conscience that if there might be different religions for the princes, there might also be different religions for the peoples.

Mr. Allen's volume is inspiring, for its author is in no doubt that the problems of our day bear a relation to those of such a troubled century as the sixteenth. If our problems are complex, so were theirs. If we have to solve the relations between the national conscience and the world conscience, to reconcile the varying demands of one nation compared with that of the world-wide family to which they all belong, the statesmen of the past had to solve that terrible question, How were they to preserve the unity of the State? Such a unity imperatively demanded one Church in the face of the rival nations of the seventeenth century, for if there was more than one Church there was disunity at home with consequent weakness abroad. From the angle of the Society of Friends Dr. Belasco approaches this question, and the answer to it absorbed some of the acutest brains of the age of Puritanism. Like Mr. Allen and Miss Hawkins, he has taken the pains to familiarise himself with the pamphlet literature of the time, literature that approaches large dimensions after 1640, a cardinal date in the history of pamphleteering. His amply-documented book reveals the very various implications of Quakerism in general and of William Penn in particular. What toleration could a Charles I grant to men who were pronounced individualists, relying on an inner light which manifestly was different with every individual? Surely this was individualism run mad!

Dr. Belasco argues that a belief in the liberty of conscience as a good in itself leads directly to a philosophy of pacificism, a propo-

sition with which we are by no means in complete agreement. We are, however, in agreement that in practice that is what the Quakers stood for. As they had experienced the bitterness of persecution at the hands of the unitary State, they naturally formulated the principles of pacificism, and in so doing they provided authority with a powerful argument against their recognition of their toleration. At the same time it is quite clear that the work the Congregationalists had begun was carried on by the Quakers, and there is nothing better in this book than the care with which the political implications of the doctrine of the inner light is worked out. There are passing references to Mysticism, and there is a tendency on the part of the author to identify Quakerism with Mysticism. Of course, in a sense this is true, yet no one who is conversant with the thought of the seventeenth century can afford to ignore the outstanding influence of such mystics as Behmen or Tauler. Let anyone turn to the Thomason tracts in the British Museum or the little-known collection in Dublin, the fine set of Haliday tracts, and he will find in them abundant evidence of the part played by the mystics in the evolution of conscience.

Perhaps the most valuable part of Dr. Belasco's volume is that in which he provides an able apologia on behalf of William Penn. He subjects his theories of Church and State to a careful examination, and succeeds in giving us a thoroughly fine contribution. With a courage greater than we possess he drives home the conclusion that logically Penn was obliged to support James II, for his principles demanded this sacrifice. Here we part company with the author. If the great Quaker preferred James II without the penal laws to Parliament with them the bulk of the English public did nothing of the kind, and we can scarcely help concluding that the English public were right. For, after all, James II was the friend of Louis XIV, and no one who lived in England after 1685, the year the Edict of Nantes was revoked, could doubt what sort of toleration the unfortunate Huguenot had met with in France. The dragonnades of Louvois were more than a name to an Englishman, for he had met the victims of these dragonnades in Spitalfields and elsewhere. If the toleration of James II were to assume the shape it had assumed with Louis XIV in France, we can hardly wonder that Englishmen revolted from the conclusions which seemed to Penn irresistible. There is much in the *obiter dictum* of Abraham Lincoln, that you can fool some of the people some of the time and some of them all the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time. Englishmen were not to be fooled by any Stewart. Nor when they read the statutes passed by the Irish Parliament of James II in 1689 could they entertain much doubt that James II was fundamentally as intolerant as Louis XIV. Englishmen prefer

practice to precept, and the practice of such a sovereign as James II could not contribute to the acceptance of the precepts of William Penn, great as those precepts were.

There is another matter deserving of notice. The Society of Friends, in some respects, stands outside institutional religion as completely as the heart of George Fox or William Penn could desire. Yet, like all bodies, forms tend to gather themselves around even this Society. We have been present at the meditations of the Quaker in the family as well as in the congregation, and we have been impressed by the reading of the Bible in the family with the customary silence after the reading. Repeatedly such a silence is more than customary: it allows for that peace and quiet that are of the essence of mysticism. Yet members of the Society of Friends at times assure us that this silence tends to become conventional. Reduce the forms of religion as much as we may, and still there are forms. He who can bridge the gulf separating individualism from institutionalism is one who deserves well of all who have the interest of religion at heart.

Miss Hawkins is every whit as much impressed with the problem of divided allegiance as Dr. Belasco. She examines it not in the case of the Society of Friends but in the case of the Nonjurors, that body of men within the Church of England who conscientiously felt that they could not afresh take an oath of allegiance to William III so long as James II were alive. In the books of Mr. Allen and Dr. Belasco we were duly impressed by the continuity in the interest of the problems they presented, and this continuity of the problems of the past with those of the present is manifest in the fine book Miss Hawkins has written. No one can read the analysis of the thought of Hooker which Mr. Allen has given us without seeing that to this great mind the State is as much spiritual as secular. To a man of Hooker's frame of mind there was no point in discussing the relationship between Church and State. "There is not," according to him, "any member of the commonwealth which is not also a member of the Church." If men were born into the State, they were baptised into the Church. If they owed civil duties to the State, they owed spiritual duties to the Church. Miss Hawkins looks to a man like Filmer for what the Nonjurors taught concerning the religious foundation on which all government rested. We feel quite sure that a Nonjuror like that fiery Irishman, Charles Leslie, looked to Hooker far more than to Filmer. Nor can we pass by the circumstance that Leslie denounced with all his might the doctrine of the inner light. It is not for the first time in history that we find men who are engaged in fighting the battle of conscience warring with one another. Charles Leslie and William Penn were contemporaries. In form they opposed each other, yet

no one can doubt as he reads Miss Hawkins's illuminating book that they were at bottom colleagues. The tragedy of history is not, as Hegel pointed out, the quarrel of right with wrong, but the quarrel of one kind of right with another.

In her skilful and sympathetic presentation of the attitude of the Nonjurors to Church and State, Miss Hawkins has done real justice to a much misunderstood set of men. Their religious attitude has been set forth in the past, but she is the first to set out a keen grasp of their position to the Revolution of 1688. Her account of the source and nature of authority, her balanced statement of the distinction between the permanent and the passing aspects in the problem of Church and State, her wise consideration of the inalienability of Spiritual Power and of the Church as a Spiritual Society—all are handled not merely with knowledge but with an insight that is as rare as refreshing. Her book forms a fine contribution to the history of the Nonjurors, and she pleads with genuine eloquence on behalf of the claims of the spiritual foundation of the State. The Nonjurors raised the cause for which they suffered above the dust of the temporal into the serene air of the eternal. They felt that they must diffuse the light of eternity over the awful tide of the revolution into which they were unwillingly plunged. That God willed the State, that He also willed the nature of man, and that the whole course of a nation's life is, to employ the words of Burke, "the known march of the ordinary providence of God"—these are articles in the creed of the Nonjurors. To them man's nature and the State are alike manifestations of the Divine will, harmoniously adapted to each other. They were passionately convinced that Church and State rested on religious faith. For that faith they were content to suffer, and Miss Hawkins reveals what a precious legacy they bequeathed to the State as well as to the Church.

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

RUSSIAN POLICY IN THE BALKANS.*

TAINE once declared that "Statesmen only write their Memoirs to justify their policy." In politics, as in scholarship, it is the custom to defend a certain thesis, and statesmen hope to further their own ideas and actions by depreciating those of their opponents. Such is the purpose of the Memoirs of Sasonow. The politics of the whole world seem to be confused in them, and all the difficulties Russia had to face in Europe and Asia are illustrated. One thing, however, he fails to do, and that is to connect the effects of Russian diplomacy in Europe with the Balkan question—that fundamental problem which is so apt to set the European Powers at loggerheads. Not many Russian statesmen have had the courage to speak without reserve of their work. Perhaps they were right—Nesselrode, Gortschakow, Giers, Lobanow, Lamsdorff—to hide their diplomacy under a veil well steeped in Russian mysticism. It relieved them of the necessity of laying bare the long chain of contradictions and inexactitudes within which Russian diplomacy had worked for over half a century. The autocratic realism of Russian statesmen was apt to make them over-sensitive, and so it came about that the direction of Russia's complex and threefold interest in Europe, Asia and the Orient suffered so much from lack of co-operation that vital affairs were frequently left unsolved and incomplete.

If one searches the darkest corners of Russia's Oriental policy during the last half-century, one reaches the unpleasant conclusion that each epoch is completely under the influence of the statesman of that particular period. The ideas, character, education and pride of the Russian rulers had always been fruitful soil for the plans of these statesmen, and so we see that the history of statesmanship in the Russian Empire is always closely connected with the personality of the Tzar, and only when looked at in this light can we understand it. Sasonow had taken the helm at the critical time when events had proved how little the foreign policy of Iswolsky had furthered Russian interests. He hoped to employ a new method, best described as "the meeting of antitheses"; for, in order to hide his real plans, he acted according to certain political rules which, although they brought some political failures in their wake, served their purpose of gaining time.

Sasonow's inconsequence, however, did much to spoil his Oriental policy. He undermined the structure his predecessors had built, and set up the principle of the balance of power for Russian interests in the East, which could only further the interests of the Balkans or Russia's enemies. Iswolsky's failure with regard to Bosnia and

Herzegovina had proved to Russian diplomatists that they themselves were to blame for the danger threatening in the Balkans. His successor now thought it best to aim at joining the people of the Balkans into one united power with which to confront Austria-Hungary. After a whole series of incidents based on suspicion, ill-will and touchiness, Russian diplomacy decided at last to adopt the point of view of Alexander II and Ignatjew. The ratification of Bulgarian independence proves this. Russia's traditional policy towards Bulgaria can be summed up in the following words: "The map of the Balkans should, according to the principles laid down in the Treaty of San Stefano, be subjected to reconstruction." This point of view should be kept in mind, as it explains many of Sasonow's apparent contradictions and the ultimate collapse of Russian statesmanship in the Balkans. It was only on the basis of territorial changes that Bulgaria agreed to enter into negotiations for the purpose of a treaty with Russia; and Sasonow and his advisers were always prepared with the same arguments which had preceded the ratification of the Treaty of San Stefano. On the question of Macedonia in particular the opinion of the Russian people, scientists and statesmen, was united. This province, moreover, according to the Treaty of San Stefano, formed a constituent part of Bulgarian territory, while Greater Bulgaria, according to this same treaty, was to be regarded as an ethnographical entity according to her linguistic frontiers, with a few exceptions which the extraordinary intermingling among the Balkan races demanded. Though Sasonow was at first inclined to adopt this policy, he soon changed it under pressure of Serbian diplomacy, which never wearied of impressing upon St. Petersburg the ever-growing "Austrian Peril"; and so it came about that his calculations determined the evolution of Balkan policy in a spirit which differed entirely from Russian tradition. He is the intellectual father of the Balance of Power in the Balkans—that fatal policy which was to lead to the second Balkan war and ring the tocsin for the World War.

We will confine ourselves to the most critical periods of Russian activity in the Balkans, and especially in Bulgaria, during Sasonow's tenure of office. The idea of a union of the Balkan peoples, especially of those belonging to the Slavonic family, was a hundred years old. Now, however, owing to the rapid course of events in the Balkans, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg was faced with the necessity of taking measures against Austria. Although it is true that the idea of a *rapprochement* between Serbia and Bulgaria originated with Milowanowitsch, Danew and Geschow, it is also true that Russia set the work on foot, and that it is due to her political labour in Belgrade and Sofia that the Serbian and Bul-

* Translated from a co-operative work entitled *Rings um Sazonoff*, 1928.

garian Governments finally decided to conclude the Balkan Alliance. Sasonow received his information regarding the conversations held between Milowanowitsch and Geschow from Nekljudow. The conferences in Sofia held between Geschow and Spalaikowitsch were frequently influenced by Nekljudow, who, in his turn, was influenced by Sasonow. Romanowsky, too, was deeply interested in the negotiations between Serbia and Bulgaria, and it fell to his share to offer the Geschow Cabinet the alternative of either concluding the alliance with Serbia or facing a possible understanding between Russia and Turkey. Yet Sasonow declares in his Memoirs that the Turko-Russian negotiations were commenced entirely at the instigation of Tscharykow in Constantinople. Only a few weeks after the conclusion of the Balkan Alliance Sasonow spoke about it to the French Ambassador, Georges Louis, in somewhat vague and confused terms, but mentioned that it had taken place under Russia's auspices, that it was of a purely defensive character, and that he hoped to induce Turkey to join. The Government of Sofia, however, had its hand forced by Russian diplomacy into signing the Treaty of Alliance with Serbia. The Treaty had been drafted by the negotiators more or less under Russian supervision, and contained many problems whose solution was to be left to the decision of the Tzar.

Russian diplomatists at that time regarded King Ferdinand with a certain amount of suspicion. He seemed to them to be too ambitious, to have too great a faith in the strength of the Russian people, and to be too sincere in his wish for the realisation of Bulgarian solidarity. He found his plan of action prescribed for him in the thousand-year-old past of the Bulgarian people. As, however, the aims of such a policy did not tally with the aims and ideas of Russian diplomatists, they sought, by establishing the Balance of Power in the Balkans and by neutralising national activities, to prepare the ground for the complete subjugation of the Peninsula; and, moreover, to create a Confederation nearer their own heart, to serve as a shield against Austria-Hungary and a bulwark against Constantinople and the open sea. Hence the eternal jealousy, the eternal suspicion which pursued Bulgaria's every step on her path to fame, unity and independence. There seems to be no other explanation for all the secret treaties and understandings either with Italy or with Austria for which Russia was always striving. Moreover, her French allies received but little information in regard to her "delirious and sinister manoeuvres," as the French ambassador in Vienna, St. Aulaire, described them.

The spring and summer of 1912 was a time of busy preparation in the East. The Government of Sofia had sent its Finance Minister, Theodorow, to Paris to commence negotiations for a loan. Iswolsky

supported the latter's views, but they met with opposition from M. Poincaré. The latter was still in the dark as to the aims and purpose of the Balkan Alliance, and had invited the representatives of the Banking groups to the Quai D'Orsay in order to warn them not to grant Bulgaria the desired loan. Sasonow knew perfectly well that Bulgaria was on the eve of a war. The Balkan Alliance was discussed in every European Government office, but no one was able to say what purpose it was meant to serve. It was only in April, 1912, that M. Poincaré received a report from Georges Louis of an interview with the Tzar, who had said: "A short time ago I had a conversation with Danew and Paschtsch. Both have assured me that peace in the Balkans will be maintained, but Danew gave me this assurance with the reservation that it would not be possible to hold back the Balkan people if Italy extended her war to European territory. 'In such case,' he added, 'I shall endeavour to maintain peace, but fear that my endeavour will be in vain. The opportunity would be too tempting for the Balkan peoples—that is the only danger I fear.'"

Sasonow assumes Russia's point of view to be identical with that of all the Balkan peoples; but this is only one of the many grave errors he committed—such as, for instance, making no secret of the fact of how greatly his political actions were influenced by the unexpected. The thought of a Balkan War was very popular with the Russian people, Sasonow and even the Emperor, on condition, of course, that the Turks should vanquish the Balkan peoples and that the latter should then have their policy dictated to them by St. Petersburg.

The war started, Sofia and Constantinople sent in their ultimatums, mobilisation began. At this point, however, Sasonow carefully omits to mention in his record certain conversations held by him in Paris and London a few days before the advance of the united armies into the Ottoman Empire. We call M. Poincaré himself as witness of these conversations in which he heard the Russian Foreign Minister make the following statement: "*We must hope for the success of the Turks because it would be possible to hold up their progress at any given moment, while a great victory for Bulgaria would not only upset the Balance of Power in the Balkans, but would necessitate interference on the part of Austria.*" Where is Sasonow's vaunted sympathy for the Slavs? When, in his Memoirs, he accuses the Bulgarian Government, the Bulgarian people and their King of treachery to the Slav cause, when he, in an academic appeal to Sofia discourses on the affection and generous sentiments existing in the Russian soul for her little brothers in the Balkans, but almost ostracises these little brothers at the moment when the stubbornness of Serbian diplomacy shattered the

whole structure of solidarity in the Balkans, does he then remember the wish he expressed in Paris, before all France's Ministers, for the complete destruction of the Bulgarians, "his little Christian Slav brothers," and his plans in case of Turkey's military success? However, this simple "wish" does not seem to have exhausted all the means within his grasp. In confidential conversations with Neratow and other intimate friends, he admits that he had foreseen the consequences of the Balkan War, and had considered and estimated them all—all but the devastating success of the Bulgarian Army, which in less than two months dealt a death-blow to Turkish power in Europe.

Russian diplomacy harboured the secret hope that one of the consequences of the war would be an understanding with Austria. Perhaps Sasonow's hope that the Berlin Cabinet would intervene in time to prevent Austria's unexpected interference in the Balkans was fostered by the good relations existing between Germany and Russia, the friendship of the two Emperors, and the polite exchange of concessions between them. Then, in case the Balkan States were defeated by Turkey, a powerful Russia would, on the strength of her agreement with Italy on the Balkan Question, and the support of France and England, have had a favourable opportunity to intervene and to force laws on the Balkans, thereby restoring the prestige which had suffered so cruelly at the hands of the Berlin Congress.

From certain indiscretions which came to light through the Italian Parliament, it was apparent with what scepticism Russia and Italy awaited the results of the war. First, however, Russian diplomacy was faced with the task of solving two problems:

- (1) Serbia's access to the Adriatic;
- (2) The revision of the Treaty of Alliance between Serbia and Bulgaria.

Already, in October, 1912, immediately after the capitulation of the Turkish Army in Macedonia, the Bulgarian Cabinet put forth its claims to access to the Adriatic. The Government in Sofia unreservedly supported its ally, and Bobtschew was deputed to submit the opinion of the Cabinet of Sofia on this question to Sasonow. On October 27th Sasonow invited Bobtschew to a conference, during which he suggested that the latter should ask the Sofia Government to draw the attention of the Serbian Government to the danger which might arise if the Serbs persisted in their demand for access to the Adriatic. At the same time he expressed the hope that King Ferdinand and Geschow would support the Russian and not the Serbian point of view. Geschow telegraphed to St. Petersburg, communicating at the same time with Nekljudow, that Bulgaria completely identified herself with Serbia in this

question and would, in case of need, be prepared to go to war. Sasonow, enraged by the attitude of the Sofia Cabinet, sent a circular to all the Russian Ambassadors abroad to the effect that the Government of St. Petersburg definitely opposed all Serbia's claims for access to the Adriatic Sea. At the same time he instructed Nekljudow to put pressure on the Sofia Government. For Belgrade he prescribed different measures, Hartwig being deputed to discuss the question with Paschitsch and to endeavour to induce the Serbian Government to forego her claims in return for compensations which Russia was prepared to grant her in Macedonia. Needless to say, both Geschow and Paschitsch were ignorant of the secret treaty of Racconigi between St. Petersburg and Rome, of which even the Paris Cabinet was unaware at that time. The Government of St. Petersburg, in this case, was most regretfully forced to forego its own ambitions in favour of Italy, as the latter was needed by Russia in carrying out her future plans. The problem of the Turkish-Bulgarian frontier had also reached an acute stage. The armistice of Tschataldscha had not only opened the door to peace negotiations, but also to the darkest intrigues—intrigues of such cunning as European diplomacy had not had to contend with since the Vienna Congress.

On the eve of the capitulation of Adrianople, Danew arrived in St. Petersburg, where he had been sent by the Sofia Cabinet with the approval of King Ferdinand, to fix with Sasonow the southern frontier on the basis of the straight line Midia-Rodosto. This suggestion was, however, most emphatically rejected by Sasonow. He arrived at an understanding with M. Delcassé, and the two statesmen agreed to lay their decision before the Conference of Ambassadors in London. At the same time Sasonow informed Nekljudow in Sofia that the Cabinet of St. Petersburg was opposed to King Ferdinand's plans, and that the frontiers between Turkey and Bulgaria must be fixed on the Midia-Enos line. The Russian Minister added in his telegram to his deputy, that Bulgaria would seriously strain the good relations existing between Russia and herself and invoke the displeasure of the latter if she insisted on the Midia-Rodosto line. Thus we see that it was not Sir Edward Grey but Sasonow himself who suggested to the London Conference of Ambassadors the idea of keeping Bulgaria away from the Sea of Marmora.

From the confidential conversations between Nekljudow and Geschow, and from Nekljudow's efforts to foist Sasonow's views on the frontier question upon the Bulgarian Minister, two facts emerge which help us to understand the methods of Russian diplomacy when events ended Sasonow's secret hope of seeing the Balkan peoples defeated by the Turks:

1. Sasonow proves himself to be a determined opponent of the policy of Bulgarian unity, and deems King Ferdinand his principal obstacle—"Ferdinand of Coburg," as he persists in calling him, without taking the trouble to think that "Ferdinand of Coburg" died on the day he took the oath of allegiance to the Bulgarian constitution, after which he became "Ferdinand I, ruler of Bulgaria."

2. Sasonow's only knowledge of King Ferdinand's personality was derived from people whose sole reason for enmity towards the latter was his German origin, people who were haunted by the fear of the bogey "Vienna." Sasonow had therefore assumed that the question of the frontiers between Bulgaria and Turkey, and even between the allies themselves, would lead to internal strife in Bulgaria, and consequently to friction between the King and his Government. This would have provided Russian diplomacy with a welcome pretext for adopting an attitude similar to the attitude adopted towards Serbia. The machinations of Hartwig, whose opinion he greatly valued, and the propaganda in Russia organised by the Serbian Government, did much to induce Sasonow to take up his old theme again.

While negotiations in London were alternately being broken off and resumed, Sasonow thought it advisable to inform King Ferdinand of the plans of the Russian Cabinet, which included the revision of the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty and important concessions for Serbia in Macedonia. That was sufficient to arouse a storm of indignation in the breast of the most rabid Russophile in Sofia. Sasonow was aware of the secret circular sent by Paschitsch on September 15th, 1912, the first attempt of Serbian diplomacy to reduce the importance of the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty. This calamitous move placed the Belgrade Government in an extremely awkward position in regard to its relations with the Sofia Cabinet. Sasonow was well aware of the conflict brewing between the two countries, which threatened to develop into a storm; but he quietly watched its development before attempting to intervene. Unfortunately his intervention consisted solely in putting his cards on the table and revealing his plans. Bulgaria was so intensely disappointed that Danew—the most rabid Russophile in Bulgaria—wrote on October 29th, 1912, "Vienna must be won over to the Bulgarian cause."

The entry of the Bulgarian troops into Constantinople was a veritable bugbear to Russian security and Russian interests, and Sasonow inaugurated a campaign of malice and cunning against "Ferdinand of Coburg" when the latter wanted to ride at the head of 300,000 bayonets into Constantinople, there to dictate peace terms to the Sultan. Various incidents and all sorts of indiscre-

tions on the part of our statesman allowed him to forget that there was a time when a traditional Russian policy existed towards Bulgaria, and provided him with a pretext for concentrating his hostility on King Ferdinand.

If one studies the exchange of letters between Sasonow and Hartwig it is easy to see how his sympathy for the Serbian cause increases from day to day, and one gathers from this vast mass of correspondence written between December, 1912 and June, 1913, that Serbia was driven by Russia into her demand for a revision of the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty. It was also at the instigation of Russia that Paschitsch claimed from Bulgaria her surrender of Macedonian territory as compensation for her refusal to grant Serbia access to the Adriatic. Behind Geschow's and Danew's obstinacy Sasonow saw looming the figure of King Ferdinand, whose ambitions he feared, and he never seemed to grasp the fact that these ambitions were only the expression of a people rapidly reaching maturity and ready for any sacrifice on the altar of progress.

Delcassé, the French Ambassador in St. Petersburg, who received his information direct from Sasonow, also believed that the only possible solution of the Serbo-Bulgarian conflict was a war, with the chances in favour of Serbia. In his correspondence with M. Pichon, who had taken M. Poincaré's place at the Quai D'Orsay, he does not attempt to hide his fear of an unavoidable war between the allies, but he attributed the cause of the conflict, which was daily becoming more menacing, to the faulty construction of the alliance itself. This opinion was an indirect criticism of the St. Petersburg Cabinet which had drafted the Treaty of Alliance; but French diplomacy had to support her ally and therefore to show a friendly attitude towards Serbia. Neither the Cabinet of Paris nor that of St. Petersburg ever doubted Serbia's firm resolve to obtain a revision of the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty, even though at the cost of another war. Sofia, on the other hand, reiterated unwaveringly that she would adhere to the text of the treaty and would oppose any kind of revision.

What steps did Sasonow take to prevent this bloody conflict? He first threatened one and then the other. In a telegram to Nekljudow on May 13th he intimated to the Sofia Government that he would hold it responsible the moment a breach of the peace occurred on their side. Simultaneously, however, he confided to Delcassé that he had learned from a reliable source that Serbia, in the event of a sudden attack from Bulgaria, had every reason to expect a victory. On the day of the Imperial Council in Vranja Sasonow sent the following telegram to Nekljudow: "As far as Bulgaria's demand for demobilisation on condition of the mutual occupation of the hostile provinces is concerned, we not only refuse

to recommend this demand, but refuse to communicate it in any shape to Belgrade, believing it to be impracticable. If, however, we should not receive the assurance that Serbia and Bulgaria are prepared to submit to a Court of Arbitration, we will refrain from divulging the decision arrived at by the Court of Arbitration." In this statement Sasonow admits that the decision of the Court of Arbitration (the Tzar) had already been given. On the same day King Ferdinand had requested Danew to telegraph to the Russian Government and beg it, on account of the strained and dangerous attitude of the Bulgarian troops, to try to induce the Tzar to make his wishes known within seven days. Sasonow's reply was as follows :

"Your communication does not surprise me. For several days I have been aware of the steps taken by your Government. You are under Austrian influence. That is your own affair. Russia and Slavdom withdraw themselves from you. We have done our duty. The Emperor of Russia has not waited for the ultimatum of seven days' grace before making his wishes known with regard to the Serbo-Bulgarian conflict, as it was his desire to end his difficult task as soon as possible. After your declaration permit me to declare : Expect nothing more from us and forget that since 1912 compacts existed between us which we have felt bound, up to now, to keep."

In the following year, when Europe was already aflame, Sasonow made a fresh attempt to draw Bulgaria into his political schemes. This time his hope was fixed on the mission of Prince Trubetskoi to Nisch ; but the seeds which Hartwig's policy in Belgrade had planted in the mind of Sasonow were too deeply rooted. Trubetskoi's mission failed, and since then Bulgaria and her people have followed the path marked out for them by events and their own interests.

DIMITRI JOTZOW,
Ex-Bulgarian Consul in Hamburg.

THE JEWS UNDER THE MINORITIES TREATIES.

THE political conditions of the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe have undergone a fundamental change since the Great War. They are characterised by a constitutional progress, which is due mainly to the special provisions relating to racial and religious minorities in the treaties concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with the States in which they are domiciled. Before the war six million Jews, settled in Russia and Rumania, and forming about one half of the total number of Jews in the world, were subjected to a state of bondage and persecution which made those two countries a byword among civilised nations. As soon as the Peace Conference began to assemble Jewish delegations both from Eastern Europe and from Western countries, particularly Great Britain and the United States, met in Paris for the purpose of formulating and submitting their demands. Their aim was twofold : to secure civil and political equality for those Jews who were not yet emancipated, and in consequence of the creation of new States and the alteration of the frontiers of old ones—to safeguard the rights of those Jews who might be transferred from the jurisdiction of one State to that of another. One half of the Jews in Russia—those living in that part which later constituted itself as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics—had, indeed, already been emancipated by the Revolution in 1917, but the other half, domiciled in the territories that went to form the republics of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland, were at the mercy of elements which, so far as they were known, were scarcely encouraging. Poland, for instance, had inaugurated her new epoch of independence by an outbreak of assaults and outrages upon the Jews in a great number of towns and townlets, which showed how necessary it was from the very beginning not only to define the rights of the Polish State but also to guarantee the rights of its Jewish subjects.

The Jewish delegations in Paris were not content, however, that the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe should merely be granted civil and political equality. They wished to ensure that this equality should not be limited or nullified later by administrative caprice or ordinance, and above all that the Jews, living for the most part in compact masses, should be allowed to live their traditional life and to maintain their social, religious, and cultural institutions free from interference. As a result largely of their representations, the Peace Conference accepted a series of postulates that were designed to safeguard the rights not only of the Jews but also of the other racial and religious minorities

in the States with which it had to deal. Sufficient time has now elapsed to afford a basis for inquiry into the practical working of these Minorities Treaties and for ascertaining to what extent they have achieved their purpose.

The first Minorities Treaty, affecting the lives of three million Jews, the largest Jewish community in any European country, was that concluded with Poland. It declared to be Polish nationals, *ipso facto* and without the requirements of any formality, German, Austrian, Hungarian, or Russian nationals habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the Treaty in territory recognised as forming part of Poland. The main provisions of the Treaty were: that all Polish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language, or religion; that those who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall be free to use their language in private or public, including the courts; that they shall have an equal right to establish and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments; and that in towns and districts in which they form a considerable proportion instruction shall be given to their children in the primary schools through the medium of their own language, and they shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment of the sums which may be provided out of public funds for educational, religious, or charitable purposes. These provisions are applicable to all racial and religious minorities in Poland, who number 13,000,000 in a total population of 27,000,000, and do not contain any specific reference to the Jews. But there are two Articles, 10 and 11, which were specially included in order to safeguard the interests of the Jews: the one authorising the Jewish communities to appoint local educational committees for the distribution of the public funds allocated to Jewish schools, and the other providing that "Jews shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their Sabbath, nor shall they be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend courts of law or to perform any legal business on their Sabbath."

As a corollary to the religious observance of the Saturday Sabbath, the Jewish delegations urged the inclusion in the Treaty of a clause permitting the Jews to engage in Sunday trading and labour, pointing out that this would only confirm a right that had been enjoyed by the Jews in Poland even under the Russian domination; but the Allied and Associated Powers were reluctant to impose upon another State an obligation that was only imperfectly realised in their own legislation. In order to ensure the strict observance of the stipulation affecting persons belonging to minorities, there was included a final Article declaring that these

stipulations "constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations," and that "they shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations."

The Treaty signed by Poland on June 28th, 1919, formed, with the exception of the two clauses relating to the maintenance of Jewish schools and the observance of the Sabbath, the type of the Minority Treaties signed by several other States, viz., Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Dantzic, Greece, Turkey, and Mosul. The Treaty with Rumania finally swept aside the verbal quibbles by means of which the Jews had been denied their rights so long. It declared that "all persons born in Rumanian territory who are not born nationals of another State shall *ipso facto* become Rumanian nationals," a stipulation applying both to the new territories annexed to the country and to the whole of Old Rumania; and in order not to allow any doubt to be raised as to whether the Jews were also included, and perhaps to prevent the passing of a law declaring them to be excluded, there was inserted a special Article, in concise and unambiguous terms: "Rumania undertakes to recognise as Rumanian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality Jews inhabiting any Rumanian territory who do not possess another nationality." Moreover, there were four newly-created States, namely, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which, though they did not subscribe to Minority Treaties, gave solemn declarations that they agreed to the principles of these compacts.

The signing of these various Treaties and the securing of these declarations were no easy task; but once the Treaties were concluded it was hoped that the Jews would enjoy the same rights and the same economic opportunities as their fellow-citizens. Unfortunately this hope has proved illusory, for scarcely had the ink of the signatures become dry before various provisions of the Treaties were violated in certain countries, with the result that a persistent struggle has had to be waged ever since in order to secure compliance on the part of the defaulting States with their obligations. The principal countries in which such infractions have occurred are Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Lithuania, and Greece.

The main questions in respect of which Poland has violated her pledges are those relating to the acquisition of citizenship, admission to the universities, and the financial support of Jewish schools. Although she undertook to declare as Polish citizens "*ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality, German, Austrian, Hungarian, or Russian nationals habitually resident . . . in territory which is or may be recognised as forming

part of Poland," she passed a law on January 20th, 1920, which made the acquisition of citizenship subject to certain formalities of an administrative nature with which in very numerous cases it was impossible to comply. The law required that those claiming Polish citizenship should show that their names were inscribed in local registers of the stable population or submit proof of their *Heimatsrecht*, a status of citizenship dependent upon several years' continuous residence in the same commune. Owing to the impossibility of conforming with these regulations, many thousands of Jews (besides large numbers belonging to other national minorities) were denied Polish citizenship and became *Staatenlos*. This condition was a sufficient hardship if they remained in the country, but it increased in gravity if they wished to emigrate, as the Nansen passports which they were given were not provided with an endorsement enabling them to return, and most States refused to *viser* such passports since they would be unable to deport their holders, if necessary, to their country of origin. The Jewish members of the *Seym* repeatedly demanded that the Polish Government should abolish the restrictions which it had imposed, but it was not until August, 1926, that it issued a circular instruction to the local administrative authorities to facilitate the acquisition of citizenship. A considerable improvement in the situation has since resulted, but there are still some 15,000 Jews in Poland who are *Staatenlos*—with all the galling disabilities attaching to such a condition.

The admission of Jewish students to the universities in Poland is restricted to a proportion corresponding roughly to the Jewish ratio of the population. It is true that there is no law imposing a *numerus clausus*, but the universities, in the exercise of their traditional autonomy, continue to limit the entry of Jews, and the Government cannot or will not take effective steps to suppress this injustice. The *numerus clausus*, however, is only one phase of the war that is conducted against the Jewish intellectual class, whose influence is unnecessarily feared. Although forming only 12 per cent. of the population of Poland, the Jews, belonging mainly to the industrial and commercial element, which is assessed abnormally heavily, are estimated to pay more than one-half of the direct taxation received by the State, yet the Government will not find them employment in its service (with some rare exceptions) nor grant to Jewish schools the subventions that it is obliged to provide. Nor is this policy of repression directed solely against the intellectual class. As was feared at the time when Poland signed her Minorities Treaty, she passed a law at the end of 1919 for compulsory Sunday closing, which was conceived as an act of economic oppression, and which has inflicted grave hardship upon Jewish

employers and employed, who mostly observe their Sabbath. The Jewish deputies in the *Seym* have persistently demanded that the Government should relax the law in favour of those who observe the Jewish Sabbath and festivals, but although certain concessions have been made, the question has not yet been satisfactorily settled. The economic position of the Jews is further threatened by the law for the transfer of liquor licences to war veterans, which will mean their withdrawal from many thousands of Jews, who will thus be impoverished, and also by the projected Guild law, which requires artisans to undergo a course of training in vocational schools, access to which will be limited in the case of Jewish workers.

In Rumania the principal infractions are likewise in respect of the conferment of citizenship and admission to the universities, whilst even more serious has been the campaign of assault upon the Jews continued almost uninterruptedly for the last six years. A Nationality Law was passed on February 23rd, 1924, which is similar in principle to the Polish Nationality Law, as it makes the acquisition of citizenship subject to the possession of the *Heimatsrecht*. But it has imposed a twofold restriction, first, in substituting the *Heimatsrecht* or *indigénat* for habitual residence, and secondly in making that qualification date from December 1st, 1918, instead of September 4th, 1920, when the Treaty signed by Rumania came into force. The result of this Treaty violation and of the tantalising procedure for seeking redress is that in the Bukovina there are still 20,000 Jews who are *Staatenlos*, besides many thousands in Bessarabia and Transylvania. The position of a "Stateless" person in Rumania is even more depressing than in Poland, for if he wishes to emigrate, not only is he denied the endorsement in his passport that will enable him to return, but as the holder of such a passport he forfeits all claims to Rumanian citizenship and ownership of rural property from the moment that he leaves the country.

There is no *numerus clausus* in Rumania by law, but there is one in practice. The admission of Jewish students to the universities is restricted by the university authorities to a small percentage, whilst from time to time the Rumanian students run amuck, drive out the Jews from the college buildings, and thus create a *numerus nullus*. The agitation for the exclusion of the Jews has been fanatically fostered by Professor Cuza, of Jassy, who has poisoned the minds of the academic youth of his country, and it has been accompanied by violent demonstrations in Bucarest, Jassy, Czernowitz, Kishineff, Oradea Mare, Cluj, and other cities, resulting in the frequent closing of the universities. The Anti-Semitic students have indulged in repeated assaults not only upon Jewish students

but upon the Jews in general, destroying property, sacking synagogues, wounding innocent onlookers, and even throwing Jewish passengers out of trains. The agitation has already cost two lives—that of the Prefect of Jassy, Manciu, who tried to suppress a demonstration and was shot dead in court by a Rumanian student, and that of David Fallik, a Jewish student of Czernowitz, who was also shot in court by a Rumanian student. Both assassins were tried, acquitted as patriots, and then acclaimed as national heroes. The immunity of these murderers from punishment and the general insecurity of Jewish lives and property constitute an even graver breach of the provisions of the Minorities Treaty than the practical enforcement of the *numerus clausus*.

Only in Hungary was a law enacted to subject citizens belonging to national minorities to differential treatment in regard to their admission to the universities. This law, which was passed in September, 1920, was applied solely against the Jews, who were limited to 6 per cent. of the total number of students. The attention of the League of Nations was promptly called to this infraction of the Treaty of Trianon by representative Jewish bodies, who protested against Hungary being admitted to membership of the League until she rescinded the obnoxious law. The Hungarian delegate, Count Banffy, gave a solemn assurance in September, 1922, that his country would faithfully observe her obligations in respect of the treatment of racial minorities, and Hungary was accordingly welcomed into the League. But as the law continued to be enforced, the Jewish organisations renewed their protests, with the result that at a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in 1925, Count Klebelsberg declared that the measure was only temporary, introduced owing to the abnormal post-war situation of the country, and that it would be amended directly the position improved. At length, in February last, the Hungarian Government amended the law by abolishing the Article that refers to nationality and replacing it by another Article, which provides that preference shall be given in admissions to the universities to the sons of Government officials, war veterans, peasants, and those engaged in trade. It will thus be possible to practise the same discrimination against Jewish students in the future by virtue of this economic classification. Indeed, Count Klebelsberg has made no secret of the fact that this amendment is designed mainly to satisfy or pacify the League of Nations, and that the admission of Jews to the universities is not likely to be increased by more than one half per cent.

Lithuania began her new career of independence by giving the Jews a model system of national autonomy, with a Ministry of Jewish Affairs supported by the State, but this ideal arrangement

was soon swept away by a change of Government, bringing in its train an era of intolerance that gravely affects many phases of Jewish life in the country. An attempt to interfere with the use of Hebrew and Yiddish and with the autonomy of the Jewish schools was checked by the League of Nations, but a Sunday closing law was adopted, which has weakened the economic position of the Jews and against which they have no redress. Moreover, the Government has dissolved the organised Jewish communities and insisted that they shall be replaced by purely religious congregations on a voluntary basis, deprived of the fiscal rights which the communities possessed, so that Lithuanian Jewry is threatened with gradual disintegration. As for Greece, the most serious grievance felt by the Jews is that which affects the ancient community in Salonica. For hundreds of years they had formed the largest national group in that city, rested on Saturday, and were allowed to trade on Sunday. But with the influx of vast numbers of Greeks after the Great War, the Jews became a small minority, and a Sunday Closing Law was enacted in 1924 for all the inhabitants of the city, obviously as a measure of economic protection for the majority. This law was a violation of the pledges given by M. Venizelos in 1919, but unfortunately the terms of the Greek Treaty afford no basis of redress.

The various Treaty infractions described above have formed the subject not only of representations by the Jewish communities concerned to their respective Governments, but also of frequent communications addressed by Jewish representative organisations to the League of Nations; but the slow and excessively circumspect procedure that is observed has so far prevented any appreciable amelioration. If a petition to the League is found by the Secretariat to be "receivable," it is communicated to the Government concerned for its observations, and then the President invites two of his colleagues to examine the documents with him in committee, with a view to deciding whether the question should be brought before the Council. If the question is considered by the Council and the petitioner is not satisfied with the result, he may demand that it shall be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Thereupon the Government impeached is invited to submit further observations, which are considered by the Committee of Three, who report to the Council, and then the Government, brought to bay at last, may promise to make amends. It was thanks to this cumbersome and super-cautious procedure that Hungary was able to flout the League for over seven years with its *numerus clausus* law, which, even in its amended form, is applied in a manner that constitutes an infraction of the Treaty of Trianon.

The procedure for dealing with defaulting governments must be

thoroughly revised if the Minorities Treaties are not to be violated with impunity. It is not enough that the Secretariat of the League is authorised to act only when it receives a petition from an aggrieved minority: the Secretariat should be authorised to report to the Council any infractions of Treaties that it may discover through the medium of its own channels of information. Minorities should be allowed to have access to the Council, and should be immediately informed of the answers made to their complaints, in order to prevent a miscarriage of justice. It is even more important that there should be a Permanent Commission, which should watch over the national minorities in the same way as the Permanent Mandates Commission looks after the mandated territories; but at least governments that are in default in respect of their obligations under the Minorities Treaties, such as Poland and Rumania, should not sit on the Council that discusses the petitions brought against them.

The weakness of the machinery for ensuring the just treatment of the minorities has been strikingly illustrated in the case of Turkey, who, by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, undertook to recognise as fundamental laws a series of obligations respecting her minorities. In 1925 the Chief Rabbi of Constantinople notified the Government of "the decision of the Jews of Turkey" to renounce their minority rights, and the following year this step was confirmed by twenty "notables" of the Sephardic community. Now neither the Chief Rabbi nor the "notables" have any right to barter away the guarantees for the protection of the Jewish people in Turkey, whom they could not consult and from whom they received no mandate. The action of the Turkish Government in bringing about the renunciation of those guarantees constitutes a violation of international law. If there were a Permanent Minorities Commission, invested with the requisite authority, it would presumably be possessed of sufficient courage and energy to take effective steps to have this illegality rescinded. But without such a body, the Council of the League has not so much as taken note of this extraordinary act, which may be fraught with perilous consequences in the future. Until, therefore, the League of Nations creates an independent judicial body, which should be at once mobile and resolute, for the protection of the minorities, the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe will be largely dependent upon the goodwill and sense of honour of their own Governments in regard to their treatment under the Minorities Treaties, and as some of the more important of those Governments are largely actuated by Anti-Semitic considerations, the fate of their Jewish subjects is bound to be a source of anxiety for years to come.

ISRAEL COHEN.

THE MIRACLE PLAYS AS GUIDES TO MEDIÆVAL LIFE AND THOUGHT.

IF the style is the man then the theatre is the society which evolves it—a hard saying, it may be, for us of the present day, unless we remember that a vast catastrophe has caused an unprecedented upheaval, psychological as well as social. It was otherwise with the Greek; it was otherwise with the mediæval citizen. The theatre was not with them a sort of nepenthe, a narcotic to bring forgetfulness, as it has become with many of us, despite "purpose plays" of various kinds. Doubtless they enjoyed it. The "satyr plays" and the rough and tumble of the Miracles must have roused many a laugh. Yet the drama was to both in some real sense a religious festival, and both, when we make all due allowances and deductions, saw in it some reflection of their own life and thought and ideals. If we wish to know the Greek at his highest and best we shall go to the tragedies of the "great Attic Triad"; it may well be that we should have found him at his worst in the "satyr dramas," as perhaps we find him at his ordinary unregenerate, debonair, mocking level in Aristophanes. As with Greek drama, so with mediæval drama, we shall find the mediævalist in all stages of spiritual development in the Miracle Plays, and we shall see him set against the background of his own times.

For the Miracles present a great body of material from which we may deduce the social history of the day. The playwright had not yet learnt to imitate the life of the period he was treating. Thus, no matter how distant and sacred his subject, his style and manner of treatment are rooted in the everyday life around him. As the mediæval artist painted Biblical and classical characters in contemporary dress, so the mediæval dramatist shows us everyday types. If we confine ourselves to even one cycle of Miracles, say, the "Towneley Plays," we shall see the truth of this. Thus, Cain is surely a surly farmer of the Middle Ages, too much occupied with his work to observe religious obligations. When Abel urges him to come and sacrifice, he answers,

"Shuld I leefe my plogh and all thyng
And go with the to make offeryng?
Nay! thou fyndes me not so mad!"

Again, we seem to hear the argument of a churlish, uncharitable man of the period in his

"ffor had I given away my goode,
then myght I go with a ryffen hood,
And it is better hold that I have
then go from doore to doore and crave."

Noah's wife is another mediæval type—that of the shrew, apparently. Judging by her, wives in the Middle Ages were by no means so intimidated by their husbands as we might suppose. Here the wife speaks to her lord and master on a footing of equality, to say the least, and although light is thrown on the subordinate position of women by Noah's advice to husbands,

"Yee men that has wifis whyles they ar yong,
If ye luf youre lifis chastice thare tong."

both he and their grown-up and married sons are completely overawed by the mistress of the household. There is a touch of real human nature in Noah's change of tone when his wife enters :

"She is full tethee,
ffor litill oft angre,
If anything wrang be,
Soyne is she wroth.
(Tunc perget ad uxorem)
God spede, dere wife, how fayre ye?"

When, exasperated beyond endurance, Noah attempts to beat her, she beats him back, and he is compelled to desist, saying,

"Se how she can grone and I lig under."

The relations between husband and wife were a favourite theme of mediæval playwrights. As, however, the plays were written by men, and abuse of wives (and of women generally) was evidently a sort of comic convention, we cannot lay undue stress on their comments on married life. In the "First Shepherds' Play," the Second Shepherd complains of

"Sely capyle, our hen, both to and fro
She kakyles,"

and suggests that the women of the Middle Ages could, on occasion, make themselves sufficiently disagreeable :

"Thise men that ar wed have not all thare wyll,
When they ar full hard sted thay sygh full styll."

The servant of the Shepherds complains that his wife does nothing but eat and drink, and that he would give all he possessed

"To morne at next to offer
hyr hed mas penny,"

thus showing the mediæval husband in a rather unpleasant light!

A more serious problem of domestic life is touched upon in Joseph's compassionate words to his wife,

"I blame the not, so god me save,
Women's manners if that thou have."

The relations between master and servant are dealt with in the "Second Shepherds' Play," where one of the characters complains

that such servants as he eat dry bread, and are wet and weary, while their masters not only live in comfort, but try to deprive them of their just wages :

"Both owre dame and owre syre,
When we have ryn in the myr,
Thay can nyp at our hyre,
And pay us full lately."

Evidently "ca' canny" was as potent a weapon then as now, for he threatens to avenge himself by working as he is paid for, since

"lyght chepe
letherly for-yeldys."

Thus we find in the Miracles the age-long controversy between master and man.

In the Shepherds themselves we find what may well have been the typical mediæval peasant, childishly calling out contradictory orders to imaginary sheep, and dangerously quarrelsome. There is no attempt in either play to idealise them as having been chosen to pay homage to the infant Christ. The "Shepherds' Plays" are especially interesting as affording evidence of the social conditions of the agricultural and pastoral community. The meal which the Shepherds provide for themselves, consisting of boar's brawn, cow's foot, pork, partridge, tart, calf's liver, and many other dishes is, to modern ideas, extraordinarily large, and, if the passage throws any light on the regular diet of the peasantry, proves a standard of very plentiful, if rough, living, which may be compared with Piers Plowman's somewhat similar description of the poor man's diet. It is true that the Shepherds themselves talk of collecting the fragments for the poor, thus proving that there were other sections of the community poorer than themselves, such as the innumerable bands of beggars. Doubtless, also, the playwrights thought it advisable to wedge in a moral lesson by showing that even poor men can spare something for those whose need is still greater. For the Shepherds complain bitterly of their poverty, despite their plentiful fare and their copious draughts of that good ale which was the chief sweetener of mediæval social life, and which the Second Shepherd says he will drink till his breath fails. In the First Play the First Shepherd bewails the fact that his sheep have died of disease, that rents are due and his purse is light, while the Second Shepherd prays to be guarded from the turbulence of the times :

"Both bosters and bragers god kepe us fro,
That with thare long daggers dos mykell wo;

Who so says hym agane,
Were better be slane;
Both ploghe and wane
Amendys will not make."

The First Shepherd complains that it is difficult for the poor to marry :

" It is said full ryfe,
A man may not wyfe
And also thryfe
And all in a yere."

In the Second Play we find complaints by the peasantry of the rents and exactions levied by the higher classes :

" Primus Pastor :
No wonder as it standys if we be poore,
ffor the tylthe of oure landys lyys falow as the floore,
As ye ken.
We are so hamyd,
ffor taxed and ramyd,
We are mayde hand lamyd,
With thyse gentlery men."

He goes on to complain of the hangers-on of the gentry, the upstarts who get fine clothes and drive all before them,

" thrugh mantenance
Of men that are gretter."

Throughout the Miracle Plays we get interesting glimpses into the mediæval mind. Thus, in the "Second Shepherds' Play," when Mak's wife insists that the stolen sheep is a changeling left in the place of her child, we have a current superstition which has not yet died out in certain parts of the world. Again, we hear occasional echoes of the feudal system. Lazarus is called a knight, and in the play on John the Baptist, John is made to say,

" A knyght to baptyse his lord kyng,
My pauste may it not fulfyll."

An interesting passage is found in the "Conspiracy," embodying the mediæval theory of the Atonement. Christ, being man, must go to Hell, but being God, cannot stay there. This will form, as it were, a precedent for the Spirits in Prison to get free,

" When oone ie borod, all shall owtt,
and borod be from teyn."

The idea in the "Lazarus Play" of riches as being "goddys goodys all" is an essentially mediæval one, and bears similarity to Wyclif's "Doctrine of Dominion."

Perhaps, however, it is in the "Judgment Plays" that we find the most valuable evidence for the social history and thought of the day. Here we find the mediæval idea of the great wickedness of the world, a doctrine probably justified by the life of the period. The Second Demon says,

" Bot, sir, I tell you before had domysday oght tarid
We must have biggid hell more the world is so warid."

Violence and vice are everywhere. The "Fourth Malus," evidently one of the turbulent mediæval lawbreakers, confesses his blood-guiltiness :

" I went to and fro me thocht I did never ill,
My neghurs for to slo or hurt withoutten skill."

Breaking marriage vows is not only frequent but fashionable : Tutivillus speaks of

" an vsage
Swilk dar I vndertake,
Makys theym breke thare wedlake."

Women, as usual, come in for their full share of condemnation. They are shrewish and vain, and in the account given of their dress we see the kind of extravagance against which the sumptuary laws fought in vain :

" If she be never so fowll a dowd with hir kelles and hir pynnes,
The shrew hir self can shrowde both hir chekys and his chynnes."

Then the hypocrisy of women is condemned :

" When she is thus paynt,
She makys it so quaynte,
She lookys like a saynt,
And wars then the deyle."

A similar vanity and improvidence is everywhere, and the passages dealing with it may possibly refer to the extravagant tastes of the labouring classes, encouraged by the inflated wages given after the Great Plague :

" Gay gere and witles his hode set on koket,
As prowde as pennyles his slefe has no poket,
ful redles.

And his barnes bredeles."

Again, Tutivillus says,

" Ilka las in a lande
like a lady nerehande,
So fresh and so plesande,
makys men to foly."

This passage probably refers to the social conditions spoken of by Gollancz in his preface to the mediæval poem, "Winner and Waster," when servant maids dressed themselves in rich furs.

One of the most interesting passages refers to the religious controversies of the day, and shows us the evil reputation of the Lollards among the orthodox writers of the Miracle Plays. Tutivillus, recounting his services to the First Demon, says,

" I was youre chefe tollare,
 And sithen courte rollar,
 And am I master lollar,
 And of sich men I mell me.
 I have broght to youre hande of saules, dar I say,
 Mo than ten thowsand in an howre of a day."

The last two lines, although the numbers are greatly exaggerated, and although we must allow for the activities of Tutivillus as "chefe tollare" and "courte rollar," show how great was the progress made by Lollardry, while the line,

" Som at ayll-howse I fandé and som of ferray,"

corroborates the conclusion of historians that Lollardry found most of its adherents among the common people. In the horrible description of dissolution given in the "Lazarus Play" we see that *macabre* spirit of the Middle Ages (of which the Dance of Death is perhaps the most repulsive expression), which had so great an influence on religious life as well as on art and architecture.

Special professions are singled out for censure in the Miracle Plays. The soldiers are always ready for any cruel work that may turn up, such as the slaughter of the innocents. Frequent references are made to law and lawyers. Pilate says that he loves all "false indictors," "questmongers," "jurors," and all these "false outriders," and admits that he inclines to whatever side bribes him most. In the Judgment scene we are reminded that peoples get the government they deserve, seeing that laws become corrupted as the people are corrupt:

" Secundus Demon :
 Sir, it is saide in olde sawes
 the longere that day dawes—
 ' Wars pepill wars lawes '."

In the same play the Second Demon produces rolls

" of bakbytars,
 And fals quest-dytars,"

that is, inquest or inquiry holders, while further on we read of raisers of false taxes and gatherers of "green Wax." In days of poor organisation it must have been comparatively easy for swindlers to gather money on the pretext of being tax-gatherers. In the "Lazarus Play," again, Lazarus complains of the unfaithfulness of executors, who will "say ye aght more than ye had." In the Judgment scene the Second Evildoer bewails that he cannot now escape through the trickeries of law:

" Ther may no man of lagh help with no quantyce,
 Vokettys ten or twelfe may none help at his nede."

Nor does the Church escape without censure, though the fact that the Miracles were played under ecclesiastical auspices may account for there being so little of this. In the "Judgment Play" we hear of the condemnation of "kyrkchaterars," of "barganars" and "okerars" and "lufars of symonee," and also of "talkers" and "whisperers." These last sinners suggest that there was considerable spying and scandalmongering in the mediæval Church.

The Miracles are important as documents for the social history of their times, not only because of the problems touched on in their text, but because of what we can deduce through them of the mental and moral state of their audience. Thus we find a strain of childishness running through the whole of the plays. It never struck the audience as ridiculous that Cain should have a servant, Garcio, who should speak of the danger of their being captured by the "bayles" after Abel's murder and that Cain should pronounce in the King's name a pardon for them both. The scriptural knowledge of both clerics and laymen must have been extraordinarily incorrect, unless we say that the playwrights, having embodied certain moral lessons, were willing to allow the people whatever historical inaccuracies would enhance their enjoyment of the plays. However this may be, characters from the Old Testament frequently refer to Christ and the Trinity, while the mediæval love of high birth is mingled with a curious lack of scriptural knowledge in Joseph's speech in the "Annunciation Play":

" When I all thus had wed hir thare,
 We and my madyns home can fare
 That kyngys doghters were."

Knowledge of secular history was little better. All the tyrants, Pharaoh, Herod, Pilate, and Cæsar Augustus, call on Mahound. Herod boasts of being king of Norway and Normandy, among other places, and the childishness of the audience may be deduced from the fact that they could feel interested in these peevish, strutting, bragging tyrants, whose chief kingliness lies in their assertions that they must not be interrupted on pain of death. Doubtless this arrogance represented to the crowd the majesty of power.

But on one subject the mediævalist was evidently not ignorant. He knew something of music, as may be seen from the "Shepherds' Plays." In the First Play, one of the Shepherds says of the angel's song:

" Now . . . it was a mery song;
 I dar say that he broght foure and twenty to a longe."

In the Second Play we have evidence of a knowledge of part-singing:

" Primus Pastor : lett me syng the tenory.
 Secundus Pastor : And I the tryble so hye.
 Tertius Pastor : Then the meyne fallys to me;
 lett se how ye chauntt."

Further on, the Shepherds discuss the Angel's song, thus :

" Secundus Pastor : . . . hard ye not how he crakyd it?
 Thre brefes to a longe.
 Tertius Pastor : Yea, mary, he hakt it.
 Was no crockett wrong nor no thyng that lakt it."

The mental state of the audience, again, may be deduced from the incident of the stolen sheep in the " Second Shepherds' Play," and from the merriment that must have greeted the trick played by Mak's wife of putting the stolen sheep in the cradle :

" Vxor : I pray to god so myde,
 If ever I you begyld,
 That I ete this chylde,
 That lygys in this credyll."

There are, however, touches of real poetry throughout the Miracles. In the " Prophets' Play " David says of Christ :

" myrth and lovyng is his warke,
 that shall he luf most,"

as several centuries later Bossuet was to speak of *le débonnaire Jésus*. It is worthy of note that David the Harper, who makes " myrth . . . till all men," chooses mirth as one of the chief characteristics of Christ. Surely we get a glimpse into the mediæval mind here, despite its tendency to dwell on death. In both " Shepherds' Plays " there is poetry in the account of the presentation by the Shepherds of gifts to the Child. In the Second Play they give a " bob of cherries," a bird, and a ball, to

" play the with all,
 And go to the tenys,"

thus showing that the childlike mediæval mind did not forget that Christ actually became a little child with a child's wants. In the " Baptist Play " we have some beautiful lines which breathe true religious feeling. John, when parting with Jesus, exclaims,

" farwell ! the frelyst (fairest) that ever was fed !
 farwell ! floure more fresh than floure de lyce !
 farwell ! stersman to them that ar sted
 In stormes, or in desese lyse."

In the " Scourging Play " there are beauty and pathos in the incident of Mary wishing to carry the Cross and of her Son refusing to let her bear its weight, while there is poignancy in the following lines from the " Crucifixion " :

" Beestys, byrdys, all have thay rest,
 When they ar wo begon;
 Bot godys son, that shuld be best,
 hase not where apon his hede to rest,
 Bot on his shuder bone."

The tenderness of Christ is seldom forgotten, and there is real poetry in his words to man at the Judgment :

" All this I suffred for thi sake.
 Say, man, what suffred thou for me?"

This leads us to consider the effect of the Miracle Plays on their audience. It was probably good on the whole. It is unlikely that the frequent profanity of the plays had much effect on the objective and often childish mediæval mind, while the continual reiteration of the Ten Commandments and of paraphrases of Scripture must have had a restraining influence on it. There seems to have been a real attempt to embody in the Miracles as much as possible of the more important Scriptural teaching. Thus, since the scene in which it occurred is not played, we find Philip's " Shew us the Father " and Christ's reply introduced in the " Ascension Play." Despite their many deficiencies, the Miracles with their wide range of story from the Creation to the Last Judgment gave very fair Scriptural teaching for people in a somewhat immature stage of development, to whom the Bible was inaccessible, and to whom, even if it had been, dramatic presentation would probably have brought more conviction of reality than would reading.

One wonders whether, after all, the mediæval method was wholly wrong, and whether we are not returning to the religious drama in some sense. It is not given to all to see the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau, but the cinema is attempting to bring its own form of Passion Play to the reach of all. Doubtless such films as " The King of Kings " seem crude to many to whom any direct presentation of Christ is disappointing compared with what they have imagined of Him. The more reticent treatment of the Divine Story in the filmed version of " Ben Hur " is more likely to appeal to the present age. Yet none the less is " Ben Hur " religious drama. Its plot may be defective, but anyone who has seen the rapt look on the faces of the poor, the uneducated, the toilworn among the audience will know how right Tennyson was when he wrote of the Incarnation :

" Truth embodied in a tale
 Shall enter in at lowly doors."

K. M. CARROLL.

READING AND WRITING IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY.

WHILE modern scholarship has shown that the knowledge of writing was diffused much more widely, and practised at a much earlier date than was formerly imagined, it has also taught us that the knowledge was not generally used for the purposes of literature, at any rate in western lands, till a comparatively late date. While the Homeric poems might well have been written down as early as the tenth century B.C., it is in the last degree unlikely that they were. Even when the knowledge of writing was so widespread that a body of Greek mercenary soldiers in the seventh century were able to inscribe their names, like any modern sightseers, on an Egyptian monument, at Abu Simbel on the Nile—where they are still to be read—literature was yet dependent for its diffusion on oral transmission. Even by the Greeks of the Periclean age writing was considered a poor substitute for the living word—a complaint more than once voiced by Plato.

For many centuries authors addressed themselves primarily to their own immediate circle, either of auditors or of disciples. The recitation of epic poems remained in the hands of a "school," on whom the poet's mantle was supposed to have fallen, who were themselves thought to have received something of his inspiration. In the same way, there were "schools" of medicine and of prophets, who inherited a constantly increasing body of literature, and held a sort of copyright in it from which they derived no small profit. Hence the rhapsodes and oracle-mongers who meet us in the pages of Plato and Aristophanes. What manuscripts there were would be professional copies and jealously guarded.

This is one of the reasons why literature was so long confined to verse; it was easier to remember, and more impressive to recite. So Hesiod wrote his *Farmers' Calendar* and *Moral Maxims* and *Genealogy of the Gods*, with a first attempt at a scientific cosmogony, in verse; similarly, a long series of gnomic poets, represented to us by Theognis, though to the ancients the chief was Phocylides. Owing to the fluctuating nature of the tradition, and consequent uncertainty of authorship, Phocylides conceived the idea of earmarking his verses by beginning them with *καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδου* "this too says Phocylides." Unfortunately, it was just as easy to write *καὶ τόδε Δημοδοκον* with the result that the works of Phocylides and Demodocus became inextricably confused. Later all floating gnomic verses in elegiacs tended to become lumped together under the name of Theognis: it is possible that an anthology was compiled about the fifth century for school use and loosely attributed to him. Hence nearly all early Greek poetry

became full of interpolations—by imitators, rhapsodes, disciples or schoolmasters. Usually the intention was quite harmless; whatever you wrote in the margin of your own private and much-treasured copy might be regarded by the next owner or copyist as part of the text: there was no means of distinguishing addenda from mere marginalia. Even philosophers, if they wrote at all, right up to the fifth century wrote in verse. But often they did not write—what they had to say they taught to their disciples, having no wish whatever to reach the outer world. Even what they wrote they did not intend for general circulation, and probably made it intentionally obscure or allegorical.

Perhaps the earliest Greek prose consisted of chronological tables and genealogies, for quite utilitarian ends, later developing into chronicles, finally into history. (Compare the growth of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—indeed, the whole growth of Anglo-Saxon literature shows remarkable parallels to that of early Greece.) There were also guide-books and books of navigation for the use of traders—the earliest map was that of Anaximander, about 600 B.C. The consummation and glory of all this early historical and geographical literature is the noble History of Herodotus (430-420).

All this time a reading public had not existed. Literature was written first for recitation at the courts of kings and nobles (the early epic), then for the banquets of the aristocracy (personal lyric), and public festivals (choral lyric); then we find Solon reciting his political propaganda poetry in the market place—prose rhetoric had not then been thought of—and finally the great national assemblies became regular occasions for the public recitation of literature, whether of Homer, as organised by Pisistratus at the Panathenaic festival, or of new compositions by their authors. Thus we hear of the youthful Thucydides moved to emulation by Herodotus' reading of his history at a festival, and later of Lysias delivering a harangue at Olympia which caused the mob to wreck the gorgeous tent and paraphernalia of Dionysius the Tyrant, and, as late as the middle of the fourth century, of Isocrates composing his discourses, at least in theory, for recitation for all Greece assembled at its festivals—hence our term *panegyric*, properly a discourse to the people assembled at some festival.

When, then, can we first speak of a reading public? According to the distinguished Berlin scholar, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, the first books intended for promiscuous circulation were the texts of Greek tragedies—we must remember that these were acted but once, and then in groups of four on the same day. Even then they were not *published* by the poet—the act of publication was the stage-production—and he had probably no control of the text whatever. And if we may trust the story of Plutarch (used by

Browning in *Balaustion's Adventure*) that the Athenian prisoners at Syracuse gained their liberty by reciting passages of Euripides, it would appear that the demand for copies still far exceeded the supply.

The change was no doubt due to the enormous popularity of tragedy in the age of Pericles, but commercially it was the introduction of the papyrus roll on a wholesale scale which was really the turning point. Papyrus had long been known in Egypt, and no doubt occasionally used in Greece; but while for casual purposes *ostraca* (fragments of pottery, etc.) and wooden or lead tablets had been mainly used, in Ionia, which was till the Periclean age the centre of Greek literature, the expensive and unwieldy *diphthera*, or prepared skin—the predecessor of parchment—had still held the field. With the introduction of the papyrus roll the cheap book became possible—though when we remember that the purchasing power of money was some twenty times what it is to-day, it is clear that its cheapness has been much exaggerated. Ancient letter-writers constantly imply that papyrus was by no means cheap. (Hence arose the custom of writing on both sides referred to in the New Testament, Rev. v, 1; compare Juvenal's *in tergo scriptus necdum finitus Orestes*.)

But even then we can hardly imagine literature as appealing primarily to a public of readers. The rhapsodes still recited their epics; tragedy, comedy and dithyramb were still written with a view mainly to public performance. In fact, the dithyramb and kindred forms were largely, and drama partly, unintelligible without the essential accompaniment of music and dancing; the music was no doubt preserved, but only in stage copies. Similarly lyrical poetry, like that of Sappho and Alcæus, would still be chiefly transmitted orally, with the musical accompaniment, and sung in *symposia* at gentlemen's houses by the guests in turn (accompanying oneself on the lyre was part of a liberal education). The speeches of the orators were not always published after delivery—at least by their authors—and hence arose in later days vexed questions of authenticity. The teaching of Socrates was entirely oral, and the writings of Plato and Aristotle were only subsidiary to their main work as heads of schools.

But in the fourth century a great change was taking place: the old civic life was breaking up; the great creative age was drawing to an end; the ancient music, so essential to every form of lyric poetry, was beginning to disappear, and finally, in the next century, seems to have died out. By the end of the fourth century we are in the Alexandrian age—the age of students and readers, of libraries and editors. Now for the first time the works of the great writers were collected as classics, and multiplied by a regular book-trade—and not for students alone: we see now from innumerable parts that cheap copies of Homer, Sappho, Euripides, Menander,

other favourite authors reached the most remote and insignificant villages of the Greek world, and taking all things into consideration, the work of transmission was well done. Scholars were at great pains to secure good copies, and it is from these texts that our MSS. ultimately derive—inferior texts as a rule tending gradually to give place to them.

Many of the authors whose style or dialect was peculiar must have been as difficult then as now. Dionysius of Halicarnassus expressly says that much of Thucydides in his day was considered unintelligible, and the ancient scholiast, coming for once to a passage where all is plain sailing, uses the memorable phrase, "Here the lion laughs." (Could Browning have been thinking of this when he refers to "the sole joke in Thucydides"?) Helps to the reader were few: at first there were not even titles, nor divisions into books; passages were indicated by reference to their contexts—"at the setting up of the bow," "the watching from the wall," "in my Assyrian discourse"; prose was written continuously without any break whatever, and some verse, even, was written as prose; there was no punctuation of any kind, and, of course, there were no accents; in drama changes of speaker were imperfectly indicated—though some stage directions were given (which modern editors for some reason or other omit). In time, but very gradually, some of these defects were remedied: diacritical marks were sparingly introduced, an attempt was made to end a line with a break in the sense, the margins were used to provide helps to the reader, and we even find headlines used to facilitate reference. As a rule, the more difficult the text the greater was the use of diacritical marks; but not till well on in the Middle Ages was any regular system of punctuation evolved. Again a papyrus roll of forty feet long or more must have been awkward to refer to, even if one was sure which roll of Thucydides, say, contained the passage required; marginal notes were constantly getting mixed up with the text; the Greek alphabet (and the Latin almost equally) led very easily to the confusion of letters; numerals were almost certain to go wrong; and altogether the reading of an ancient manuscript must have been a far more exacting business than one might at first suppose.

Consequently the art of reading occupied a very important place in ancient education; boys were trained to read clearly and effectively, special stress being laid on bringing out the nuance of the text, *ἐμφασις*—hence the modern use of the word emphasis. And it must be remembered that private reading was always comparatively rare among the ancients: usually you read aloud to your friends, or your slave read aloud to you. It has been quite recently discovered that the ancients even when alone read aloud to themselves, for they never forgot that the written word is only the ghost

of the spoken word, and were much more sensitive to the well-balanced phrase, the rolling rhetorical period, the satisfying cadence, than most moderns—certainly than most Englishmen. As among the Latin races of to-day, it was felt that a well turned and perfectly modelled sentence or a noble passage of poetry was a work of perfect art and a delight to the ear: we shall never appreciate the “surge and thunder of the Odyssey” till we too read it aloud. And, to do them justice, classical scholars have always realised this. There are passages in all great literature which we feel we must read aloud—“mouth them,” we say—repeat again and again till we have perfectly assimilated them. The noble-sounding rhythms of Sir Thomas Browne, of Milton, of Jeremy Taylor—“so have I seen”—are most obviously calculated for reading aloud; it is possible that Milton’s ear became increasingly sensitive to the majesty of the spoken word as he was compelled to depend less and less on the use of the eye.

This habit of the ancients of reading aloud explains a point in the well-known story of Acontius and Cydippe which must have struck many as unnatural. We know now why Acontius felt certain that when Cydippe received his apple she would read aloud the words, “I swear to Artemis that I will marry Acontius.” Fresh light is also thrown on the meeting of Philip and the Chamberlain of Queen Candace—Philip approached and *heard* him reading the prophet Isaiah; to the ancient reader it would have been obvious that he was reading aloud. In this, as in other cases, it is the exception which best proves the rule—for naturally ancient authors do not often explicitly mention a universal every-day custom. In a famous passage of the Confessions (vi. 3) St. Augustine tells of his meeting with Ambrose; he goes on to say, “when Ambrose was reading, his eyes travelled over the page, and his mind sought out the meaning, but his voice and tongue were silent . . . thus we saw him reading silently and never otherwise.” This is the passage which first put scholars on the right track.

It was probably the growth of the monastic system, with its inculcation of silence, which led to the cessation of this habit. In the Rule of St. Benedict it is laid down that, if any of the brethren reads, he must read in such a way as not to disturb the others. As education soon fell entirely into the hands of the monks, it would be natural for them to teach pupils to read in their own way, particularly when it was found that silent reading gave greater scope for thought and meditation. In conclusion it may be suggested that the theatrical custom of reading letters aloud is a survival from the time when, as in the comedies of Plautus, it was no convention at all, but simply a reproduction of a familiar scene of daily life.

W. B. SEDGWICK.

SEVEN AGES OF THE BEE.

SCARCELY one of the great company of writers, ancient or modern, who have discoursed upon the honeybee, whether from the scientific, practical, poetical or metaphysical point of view, has failed to draw attention to the division of labour in the hive and the different kinds of duties performed by divers of the inhabitants. This aspect of bee life is happily summed up by the following passage, frequently quoted in bee books, but so much to the present point that I make no apology for repeating it here:

“ . . . so work the honeybees,
Creatures that by a rule of nature teach
The act of order to a peopled kingdom.
They have a king and officers of sorts;
Where some, like magistrates, correct at home,
Others, like merchants, venture trade abroad,
Others, like soldiers, armèd in their stings,
Make boot upon the summer’s velvet buds,
Which pillage they with merry march bring home
To the tent-royal of their emperor;
Who, busied in his majesty, surveys
The singing masons building roofs of gold,
The civil citizens kneading up the honey,
The poor mechanic porters crowding in
Their heavy burdens at his narrow gate,
The sad-eyed justice, with his surly hum,
Delivering o’er to executors pale
The lazy yawning drone.”

—*King Henry V*, Act 1, Scene 2.

This complex organisation makes its appeal to us primarily because it reproduces the state of things found in a highly civilised human community, and as the latter appears to be the product of a high order of intellect, carefully directed and controlled, we regard it as marvellous that small insects should be able to conduct their affairs on equally well ordered and in some respects superior lines.

Speculation about the manner in which this complicated organisation has been perfected and is maintained in operation, has been plentiful enough. It has mainly been directed towards discovering the ruling power, since all our experience goes to show that such a state of things cannot endure, or indeed, come into being without some guiding and controlling hand. The earlier writers, among whom our great bard must be numbered, had no difficulty in assigning this rule to a king, for they supposed that the single stately figure found in every hive, surrounded by an attentive and apparently reverent bodyguard, was in very truth the governor among the people. Being in no doubt about that, they scarcely needed to go into more detail. Although they could see no signs that the

king was able to communicate his desires and behests to his subjects, they were convinced that he did so, and that the whole of the wonderful polity was an ideal monarchical system—a little ruthless at times, but tending to prosperity because founded on the great and everlasting principles of justice and equity.

This simple explanation of the matter was badly knocked on the head by the discovery that the so-called king was after all not even a male, but a female and “mother of all the others.” In a world dominated by the sentiment that the female is an inferior, weakly creature, fit only to be protected and by no means to be charged with authority and rule, this discovery introduced doubt as to how far the maternal functions could be reconciled with those of a sovereign monarch, and in spite of the courage of the original discoverer, Charles Butler, who boldly entitled his book *The Feminine Monarchie*, the notion that the whole hive was governed and directed by the queen steadily weakened. Doubt is the parent of discovery and from thenceforth every new fact seemed to make it less and less likely that the government of the hive is despotic. It was found that the queen did not even lead out the swarm which founded a new colony, that a hive deprived of its sovereign head did not therefore become a disorganised rabble, but, after a short time of not unnatural excitement, went about its lawful occasions much as aforetime. Ultimately, almost coincidentally with the spread of democratic ideals among the nations, the monarchical theory of the hive perished altogether.

What to set in its place certainly proved a puzzle. Was it conceivable that there was, in fact, a Parliament or Council, with committees and sub-committees to deal with things weighty or trivial, according to their status? There was certainly not the smallest sign of it, and incredible though it has seemed to those unable to conceive of organisation without an organiser, or government without a ruler, we have had to be content with the weak unsatisfactory explanation coined by Maeterlinck in the phrase “The spirit of the hive.”

When science, even in its infant days, approached the matter, a little more progress was made. Having satisfactorily assigned one natural and all important duty to the queen—maternity—and thereby laid a good foundation, the next thing was to account for the other peculiar inhabitants of the hive. Joseph Warder, who seems to have found out for himself something about the true functions of “the lazy yawning drone,” tells us that “the opinion that most prevails among the Country Bee Mistresses is that they are Bees that have lost their Sting and so growing to that prodigious Bigness they become Drones. Now this their mistake is occasioned by their seeing that they do not work, nor

cannot sting.” The sex of the drone and the manner in which he fulfils his functions having been satisfactorily determined, his place in the hive polity was settled and another step forward rested on the sure foundation of natural capacity; but although the nature of the worker, as an undeveloped female, was by anatomical investigations clearly demonstrated, nothing further was discovered to throw light on the division of labour between these, the vastly more numerous members of the hive community. Some have professed to discover two or more sorts of workers, each being assigned its own natural function, but such claims have never been supported by tangible evidence.

Yet this is not an insuperable problem and its solution is readily found if we accept as a general principle what we are forced to accept concerning the queen and the drone—natural capacity. We know quite well that the queen’s labour is circumscribed by her anatomy and physiology, and the drone is also compelled to follow the laws of his physiological makeup, so why not the worker? Because, it may be answered, we can find no anatomical or physiological differences between the workers, who nevertheless do not all perform the same functions. Now this is only partly true. Its weakness lies in the assumption that the worker is at all times and under all conditions anatomically and physiologically the same and this is manifestly untrue. The worker is at first an egg, then a larva, a nymph, and finally a perfect bee, but although those four stages are manifestly and dramatically different, neither of them is arrived at or departed from by a magical process, but comes about gradually and imperceptibly. In the same way, once a worker has attained the adult form, it does not remain, from the time it left the cell till it falls with frayed wings and hair-denuded body, a victim to autumnal warfare between neighbouring hives, entirely unchanged in anatomy, physiology or instinct. Indeed, there is not a beemaster of experience who cannot tell you which bees are newly emerged from their cells, and which have spent many weeks of toil in the open field.

The function which a worker bee performs as an egg is definite, if limited. It simply lies quietly at the bottom of the cell for three days. As a larva it also performs a very simple but none the less clear duty. It receives the food given to it and absorbs it into its body, until the corpus is sufficiently nourished to bring it to the next more self-determining stage. When fully grown, it performs the first of its independent acts by spinning a light cocoon of silk in which to lie shrouded for the few days when profound anatomical changes take place within it. At this time only can the bee produce silk for making the cocoon. The next stage in the worker’s life is emergence from the cell, and its first

act is to use its newly formed organs of mastication, the only ones it is yet capable of using. It bites away the covering of its cell and crawls forth to the workaday world of the hive.

So far, the worker's place in the hive economy is clearly marked out for it, and we do not have the least difficulty in appreciating that it needs no spirit of the hive, much less any definite orders from anyone, to carry out its duty. It takes its place among the ranks of workers, although still unable to do more than crawl and bite. It therefore crawls from cell to cell and bites, that is to say, it performs the functions of a cell cleaner, by taking in its mouth any material adhering to the walls of the cells and allowing it, should it not prove palatable, to fall to the hive floor. Crawling and biting not only strengthen the organs, but they hasten certain inner physiological changes. The young creature is still in the brood atmosphere and its predominant instinct is to cling to that sphere. There is therefore nothing more natural than that it should become what it is well known to become, pre-eminently a "nurse" bee. Feeding the young larvæ is the next stage in its progress. It has not lost the larval instinct to take food at hand whenever it desires, nor in fact does it ever lose it, for the most permanent instinct in the worker bee is to take up honey at all times, unless and until it is incapable of taking in more. At this stage of life the consequence of constant feeding is to stimulate the glands which produce bee milk, which is fed to the larvæ. This capacity is not entirely lost, any more than other instincts, but it becomes weaker, and hives which are obliged, under unusual circumstances, to rear brood when there are few young workers in the hive, produce poorly-nourished and undersized queens. As the worker becomes more muscular by constant activity, so it loses one dominant capacity and develops another. It tends gradually to be less occupied in feeding brood and more concerned in feeding itself, sucking up from the cells honey newly deposited by the foragers and gorging to repletion. Thus there comes into action the next most important function. Overgorging must find an outlet and it takes the form of wax production. It requires a large amount of food to produce wax and this consumption must be accompanied by inactivity, for wax is certainly the result of feeding beyond the natural needs of the body. When the surplus fat has accumulated as scales in the pockets under the body, the next thing is to get rid of them and they are removed by the insect's legs. Many wax scales are found on the hive floor and I hazard the conjecture that they are not so much accidental droppings as the first two or three scales which the neophyte merely wants to get rid of. As the lethargy caused by gorging wears off and activity reasserts itself, the wax producer's instinct

for consumption induces it to put the scales into its mouth—the next stage towards the development of building. Wax not being digestible, after some mastication it must be disposed of. How and where? What more natural than to stick it on a cell, if there happens to be room, or on the wall of the hive? I need not labour the details which combine to produce the architect, but all who know anything of the matter will agree that cell building is just a matter of putting down pieces of wax and removing what is excessive. It is, at any rate, a marked stage in the development of the worker, and one which clearly belongs to this period, though capable of employment at other times, being specially active after swarming, when every bee leaving the parent hive goes away gorged, so that it is glad to rest when the turmoil of the time is settled by the occupation of a new domicile.

Pressure of affairs impels the worker on to the next stage. Comb building is proportioned to the income of honey, but when the cells have reached a certain depth, so that a bee can only just squeeze between two faces, the extra wax is used to cover it up. It thus removes temptation to gorge from itself and fellows. Activity becomes more marked and the young bee extends its wanderings within the hive until at last it finds itself outside. Here it becomes still more energetic and discovers that its wings will bear it aloft. Once having found wings, who would not want to use them? We do not wonder that, given attractive climatic conditions, no flying creature will be content to grovel within doors at menial tasks which can safely be left to a generation which has not yet discovered the delights of flight. It hovers with its fellows—for the whole of one day's egg-laying has arrived at this point simultaneously—round and round the hive, and finds a new joy in the use of its large compound eyes, a hitherto unknown possession. It circles about and sees. It marks the situation of its home, which it dare not desert entirely, and its circles become wider and wider until they embrace a territory which ultimately may cover five square miles. It has not lost its basic instinct to suck up honey, and its powers of scent lead it where the familiar pabulum is found—the flowers. So it becomes, first and foremost, a forager, and so long as its forays prove profitable, it continues to its life's end to forage.

Ultimately, however, the flowers dry up and its journeys are useless. The honey in the hive has, by those in the earlier stages, been sealed over, and the comb is no longer redolent and inviting. It has nothing to do. It hovers on the edge of the flight board, eager to be abroad, but knowing it to be useless to go. Who does not know this sure sign of cessation of the honeyflow, the jostling discontented crowd before the hive? From discontent to bad

temper is an easy descent, and the next stage of the bee is the defensive and aggressive one. How the most amiable hive is transformed at this time! With muscular energy developed by a graded succession of labours, half empty bellies, and time on their hands—the guard and soldier stage is reached by the most natural evolution. Not to waste this, the final instinct, comes the “pale executor” wreaking a sour mood on the drones, who are dragged out to die. From the executor to the brigand, prowling round neighbouring hives and stealing where opportunity offers, is but a step—the last of an honourable career. Hardbitten, hairless, ragged-winged old bees, eager for plunder, far too ready with the sting, they perish in hundreds, and take no share of the great spoils they laboured so hard to win during the long July days.

If I have not literally justified my title, I have at least tried to show that the spirit of the hive is nothing but natural evolution and the performance by each member of that work alone for which it is at the time fitted by anatomy and physiology. As with the individual bee, so with the entire colony, which is one and indivisible. From breeding to cell building, from cell building to foraging, from foraging to guarding the store, is the normal, natural and uniform progress of a bee colony through the all too short summer.

HERBERT MACE.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

THE GLOOM OF 1928.

THE year ends without relief to the melancholy which has characterised its diplomacy. No year since the Great War has given so little satisfaction in the retrospect. It is not only that the record is empty of achievement; its emptiness is doubly culpable because even a little idealism on the part of the French and British diplomatists would have ensured the successful accomplishment of something big and something valuable to mankind. The Kellogg Pact was stifled at its birth by the combined *gaucherie* of Whitehall and of the Quai d'Orsay. It is true that the Pact was signed; but the confidence and good feeling by which its success was to have been measured were crushed by Paris and by London before they could grow. It is probably true that the world has the diplomatists it deserves, but that reflection brings little consolation to serious people.

It is difficult for fair-minded commentators to evade the realisation that British diplomacy, which had it in its power to make all the difference in the right direction, by contrast made all the difference in the wrong direction. Sir Austen Chamberlain was unwell, and was absent from office during the four months when the greatest disasters occurred. His lieutenant, Lord Cushendun, upon whom was thrust at the very crisis of an historic opportunity the virtual responsibility for taking or for missing it, missed it with a whole-hearted ineptitude such as might make the angels despair of Europe. It was a cruel trick of fate that gave to Lord Cushendun at such a moment a deciding influence in big diplomacy. The result was an almost unqualified disaster.

When Sir Austen Chamberlain returned from the cruise that had restored his physical health, he himself was so far from being restored to diplomatic health that he promptly out-Cushenduned Lord Cushendun. With apparent unconcern he surveyed the wreck of the previous four months, and was content to make the reflection that the press of the world breaks many windows which the Governments of the world thereupon have to mend. Serious people, of course, began to wonder if Sir Austen after all was wholly restored even to physical well-being. His mentality of 1925, which produced the Locarno triumphs, would certainly never have conceived so bankrupt a notion.

If it be the primary duty of a diplomatist to avoid making enemies, what shall one say of a diplomatist who goes out of his way to provoke the “press of the world” to hostility? What is the “press”? In our time it is the most important medium through which the diplomatist must work. The golfer who breaks his

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clubs over his knee is engaged in a very human proceeding: but it would be a mistake to take him too seriously as a golfer. Sir Austen Chamberlain was not in his best form when he returned from his holiday.

If the word Locarno symbolises Sir Austen Chamberlain at his best, Lugano, or the conditions which immediately preceded the Lugano meeting (for the results of that meeting were not known when this paper was written) symbolises him at his worst. The wretched Article 431 of the wretched Treaty of Versailles never flourished as it flourished under Sir Austen's hand at the beginning of December, 1928. Of that phenomenon the chronicle will appear below.

Of all the things, big and small, that went wrong with the world's diplomacy in the year 1928, there are two that stand out in relief. One of them was the Kellogg Pact; the other the Locarno Pact as judged by the occupation of the Rhinelands. In both those diplomatic fields the tactical dominance lay with London. What the general position amounted to was that a contest was forming between a forward tendency and a backward tendency in world affairs. The forward tendency consisted in the practical honouring by Europe of the Locarno idea, which implied the evacuation by the anachronistic "allies" of the territory of their anachronistic "enemies"; concurrently there developed a tendency towards American collaboration with Europe in the big work of all diplomacy, namely, the realisation of the pacifist ideal. The backward tendency resulted from the French ambition to maintain a military hegemony in Europe, a hegemony which presupposed the continued military impotence of Germany and the virtual rejection of the Locarno principle.

Those two conflicting tendencies met in the early summer of 1928. If British influence had been thrown on the side of the progressive tendency, the French reaction would have been isolated, and being weighed in the scale against a British-German-American *bloc*, would have proved wholly impotent. Instead, British influence in effect, if not in intention, threw itself on the side of French reaction, with the result that both the conciliation of Germany and the attraction of American goodwill were thwarted, and the forward tendency above defined was brought to a standstill.

There is ample evidence to support the view that the reactionary policy of British diplomacy was not an intentional policy. The semi-official inspiration that was directed from Whitehall to Fleet Street (that is, to Sir Austen's window-breakers) and the official apologies spoken from the Government's front benches at Westminster, both attempted to prove that the Government's intentions were progressive and not reactionary. He, however, who excuses himself

has either a guilty or a muddled conscience. In this case, as was argued in these corresponding pages last month, Whitehall probably suffered more from muddled than from bad intentions.

The measure of the disservice done to British interests by those who have had charge of British diplomacy during 1928 is given by the twin fact that the United States and Germany have both been estranged, and France cynically pleased. The Quai d'Orsay has not concealed its assumption that Whitehall would acquiesce in whatever France proposed to do. It must be confessed that, judged by results, that assumption has been fully justified in 1928.

FROM LOCARNO TO LUGANO.

European diplomacy continues to be dominated by the French sabotage of every part of the Locarno principle except that part which prescribes British naval, military and air support in case of danger to France. Inasmuch as the dominant principle of British diplomacy at the present time is to nurse France right or wrong, British diplomacy at the present time has ceased to count as a constructive force.

The story, unattractive as it may be, has to be chronicled in its stages. On October 30th the German Ambassadors in London, Rome, Paris, Brussels and Tokio submitted to the Foreign Ministers of those capitals a German memorandum in which a desire was expressed that the committee of experts, as decided upon at Geneva on September 16th, be set up without further delay; that the members thereof should be independent financiers, working in the objective light of their expert knowledge, and not in the light of political instruction from their governments; that their terms of reference should be so framed as to enable them to give the fullest consideration to the problem of a final reparations settlement.

As the British Government at that time was still engaged in the practical business of burying the naval "compromise" with France, and as in any case it was regarded as necessary by the British Government to be fully informed in the first place of what France thought of the German memorandum of October 30th, the British Foreign Office did not at once react directly to that memorandum. The Quai d'Orsay by contrast was prompt enough. On November 1st the Paris newspapers became full of Article 234 of the Treaty of Versailles. Of course, obstructive tactics are always easy. In this case it was easy for the Quai d'Orsay to discover, and to inspire a docile press with the discovery, that by Article 234 of the Treaty it was the business of the Reparation Commission, and of no other commission, to examine from time to time the resources and capacity of Germany

to pay reparation, and that, moreover, in spite of any such examination, that Commission had no powers "to cancel any part [of the debt], except with the specific authority of the several Governments represented upon the Commission."

The fact that on September 16th the French Government had agreed to the setting up of an expert committee to be appointed by the various Governments (including the German Government), not by the Reparation Committee (on which Germany is not represented) was conveniently and easily ignored in Paris. France, in effect, tore up the agreement of September 16th. One thing at any rate is clear, namely, that French opinion is entirely honest in its dread of Germany. Nothing less than an unending nightmare of terror could explain the tenacity with which France clutches at every Article of the Treaty of Versailles—and there are many such—of which the effect is to perpetuate the "defeat" of Germany. Ten years after the war ended, and three years after the Locarno Treaties were signed, Paris opinion, both official and unofficial, resounded with the thesis that the German Government, while it might be "heard," could not have any determining voice in the settlement of the problem of reparations. In spite of the fine things M. Briand said about Locarno on December 1st, 1925, the only part of the Locarno Treaty that maintains its appeal to France is the part that provides for sanctions. It may be that French diplomacy is explained on the analogy of extreme neurasthenia, and that the British problem is therefore extremely delicate; but how long can Europe be expected to humour a neurasthenic France?

Article 234 of the Treaty of Versailles was given a well earned, if short, rest on November 5th, when the Angers Congress of the Socialist-Radical party adopted a manifesto which forced the four Radical-Socialist members of the Poincaré Ministry to resign. The manifesto expressed disapproval of the Government's policy on four heads, including its military and naval expenditure. The four Ministers, MM. Herriot, Albert Sarraut, Perrier and Queuille, resigned on the following day, whereupon M. Poincaré himself promptly resigned on the excellent ground that the Angers manifesto made coalition with the Radical-Socialist party impossible. In Paris, however, and particularly in the case of M. Poincaré, the resignation of the Government may be part of a normal day's work. By November 9th; that is after only three days, M. Poincaré agreed "in principle" (a formula commonly used by French politicians who want to gain time) to form a new Ministry. The time he wanted to gain was two days. He formed his new Ministry on November 11th by the simple expedient of excluding the four Ministers who had resigned on November 6th and of himself sur-

rendering the portfolio of Finance to M. Chéron. M. Briand retained the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, M. Painlevé of War, M. Barthou of Justice.

When M. Poincaré, thus clothed anew, faced the Chamber on November 15th, he proclaimed with fresh vigour all his old policies, including his unwavering loyalty to the sum total of Germany's reparation debt as decreed by the Reparation Commission on May 5th, 1921. He thereby ignored the event of September 16th, 1928, and was supported by the Chamber to the tune of 330 votes to 129.

Whitehall meanwhile continued its official silence on the subject. The only indication that was given to the world that the British Government was interested in the prevailing phase of the question of reparations and the Rhineland slipped out of Mr. Baldwin's speech of November 9th, the occasion of the Lord Mayor's Banquet. He protested limply that Anglo-French-German co-operation on Locarno lines continued to inspire British diplomacy, but somewhat destroyed his own effect by postulating in particular an Anglo-French understanding. He had the courage, it is true, to admit that His Majesty's Government wanted to evacuate the Rhinelands; but made the surprising submission that it would be a stupidity for Great Britain to walk out of the Rhinelands and leave France behind. Why? The technique of French diplomacy in the Rhinelands, based as it is on the conception of an "Allied" occupation, would be decisively damaged if only French troops were left in the Rhinelands. The prevailing principle of British diplomacy whereby it is supposed that the only practical course is to follow France, even though British interests and British desires be thereby violated, is one of the hardest things to understand. When in January, 1923, Mr. Bonar Law was faced with a somewhat analogous French determination to annex the Ruhr, he flatly dissociated himself from France. On January 11th, 1923, M. Poincaré dashed into the Ruhr alone; more strictly, his armies did the dashing, he himself never venturing inside the Ruhr during the whole period of the occupation. One result of Mr. Bonar Law's firm stand was that on June 11th—exactly five months later—the French Ambassador in London called at the Foreign Office and in the course of a long message announced that the French Government was anxious to revert to the diplomatic relationship which had obtained between the "Allies" before January 11th and to resume negotiations. France was beaten. By September the Ruhr was evacuated.

It is at least arguable that if Mr. Baldwin's present Government had applied the Bonar Law tactic to the French occupation of the Rhinelands after the Locarno treaties were signed, as his

1923 Government followed the Bonar Law tactic after France decided to occupy the Ruhr, a comparable result might have been achieved, and the Rhinelands might have been evacuated in 1926. It is true that there is a juridical difference between the two occupations; that in 1923 the British Government was able to challenge the "legality" of the Ruhr occupation, whereas in the case of the Rhinelands, M. Poincaré would be able with juridical propriety and for ever, to invoke the first word of Article 431 of the Treaty of Versailles to justify a permanent annexation of the Rhinelands. (That Article reads: "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.") But what man in his senses cares two straws for the juridical aspect of the French determination to annex the Rhinelands?

France having decreed that the Rhinelands continue for an indefinite time to be occupied by "Allied" troops, and Great Britain remaining accommodately silent, Herr Stresemann decided on November 19th to try and force an issue. Speaking in the Reichstag on that date he declared that German opinion was not alone in regarding the continued occupation of the Rhineland as an offence against the spirit of what had taken place in Europe in the last few years, that the German Government felt sure of its position not only morally, but legally, and that therefore the time had come for Germany to make a formal claim that the Rhinelands be evacuated. He pathetically referred to certain authoritative admissions made by Ministers in London, that in the British view the question of the Rhinelands was a separate question from that of reparations: pathetically, because he knew that the British Government was not being true to its own opinion. On the following day Herr Stresemann's foreign policy was approved by the Reichstag by 219 votes to 98.

In the third week of November therefore we witnessed the curious spectacle of M. Poincaré receiving 330 votes against 129 to support him in his policy towards Germany (November 15th), and of Herr Stresemann receiving 219 votes against 98 to support him in his policy towards France (November 20th): those two policies being wholly incompatible.

The issue being thus fairly joined, the two active parties, namely, Germany and France, proceeded to elaborate their positions, the dormant party, namely, Great Britain, continuing meanwhile to be dormant. A Cabinet meeting was held in Paris on November 26th to consider, not for the first time, the September agreement about the setting up of a committee of experts to investigate the problem of reparations. After the meeting, a member of the

Cabinet allowed his name to be published as the author of a statement in which this astonishing sentence appeared: "In spite of what has been before announced, it is not the Government, but the Reparation Commission, that will appoint the experts." In other words the French Government, without reference to Berlin or to London, simply repudiated the agreement it had made with the German and British Governments two months before. A loyal French press crossed the t's of that pronouncement, although the t's needed no such crossing, by recalling (1) that the Reparation Commission had no competence to consider any debts except Germany's reparation debt, that is, could not investigate inter-Allied debts (the point intended to be conveyed being that the Balfour principle, for instance, could not be taken into account); (2) that German participation in the work of any committee appointed by the Reparation Commission was wholly excluded by the precious part eight of the precious annex two of the Treaty of Versailles. Paris, in short, was trifling with, laughing at, the whole conception of a reparations inquiry, although M. Briand had definitely agreed to such an inquiry only two months before. Is it any wonder that Europe is a savage continent, when such diplomacy as that of present-day France plays a leading rôle? French propaganda is right in its plea that there is no security in Europe, for security depends on confidence; but French propaganda is wrong in thinking that the lack of confidence is the result of anything else but French sabotage.

The particular propaganda launched in Paris after the Cabinet meeting of November 26th was vigorously prosecuted for some days, each day bringing some argument even more destructive than that of the day before. No sooner had Paris of its own will announced the abandonment of a reparations inquiry of the type decided on in September, than steps were taken to warn whom it might concern that even the revised inquiry, to be conducted, according to the same will, by the Reparation Commission, was to be an unimportant affair, for Article 234 of the Treaty of Versailles robbed that Commission of any competence to fix a new total of the indemnity except on conditions which would enable any Government, for instance the French Government, to veto a reduction in the amount. "The Reparation Commission (runs Article 234) shall, after May 1st, 1921, from time to time consider the resources and capacity of Germany, and, after giving her representatives a just opportunity to be heard, shall have discretion to extend the date, and to modify the form of payments, such as were provided for in accordance with Article 233, but not to cancel any part, except with the specific authority of the several Governments represented

upon the Commission." What could be easier than the task French propaganda set itself on November 26th?

Sir Austen Chamberlain returned from his holiday cruise on November 25th. He was therefore plunged into the very middle of a situation as unpleasant as that which he left behind when he fell ill at the beginning of August. During the four months of his absence British prestige had touched the depths. If he had not read his papers while he was away, his eyes must have opened wide when he reached his room at the Foreign Office. On the very day before he returned to London the German Ambassador in London left a memorandum at the Foreign Office explaining that in the German Government's view the Experts' Committee should be composed of experts whose business would be to examine objectively Germany's capacity to pay. The German Ambassadors in Paris, Rome, and Brussels delivered the like memorandum to those Governments. On the very day following Sir Austen's return, the French Cabinet launched the propaganda above alluded to, with the object of abolishing "experts" altogether.

Sir Austen's was a homecoming such as must have dissipated any hope of a more peaceful life. To his credit be it recorded that he took only a week to gather up his threads. In the first week of December British diplomacy began to use other instruments than that of a stubborn silence. Even on November 27th, two days after his return, Sir Austen had caused to be transmitted to the French and Italian Governments his preliminary outline of what the British Government's answer to the German memorandum of October 30th was likely to be. On December 1st the French Ambassador in London communicated what purported to be the French contribution to the work of framing a joint "Allied" answer to the German Note of October 30th. There is normally a certain subtlety in French technique, contrasting with a certain simplicity in British technique. Sir Austen Chamberlain appears to have fallen a victim to the French implication that in a matter affecting reparations the proper procedure was that of an Allied "concert" *vis-à-vis* Germany.

The French Ambassador on December 1st informed, not the British Foreign Office but the Treasury (another subtlety this of the same technique) that in the French view the reparation "experts" should be nominated by the Reparation Commission.

It was now clearly inevitable that Sir Austen Chamberlain should say something for the enlightenment of, at any rate, British opinion about the Government's standpoint in this matter. Most unfortunately, Sir Austen was given his opportunity (House of Commons, December 3rd) by a question which could not have been framed with less intelligence. The question, which came from the

Labour back benches, asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether it was the opinion of His Majesty's Government that the German Government had carried out the terms of Article 431 of the Peace Treaty; and, if not, whether the particulars in which Germany had not complied could be stated.

Now it was no doubt the honest, simple purpose of that question to elicit a statement of policy from His Majesty's Government. By building the question on a specific article of the treaty, however, the question itself assumed a juridical quality, and therefore defeated its object. The whole point of British policy—insofar as the Government could be induced to live up to its policy instead of simply standing with its hat off to France—was that it rose above the merely juridical situation. Sir Austen therefore found himself in a predicament. Having been asked to give a legal view, he had to give it, but he valiantly tried to lessen the resultant damage by adding a spontaneous statement about policy designed to differentiate between the legal and the diplomatic issue. Yet surely there are ways of arranging these things at Westminster? Could it not easily have been arranged that the question be put in a less stupid form? As it was, the stupid question was solemnly given the stupid answer, thus: "There are two aspects," said Sir Austen, "of the question raised by the hon. member. His particular inquiry relates to the interpretation of the treaty, and is a question of law. There is also a question of policy. On the question of law, His Majesty's Government are advised that there is no legal justification for the contention that Germany has complied with all the obligations imposed upon her by the treaty, so as to entitle her as of right under Article 431 or otherwise to demand the withdrawal of the forces at present occupying the Rhineland before the expiry of the period laid down in the treaty. The chief obligation with which Germany has not yet complied is that of reparations. In the opinion of His Majesty's Government the concession provided for in Article 431 could only take effect when Germany has completely executed and discharged the whole of her reparation obligations. It is not sufficient that she should be carrying out regularly her undertakings in the matter of current reparation payments. The phrase applicable to the punctual performance of current obligations is that used at the beginning of the article providing for the quinquennial reductions in the area under occupation, Article 429: 'If the conditions of the present treaty are faithfully observed. . . .'"

The statement spontaneously added by Sir Austen ran thus: "As to policy, which is equally important, though decided by different considerations, I repeat that His Majesty's Government would welcome an early evacuation of the Rhineland by the

French, British, and Belgian forces, irrespective of the legal right of the ex-Allied Governments to continue their occupation until the expiry of the period fixed by the treaty."

The unfortunate thing was that by far the greater part of what Sir Austen said was taken up by a legal dissertation which was almost completely irrelevant; and perversity being added to perversity, Sir Austen himself, when he came to the really important short sentence at the end, could not summon more courage than to say that the political aspect was "equally" important. Obviously it was the only aspect of any importance at all.

Throughout the following week the German Press completely misread the point of what Sir Austen had said. If read carefully, his statement showed that it was a cardinal desire of the British Government to evacuate the Rhinelands as a matter of expediency and without reference to Article 431 of the treaty. German opinion not only ignored that distinction, but even misread the legal opinion given by Sir Austen. In postulating the complete discharge of the reparation liability as the legal condition for a Rhineland evacuation, he expressly referred, not to the normal evacuation, but to the premature evacuation provided for in Article 431. Yet Sir Austen deserved all the misinterpretation he produced. One cannot assume that one will be read carefully. It is always more likely that one will be read carelessly; and it is the business of statesmanship to forestall and prevent any misunderstanding that may be due to carelessness in other people. Mr. Veniselos could give some sound advice to Sir Austen in that respect. Even on December 3rd Sir Austen was given a supplementary opportunity to be more precise, but he somewhat churlishly rejected it. He was asked: "With regard to the question of law, does this mean that His Majesty's Government now consider that the questions of reparations and the occupation of the German territories are linked together?" All he could find it in his imagination to answer was this: "I have given a considered answer dealing fully with the question on the paper and, indeed, I have added to it because I thought it was necessary to distinguish between the mere question of law and the question of policy which His Majesty's Government desire to pursue. To that answer I am not prepared to add anything."

Sir Austen's perversity was not yet conquered. Two days later (December 5th) he was even heckled in the House by a series of admirable questions of which the following was merely typical: "Whatever be the legal interpretation of Article 431, is it final that we agree with the French view, so long as this Government endures, to keep these two questions of reparations and evacuation linked, and to deny the German case that the questions are not

linked?" At the very moment when that question was asked at Westminster the German Press was rampant with indignation against Sir Austen's alleged endorsement of the French view. It followed clearly from what he said on December 3rd that the Government in its heart did not endorse that view. The question put to him on December 5th was therefore fully justified, and a simple answer from Sir Austen repeating the substance of what he had said about British policy (and of what Mr. Churchill had said some weeks before) would have constituted a timely stroke of diplomacy. Sir Austen's dourness under pressure is however one of his most disastrous qualities. He answered that question as a private schoolboy might have answered it in his first "parliamentary debate." He said: "It would be more convenient if the right hon. gentleman put his question on the paper and gave me time to answer it." Either Sir Austen was completely oblivious of the German misunderstanding, or the infection of French influence had had the deliberate effect of making him avoid emphasising the Cabinet's policy. It was left to the Lord Chancellor, speaking in the House of Lords on December 10th, to give the first reasoned statement about the Government's feelings: "His Majesty's Government had stated," he said, "that they would like to see evacuation take place as soon as possible. It was no good for us to remove our troops; that would only irritate France, and would not help Germany, because there would be no zone left free; it would only mean that French troops would take over our zone. No one would thank us for removing our troops. The only thing to work for was to try to achieve an agreement between the occupying Powers under which arrangements might be made for evacuation at a date earlier than the date the treaty provided. To those negotiations Belgium, which was one of the occupying Powers, must, of course, be a party, equally with France, ourselves and Germany. Italy and Japan, who were also interested in the reparations problem, had a right to be consulted and to have an opportunity of expressing their views, and every endeavour would be made to reach an agreement."

SOUTH AMERICAN BOUNDARIES.

Bolivia and Paraguay have again been engaged in a violent frontier dispute. They are members of the League of Nations, but they are also Latin American republics, victims of a condition in which boundary disputes are almost inevitable. The Council of the League, at its Lugano meeting, considered the reports of armed conflict on the Bolivian-Paraguayan frontier and passed a unanimous resolution to be communicated to the two Governments. It ran thus: "The Council of the League of Nations, meeting at

Lugano for its fifty-third session, expresses its full conviction that the incidents which have occurred between the two members of the League of Nations will not become more serious. It does not doubt that the two States which, by signing the Covenant, have solemnly pledged themselves to seek by pacific means the solution of disputes arising between them will have recourse to such methods as would be in conformity with their international obligations, and would appear in the actual circumstances to be most likely to insure, together with the maintenance of peace, the settlement of their disputes."

The frontier dispute which induced the Council of the League to send that gentle reproof and to remind the two republics of their pacific duty as members of the League, is a reminder also of the persisting chaos which characterises the diplomatic relationship of the South American republics in general. Most of those republics are engaged in permanent dispute with their neighbours—although the dispute is sometimes active and sometimes dormant—about frontiers. The difficulty is chronic. It grew out of the haphazard system whereby the areas of colonisation in South America gradually evolved into independent republics, the frontiers of which, however, were never precisely defined.

The famous dispute between Argentina and Chile over the Andean frontier is a typical example. A slipshod treaty, signed in 1881, merely provided that the frontier should be the crest of the Andes, it being then assumed on both sides that the crest coincided with the continental watershed. When the physical mistake was discovered, Argentina clung to the Andean crest as the frontier, while Chile clung to the watershed. Concurrently Chile was engaged with Peru in the equally chronic and equally famous Tacna-Arica dispute, and the two disputes got mixed up with each other in such a way as to produce in the 'nineties a particularly fatuous military and naval armaments race. The tension was prolonged until in 1898 Chile suggested, and Argentina accepted the suggestion, that arbitration be invoked. In 1899 the United States settled as arbiter one part of the frontier and Great Britain another.

Brazil has been a republic only since 1889, but in its short history has contrived to be embroiled in a remarkable series of frontier disputes. Its boundary at one point or another touches the boundaries of every republic in Latin America except one, namely, Chile, and Brazil has had frontier disputes with one and all of them. Most of the disputes have been composed by arbitral methods since 1900. Boundary treaties are, indeed, something of a feature in Brazilian history; treaties, for instance, were made with Ecuador in 1901 and in 1905, with Bolivia in 1903, with British Guiana in 1904,

Dutch Guiana in 1906, with Colombia in 1907, with Peru in 1909.

The so-called "Acre" dispute of 1899 illustrates one of the ways in which the frontier disputes of South America have been apt to develop. The Acre country lies between Brazil, Bolivia, and Peru, in the Upper Amazon territory. A dim pre-1899 treaty assigned most of the Acre territory to Bolivia, but Bolivia was so little excited about it that no political machinery whatever was set up there. It now happened that Brazilian enterprise in search of rubber plantations penetrated into the Acre territory, where an informal but considerable colony of Brazilian rubber-growers developed. Bolivia thereupon installed Bolivian magistrates. In the summer of 1899, however, the Brazilian rubber-growers decided among themselves that it would be simpler if Acre were an independent State, belonging to themselves. They proclaimed its independence in July of that year. There followed a first-class war between the army of the Bolivian republic and an improvised army of the rubber planters. The Government of the Brazilian Republic, feeling more sympathy with the rubber-growers of Brazilian nationality than with the Republic whose territory those growers had annexed, gave diplomatic support to the pirates, with the result that in November, 1903, Brazil acquired the territory, by simply buying it for £2,000,000 from Bolivia!

The story of frontier complications in Latin America is an unending story. When the Council of the League intervenes, as it has now intervened in the case of Bolivia and Paraguay, its action is merely a technicality, due to the fact that the disputing parties are members of the League, and, as such, bound to settle their disputes by other than violent methods. It would argue a lack of humour to take the matter too seriously.

A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR CHINA.

In one sense October 4th marked the formal end of the Chinese civil wars. On that day there was promulgated "The Organic Law of the National Government of the Republic of China" in its revised form, as revised and adopted by the Central Political Council and the standing committee of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. An important addition was made to the Preamble during the process of revision whereby it was clearly stated that the Kuomintang party was supreme, that it created the Nationalist Government and directed its administration. The Preamble makes the short but historic statement that "The Kuomintang of China, in pursuance of the Three People's Principles [i.e., of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen] and the Five Power Constitution of the Revolution, hereby establishes the Republic of China.

"The Party, having swept away and removed all obstacles by military force and having passed from the period of military conquest to that of political tutelage, now must establish a model government based upon the Five Power Constitution to train the people, so that they may be able to exercise their political powers, and to facilitate the Party in hastening the handing over of such powers to the people.

"Accordingly, the Kuomintang, in fulfilling the duty of direction and supervision of the Nationalist Government devolving upon it by virtue of its history, hereby formulates and promulgates the Law governing the Organisation of the Nationalist Government."

The phrase "Five Power Constitution" indicates the five branches or "Yuan" into which the new constitution divides the machinery of government. The main framework of the constitution is indicated by the following summary of the Organic Law:

The National Government shall exercise all governing powers of the Republic of China and shall have supreme command of the land, naval and air forces. It shall have power to declare war, negotiate peace, and conclude treaties, and shall exercise the power of granting amnesties, pardons, reprieves, and the restitution of civic rights.

The National Government shall be composed of five Yuan—Executive, Legislative, Judicial, Examination, and Control. There shall be a President and from twelve to sixteen State Councillors of the National Government, from whom Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the five Yuan shall be appointed.

The President of the National Government shall represent the National Government in receiving foreign diplomats and in officiating at and participating in State functions. The President shall concurrently be Commander-in-Chief of the land, naval and air forces. If the President is unable to discharge his duties for any cause whatsoever, the President of the Executive Yuan shall act for him.

The National Government shall conduct the national affairs through a State Council, of which the President of the National Government shall be chairman. All matters which cannot be settled between two or more Yuan shall be referred to the State Council for decision. All laws promulgated and all mandates issued, by virtue of a decision of the State Council shall be signed by the President of the National Government and counter-signed by the Presidents of the five Yuan. Each of these five Yuan may, according to law, issue orders.

The Executive Yuan shall be the highest organ of the National Government and shall have a President and Vice-President, the latter acting as President in his absence. The Executive Yuan

shall establish Ministries, to which will be entrusted various executive duties, and it may appoint commissions for specified executive matters. The Ministries shall each have a Minister, a Political Vice-Minister, an Administrative Vice-Minister, and the various Commissions shall each have a Chairman and Vice-Chairman, all of whom shall be appointed and removed by the National Government at the instance of the President of the Executive Yuan.

The Ministers and chairmen may, when necessary, attend meetings of the State Council and Legislative Yuan. The Executive Yuan may introduce in the Legislative Yuan bills on matters within its competence. Meetings of the Executive Yuan shall be attended by the President, Vice-President, Ministers, and Chairmen of the Commissions thereof, and shall decide on what legislative bills are to be introduced in the Legislative Yuan. Budgets, amnesties, declarations of war, peace negotiations, conclusions of treaties, and other important international matters are to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan. In addition, it shall have submitted to it the appointment and dismissal of all officials above third-class rank, and also all matters which cannot be settled between the various Ministries and Commissions of the Executive Yuan and all matters which, according to law or in the opinion of the President, should be decidable at such meetings.

The Legislative Yuan shall be the highest legislative organ of the National Government. It shall have power to decide upon legislation, budgets, amnesties, declarations of war, negotiations for peace, the conclusion of treaties and other important international matters. It shall have a President and Vice-President, and shall be composed of between 49 and 99 members, to be appointed by the National Government at the instance of the President of the said Yuan. The term of office shall be two years, and members shall not concurrently be non-political administrative officials of the various organs of the central or local governments.

The Judicial Yuan shall be the highest judicial organ of the National Government, and shall take charge of judicial trial, judicial administration, disciplinary punishment of officials, and trial of administrative cases. The granting of pardons, reprieves, and restitution of civil rights shall be submitted by the President of the Judicial Yuan to the National Government for approval and action.

The Examination Yuan shall be the highest examination organ of the National Government, and shall take charge of examinations and determine qualifications for the public service. All public functionaries shall be appointed only after they have passed an examination, and their qualifications for the public service have

been determined by the Examination Yuan, which shall have a President and Vice-President.

The Control Yuan shall be the highest supervisory organ of the National Government, and shall, according to law, exercise the following powers, namely impeachment and auditing. It shall have a President and Vice-President, and shall be composed of 19 to 29 members, who are to be appointed by the National Government at the instance of the President of the said Yuan.

Within a week of the promulgation of that Constitution, the first constitutional government of the new China was completed. On October 10th Chiang Kai-shek took the oath as President of the National Government of China, and made a speech appealing for the people's loyalty to the principles on which the Kuomintang party had developed. He outlined the course of the revolution now ended, protested the loyalty of the Government both to the Kuomintang party and to the people in general, pleaded for a stern rejection of the Communist doctrine of class-war, and of the civil divisions that had been produced by military rivalries. He also appealed for the institution of a new cultural order, in which the old superstitions should be dropped and should be replaced by scientific knowledge.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

December 15th, 1928.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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THE TALE OF TWO SOULS.

THE news that Canon Snatchett had promised to tell to his family and a select party of young people drawn from the precincts of the Cathedral of Saint Mary, Wilchester, on the afternoon of Old Christmas Day, an absolutely new and wholly unprecedented ghost story, gave great joy in the various schools, where the children in any event were looking forward to Christmas. The Canon bargained for a carol in return for the story, and this was readily arranged. Strange tales of the Canon were circulated in various dormitories, and in such sleeping rooms earlier ghost tales associated with his name went round in the shuddering darkness. "Did your father actually shake hands with the Great Black Dog?" was asked and answered in the affirmative. In such a way as this do true stories become perverted. The Great Black Dog *had* haunted the Canon's front door (the door with the beautifully polished brass knocker, said to have been wrenched from the tomb of a nameless saint), but the Canon avoided the Beast as much as possible. That, however, is another and a familiar story. The Dog vanished at the very moment when the skull of a certain Saint (that long had reposed in a box on Canon Snatchett's writing table) had been reinterred.

Stories of secret passages between the houses in the precincts and the crypt or burying place under the Cathedral thrilled the

dormitories, and ghosts of Anglo-Norman beauties who walked these passages were commonplaces of sixth form studies in those schools of England which sheltered the budding youth of Wiltchester. But the typewritten notice of the story promised for January 6th said that it was absolutely new and wholly unprecedented. "Perhaps the old fellow will make it up," said the head boy of St. Cuthbert's, but he was speedily reassured. The Canon was quite incapable of making anything up except copies of Greek verses which represented the metre of Erinna with such marvellous exactitude that it was rumoured that he performed the miracle in his sleep with Erinna standing smiling by.

Some hints as to the character of the story leaked out. The Canon said something about it to the Head Verger, who repeated it, with a horrible look, to Mrs. Snatchett, who sent a mangled version of it to Tommy Snatchett at St. Cuthbert's, who wrote a letter about it to his brother Charles at Nelson, who wrote to his sister at Oxford, who sent the news, sadly perverted, to her chief friend at Wiltchester, who told it to Mrs. Snatchett who, not realising that it was her own news, went to the Head Verger about it, who said that, at any rate, there was something in it, since he himself had seen the two skeletons walking in the crypt that very evening. It was clear, therefore, when everything else was uncertain, that two skeletons were concerned in the narrative. Then there was something more.

Tommy Snatchett, who was in the sixth form at St. Cuthbert's, and was a monitor, confided to the head boy of the school in the monitors' study that his father had a skeleton hanging in a cupboard of his library. Henry Milton, the head boy, at once suggested that Tommy should suggest to his mother that he, Henry, should spend part of the holidays at Wiltchester. Tommy agreed, and added to the attraction of the visit that the Head Verger had also a skeleton in a cupboard at the bottom of the winding stair leading to the crypt. Tommy suggested and Henry agreed over a surreptitious cigarette (he was over eighteen) that these skeletons had been surreptitiously—Henry liked the word—dug up, and were the mortal remains of two early British saints slaughtered by the Saxons at the time of the terrific battle in which Wiltchester had been captured and looted by the barbarians from the Elbe. Tommy defended this action of his father as one based on purely antiquarian zeal, but Henry was doubtful, for *his* father, an eminent member of the Bar, had told his almost as eminent son that though there was no property in a corpse yet there was property in a skeleton, and that a person who takes a skeleton from another with a furtive intention of altering possession is guilty of theft. To which Tommy answered that the Canon was already part proprietor of the

skeleton and only held it as an agent for all the proprietors, namely, the Chapter. Henry agreed (in view of his forthcoming visit), and said that even if the Canon was taking risks it was great fun, and that he would ask his father about it. In some such ways December passed at the various schools and colleges in which the parents of the Precincts were interested, and at last the long autumn term was ended and Christmas, snowy and silent, came and went, and Old Christmas Day dawned at last.

It must not be thought that either Canon Snatchett or his friend the Head Verger had been inactive all this time or was lacking in foresight. The Ghost Story was a reality to both of them, and though it was to take literary form in Canon Snatchett's study on January 6th yet it was, as each of the men knew, a true story, and had to be completed before the happy day. Henry Milton was right in thinking that these surreptitious skeletons weighed heavily on the consciences of the Canon and his gloomy friend. Tommy Snatchett was also right in thinking that these repellent *vestigia* of the Anglo-Saxon age had been acquired from the crypt for purposes of antiquarian or archæological research. In the muniment room attached to the Cathedral library, a place dripping like autumnal Vallombrosa with uncatalogued or wrongly catalogued brown leaves of sheepskin, Canon Snatchett had found a most curious scrap covered with writing of the eighth century, an early Anglo-Saxon script containing many words that had ceased to be used in what may be called the classical period of Anglo-Saxon literature. It was no trouble to Canon Snatchett to translate the text; he could translate anything, and the capacity could not be accounted to him for righteousness. He is one of those men (and they are not so very rare) who acquire languages as some children contract diseases. He belonged to the period of the Tower of Babel, a pathetic survival of a painful epoch.

As soon as Canon Snatchett had set down in English the brief Anglo-Saxon narrative, his ears—a curious physical phenomenon often associated with linguistic genius—twitched, and he lit the foulest pipe in his unique collection. The document indicated exactly the places where two martyrs were interred, and the indications coincided with the exact spots where two tombs covered with indecipherable marks were to be seen in the south-east corner of the crypt. The tombs were earlier than the earliest form of the Cathedral, but it is clear that they were deliberately included in the walls by the first pious builders. The rumours in the dormitories as to Anglo-Norman beauties had obvious reference to another story associated with the name of Canon Snatchett, but there was a woman in this case also, since one of the martyrs was a woman, and "a very beautiful woman" said the Canon with a sigh as he sucked

his horrible pipe. The male martyr (so the script said) was St. Aeldate who, though a Bishop, led the Britons against the barbarians and was slain—a blessed decapitated martyr—in Wiltchester. But who was the woman, and why did Canon Snatchett comment upon her beauty? Her name was Almeda, and she was of royal stock, and she also was martyred by decapitation at Wiltchester, though some versions mention Brecknock, a most unlikely region for such an event. The script clearly says Wiltchester; but what is the evidence of her beauty other than the fact of royal birth? That is part of the ghost story.

It is difficult to trace the movements of Canon Snatchett and the Head Verger before January 6th without disclosing the ghost story out of due season, but something can be done. At midnight on December 31st, the day after Henry Milton came to stay with the Snatchetts, Mrs. Snatchett was awakened by a dragging, crackling, horrible noise on the stairs. She was too frightened to move or even to awaken her husband, though in fact he was far from sleep and, indeed, was not in any sleeping apartment. He and the Head Verger at that moment were moving the skeleton from the study, and what Mrs. Snatchett heard were the *vestigia* slipping down the main stairs as a result of someone wholly unfamiliar saying in the dark to the two midnight workers something about "my head." The Head Verger loosened his clammy grasp in his terror and kicked violently Canon Snatchett, who was in front. The Canon was not startled, though he was surprised, but he in turn loosened his clammier grasp and the huge skeleton, clattering down the long flight of stairs, awakened Mrs. Snatchett. It also awakened Henry who, when he had partly recovered from his terror in these unfamiliar surroundings, looked out into the moonlit Precincts and saw two tall men conducting a far taller skeleton across the sward towards the south-east wicket entrance into the Cathedral. He was a strong young man but (tell it not in St. Cuthbert's) he dissolved into a paroxysm of sobs and called for his mother, who, of course, did not come, as she was in her own bed at homely Birmingham.

Canon Snatchett and the Head Verger knew of none of these things and, indeed, they had enough troubles of their own. It was no light task to deal with a skeleton that was apparently accompanied by a gliding something or someone who wanted someone or something. The Head Verger hardened his mystic soul (he was not unaccustomed to sights and sounds in the Cathedral after night-fall) and shut his eyes while Canon Snatchett repeated in a full firm voice the opening chapter of Thucydides which carried him into the Cathedral, where the two propped the skeleton up in a corner and wiped their respective cold-beaded brows. Then they carried the thing down the corkscrew stairs into the crypt, and at the

lonely little cupboard at the bottom of the stairs, by the aid of an electric torch, the next act was well performed. The Head Verger opened the door and retrieved another skeleton, and then each man, carrying a skeleton, hurried towards the south-east corner of the crypt. It was a terrifying though brief journey, since two voices were now heard, one deep and the other silvery, each demanding someone or something. The voices raced round and round the burdened men who, in the effort to make haste, were carrying the skeletons in pig-a-back fashion. To drown the sounds Canon Snatchett recited a chorus from Euripides. A third person at last joined the party, and Canon Snatchett welcomed him with a joyous Greek phrase, for it was no less a person than that Master of Surgery known to all the City as Dr. Alfred Brown, the most matter-of-fact creature who ever dealt with the anatomy of man. Things at once began to happen. The voices grew clamorous and rapturous at what was happening, but that must not be disclosed for the moment. Half an hour later the three men emerged from the Cathedral, and brushing with hasty steps the snows away, crossed the grass and obtained a much-needed prescription in Canon Snatchett's house. "Amazing," said the Master of Surgery, "Unspeakable," said the Head Verger, "But how beautiful she was," said Canon Snatchett, "she was truly a king's daughter." The ghost story was complete, the most amazing story in all the history of spooks. As Canon Snatchett said to Dr. Brown on his door-step at one in the morning, "It is a story without precedent, this story now to be recorded for the first time in the history of this ancient world." The doctor said "Ha!" and went home.

Henry did not confide all to Tommy, but when on January 1st Tommy confided to Henry that the skeleton in his father's cupboard had gone Henry was not surprised, and declared that he had seen (as he indeed had seen) its departure. "You must have dreamt it," said Tommy. "Well, it isn't there," said Henry, and justified his father's faith in his potential forensic abilities. Mrs. Snatchett told her husband of the horrible sound in the night, but all that Canon Snatchett said, with an involuntary shudder, was, "I heard it too." "Why did you not say anything?" said Mrs. Snatchett. "I really did not know that you heard it, and in any event, noises in old houses are old noises in houses not to be taken as things of evil but perhaps as premonitions of good. The dear Dean said something to that effect the other day in another connection." "Well, but what *was* it?" "I think we must wait and see. It must have been something good, as I feel relieved of a Christian's burden."

The party was assembled in Canon Snatchett's huge study or library. Everybody was there who was anybody, canons, and wives and children and the rest, and, sitting in a corner, the mysterious Head Verger and Dr. Alfred Brown. It was a notable gathering in a notable room with its noble walnut wainscoting and endless brown and golden tomes, lit by firelight and firelight only. Canon Snatchett sat at a little desk and his story was written out in front of him on the sermon paper that is the life of his soul. But he did not read from the manuscript. He told the story to this, or something like this effect:

It is a simple story and not very long, my dear friends, that I have to tell you, but it is one that has no precedent in the history of folklore or legend. And yet it is the story of two beloved historical characters whose mortal remains are now worthily interred complete, in adjacent tombs, nobler creatures than Heloise and her Abailard, true British folk, who lived and died six centuries before fair Heloise. Some members of my household have, I believe, been aware that there hanged in my cupboard a skeleton, though the subject was not openly discussed: I must confess that a kind of grim curiosity induced me to open the nameless tombs at the south-east corner of the crypt in the hope of securing information that would confirm the text of the runes that I alone had detected on the broken stone slabs: the other skeleton I had in the cupboard at the bottom of the stairs in the crypt. I had no furtive motive. I proposed to restore the skeletons when my investigations were complete. A certain parchment in the muniment room, two rings on the bony hands and the runes enabled me to reconstruct the story of these two seventh-century figures. It is a simple enough story. The Britons made their last organised stand in Wiltchester, and their leaders were Aeldate and Almeda: a bishop mighty indeed, as his vast limbs declare, a veritable giant who fought with grim disdain against the barbarians; a king's daughter, brave as were all her stock. They were last in the field and, overpowered by numbers, fighting side by side on their horses, they were slain and decapitated. It was a marvellous battle and full tribute is paid to the martyrs, not only in the singing British runes, but in the old Saxon script. The Saxons buried them with all respect side by side in great stone coffins, but by some strange error, or by some fantastic freak of the conquerors (as we shall see), the man's head was in the woman's stone coffin and the woman's head in the man's. It was a curious freak or accident and it has given rise to this story.

Canon Snatchett stopped to poke the fire, blow his nose, and to reflect in his odd way.

Well, twelve centuries passed and it may be that in all that time some spiritual unhappiness ensued. But it may be that these blessed and valiant martyrs slept quietly until I intervened. One never knows. I trust that the latter was the case. We removed the skeletons, having first adjusted the skull in each

case to the rest of the skeleton, and, as I have said, these *vestigia* were placed in the two cupboards aforementioned. We had no idea that these skeletons had been (so to speak) mixed up. One afternoon recently I dropped asleep in this room after a somewhat strenuous piece of work. At least I think that I dropped asleep, and I certainly had a very strange vision. I dreamed that a gigantic figure stood beside my chair and said in a tone curiously small for so terrific a personality: "Where is my head?" I could not understand the matter at all but it so happened on the same evening that my valued friend, Dr. Brown, dropped in to discuss a little matter over a pipe. I showed him the skeleton which he greatly admired, but said in tones of astonishment: "Why has this gigantic creature got a woman's head?" Before I had time to tell him of my vision the Head Verger called upon an urgent matter. I saw him at once and he told me that the skeleton in the crypt cupboard was also demanding its head in a gigantic voice that could be heard far and wide. I then told them both of my vision. Dr. Brown insisted on seeing the crypt skeleton at once and said instantly: "She has got the giant's head instead of her own."

But the strange part of it all was the fact that each of these seraphic creatures was conscious of the inappropriate character of what I may call their headgear. They, with one accord, demanded reconstruction, and delay was out of the question since the study after nightfall had become the habitation of a moaning man with a woman's voice, while the Cathedral, after midnight, rang with the voice of a megaphone: horrible, horrible. The very next night the reconstruction took place. The incomparable skill of Dr. Brown was never used to better purpose, but I shall never forget the journey ["My Aunt," said Henry surreptitiously] to the crypt and the surgical processes, accompanied as they were with murmurs of intense delight emanating from two strange draped figures that brooded over the vacant tombs. As the operations were completed I looked up at these figures and saw an amazing spectacle that lasted for a moment: the two creatures were exchanging heads, each saying in somewhat crude Latin—of the seventh century (as witness the colloquial use of *Credo*) but untouched with Gallicisms—"caput vestrum, credo. Gratulor tibi." It was, indeed, a matter for congratulations to the two martyrs, but for our part what was still more wonderful was the divine aspect of the two creatures, children of the gods, who, haloed with a supreme effulgence, passed through the shadowy pillared crypt and so to happier climes. Silence falls on all the sons of men in respect of their mortality, but in respect of their immortality there is such converse in heaven as we cannot measure though, in a sense, this little piece of completed history shows that there is a link between the habiliments of earth and the eternal garments of timeless things. We all are pilgrims whether we think so or not, and we trudge along the narrow road and dark passes that lead to the Alps of Eternity. Now, my friends, let us have the carol of the Pilgrims.

The boys had been primed as to their side of the party, and a delightful quartette broke forth:

THE STABLE-DOOR.

i

We are poor pilgrims and we tread
The woodland and the mountain path :
Though poor we have no need for dread,
Having what every wise man hath,
A key that fits a stable door
In a bleak village on the moor.

ii

We are poor pilgrims and we go
With heavy feet, since we are tired
By piercing wind and hampering snow :
But still our hearts with hope are fired
Till in moon-dusk we see the dim
Stable, star-crowned by Seraphim.

iii

We are poor pilgrims and not brave :
We gather round the silent place.
Will no one use the key we have
To this sweet stable door of Grace ?
We tremble, since at last the quest
Is found—and yet we fear the test.

iv

We are rich pilgrims since, at last,
We find ourselves beside the byre.
Ourselves as gifts we gladly cast
Into the Child's Heart. Our desire
Was all fulfilled when from His eyes
He gave us back Youth's Paradise.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

MIRACLES AND FAITH.*

Under the title of *The Faith that Rebels* the distinguished Principal of the United Free Church College of Aberdeen has published a Re-examination of the Miracles of Jesus that challenges and will amply repay very serious attention. While aimed particularly at the Modernism which seeks to strip the personality of Jesus of all the more strictly miraculous features of the Gospel narratives, Dr. Cairns presents a positive philosophy of Christian Faith and of its effective influence upon what we conceive to be the material universe.

The fundamental positions of the book may be stated as follows : The miracles of Jesus are not only inextricably bound up with the

* *The Faith that Rebels; a Re-examination of the Miracles of Jesus.* By D. S. Cairns, D.D. Student Christian Movement. 8s. 6d. net.

Gospel narratives, but are an essential part of His activity and message. Traditionalism has obscured this fact by treating them as evidential breaches of the fixed order of nature. In reality they were the natural and normal expression of a Super-Personality, Whose whole being was energised by the faith which He enjoins upon His followers as being actively creative and not merely passively submissive. The modern habit of treating nature as a "closed system" is entirely mistaken, as such important thinkers as Bergson, Professor Whitehead and Dr. Schiller have pointed out in recent years. Moreover, if Nature were really such a "closed system" its fixity would extend to and include spiritual experience as the epi-phenomenalists have urged. Hence the nature-miracles of the Gospel, including the Resurrection, the miracles of Healing Providence, and Prayer, are all, so to speak, in the same boat. If there be room in the Universe for the spiritual freedom of which we are conscious there is room also for all these. The testimony of Religion and the more recent attitude of Science are coming into accord. Faith is an effective power, and if the faith of men can move mountains, much more is this true of the living God.

As a matter of fact, Nature is not heedless of spiritual and moral interests. The Faith of the Old Testament in the sovereignty of the moral order as constituted in and by God is borne out by the history of mankind, and Science is in error when it seeks to deny all this. The fixity of Nature is a provisional hypothesis that is useful for the limited purposes of the special sciences, and is indeed essential to the interests of practical life, but nothing more. As a final explanation of the Universe it is misleading, and even false. Faith, which is really correspondence with God, is a Living Power for the fulfilment of His purposes in the Universe and in the history of mankind. All that was supernatural in the activity of Jesus was the natural outcome of the perfect faith which inspired and explained His unique Personality. Hence, as the result of his argument, Dr. Cairns concludes that

The malady of our times lies in its contracted thoughts of God. We think too narrowly and meanly of His Power, His Love, and His Freedom to help men. That is what the "Miracles" of Jesus and His teaching about Faith mean. That God is more near, more real and mighty, more full of love, and more ready to help every one of us than any one of us realises, that is their undying message.

This view is presented with the spiritual fervour and the philosophical breadth by which its author is distinguished. The fact that the book has immediately passed into a second edition shows how widely it is being welcomed by those who are supremely interested in Religion. It should be studied by a much wider circle. The author, of course, proceeds, as he is entitled to do, upon the

assumption that Mankind is subject to a plan and process of spiritual education which involves the ventures of faith in overcoming obstacles, and with the risk of failure. Needless to say, he does not clear up all the mysteries by which human life is encompassed. He does, however, give a clue by exhibiting and vindicating the Power of Faith and by his insistence that the claim of certain scientific thinkers to deny it is founded on premature conclusions, that spring from a misreading of the Universe and not from reason in its highest and largest sense.

J. S. L.

* * *

THE EMPRESS FREDERICK.*

No more poignant record of a tragic career has appeared in our time than the volume of the letters of the Empress Frederick to her mother, admirably edited by Sir Frederick Ponsonby. Leaving her country shortly after her seventeenth birthday, and surviving Queen Victoria only by a few months, the correspondence of the Empress covers the whole of her adult life and forms an effective substitute for an official biography. The intellectual and artistic sides of her richly endowed nature are scarcely suggested, as they would have found little response in her correspondent; but on the main experiences of her life she poured out her heart, and we are in the presence of a living and palpitating human being from beginning to end.

The outlines of a story begun in happiness at home, continued in an ideal marriage, and ending in moral and physical agony are known to all the world, and the interest of these pages lies in the Empress' reactions to capricious destiny. Her love for England, not only because it was the home of her childhood but because it was, in her eyes, the land of liberty, was passionate in its intensity, and the leaden atmosphere of Bismarckian Prussia deepened her sense of exile. She called herself a John Bull, and was well aware of what the rulers of her adopted country thought of her. "I am an Englishwoman," she wrote in 1887, "suspected of Liberal, of free-thinking and artistic tendencies; of cosmopolitan and humanitarian sentiments and the like abominations in the eyes of Bismarck; so I am labelled 'suspicious' and 'dangerous' by the clique who are all-powerful now. I cannot help it." "England," she wrote in 1877, "is far in advance of all other countries in the scale of civilisation and progress, the only one that possesses Liberty and understands Liberty, the only one that understands true progress, that can civilise and colonise far distant lands, that can develop com-

* *Letters of the Empress Frederick*. Edited by the Rt. Hon. Sir F. Ponsonby. Macmillan, 1928. 25s.

merce and prosperity, the only really happy, the only really free, and above all the only really humane country."

The dream of her life was to see Germany learn the lesson which England could teach, and for thirty years she waited for the opportunity to inaugurate the transformation. Fate willed it otherwise by prolonging the life of her father-in-law, shortening the life of her husband, and moulding the mind of her son on strict Prussian models. Her disappointment at the dashing of these lofty hopes was only surpassed by her grief at the loss of her adored husband. "I disappear with him," she wrote three days after his death. "My task was with him, for his dear people. It is buried in the grave where he will be buried to-day. We had a mission, we felt and knew it. We were Papa's and your children! We loved Germany—we wished to see her strong and great, not only with the sword, but in all that is righteous, in culture, in progress and in liberty. We wished to see the people happy and free, growing and developing in all that is good. We tried hard to learn and study and prepare for the time in which we should be called to work for the nation. We had treasured up much experience, bitterly, hardly bought—that is now all wasted." Bismarck had won, and when Bismarck fell the rudder passed into the hands of her gifted but unwise and unloving son. These outspoken letters reveal a clever, noble, passionate, dogmatic, tactless woman; but much may be forgiven her, for her sufferings and sorrows were great beyond the allotted measure of women.

G. P. G.

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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA.*

The first volume of the Cambridge History of India was issued, after great travail due to the war, under the editorship of Professor E. J. Rapson, and dealt with that great and fundamental theme, ancient India, from the earliest times to the middle of the first century of our era. It is a monumental volume and disposes finally of the view that there was no ascertainable and scientific history of India possible before the Muslim intrusion in the eleventh century. Professor Rapson's volume lays the basis of what may be called a new fundamental co-ordination of West and East. The second volume is in preparation, and will deal with a period that presents special difficulties in the discontinuity of sources, the thousand years between the downfall of the Pahlava Empire and the Muslim conquests. Delay has been inevitable, and

* *The Cambridge History of India. Volume III. Turks and Afghans*. Edited by Lt.-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig. Cambridge: At the University Press. 42s. net.

in the meantime the third volume has been completed and is now available.

It deals with the period under Muslim rule from the eleventh century to the date when Babur at Paniput on April 18th, 1526, slew Ibrahim Shah Lodi the last king of the Lodi dynasty, founded in 1451 by the very competent Bahlul, ruler of a large part of the Punjab. These chapters are followed by a further series dealing with the independent Muslim kingdoms which sprang from the vast empire over which Muhammad Tughluq ruled in the first half of the fourteenth century, and also with the kingdoms of Kashmir and Khandesh. Other chapters deal with the Hindu States of Southern and Northern India, with Sind and Multan, with Burmah and Ceylon. Sir John Marshall supplies an important chapter on the monuments of Muslim rule in India between the years 1200 and 1526, with illustrations—largely due to the generous contribution of Sir Dorabji Tata towards the cost—that give the student a vivid conception of the noble and impressive Muslim architecture of India. The question is often raised as to whether this exquisite art owes more to India or to Islam, but it is a somewhat useless question, since the Muslims in fact stamped their art on indigenous material. "Nowhere, for example, but in Spain could the romantic gateway of Toledo, or the fairy-like courts of the Alhambra have taken shape, and nowhere but in India could the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque of Old Delhi or the chaste and stately fabric of the Taj Mahal have been designed." A more pertinent question is the interaction of Muslim and European architecture: how has the Muslim affected architecture in, let us say, Sicily and Venice? So far as India is concerned the art that we see is the art of men of Afghan, Persian and Turki blood, men "endowed with remarkably good taste and a natural talent for building." These conquerors, like the Normans in Europe, combined ruthlessness with extraordinary capacity for art and also for law. And they, to some extent like the Normans, built upon indigenous ideas, the ideas that were the children of climate and necessity.

Sir Wolseley Haig is described as the editor of this great volume, but in fact he is practically the author of it. As a rule the true criticism of these composite volumes is that, despite the skill of great editors, there is not and cannot be the stamp of one personality upon the work. Here the reader has the personality of Sir Wolseley Haig writ large. There are twenty-three chapters comprising 640 pages. Of these the thirteenth chapter dealing with Gujarat and Khandesh is written by Professor Sir Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies, the 18th chapter dealing with the Hindu States in Southern India from A.D. 1000 to 1565 is written by Professor S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar of the University

of Madras, the twenty-first chapter dealing with Burma in the period of Shan immigration (1287-1531) is from the pen of Mr. G. E. Harvey of the Indian Civil Service, the twenty-second chapter, dealing with Ceylon from A.D. 1215 to 1527, is from the pen of Professor Don Martino de Silva Wickremasinghe of the University of London, while the last chapter on the monuments of Muslim India (to which reference has been made) is by Sir John Marshall, the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Thus eighteen chapters out of twenty-three (including the first twelve chapters covering 293 pages) are from the learned and fertile pen of the Lecturer in Persian in the London School of Oriental Studies.

It is a great achievement to have placed in historical perspective the Muslim conquest and occupation of a great part of India, and it is particularly valuable that this work represents the considered opinion of one mind who from prolonged study of a vast range of material has drawn out from that material the motive forces and lines of historic development that determined one of the greatest settlements by conquest that the history of the world has known. It is a monumental achievement and one that will stand, even though this or that scholar in days to come may challenge, with or without new material, this or that conclusion. The value of Edward Gibbon's work is that we know where we are in dealing with the great historian. His personality dominates his work, and even where we question or contradict we still recognise that the whole of his work on later Rome is a piece of continuous creative thought.

In the case of Sir Wolseley Haig's work there is a special current importance. There is to-day to the administrators of this age the necessity of knowing the inwardness of the Muslim mind in India. It is impossible to understand that mind unless there is also understood its special historical phases and the forces that precipitated those phases, forces that appear sometimes centrifugal, sometimes centripetal, but forces that are always vastly alive, vastly sane, and supremely juridical. In this brief note on a book of the first importance a comparison has been made already between the Norman and the Afghan and Turki mind and personality. The comparison may indeed have great significance in the present phase of Indian history.

J. E. G. DE M.

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• THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMATISTS. *

Dr. Sisson's interesting essay on the evolution of the Elizabethan Dramatists (other than Shakespeare) covers, as he points out in his

* *The Elizabethan Dramatists, except Shakespeare.* By Charles J. Sisson. Benn's Sixpenny Library.

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introduction, a long period, from the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558 to the death of Charles I in 1649, when the Puritan Commonwealth closed the theatres, and consequently terminated, for a time, the writing of plays.

The literature which developed during Queen Elizabeth's reign so truly reflected the spirit of Elizabethan England, that though it persisted during the Stuart and Caroline period it can be classed under the generic term *Elizabethan*. A change, however, of spirit may be detected after the great Queen's death, and indeed the latter plays of Shakespeare himself give evidence of this gradual change and development. "The general literary standard of the Stuart drama is in some respects higher." The drama under the Stuarts became an acknowledged literary profession. Beaumont and Fletcher never were actors like Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. When in 1623 Shakespeare's plays were first printed in the famous First Folio, the play inevitably passed into the history of literature, although at first his contemporaries laughed at the idea of stage plays being published as poetry.

The Elizabethan playwrights were first and foremost purveyors of entertainment, and they wrote to please their audience from the lowliest to the highest. Fortunately for the drama, the authors were very often young men of genius lately down, or sent down, from the universities, with no special profession, and only too glad to be financed, as we should say to-day, or patronised, which meant much the same, by some enterprising business men, not in the cause of literature or in accordance with their own literary tastes, but merely as a commercial proposition to meet the demand for stage entertainment; a process which holds good to-day. The glory that was Elizabethan was centred in Shakespeare, a business man whose supreme genius united poetry and dramatic art, drawing, as by inspiration, but in the interests of dramatic business, from the Classic Romanticists and from his own countryside the subject and the characters which have enchanted mankind for over three centuries.

In his chapter on "Origins" Dr. Sisson traces the growth of stage and drama from the time when English plays were first performed in the Inn Yards. In 1567 Brayne speculated in the erection of a stage at the Red Lion Inn in Whitechapel. James Burbage developed the idea and was the founder of the permanent theatre. Both in London and the provinces the drama was already established as a popular entertainment, but it was no new thing. For more than three hundred years the Mystery and Miracle Plays and May Games acted by citizens under the control of the city authorities had been acted up to and during the lifetime of Shakespeare. It is from drama of this type going back to the *Mystère*

d'Adam that the London drama drew its tradition. It drew recruits from the small wandering companies who were under the protection of this or that nobleman and thus evaded the law dealing with vagabonds. They were called "servants." Shakespeare was a "servant" of the Lord Chamberlain, and Edward Alleyn—who founded and endowed Dulwich College—was a "servant" of the Lord Admiral. Collectors of old play-bills of the nineteenth century will recall that Shakespeare's plays up to that date were "presented by the Servants of the King." Passing from theatres and actors Dr. Sisson deals with "Shakespeare's Predecessors," and an important group of men they certainly were. Many of their plays have come down to us. Greene, Peele, Marlowe, and Kyd were approximately of the same generation as Shakespeare, but their plays (written and acted before Shakespeare's first plays were acknowledged) had, as Dr. Sisson says, "not only literary worth of a kind undreamt of before them, but also set up a model and a standard of literary interest that stimulated their rivals to good effect."

Amongst the later Elizabethans Dekker and Heywood were the most prominent; while Chettle, Drayton, Hathaway, Munday, Porter, and Wilson may be classed with the lesser lights. The work of these lesser dramatists will be found recorded in Henslowe's Diary. They wrote for whatever company desired a play from them, and were content to collaborate with others as was demanded of them. On the other hand, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Chapman (in a lesser degree) were independent, and wrote only for their own company as their fame and reputation increased. Shakespeare, it is evident, only wrote for the company of which he was an active and acting member. A great number of plays were written at this time, poverty and improvidence often placing these dramatists at the mercy of men of business. Often small sums of money were advanced before the completion of a play. Henry Porter had a share in many plays; one of them, *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, being "full of rural realism and extraordinary strength." Henry Chettle from 1598 to 1603 collaborated in forty-eight plays. Munday, 1553-1633, was an actor-dramatist who wrote plays for Henslowe and for pageants and Lord Mayor's Shows. *John a Kent* and *John a Cumber* survive in Munday's own hand. "The romantic drama owes more than is generally realised to this old-fashioned writer, whose long career bridges three reigns, and whose work is constantly recalling greater names to our minds." Dekker and Heywood, though of a later generation, were writing before the end of the sixteenth century. Heywood was of the Admiral's men, and was "probably the most prolific of all Elizabethans." He had part in two hundred and twenty plays.

Dekker never attained to tragic power. His was a lyric gift, only equalled by Ben Jonson, who dominated these later Elizabethans by his scholarship, wit, and as a man. Chapman, Marston, Middleton, and that tragic genius, John Webster, were all of this period.

Of "Shakespeare's Successors" Dr. Sisson says, "If the years 1590-1610 were dominated by Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, the two following decades were certainly dominated by John Fletcher, 1579-1625." Francis Beaumont, with whom Fletcher collaborated, died in the same year as Shakespeare, 1616, though he was the younger man. The new group of dramatists developed the romantic drama, following in the steps of Shakespeare. Another group calling themselves the "Sons of Ben" followed Jonson, and continued his *Comedy of Humours* with realism and satire. Nathan Field and Richard Brome were the chief of this group. Brome leads into the Commonwealth, and Shirley into the Restoration, "so that the later developments of the Elizabethan drama are closely linked up with the earlier," and they in their turn are the forbears of the Restoration drama. Massinger, Ford, and Shirley were of this later period.

S. DE M.

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DOCTOR CHRISTIANUS.*

Miss Gurney Salter is to be congratulated on her vivid translation of the noble work by Cardinal Cusanus (1401-1464) entitled *The Vision of God*. It was apparently written in 1453 and was written for the Benedictines of the House of Tegernsee. He was a remarkable man educated by the Brethren of Common Life at Deventer some ten years after the time of Thomas à Kempis. He was a humanist, a man of affairs, and the chief reformer of his age, but behind all his work lies his mystic outlook which, however, was not only or indeed perhaps chiefly except in form the mysticism of the line of thinkers usually called the begetters of the fifteenth-century mystics. In some later chapters of this book he lapses into arid scholasticism not wholly worthy of his great theme. He was nearer to St. Bernard probably than to St. Augustine. But the amazing point of his thought is that it is essentially modern in the latest sense of the term, the modernity of the current physicists. He saw clearly that we are in error in reading into "the scheme of things entire" our daily conventions as to space and time and the purely artificial geometry, the practical classical geometry, to which such conventions of experience have given rise. A modern physicist such as Professor Eddington would instantly recognise

* *Nicholas of Cusa: The Vision of God*. Translated by Emma Gurney Salter, with an Introduction by Evelyn Underhill. J. M. Dent & Son. 5s. net.

that the mysticism of the fifteenth-century Cardinal has grasped the root of the matter, and that he saw that to approach reality we must discard the "frames" with which mundane experience and thought have hidden the ultimate truth of things. Such a claim could not be made justly for any of the earlier mystics. Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa had broken, in fact, with the old world of thought. He was in every way, except the bad way, a man of the Renaissance, and though he adheres (as Miss Salter's translation shows) to many of the intellectual devices of the Schoolmen, he was (except in matters of social reform, where the two great men held identical views) divided by a great gap from his mighty contemporary Gerson, who was in fact the last of the Schoolmen.

Nicholas of Cusa exercised his great gifts in every field. The friend of Æneas Sylvius, he was a humanist. He was a lawyer of distinction. He saw that the New Learning involved science, and he believed that it was the earth that moved. He proposed in 1436 a reform of the calendar on lines, as Miss Salter reminds us, adopted more than a century later by Gregory XIII. To him printing was a great new fact. But he was also a statesman, as his work at the Council of Basle, at Constantinople, and in his government of Rome and the Papal States in 1459 showed. He managed his difficult diocese in the Tyrol with firmness and skill, and as legate to Central Europe he secured great results for the Catholic Church. His sermons, like Gerson's, were in the vernacular.

This great man vastly influenced the scientific thinking of his time. In some ways the very depth of his thought seemed to verge on pantheism—a charge which *The Vision of God* (except in its purely scholastic phases) fully rebutted—and his new thinking so affected the great Giordano Bruno that he built a system of pantheism to some extent based on Cardinal Cusanus' ideas. But the Cardinal was essentially a skilled teacher, and it is deeply interesting to see how he builds clearly up his conception of God from the pictorial art of the great Renaissance painters. He develops in every detail the simple fact that a great painting of a man follows with its eyes each onlooker: the eyes are everywhere and on everyone at once. Now this idea of universality is carried into a sphere where all qualities and not merely sight have the same characteristic, and so he builds up, phase after phase, an Infinite Being, threefold in its essence—the Lover, the Loved One, the Bond between—and essentially related to man by the fact that Christ unites human and divine nature.

It is possible to imagine Nicholas of Cusa, Giordano Orsini and Æneas Sylvius talking in a Roman garden of these things, of this serene philosophy, this new outlook on religion and science, and to regret that there is no Table-Talk that records such conversations

as only Roger Bacon among all the Schoolmen and all the mystics could have appreciated. It is a pity that Robert Browning did not develop this theme. But Miss Salter has done the next best thing and given us a delightful English text of the great Cardinal's great book. Miss Underhill, in her introduction, draws attention, in her learned way, to the place which, in her judgment, this great many-sided man occupies in history and the history of European mysticism.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

*Republican Germany: A Political and Economic Study** by Hugh Quigley and Robert T. Clark is a very useful and scholarly work. The first part describing the building of the Republic covers much the same ground as Mr. Daniels' *Rise of the German Republic*, published in 1927. The second, larger, and more important part is devoted to "the New Economic State," and deals with the recovery of production, inflation and stabilisation, the organisation of industry, and labour. The authors have studied their subject with great care, and their verdict is strongly optimistic. Prince Bülow has said that the Germans are an unpolitical people; yet they have made a rapid recovery from the triple shock of war, defeat and revolution. The Republic is at last accepted. A recognition that change must be constitutional change means that German politics have reached normality; that is to say, it is not the régime that is in question, but the measures of the Government. Indeed, liberty at home and respect abroad have been won by men like Ebert, Stresemann and Hindenburg, who placed patriotism before party. Even more remarkable is the economic recovery. "In every direction we find evidence of national effort: in science and research, in the application of technical developments to industrial production, in the closer union of labour and capital, in the prosecution of higher education and in the elaboration of international connections, both in the world of industry and finance." The prosperity of Germany, add the authors, will increase, not diminish, the welfare of our country; and "active co-operation between the great industrial countries in the furtherance of the economic prosperity of the world as a whole" is strongly urged. Some interesting pages are devoted to the economic and sociological ideas of Rathenau and Max Weber, and the introduction touches on art and other aspects of national life which, we are told, may be described in another volume. It is to be hoped that the reception of the present work will lead the authors to persevere; for they are masters of the great theme they have chosen for study and interpretation. An elaborate bibliography is not the least useful part of an instructive and authoritative work.

* * *

Lady Pentland's *Memoir of Lord Pentland*† is an unpretentious but attractive record of one of the best and most lovable public figures of our time. He would have been the last to claim for himself unusual

* Methuen. 15s.

† Methuen. 20s.

abilities, for he was the soul of modesty; but these pages show once again what a noble thing a man can make of his life if he spends himself to the uttermost in the service of his fellows. To his friends this book will be welcome above all as a fuller revelation of the great gentleman whom they knew. To a wider public it will be of interest for its survey of achievements in the high offices to which John Sinclair was called. The larger part of the volume is rightly devoted to the crowded years as Secretary for Scotland and the anxious period of the war when he was Governor of Madras. To both tasks, so different in their nature, he brought the qualities of thoroughness, tact and tolerance which made him a beloved and efficient chief. Such men belong to the whole country; but Liberals will feel a special satisfaction in reading the life of one who was the devoted henchman of Campbell-Bannerman and the son-in-law of Lord and Lady Aberdeen. Those who only knew him in his later years as a politician will be interested to learn of his social work at Toynbee Hall and his active share in the eager activities of the newly-founded County Council.

* * *

Mr. Basil Matthews in his little volume entitled *Roads to the City of God: A World Outlook from Jerusalem** tells the story of the 1928 meeting of the International Missionary Council (drawn from fifty different countries) at Jerusalem. The Roman Catholic Church, unfortunately, was not able to be represented. The subjects of Christian religion and education, of the Christian life, of the presentation of Christianity to the rising generation, of the relation of the Christian to the non-Christian world, of the safeguarding of religious liberty, of the industrial revolution in the Eastern world were all discussed, and Dr. John R. Mott in his Foreword emphasises the importance of the discussions which Mr. Basil Matthews has interpreted in this book in a series of chapters. The Mount of Olives was the scene of the Conference, and it was made a starting point in the effort to reach the New Jerusalem. Mr. Matthews successively dwells upon the post-war changes, the new alignment of the Christian faith as fulfilling the aspirations of older faiths in the practice of the Gospel, the one-ness of Humanity, the need for religious education, and the presence of Our Lord among a repentant Humanity. The book is full of moving force.

* * *

Lord Morley's *Memorandum on Resignation*† is a very valuable addition to our knowledge of some of the most critical days in the history of the world. That he resigned as a protest against the policy of the Asquith Cabinet was known to all; but he never took the public into his confidence as to his reasons, though constantly explaining them to intimate friends. Mr. Guy Morley's decision to publish the document, to which his distinguished uncle attached much importance, will be generally approved; for, short though it is, it was compiled with great care from his notes. An interesting Introduction by Mr. F. W. Hirst deals both with its personal and political aspects, and prints two touching letters to John Burns, who resigned office at

* Edinburgh House Press, 2, Eaton Gate. 1s. net.

† Macmillan. 3s. 6d.

the same time. The background of the Memorandum is the author's objection to the entanglement of Great Britain in the quarrels of Continental Europe, though its narrative only begins when war was a question of days. Whether readers agree or disagree with his reasoning, no one will be disposed to question the utter sincerity of the writer or to deny the self-sacrificing consistency of the veteran statesman.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mr. Arthur Ponsonby's volume, "Samuel Pepys," in the "English Men of Letters" is as good as we should expect from our chief authority on diaries. The new material collected by Dr. Tanner during many years is skilfully summarised, and the book is equally successful on the biographical and the critical side. The author approaches his subject from a new angle, portraying him successively as he was seen by his contemporaries, as he was known to the eighteenth century, and as he emerges from the revelation of his diary. A little new material, chiefly bearing on his relations with Petty, appears in these pages; but the reader is chiefly interested in Mr. Ponsonby's verdict on the man and his masterpiece. Pepys was never conspicuous in his lifetime, but though he had some ugly elements in his nature, he enjoyed the friendship and esteem of Evelyn. In some of his most interesting pages the author compares the diary with its best-known rivals, and declares it "pre-eminent amongst all human documents." It is indeed alive and therefore immortal.

* * *

Mrs. Florence Emily Hardy, the second wife and widow of the late Mr. Thomas Hardy, has compiled, under the title of "The Early Life of Thomas Hardy, 1840-1891,"† an account of the novelist and poet based upon certain memoranda left by him for the purpose of setting down various facts, if that should prove (as it has done) desirable, contemporary notes, letters, diaries and conversations. Mr. Hardy was born in Dorset in 1840, was a student of architecture from 1856 to 1862 and worked in London until 1867. He met his first wife, Emma Lavinia Gifford, at St. Inlist in North Cornwall, where her brother-in-law was rector in 1870 and they were married in September, 1874, the year after the publication of *Far From the Madding Crowd*. The first Mrs. Hardy was destined to play an important and dominant part in the social and literary life of the budding novelist. The volume tells the story of that life with many details as to the various books up to the publication of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* in 1891 in the author's fifty-first year.

* Macmillan. 5s.

† Macmillan. 18s. net.

MR. G.*

LORD GLADSTONE begins his engaging book about his father by asking, "ought a son to write about his father?" No general answer can be given to such an initial question as this.

A grumpy critic, who was however a great and indiscriminate reader, has said that almost every new book requires an apology, there being already far too many books in the world. As a *dictum* I dispute this, for I should be very sorry to be without many books which according to my better judgment ought never to have been written. To name any of these bad-good books might be to advertise them which, whilst writing about Mr. Gladstone, I should be sorry to do. Yet if the grumpy critic's *dictum* were confined to biographies of distinguished public servants there would be force behind it, for most of them do require apologies.

History is one thing and biography another, and though both things are exposed to the serious charge of untruthfulness, yet as they will continue to be written and published it would be well if the distinction between them could be understood and observed. If on the title-page of a book, whether in one volume or in six, we read "The Life of John Jones," we are entitled to expect that when we have laid the book down and dropped a tear over the corse of the lamented Jones, we should have been told, not indeed all that his nurse, or his wife, or his children, or his colleagues or partners in business knew about him, but still enough to enable us to give a good, broad guess as to what sort of man this John Jones was, and the kind of life he had led before he disappeared from sight and sound. Carlyle once remarked in his biting way that the only biographies worth reading were those of actors and actresses, for they had been able by their modes of life to forswear respectability. Eminent politicians, even including Prime Ministers, have not always led "respectable" lives, yet they have generally been cursed with "respectable" biographies.

The regular biographies of English Prime Ministers, until recent days, have been the dullest of dull books from the biographical point of view. It is, we know, a risky thing to ask, as Burke did of Bolingbroke: Who now reads, let us say, Archdeacon Coxe's *Life of Sir Robert Walpole* or Bishop Tomline's *Life of the Younger Pitt*, or Yonge's *Life of Lord Liverpool*, or Stapleton's *Life of Canning*? But if the question should be asked, who will reply: I do? Lord John Russell so butchered the *Life of Fox* that it is no unjust punishment that his own Life is left unread. Lord

* Lord Morley's *Life of Mr. Gladstone*. 3 vols. 1903. Macmillan. Lord Gladstone's *After Thirty Years*. 1 vol. 1928. Macmillan.

Palmerston has not yet found his *vates*; in his case we need not insist upon the *sacer*. Lord Edmond FitzMaurice's *Life* of his ancestor, Lord Shelburne, though oddly arranged and, of course, not a contemporaneous work, stands out amid this dismal crew as a genuine bit of biography. Lord Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, written half a century after Pitt's death, hurled the Bishop into limbo.

Great judges, Hardwicke, Mansfield, and Eldon, have fared a little, but not much better, at the hands of their biographers. You need to be (like myself) a "hard-shelled" lawyer really to enjoy Twiss' *Life of Eldon*, whilst Harris' *Life of Lord Hardwicke* has been pronounced by one competent and well-read critic to be the worst biography in the language. To find out about Lord Chancellors and Lord Chief Justices we have to turn, as we are always glad to do, to the gossipy but informing pages of Lord Campbell. There is no *Life*, that can be called one, of Lord Westbury, whose death ended an epoch in legal history. Were it to be said that in the case of some men decency forbids that their lives should be written truthfully, I am not unwilling to admit the plea, provided I am not at the same time served with a copy of an untruthful one. It is not too much to say that we are dependent upon getting to know distinguished men upon scraps of autobiography, their familiar correspondence, so far as it ever gets published, and anecdotage. How great a debt of gratitude we owe to both Wraxall and Greville!

In recent years we may notice improvement. Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, Mr. Buckle's *Life of Disraeli*, and Lady Gwendolen Cecil's half-finished and intensely interesting *Life of Lord Salisbury*, exhibit three biographers who are at all events aiming at the true biographical point of view, viz., that of making their man live, not in bits, but as a whole. Gladstone, Disraeli, Robert Cecil, were, as all will admit, three men of "large composition," touching life on many sides, and not to be cooped up within party programmes or legislative measures. Indeed, viewed as purely party leaders they cannot be pronounced very great successes. Their political vicissitudes were at least as great as their triumphs. Of necessity, the day by day records of their political existences are painfully involved in foreign concerns and domestic controversies which have been largely robbed of continuous interest by that terrific Course of Events on which one of them loved to dwell. Yet of one interest they ought not to be robbed, and that is their biographical interest; what sort of men they really were and what kind of lives they led from their earliest days.

A man's life (Hazlitt's *dictum* cannot be too often repeated) is his *whole life*, and not little bits of it. Boswell, with his instinctive

biographical sense (as distinguished from the historical sense) chose the very right motto (an Horatian one) for his great biography:

Quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis.

thus Englished by Conington:

"So here, as in a votive tablet, penned,
You see the veteran's life from end to end."

From this point of view Lord Gladstone's book about his multitudinous father stands in no need of an apology, for being, as it is, a series of filial notes on various aspects of that long and amazing life, it keeps before the reader what a biography ought always to do, the passage of time, the ticking of the clock, the drama of life, its beginning, its middle, and its end. One fact in his father's life Lord Gladstone brings out in bold relief, a biographical fact and therefore of especial interest. Of the sixty years Mr. Gladstone had Hawarden Castle for his home his son calculates that more than half of those years, counted by the clock, were spent amidst what Mr. Disraeli would have called "the glades and galleries" of Hawarden. In another place I have ventured upon the remark that had Mr. Gladstone ever been asked which loomed larger in the retrospect of his life, Hawarden or the House of Commons, he would have answered Hawarden, the scene of his studies, his out-of-door occupations, his family life and his daily devotions.

The passage of Mr. G. (as he was long called by generations of his friends and supporters) through life from Eton in 1826 to its close in 1898, is hard to unify, or to visualise in any other way than by breaking it up into fragments. Whether his life is to be regarded as an evolution, or as one of distinct creations, it presents so many features or points of view of such prominence and psychological importance that they cannot be casually mentioned, and demand treatises to explain and adjust. And how can one incorporate treatises into a biography, which, however long, should never be long-winded? Lord Morley was blamed by some for handing over the whole subject of Mr. Gladstone's religious opinions to Mr. Lathbury. I thought this was a pity, for it is affectation to suppose that a man of sensitive appreciation cannot properly deal with religious opinions he does not share; but who can wonder that an already over-burdened biographer was glad to shunt any part of his task upon the shoulders of somebody else? Mr. Lathbury's volumes, detached from the main current of Mr. Gladstone's life, have sunk into oblivion. As a bit of literary architecture Lord Morley's *Life* is a fine example of style, compression and sustained

interest, but as a "votive tablet" it fails. The task was perhaps an impossible one.

Mr. G., unlike Dr. Johnson, was no help to his biographer. The doctor could pull even a Hawkins out of a hole. Scraps of his conversation scattered freely about the pages would create laughter under "the cold ribs of death," and still may be heard rolling like distant thunder among the hills all over the world. Mr. Gladstone though in life one of the most entertaining and impressive of talkers, or speakers, became in death frozen into a Majestic Image. In his early Parliamentary days he appeared to those who had to encounter him as witnesses before select committees, let us say on education, a formidable and not altogether an ingratiating figure. A relative of my own, Mr. Henry Dunn, who was for many years the Secretary of the British and Foreign School Society, has told me how Mr. Gladstone, usually clad in black, with jet-black hair and black flashing eyes, was of all the M.P.'s or noble Lords of that day the one he most dreaded to meet. And yet my uncle was well equipped for the fray, being in fact as theologically-minded as Mr. Gladstone, though from entirely opposite points of view. Mr. Dunn never was able to forget Mr. Gladstone's "piercing gaze" or the impossibility of getting him to see that there could be such a thing as a Christian undenominational education!

I first saw Mr. Gladstone in 1868, I being then eighteen and he fifty-nine. He was not quite so black as in my uncle's time, but he was black enough, and his eyes could flash as brightly as ever. In 1868 I was articled to a solicitor in Liverpool who was the Liberal agent during the electoral contest in South-West Lancashire—Mr. Gladstone was the Liberal candidate, and the biggest "Liberal candidate" that has ever appeared on any platform before or since. He had as his colleague a city magnate, Mr. H. R. Grenfell. Those were the good old days before the introduction of the ballot and the abolition of the hustings, and when the borough elections preceded the counties. The great issue before the country was the Disestablishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland. Until Mr. Gladstone told us all about it not many Lancashire folk had ever heard of it, but after he had been with us for a week our hearts burned within us and we longed to lay the axe to the roots of the Upas tree. Our canvass returns showed a clear majority for Mr. Gladstone, and though, as a matter of fact, he was beaten by a few hundreds, he would almost to a certainty have secured the seat, but for the fact that when he appeared on the hustings before St. George's Hall to be nominated he was already in Parliament as member for Greenwich. Therefore, a good many voters who had promised him their support, he being a Liverpool man, said to themselves "As he has gone to

the Isle of Dogs, let him stay there," and broke their pledges. Mr. Gladstone did not stay very long at Greenwich.

My first interview with Mr. Gladstone was at Hawarden and related to what was thought a trivial matter. I was dispatched to Hawarden via Chester to obtain his formal consent to a change in the programme of public meetings. He had been advertised to speak, say, on a Monday at Widnes, and on Tuesday at Southport, and it was proposed to shift the dates. I greatly enjoyed my drive to Hawarden, and walked down the "Temple of Peace" to deliver my message to the Great Man, who was standing at the end of the long room. He greeted me with such courtesy and respect that I began to fancy myself as already a very junior Cabinet Minister, but no sooner had I disclosed my errand in the fewest possible words, than I was horrified to notice a dark cloud descending upon that commanding brow, and a pair of black eyes flashing minatory glances upon my unhappy self as he exclaimed: "I do not like it at all. It appears to me to wear some of the aspects of a breach of faith. The programme has been largely advertised and circulated by hand. Who can tell how many arrangements have already been made on the strength of its being observed; and now here you come and ask me to consent to an alteration?" I began to wish I had remained in Liverpool, but I plucked up courage to say that I could not see how it could be said there was any breach of faith, for we had communicated with the places concerned and were assured that the alteration would be welcomed in both, and notice of it would at once be given.

The cloud slowly dispersed. "Well, well, if that indeed be so, my objection falls to the ground and I consent to the alteration. But," he went on to add, bending his gaze upon me, "I am sure you will agree with me in thinking that in matters of this sort we cannot be too careful to avoid anything in the very least resembling a breach of faith." I cordially assented and scuttled to my cab. I did not see Mr. Gladstone again after the election was over until 1889, when having myself got into Parliament, I saw him even in Opposition (as he then was) dominating the House of Commons and as anxious as in 1868 to avoid anything in the least like a breach of faith.

Lord Gladstone's book illustrates one aspect of his father's character that hitherto has been naturally enough overlooked by the outside world. It is commonly said, and surely with truth, that a great man must possess "character." That Mr. G. had "character" no one who ever saw him or heard him would deny. Character is not the same thing as Personality,—but we have no room to pursue this subject. Many remarkable "personalities" have had no character in the true sense of the word. But for a man to have

it generally recognised that he possesses a strong, pervading, dominant, and perchance domineering character is often a little hard upon the man himself who cannot on all occasions be exhibiting this character of his, and is consequently frequently blamed for things for which he had only, at the most, an indirect responsibility. Cromwell had character enough and to spare, but for all that he is often blamed for occurrences he could hardly have helped.

Now Lord Gladstone reveals to us a father who so far from being, even in matters that belonged to his province, a dominating man, was one who left an energetic family to act "on their own," with an indifference almost too easy. A less meddlesome, interfering man than Mr. Gladstone can hardly be imagined. And as for advertising himself or thrusting his character upon the public notice, he had no need for such things, and never gave them a thought. No man was ever less alone than when alone than Mr. G. And as he was in the family circle so, we are told, he was in his Cabinets. It is now a matter of national regret that Mr. Gladstone left certain of his colleagues far too much alone, and never rudely disturbed their slumbers. He was content to demur, when he should have dismissed. He could have got on very well without two or three of them.

There are many aspects of Mr. Gladstone's character on which his son does not touch, but we have only time to mention two of them. His bookishness, and his writings, and speeches. The first I can do full justice to by reference. In Lord Rosebery's paper on "Statesmen and Bookmen," which may be read in his collected Essays, there is to be found, as only Lord Rosebery can say it, all that need be said even on so attractive a subject.

As for Mr. Gladstone's collected writings and speeches, it is commonly remarked by those who notoriously read nothing but the newspapers and detective novels, that everything Mr. Gladstone wrote and spoke is now unreadable. This, as one might expect, is quite untrue. Many of Mr. Gladstone's writings are eminently readable, and three or four of his speeches are to-day as readable as any of the published orations of his most distinguished predecessors in the House of Commons. Whenever Mr. Gladstone was challenged, as he frequently was, in the House of Commons, with former utterances of his own, he would lean forward in his seat and putting his hand to his ear would cry "Quote, quote!" I can hear him now. But even with those words ringing in my ears I have no intention of quoting, and will do no more—and I shall be censured for presumption in doing so much—than make out a short list of Mr. Gladstone's writings and speeches that support my assertion. It is not a complete list and leaves out several writings and speeches I can

still peruse with pleasure, though frequently with an almost complete absence of agreement, but it is a short list, and if it makes half-a-dozen converts I shall be satisfied.

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|------|--------------------------------------|-------|---|
| I. | Blanco White. | 1845. | } See Gladstone's
Gleanings in 7
vols. Murray.
Vol. 2. |
| II. | Giacomo Leopardi. | 1850. | |
| III. | Josiah Wedgwood. | 1863. | |
| IV. | Lord Macaulay. | 1876. | |
| V. | Germany, France and England. | 1870. | Vol. 4. |
| VI. | The Church of England and Ritualism. | 1875. | Vol. 6. |
| VII. | A Chapter of Autobiography. | 1868. | Vol. 7. |

Speeches in Parliament.

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|-------|------------------------------------|-------|
| VIII. | On the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. | 1851. |
| IX. | On Parliamentary Oaths. | 1883. |

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL.

NEW WINE IN THE BALKANS.

FERMENTATION is a process which is easy neither to watch nor to record, save by a slow-motion picture. Since the Peasant Congress of Alba Julia in the spring when over a hundred thousand peasants made their way on foot, in peasant carts, and in cattle trucks across the great plains and through the mountain passes of Roumania to record their detestation of the government of that country, the world at large has forgotten Roumania. M. Maniu, the little Transylvanian lawyer who (not by his personality, for he has none, but by his sterling qualities of fearless honesty, moderation but bull-dog tenacity of purpose) became the magnet for the discontented peasantry, seemed to have faded into oblivion. "Not a serious person," said some. "Doctrinaire notary," thought others, "voicing querulous complaints in a corner, ignored by the all-powerful Bratianu, who goes on his magnificently autocratic way undisturbed."

The world at large cannot be blamed for its neglect. There was little in the ding-dong struggle of M. Maniu and the national peasantry against M. Bratianu and the Liberals to interest the Press. It was not only an extremely dull business. It took place behind the screen of the censorship. Except for the occasional faint pop of a bursting bottle, as when it was announced that Maniu and his peasant members had marched out of Parliament in a body and declined to return, there was nothing to recall the fact that for many months past the new wine of the West has been steadily fermenting in the old, very old and leaky oriental bottles of Bucharest. The astonishment of the world was unbounded when it learned through the explosion of M. Vintila Bratianu's sudden resignation—an explosion which knocked over the censorship screen—that the fermentation had not subsided. Naturally—how could it subside? The old bottles, of course, did not yield and it is M. Maniu's intention—now well on the way to realisation—to substitute new ones. Roumania cannot afford to have him fail, for the new wine—the new provinces of Transylvania, the Bukowina and the others—is still there, still fermenting.

The story which lies behind the downfall of M. Vintila Bratianu is as dramatic as any in modern Europe; its dramatic quality is due very largely to the contrast between the outward calm and the fierceness of the struggle behind the scenes. Its interest lies in the fact that the victory of M. Maniu was gained by his refusal to act. It was a stone-walling victory, a triumph of siege-warfare secured paradoxically enough by refusing to attack. M. Bratianu also has been unwilling to attack directly until M. Maniu should have made the first move; events, however, forced him into the

open, not, indeed, with an offer to surrender; his resignation of the Premiership was by no means that. But he was compelled to abandon the entrenchments of office and to manœuvre for position in the open. It would not be the first time that a Bratianu had resigned in order to make his power felt in the land. People sometimes wonder that the late Jonel Bratianu, who was willing to make so many concessions to a new epoch, would never consent to the one concession which was required to give Greater Roumania a chance of becoming a nation—"free" elections. If one adopts the conception of the "Bratianu Dynasty," however, it becomes perfectly clear that to expect a Bratianu to make such a concession willingly would be as reasonable as to expect a hereditary monarch to offer to make his office elective. For the "Bratianu Dynasty" is the most important factor in Roumanian contemporary history. When the uncle of the late King Ferdinand of Roumania, Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, came to Roumania, it was a Bratianu (Jon, greatest of the clan) who accompanied him and occupied a seat in the Royal saloon carriage. That seat his family has made hereditary.

Before the war it was secured by the system of class voting, under which the great property owners were the electors. These the Bratianus bound to themselves through their influence over the Royal House, and through the banking system which they built up and centred on themselves. From one point of view, indeed, the Liberal Party is little more than a group of banks with their portfolios filled with shares of the industrial undertakings which they support both financially and politically, together with an army corps of officials who owe their posts to their political allegiance. The Bratianus are great patriots—Roumania for the Roumanians has always been their motto, with the proviso "and all real Roumanians belong to the Liberal Party." Both as Finance Minister under his brother, Jonel, and as Prime Minister, Vintila Bratianu kept international finance capital at arm's length—that is one side. The other is that once the Liberals realised that Julius Maniu was in earnest in his opposition to their methods and was not to be silenced by offers of portfolios or anything else—that is to say, when they realised that he could by no manner of means be bought or be made to pay tribute to the power of the Liberal Party—they began to treat him as not a "good Roumanian."

I have talked in Bucharest to Julius Maniu, Professor Madgearu and others of his lieutenants many times. Obviously they are as good Roumanians as the Bratianus themselves. Maniu even thought it necessary, in view of the propaganda both of the Liberals and of Hungary, to go out of his way to emphasise this to me. "Corrupt as the rule of the Liberals is," he said, "and much as

we suffer under it in Transylvania, it is infinitely to be preferred to the alien domination of Hungary to which we had formerly to submit. More—I assert without fear of contradiction by any fair-minded person who knows what conditions were under Hungary and what they are to-day, that the state of the Hungarian minority under the Bratianu system is far better than was ours in Transylvania under Hungary." No one, indeed, could have been more enthusiastic over the release of the Roumanian population of Transylvania to join the brothers in the Regat (the Old Kingdom of Roumania) in 1918 than was Maniu, the fearless fighter for the rights of the Roumanians of Transylvania in the Hungarian Parliament. He appreciated the welcome extended by Jonel Bratianu, and, anticipating that it would be followed by equality of treatment, prepared to co-operate with him. Julius Maniu brought into the orientalism of Old Roumania (not fifty years freed from the corruption and mis-government of Turkey) the new wine of "Westernism." Transylvania had, under Hungary, enjoyed the advantages of an honest, if oppressive administration. The country suffered, indeed, under the centralism of Budapest—the Roumanian peasant was made to realise that the State regarded the Magyar as a superior being and the Magyar landowner as a feudal overlord (who up to 1848 alone could hold land). He was oppressed in the matter of language and schools to such an extent that (as an obviously impartial person, a leader of the German minority in Transylvania, assured me some time ago in Kluj), anyone hoping for State employment even as a railway porter did well to "Magyarise" his Roumanian name. There was an indirect exploitation of the whole area in Magyar interests. But the Magyar rule, if stern and of an alien character, was on the whole free from corruption and from individual terrorisation.

Corruption was a heritage—together with the admirable coffee of Bucharest, the only heritage—left to Roumania by the Turkish Pashas. That the Transylvanians knew, and they prepared to fight immediately the liberation was accomplished. The area of Roumania was increased by the Peace Treaties from 296,142 to 453,206 square kilometres, the new territory included all the most highly civilised elements of the State—people who for centuries had known nothing more morally dangerous in the administration than the feudalism of Budapest, the benevolent autocracy of Vienna. That the new wine of their enthusiasm was to be confined within the rigid wine-skins of an orientalism which they had outgrown for centuries was something which they had never anticipated. Yet this was what awaited them in the place of the brotherly hand which they had expected to find outstretched to meet their offer of co-operation in building up a great, new, free Roumania.

When M. Jonel Bratianu died a year ago (in November, 1927) the Liberals proposed to erect a statue to him bearing the words: "He gave the Roumanian people universal suffrage, and the land." To this the National Peasant Party proposed the addition: "and nullified the one by 'managed' elections, the other by distributing the land on party lines." Universal suffrage was conferred as a counter to the influence which the Magyar overlords would have acquired under the "class-vote" system. The land reform, of course, had been for long a crying need in the country where the peasant had lived under conditions almost of serfdom on the lands of the great *bojars*. It was recognised as such after the war because of the peril across the frontiers of Soviet Russia. It was urgently necessary to give the mass of the peasantry a "stake in the country," a plot of ground for which they would fight in case of need rather than welcome the expected Russian invader as a liberator.

There is no need here to detail the methods by which Roumanian elections were "managed" under M. Jonel Bratianu, the more so as he made no secret of the fact that they were "managed." "I have to correct the views of a backward electorate" he once told a French journalist, and with the aid of the gendarmerie and of the electoral officials he did so. More openly he passed a law—still in force—allotting 70 per cent. of the seats to the party obtaining 40 per cent. of the votes. There was no tampering with the ballot boxes in Transylvania itself but the "40-70 Law" deprived the Transylvanians of their proper share of seats, and in Old Roumania sheer terrorisation by gendarmerie and troops, together with destruction of unfavourable ballot papers and substitution of forged ones, decided the results.

Meantime, peasant discontent was growing throughout the country. An army of officials, largely consisting of "sound party men," was eating up the substance of the land. Not only that—the substance was insufficient for subsistence, and bribery and corruption became more and more openly part of the national system. Mr. Jonel Bratianu's alleged reply to a deputation of forestry officials who laid before him figures proving that it was impossible to exist on their pay: "But, gentlemen—there are the forests," may be apocryphal, but it very fairly represents the official attitude. The corruption in the railway service was proving most serious to the peasantry. The railways, being run very much in the interests of party champions, failed to pay—the permanent way began to fall into disrepair, rolling-stock to rust, train services to be cut or suspended altogether and—the peasant began to lose his markets. Foreign capital was rigidly excluded by M. Vintila Bratianu and a policy of inflation was succeeded by an ill-timed one of rigid deflation. These economic grievances played at least

as big a rôle as the political in uniting the peasantry behind Julius Maniu. Every neutral observer in Bucharest—even those most obstinate in clinging to the belief that the Bratianus with their oriental methods were the only people to rule an "oriental" country—agreed two years ago already that behind Maniu and the coalition of peasant parties stood from 70 to 90 per cent. of the people of Roumania.

Nothing, however, moved the Bratianus. For a few months, indeed, they retired into comparative obscurity, allowing General Averescu to "make" the elections in the usual way so that the representation of his party altered at the elections of May, 1926, from five seats to 292 seats (only to drop, when the Bratianus "made" the following—the last—elections from 292 seats to one—his own!). His brief reign of office ended when the Bratianus observed that to his open infidelity of courting Fascist Italy instead of France, he was adding the secret one of a clandestine flirtation with M. Maniu's group. To all demands that "free" elections (free from manipulation) should be held, the Bratianus have always turned a deaf ear. Universal suffrage—yes. But free elections which might have the effect of deposing the Bratianu dynasty and making its members mere party leaders like any others—never.

It appeared this spring that M. Maniu had shot his bolt. On the death of King Ferdinand he challenged Jonel Bratianu on his regulation of the succession (excluding Prince Carol) through the act of "an illegal parliament," and for a time tried with great skill to use the name of the scapegrace Prince to alarm the old dictator without for a moment committing himself to Carol's lost cause. When Jonel Bratianu himself died, Maniu became insistent in voicing the demands of the whole country for a chance to make its wishes known at the polls. Vintila Bratianu ignored all protests, ascended the throne vacated by Jonel and reigned in his stead—until November 3rd. Maniu summoned the representatives of the peasantry of Roumania (for to his leadership of Transylvania he has added that of all the new provinces and finally that of the peasantry of the Regat) to Alba Julia in the summer. The Government was nervous. Vintila Bratianu prepared to face a revolution. But revolutions are not Julius Maniu's way. If ever the knowledge that he had the people behind him might have tempted a leader to demagoguery, to revolution, it might have tempted Maniu. But from first to last he has insisted on strictly legal methods as sternly as he has refused to yield one inch to his opponents. Finally he marched out of Parliament with all his followers. Again a revolution was feared. But Maniu left the Rump Parliament of the "made" Liberal majority to go its own way. It seemed that Orientalism had triumphed.

Yet Maniu was destined to corner Vintila Bratianu in his own particular province—that of finance. From first to last he had warned possible foreign creditors that the then Government of Roumania being illegal, elected by force and fraud, no financial arrangements which it might conclude would be recognised by its successors. International finance has its own ways and means of getting at facts. It is particularly interested in such invisible processes as fermentation in countries inviting investments and loans. It realised both that, behind the silence which had followed the Congress of Alba Julia, fermentation had not stopped, and that the old bottles of Bucharest were unlikely to stand the strain for ever. Despite various announcements (accompanied by much blowing of official trumpets) that the loan was about to be granted, M. Vintila Bratianu did not, in point of fact, succeed in raising a single penny. Now the Court took a hand. Little King Michael is only seven. His mother, formerly Princess Helen of Greece, is concerned only to bring him up in a way which will fit him to be king, and will unfit him to follow in the footsteps of Prince Carol, his father. She plays, and desires to play, no other rôle. The Regency Council is weak. Prince Nicholas makes no pretence of being a statesman, nor do the offices of the two older members of the Council of Regency—the Patriarch of the Roumanian Orthodox Church and M. Buzdugan, President of the Court of Cassation—fit them for executive government of the country. The Council was created by the Bratianus, but it could not in the interests of the Crown afford to remind the country too often of that fact in face of the growing exasperation of the people with M. Vintila Bratianu's limpet-like grip on office.

A national celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Union of all the Roumanians had been fixed for December 1st. The main fact of the celebration was to have been the rejoicings of the Transylvanians. In the existing conditions they not unnaturally declined to rejoice or to take any part in the ceremony. "M. Vintila Bratianu," M. Maniu once said to me, "is not incapable of change—it merely takes him six years to see another point of view." The Regency, unwilling to wait so long, urged him to resign after completing his financial arrangements, which he told them would be settled by November 14th, so as to enable a "national government" to be formed by December 1st. With a haughty gesture typical of the Bratianus, he resigned within a few hours of the receipt of this information. With him went the censorship, and so the world was able once again to hear something of the struggle of the West against the East in Roumania. Whether the Regency intended that M. Maniu should form an independent government may well be doubted. M. Bratianu from his retirement declined to

recognise his resignation as abdication or to abandon his determination to prevent "free" elections. But a series of frenzied intrigues came to naught. M. Maniu, passive to the end, "stone-walled" Bratianu into abdication and secured the "free" election of December 12th. By M. Bratianu's dramatic resignation under such circumstances, the Easternism of Bucharest was forced to recognise that its day of domination was drawing to an end.

No friend of Roumania could wish it otherwise. The less developed cannot hope permanently to hold the more advanced in check, the "liberators" to treat the "liberated" (who are almost equally numerous) as inhabitants of a conquered province. There has often been talk of moving the capital from Bucharest to Brassov. It would be a difficult business, but almost worth while from considerations merely of the symbolic value of making a break with the past. Almost precisely the same problem confronts Yugoslavia—there is the same need there for new Yugoslav bottles to replace the old, oriental bottles of Serbia in which the western wine of Croatia is fermenting dangerously. The Orient, of course, fears the Occident, the old order the new. It is not merely selfishness which led Bucharest to dominate Kluj and leads Belgrade to dominate Zagreb—there is the fear of being in turn dominated by a more highly developed section of the country. The fear is probably groundless. The old should be complementary of the new, for it has what the new lacks—experience in governing. That M. Maniu realises, as his ready agreement to entrust foreign policy to the experienced Roumanian Minister in London, M. Titulescu, showed. M. Titulescu, as it proved, was unable to accept. But he insists that there must in future be only one dynasty in Roumania, that of the Crown. He is determined to break the Liberal oligarchy and reduce the Liberals from a money-making, hereditary dictatorship to a party like any other in the State. The same thing lies behind Croat hostility to the Serbian oligarchy in Yugoslavia. In both countries the Western opposition remains so far obstinately loyal to the State despite every provocation to seek relief from the intolerable situation in which they feel the contemptuous indifference of those holding the reins of power places them. As in Roumania, the financial weapon is the only one available for the discontented "liberated brothers." Like the Transylvanians, the Croats have warned foreign capital that they will recognise no loan granted to those whose rule is based on "illegal elections and corruption." As Vintila Bratianu, the dictator, was forced to resign in the end though apparently he had all the cards, so do the Croats, without arms and dominated as they are by a Serbian official class, believe that the threat of the financial boycott—and patience—will enable them to shake off the grip of the Belgrade oligarchy, to secure

"honest elections" and to join battle with Oriental corruption. The case is not quite on all fours with that of Roumania, since there is no question of a Croat leader forming a Yugoslav Government, but otherwise the parallel is close enough. If the old order has the wisdom to yield gracefully but completely to the new before it is too late, internal peace—the essential prelude to external—will be established in the Balkans.

The Soviets have put their own interpretation on M. Maniu's success. They have inverted what has actually happened. They say that international "finance-capital" groups which are steadily, unobtrusively pursuing a policy which, though it may involve years of waiting, will ultimately result in a "united front" and a combined attack upon the "Workers' and Peasants' Government" (the very existence of which is a danger to capitalism because of the force of example), have put M. Maniu into power. The Bratianus, say the Soviets, kept out foreign capital; they were stiff-necked over the Hungarian Optant question, and so prevented the possibility of Roumania and Poland ever co-operating in a war against Soviet Russia because Hungary in such an event would instantly seize Transylvania. So capital was denied to Roumania until the intransigent Bratianu could be driven out and replaced by the "malleable" Maniu. And just there the ingenious theory seems to break down, for Maniu has shown himself to be anything but malleable. The problems confronting him in Roumania, too, are so gigantic that he can only afford to seek peace on every front, including that of Bessarabia, with Soviet Russia. But the Soviet refuses to be convinced, and has been carrying on a violent campaign against M. Maniu in Roumania and outside it.

Certainly international capital welcomed the advent of M. Maniu, but much more probably for the reasons set forth in this article than because he had promised to become its tool against Russia. Certainly also there are influences at work in the Balkans which are hostile to Soviet Russia, though whether on the lines of offence or of defence is another story. Soviet intrigues in the Balkans are ceaseless. M. Maniu indeed is ready to compromise with Hungary over the Optants, and would welcome some assurance that he need never fear a stab in the back from Hungary. Had the Soviets contented themselves with asserting that M. Maniu's need for money to repair the ravages of ten years of "Liberal" Government might enable financial groups to impose "anti-Soviet" political terms on him, they would have sounded more plausible. But while M. Maniu is so definitely committed to democratic reforms, while for that reason he has the firm support of people whose political ideas are very different from his own—the Socialists—even the somewhat mysterious flittings of French General Staff

officers around Eastern European capitals do not suffice to make the Soviets' alarm-call convince democratic thinkers in this corner of Europe that Russia has anything more to fear from M. Maniu's triumph than the reconciliation of the oppressed population of Bessarabia to their incorporation in Roumania, a measure of pacification which everyone but Russians of most political shades would welcome.

Perhaps M. Maniu's most deadly offence against Soviet Russia was his fearless throwing open of the doors to Communism at the last election. As in Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, merely to profess Communism is a crime in Roumania—a foolish persecution of opinion which in all these countries has made Communism a secret thing to be feared, whereas in Austria, where opinion is freer than anywhere in Europe, it is non-existent. There are perhaps 2,500 Communists in the whole Republic. M. Maniu suspended the anti-Communist law in Roumania for the election, with the result that the feebleness of Bratianu's favourite bogey was revealed to the world: the terrible Communists secured under two per cent. of the votes, and not a single member! Angry as the Third International was at this challenge to show its strength in the open, the Soviet Government at least has realised the futility of its bitter anti-Maniu campaign and now is making discreet suggestions for a Russo-Roumanian *rapprochement*. There is little doubt that M. Maniu's wisdom will lead him to accord the recognition so desirable in the interests of the trade of these neighbours provided that the Soviets finally renounce their claim to Bessarabia. That, however, is a hard pill for any Russian to swallow.

G. E. R. GEDYE.

PAINLEVÉ'S NEW SCHEME OF DEFENCE.

Si vis pacem, para bellum! . . . There has never been an axiom more applicable to-day. And neither the League of Nations nor the Locarno and the Kellogg Pacts will ever save a country from attack if it appears to be defenceless. Nevertheless, public opinion in certain countries has ever been prone to interpret the desire of the French to prepare themselves for any possible emergency as a sign that they are nursing strong imperialist aims. France has been accused of wishing to dominate Europe through her army—still incontestably the most powerful in the world—while her military policy has been decried as a violation of the very principles which the Allies set out in 1914 to defend.

Before dealing with the new scheme of defence by which Paul Painlevé is endeavouring to give a little additional security to his countrymen, it may be useful to trace the genesis of the idea underlying his work and the reasons which have led him to advocate it. I make bold to say that the French War Minister's attempt to strengthen the eastern defences of his country, when viewed in its true light, can only reflect credit on his vision and foresight, and that it entirely bears out the contention, which I now make, that France's new military policy is simply the natural outcome of the Allies' failure to carry out their commitments. Let us retrace our steps, and see what actually happened at the time of the Armistice and subsequently. For months the German lines had been tottering to their base, yet their leaders had hoped to decide the war even then in their country's favour, by means of a supreme and final offensive on the western front. On that card Ludendorff had staked the very existence of the Fatherland. The Germans played their card and, though victory hung momentarily in the balance, they lost their stakes as soon as the Allies had broken through the Hindenburg line and the German front from the North Sea to the mountains of Switzerland had been sent reeling back.

Then came the wonderful lull in the war, which brought so much joy and hope to the heart of mankind. The Germans were beaten; yet, unlike the French and Belgians, they had known little of foreign occupation; their towns had never been desecrated, nor their women and children been faced with the ignominy of defeat or the enforced abandonment of home. And when their emissaries made a direct demand to President Wilson for an armistice, based upon the acceptance by all belligerents of his peace programme, the Allies were faced with two alternatives: either to reject the German plea unconditionally and to continue the war, or to accept it, on the distinct understanding that, once Germany had rendered herself defenceless, peace should be concluded on the

basis of the Fourteen Points and President Wilson's subsequent discourse of September 27th, 1918.

Now there is no doubt that the members of the Supreme Council were absolutely unprepared for the situation that had thus arisen. All were ready to end the war immediately, to save further bloodshed and expense, but no common programme had been formulated—simply because Germany's demand for an armistice came far sooner than had been expected. Marshal Foch and General Bliss, the American representative, were of the opinion that there could be no talk of peace until the defeated Germans had retired behind the Rhine and a general advance had been made upon German territory, in order that the consciousness of defeat might sink deeper into the minds of their people. Italy was not very anxious for the war to continue, as she had obtained most of her objectives on November 3rd (armistice with Austria-Hungary), while the British, French, and Belgian delegates were not free agents, through being subjected to higher political authority. Doubtless they recognised that carrying the war into Germany might be a profitless operation, if they could get what they wanted by the terms of the Armistice; but it is not proved that they would have rejected the Marshal's ruling if their decision had been a free one. At any rate, they proceeded to make certain provisos to the acceptance in principle, which they sent to Washington, with regard to the suggested armistice. Great Britain, in particular, excluded Mr. Wilson's Point on the "Freedom of the Seas," while the French and Belgians insisted on a fresh definition being made of the stipulation that the invaded territories must be "restored" as well as evacuated and freed—restoration being held to signify that compensation should be made for all damage done to the civilian population among the Allies and their property "by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air." Three days later the German Armistice Commission proceeded to the Allies' General Headquarters to hear the conditions that had been imposed upon them, and—seventy-two hours having been given them for acceptance or rejection—the world-war came to an abrupt end on November 11th.

The whole trend of French military policy since the war has been determined, in my opinion, not so much by the unsatisfactory nature of the military and naval terms of peace imposed on the Germans seven months later, in virtue of the Armistice, as by the paralysing effect which Wilson's misguided altruism has had on the carrying out of these very conditions, and the callous fashion in which America (and then England) proceeded to ignore the commitments to France which alone had induced her to ratify them.

Let me make my meaning clearer. Few treaties have been more adversely criticised than the Treaty of Versailles; and there is no doubt that it was by no means perfect, especially in its economic clauses. The Germans had, therefore, some justification in claiming that the yearly indemnities which had been imposed on them were far beyond their capacity to pay; and, though France was the last to admit this plea, she ultimately agreed to the various measures proposed (Paris Conference, London Conference of 1921, Dawes Scheme, etc.) for reducing the yearly instalments to a more reasonable figure. But there was no justification for the policy adopted by France's principal Allies on the question of French security. As stated above, Marshal Foch had always demanded the Rhine as a strategic frontier for his country. And it was to meet the argument that otherwise France would be continually exposed to a further attack on the part of the Germans that Great Britain and the United States signed an additional treaty, on the same day as the Treaty of Versailles, in which they promised France their help in case of aggression.

Now every measure subsequently adopted by France to which exception has been taken has been occasioned by the American and English failure to ratify this treaty. First Washington and then London refused to commit themselves to aid France automatically in case of a German attack, on the plea that they were certain such an aggression was an impossibility—heedless of the fact that, if the latter were their conviction, there could be no logical reason for withholding the guarantee. France accordingly tried in every conceivable way to provide for the security which we had withheld from her on such trivial grounds. And as in her opinion the recovery of reparations had always been a political question, these two problems became one and the same. This accounts for the Occupation of the Rhine, and for France's reluctance to abandon one inch of the territory occupied by her troops as a guarantee for the execution of the peace treaty. The prominence which is now being given by the French to the problem of fortifying their frontiers, therefore, is but a natural resultant of our failure to keep our word. Paul Painlevé realises that the influential position now held by Germany in the League of Nations, coupled with the Locarno and the Kellogg Pacts, has brought the day nearer for the promised evacuation of the Rhineland by the French, and his new scheme of defence is simply designed with a view to providing for that day.

There is no older science than the art of fortification, and there has not been a war, however primitive, in which Man has not sought to strengthen the natural declivities of the battlefield to his own advantage. Even the early Britons had some conception of this

art; but it was not until the Middle Ages that it became the most formidable asset that could be possessed by an army. And from that time onwards the turrets, bastions, and *châteaux-forts* which were the best that the old-world military engineer could produce became so superior to any weapon that could be brought to bear on them, that it was rarely a fortified city could be taken by storm. Close investment, in the Middle Ages and for several centuries afterwards, was the only certain method of encompassing its fall. Under Vauban, and later on under Napoleon, fresh impetus was given to this science, and fortification flourished in all military academies until the Franco-German war, when the comparative failure of the French fortified zone to withstand the heavy German artillery brought it into discredit. Opinions were then very uncertain as to the value of having any fortifications at all. So that, in France more especially, the expenditure of 400,000,000 francs by that country in fortifying her north-eastern frontier has been attacked by many critics as a wanton waste of money.

The experience of the Great War, however, coupled with the ever-nearing moment (1935) when the Rhineland will have to be evacuated and Germany liberated from any supervision whatsoever, has spurred Paul Painlevé into attending to a problem that has been sadly neglected, owing to the urgency of dealing with the devastated areas. And as the French War Minister realises that there can be no further dallying with the necessity of providing his country with an entirely new belt of fortifications, this question is now occupying the attention of the French public, almost beyond any other. The great mass of opinion realises that the vulnerable portion of the French eastern frontier must be made secure—if we except the Radical Socialists, whose patriotic ardour at times recalls that of certain English Radicals in pre-war days. But Paul Painlevé's decision to construct a number of large concrete forts, scattered all over the threatened area and so placed that they will support one another, has evoked a storm of criticism on the part of military experts who are opposed to his scheme. They pretend that this conception of the art of defence takes no account of the lessons of the war, nor of the progress accomplished in military science since the Armistice. To Vauban they prefer Hotchkiss; or, as General Carence puts it: "*des armes automatiques dans de petits ouvrages bétonnés, avec couverture.*" In other words, an abundance of automatic guns, placed in *échelons*, yet massed on the more dangerous zones in small concrete emplacements, according to the declivities of the ground.

Now, Paul Painlevé considers that it is not he so much as his opponents who are taking no account of the experience of the past, even if they allege with truth that their opinion is shared not only

by the English and the Italian experts, but by the greatest exponents of warfare in the German army. And there appears to me every reason for the strong attitude that he has taken up. We should at least be grateful to these advocates of a worn-out method for having inspired France to spend 400,000,000 francs—from 1871 to 1914—in fortifying her north-east frontier, if only we realise that the application by them of more up-to-date methods would have exposed her to an immediate attack on the Metz-Toul-Verdun sector and to an almost certain defeat. As I cannot imagine that there are any English military experts who dispute this quasi-certainty, I think the point amply proved, yet cannot refrain from quoting the testimony of General von Moltke in further connection with it. In a Memorandum of December, 1912, published by Ludendorff, this General declared:

It is only through an attack on Belgium that we can hope to beat France. An attack on the French fortified line in the East would be tremendously expensive and lengthy."

And there is no doubt that this opinion was shared by practically every German military commander of the time.

A disaster would have overwhelmed the whole German army if, instead of invading Belgium, we had attacked on our right wing to the south of Longwy. For, while we were wasting our strength attacking the French fortresses of Verdun and Belfort, our right wing would have been attacked by the united Belgian, French and English armies coming through Belgium, and would probably have been beaten. . . . (*Ludendorff's War Souvenirs*, Vol. I, p. 89.)

We must penetrate into France by the most rapid and easy method, so as to strike a decisive blow as soon as possible. It is a question of life and death, for, if we had passed by way of the south, we could not have forced our way through, on account of the few roads that are available and the strength of the fortresses, without meeting a formidable opposition. (Declaration of the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Von Jagow, to the British Ambassador in Berlin, on August 4th, 1914.)

But no more eloquent testimony of the value of fortifications can be found than in the Great War itself; and from the first day of the offensive to the last, fortresses played a dominating rôle in the fashioning of events.

We all realise the heavy debt of gratitude that we owe to Belgium for refusing to stand aside and allow the German hosts to pass unmolested; but her unpreparedness has never been stressed sufficiently, nor the obsolete nature of her fortifications. Disposing of heavy artillery that was second to none in Europe, and a superiority in numbers that was well-nigh overwhelming, the Germans were held up for days by fortresses (Liège and Namur)

that had no pretence of modernity in either armament or defensive strength. Their concrete was of mediocre quality, their observation defective, and they were most of them isolated, with wide gaps between them that their own artillery-fire could not cover (*ne flanquant en tous cas nullement l'intervalle*, according to the French requirements). Yet the fact remains that the Germans could do no better than put out of action at Liège 22 out of 56 armour-plated turrets for guns of big calibre; at Namur, 7 out of 31; and at Antwerp, 8 out of 37. If this was the case when the invading armies were faced by second-rate fortresses (only Antwerp might perhaps be regarded as first-class), it is quite conceivable that the whole face of the war would have been radically changed if the Germans had come up in Belgium against a really first-class fortified zone.

After occupying Belgium the Germans invaded France, and the Great War entered on its more intensive phase. By dint of enormous sacrifice of men in a profusion of mass attacks, they won a few signal victories, pushed back the Allied armies, and appeared to have Paris at their mercy, when almost miraculously the tide of war turned in our favour. Without wishing to underrate the part played by our brave troops and the French and also by General Gallieni in arresting the German advance, it is only fair to point out that the restoration of the line previous to the battle of the Marne was in great measure due to the system of fortifications which defended Paris, this obsolete fortified zone enabling the concentration of new troops to be carried out without interference, while even Maubeuge—a fortress that had been condemned before the war—immobilised several German army corps, at a moment when the presence of one additional corps would have turned defeat into victory.*

As for the siege of Verdun—most memorable of all sieges, with perhaps Zaragoza, Ladysmith, and Plevna—the one factor dominating the situation is not the matchless bravery of the French, nor the now legendary “*On ne passera pas!*” of Pétain—striking as is their appeal—but the almost unshatterable character of its fortifications. Around this zone was concentrated the most powerful artillery in the world, and for weeks and months it was assailed by a fire so devastating that it appeared humanly impossible for anything living to survive. Yet Verdun remained unbeaten. Some of its forts doubtless did not pass unscathed through the ordeal, but others—like Douaumont—resisted all attacks and stood

* “If we were unable to keep the whole of our positions on the Marne on the 6th September, it was due to the fact that we could not concentrate there one or two additional *corps d’armée*. Unfortunately, certain units which were not in the front line had to be left in front of Antwerp and Maubeuge.”—General von Tappen. *Bis zur Marne*, 1914.

like rocks. On June 23rd, 1916, Froid-de-Terre arrested the German effort in a zone that had been completely abandoned by the French, and in which every field-gun and earthwork had been destroyed. And this was by no means a solitary instance. Of the enormous value of Verdun, therefore, from the point of view of fortification, there can be no doubt. For, while its resistance enabled Sarrail to outflank the Crown Prince in the Argonne, its success revived the French *morale* when it was at a low ebb, so that from this moment there was no turning back.

The reasons why Paul Painlevé has elected to adhere in the main to the Vauban school are not, therefore, hard to find; and though the system of defence that he will apply, on the north-eastern frontier especially, will in a measure combine both methods—in that military engineers will take into consideration such factors as local conditions, state of the ground, and communication and even utilise the Hotchkiss method if necessary—it remains the cardinal factor in his doctrine.* What proportion of the area will be Vaubanised, and what part Hotchkiss, it is therefore impossible to say; but I understand that the Vauban method will be applied wherever practicable, and that the French War Minister will, in particular, try to apply the following principles:

“At Verdun,” he told me, “we learned a few lessons, and these we will not fail to apply in the system of fortification that we are constructing along the north-eastern frontier. Verdun showed us that the two main essentials in constructing a fort were: firstly, to provide adequate shelter for those troops who are suddenly exposed to attack (we realise that no troops can fight at all adequately who are not occasionally provided with a shelter in which they can sleep with a minimum of risk); secondly, that the artillery defending a fort must not be situated within the fort itself, but in certain strategic positions outside, from which it can lend most efficacious help without its actual position being easily discovered.”

And if the question be now asked why a problem so important has been so long neglected, the answer is, that France is so averse to being accused of militarism that she has tried in every other way to obtain that security to which she is entitled. If she has now resorted to military methods it is because she has realised, with Woodrow Wilson, that “force is the final guarantee of public peace” (cf. speech made during the Paris Peace Conference of

* The French War Minister agrees with General Normand—one of the cleverest engineers in the French Army—in thinking that the idea that “*ouvrages de campagne*” (hotchkiss, mitrailleuses, etc.) can take the place of fortifications is one of the most heinous errors that have ever been committed. E.g., the famous Hindenburg Line took a year to construct, yet it could not resist one day of our attack, once we had the proper guns. And every other line—whether English, French, or German—suffered an identical fate when subjected to the same ordeal.

1919). To sum up, therefore, Painlevé's scheme, I would say that it does not constitute an offensive weapon, but that, being designed with a view of affording such security against the enemy's attack as will enable the French to arrest the offensive until the concentration of an adequate number of troops has been effected on the most vulnerable sectors, it will reflect, when terminated, the most lasting credit on the great *savant* and enlightened patriot who designed it.

DUDLEY HEATHCOTE.

TROUBLE IN BELGIUM.

ON December 9th, in a by-election at Antwerp, a constituency which at a general election returns seventeen members to the Chamber at Brussels on a basis of proportional representation, Dr. August Borms, who was sentenced to death for Activism shortly after the Armistice and was still in prison at Louvain, was elected (although being bereft of his civic rights, he was known to be unable to take his seat) by an overwhelming majority: 83,000 votes as against 44,000 for the Liberal candidate (the vacant seat had been occupied by a Liberal), and 58,000 blank votes, voting being compulsory.

Who is Dr. Borms? What is Activism? Very little is known in England about the nationalities problem of Belgium, and a few of the main facts will have to be set out in order to make the present political situation intelligible. Belgium is inhabited by two races, the Walloons, who occupy the southern half of the country—the provinces of Luxembourg, Liège, Namur, Hainaut, and the Nivelles district of Brabant; while the Flemings live in West and East Flanders, Antwerp, Brabant (except for the Nivelles district), and Limburg. The Walloons speak French, while Flemish, as it is usual to call the language of the Flemings, is but another name for Dutch. From mediæval times French has held a certain cultural and social position in the Flemish provinces, although this is often grossly exaggerated: at any rate, French did not have a position important enough to prevent the Flemish provinces from being the cultural leaders for the whole of the Dutch-speaking area. Dutch mediæval literature is to a very large extent Flemish. It was only when in the war of independence against Spain the Duke of Parma succeeded in reconquering the Southern provinces for Philip II and for Catholicism—if the Northern provinces were able to maintain themselves, it was because of the strength of their strategical position behind the great rivers—that the cultural lead in the Dutch-speaking world passed from Flanders to Holland. And it was only during "the French period," when Belgium formed part of the French Republic and French Empire, and was for twenty years subjected to the strong centralising and gallicising policy of Paris, that French in the eyes of the Flemish middle class came to be the only possible language of culture and of polite intercourse. The Dutch régime which followed gave to the Flemish people an excellent system of elementary education in their own language, and it also produced a small number of intellectuals for whom the restoration of the mother-tongue to its natural position in the public and intellectual life of the Flemish provinces became an ideal. But it did not last long enough to affect the habits of the

upper and middle classes as a whole; the religious difference prevented the Government from becoming popular with the masses in the South; and in 1830 Belgium was founded on a strictly unitary basis and with French as its sole official language.

The Walloons and Brussels, where the aristocracy and officialdom had profoundly altered the original Flemish nature of the town, at first had it all their own way in Belgium, while the gallicised middle class of Flanders followed their lead. Very soon, however, a resistance manifested itself to the denationalising tendencies of the Belgian régime. The Flemish Movement sprang into existence. At first it was literary and romantic. Soon it began to pursue political aims, and it succeeded, in the course of the last fifty or sixty years, in carrying through a number of administrative and educational reforms. Undoubtedly both the cultural and legal positions of the Flemish language have been immensely strengthened. Naturally, the advance of democracy almost automatically raised its importance in the public life of the Flemish part of the country. In municipal councils where the superficially gallicised "bourgeoisie" used to carry on all business in French, like those of Antwerp, Bruges, or Mechlin, hardly a word of French is spoken to-day.

Yet the Flemings are very far from being satisfied with the present state of affairs in Belgium. A small but powerful section of their own people still attempt to maintain the ascendancy of French in the bureaucracy, in the army, in the law courts, in secondary and university education. Thus all Flemings are compelled to try and acquire a smattering of French, which constitutes a very real handicap in the race of life for the poorer classes. The gallicised upper middle class could not maintain itself for another day if left alone to face the Flemish people, but in the Chamber at Brussels they can always count on the support of the Walloons, and even when excellent language laws have been passed it generally proves very difficult to get them observed in the face of the determined hostility of the officials in the central bureaux. Moreover, Belgium is not only administratively and politically a highly centralised state. Its economic and financial life, too, is governed from Brussels, and the influence of big industry and of the banks is all used in accordance with Brussels, that is anti-Flemish, policy.

The Flemish Movement has long presented many of the features of a purely nationalist movement. Yet in the actual political struggle it could not realise itself as such. The party organisations of the three big parties in the State, of the Catholics, Liberals, and Socialists, were on strictly Belgian lines, and while each party contained a number of "Flamingants"—in the Liberal Party, which since the rise of Socialism has tended to become a conservative and

chauvinist middle class party, this number has lately been insignificant—these were paralysed by nothing so effectively as by the party discipline to which they were subjected. Among Flemish intellectuals before the war there was growing dissatisfaction with the parliamentary ineffectiveness of the movement. The failure, in spite of the general wish of the Flemish people, to obtain the "flamandisation" of one of the two State universities, that of Ghent, was felt to be an intolerable humiliation, and there was a growing tendency to despair of the possibility of full equality ever being established if the centralised Belgian system were preserved.

The war took the Flemings wholly unawares. There were no previous relations with the Germans. The invasion, and the terrible incidents which accompanied it, at first angered public opinion in Flanders no less than in the other half of Belgium. Once the occupation had become an established fact, however, while the Belgian Government was out of the way at Le Havre, many Flemings began to think that advantage must be taken of the opportunity to achieve some of the reforms which had been requested of Brussels in vain for so long. The most important politicians in the Flemish Movement held severely aloof from these schemes. They were mostly outside Belgium, and it was their policy—as it was the policy of Redmond with regard to England—loyally to support Belgium in the hope of reaping the reward in the shape of Flemish reforms afterwards. The Activists—for this was the name given to those who wanted to continue the Flemish Movement under the conditions of the war—like the Sinn Féiners, derided the naiveness of this "passivism." They knew well enough that the Germans had their own particular objects in view when they encouraged the Flemings to proceed to independent action, but they considered that the situation of the Flemish people made it necessary to take risks. There can be no doubt that the large majority of the Activists, mostly intellectuals, schoolmasters, lawyers, officials, people without any considerable economic or social prestige, were perfectly sincere in their belief that their policy was required by the highest interests of Flanders. The stories which have been sedulously spread of the pecuniary gains which their activities brought to the Activists, the stories of "German gold," are just the inventions that are usual in these cases.

The first fruit of the co-operation between the Germans and the Activists was the re-opening, in October, 1916, of the University of Ghent as a Flemish University, with Flemish and Dutch professors. Not long afterwards a "Council of Flanders" was set up, which was to effect the changes in the administration necessary to make the Flemish people masters in their own house. This Council lacked any sort of popular mandate. The Activists were under no

illusion as to what the mass of the Flemish people thought of their policy. When the Council had to be renewed, in October, 1917, only men who were willing to sign a declaration in support of the principle of Flemish autonomy were admitted to the election; 50,000 Flemings, spread over the five Flemish provinces, took part in the voting under those conditions. The Council, inevitably gravitating towards more radical solutions, proclaimed the independence of Flanders, but it found too little support in public opinion to effect a great deal in the way of practical reforms. Its relations with the Germans too were increasingly uneasy. Its historical importance may fairly be said to consist in that it formulated the ideal of political autonomy, or even independence, at the same time sealing it with a bold political deed. Whatever one may think of the rights or of the expediency of the Activist Movement, it is now clear that it profoundly influenced the mentality of the Flemish people. Flemish politics could never be the same after the Activist intermezzo.

Yet in order that this should be so, it was necessary for the Belgian Government to commit every imaginable mistake. On their return from Le Havre they began by promising to the Flemings "equality in law and in fact." Unfortunately the promise remained an empty word. The party game between Catholics, Liberals and Socialists was played as before the war, and the Flamingant leaders, of whom the Catholic Mr. Van Cauwelaert (who in 1922 was appointed burgomaster of Antwerp) and the Socialist Mr. Huysmans (Minister of Education, 1926-7) are the most important, had to fight weary parliamentary battles only to achieve some miserable compromise in the end. The partial "flamandisation" of the University of Ghent has been a cause of bitter resentment to all true Flamingants, while the reforms carried out by Mr. Huysmans during his tenure of the Ministry of Education (reforms is hardly the word, for Mr. Huysmans's originality merely consisted in a determination to see that Flemish language laws were strictly applied) have already been largely whittled away by his Walloon Liberal successor. But no less serious in its effect has been the handling of the problem presented by the Activists.

On the departure of the Germans and return of the Belgian Government, most of those who had most gravely compromised themselves fled the country. A considerable number remained nevertheless behind to be thrown out of State or municipal employment or even to be prosecuted and imprisoned. In the excited atmosphere that prevailed shortly after the Armistice very severe sentences were distributed. Many of them were somewhat reduced later on. After five or six years nearly all those who had stood their trials were free men again. Of the arch-culprits only one,

Dr. August Borms, a schoolmaster by profession, a devout Catholic by faith, had awaited his fate in Belgium, and was still in prison under a life sentence. Over a hundred Activists were in exile, most of them living in Holland, where they had, many of them, found work of one kind or another, and where they exercised an undoubted influence on public opinion with regard to Belgian questions. In Flanders a movement now began to gather strength for the granting of an amnesty. Disappointed as they were in the performance of the promises of the Belgian Government, the Flemish people as a whole began to think less ill of the Activists. It soon became known that the Government had offered Dr. Borms his freedom on condition that he promised to abstain from politics, and the prisoner's constancy in refusing and continuing in prison one weary year after another invested him, in the eyes of Flemish Nationalists, with the dignity of a martyr.

Flemish Nationalism had not disappeared from the political stage with the Activists. Among the Flemish soldiers at the front, led by officers who despised their language and as a rule knew very little of it, discontent had also assumed a very serious character. Out of these Flemish ex-soldiers and the remnants of Activism a party of Flemish Nationalists was formed, which in the first general election after the Armistice won four seats in the Chamber, and which now has six (out of some ninety representing Flemish constituencies). This party, which disbelieves in the possibility of carrying out the Flemish programme in a centralised Belgium and demands Home Rule for Flanders, has, of course, always thriven on the failures of the Catholic and Socialist Flamingants to achieve any real or durable reforms or any satisfaction of Flemish sentiments, and no less on the excesses of Belgian Nationalism, which is in command of the Brussels Press and to which the most respectable and timid Flamingantism is no better than treason. Intellectual opinion in Flanders is in a very troubled state, and there are among the younger generation few convinced believers in what modern political slang calls "Belgicism."

The demand for an amnesty, however, was by no means confined to the Nationalist section of Flemish opinion. Two years ago already Mr. Van Cauwelaert introduced a Bill for the granting of a full amnesty to war-time offenders. While that Bill was delayed by the ill-will of Walloons and Fransquillons—the Liberals especially distinguished themselves by their implacable vindictiveness, and successive Coalition Governments deferred to the refusal of their Liberal members—practically all town councils in Flanders as well as the councils of the Flemish provinces passed resolutions in favour of an amnesty by overwhelming majorities. There could be no doubt that the Flemish people thought that the punishment

had been enough and more than enough for men who whatever they had done did it for love of Flanders. Mr. Van Cauwelaert and Mr. Huysmans repeatedly warned Brussels that a dangerous mood was being created in Flanders. Yet even when at long last the Amnesty Bill was discussed in the Chamber, nothing was done to satisfy Flemish feeling. The restitution of civic rights to those who were to benefit by the Act was taken out of the measure, and pending the long discussions Dr. Borms was not liberated. So he was still in prison—the Amnesty Bill had still to be passed by the Senate—when in November the parliamentary vacancy at Antwerp occurred.

And then it appeared how well-founded were the warnings of the Belgicist Flamings. On December 9th thousands of Catholic and Socialist voters disregarded the party instructions to leave their ballot-papers unmarked and voted on the Borms list.

The sensation created by the result was indescribable. To the Walloons and Bruxellois the election by such an enormous majority of a man whom their Press had taught them to regard as just a contemptible criminal was wholly inexplicable, and the first reaction was one of anger. "Le traître Borms est élu"; "une honte"; "la tache de boue"; "la honte est consommée"; "le triomphe de la canaille"—these are some of the headings under which the startling news appeared in the French-written Press. *La Gazette* of Brussels concluded from the result that at Antwerp there were 44,000 patriots, 83,000 "Boches," and 58,000 cowards. Another paper wrote that the Antwerpers had administered to Belgium "83,000 soufflets."

Comment of this kind can hardly be considered helpful. The moderate Flamings paper, *De Standaard*, Mr. Van Cauwelaert's organ, stated emphatically that a similar result would have been obtained had the by-election taken place in any other part of the Flemish country. Abuse is unlikely to convert Flemish opinion to a more orthodox view of Belgian politics if it once believes Flanders to be labouring under genuine grievances. As a matter of fact, when the first shock had passed voices were raised in the French-written Press to counsel moderation and to recommend an honest effort to understand what was passing in Flanders. A remarkable article, for instance, appeared in the *Revue Catholique des Idées et des Faits* over the signature of the Abbé Van den Hout. After describing the election of Dr. Borms as a deplorable event, he continues:

When reading the comments of the Brussels and Walloon Press, however, one cannot help thinking that there is something worse, something more tragic than the Antwerp election, namely that there are so many good Belgians who imagine themselves to be true lovers and servants of their country while in fact they are entirely ignorant of the Flemish question or have formed distorted conceptions of it. . . . It is Belgium's misfortune that

in leading circles during the last ten years nobody has come forward to lay down a Flemish policy which might have governed the course of events and to impose that policy on the Chamber and on the nation. A drifting policy has been pursued. Governments have allowed themselves to be pressed for concessions which have invariably proved more harmful than beneficent, just because they were obtained by pressure—and in what circumstances! . . . The Chamber and the French-written Press have proved themselves the best allies of the Flamings extremists. The large majority of the Flemings are convinced that "Brussels," that is, the Government, Authority, is "against them," is hostile to all that is Flemish. The extracts from the French-written Press do more harm in Flanders than the most vehement separatist speeches. There, the fires of discontent are smouldering, and of that dissatisfaction the Antwerp election is a symptom.

Unfortunately events since these golden words were written do not encourage the hope that the powers at Brussels are taking them to heart. The Chamber has not only invalidated the election of Dr. Borms (this was, of course, to be expected), but it has declared his Liberal opponent, who obtained not much more than half his number of votes, duly elected: a decision which could not fail to arouse resentment at Antwerp. Moreover, nothing was done to expedite the last stages of the parliamentary journey of the unfortunate Amnesty Bill (or Clemency Bill, as the Flamings now contemptuously call it); the Senate only passed it on January 16th, and Dr. Borms, whose early release was fully expected after the election, was not freed until then. Moreover, in Wallonia opinion continues to be greatly disturbed, and the *Liège Express* goes so far as to hint that if the Antwerp influence were to make itself felt in the foreign policy of the country France would have every reason to be uneasy and every right to take precautions. Such utterances alarm Flemish opinion, always suspicious of French influence at Brussels.

Great indignation has been caused, too, by developments in the University of Louvain. A few days after the election a procession of about 700 Flemish students marched through the streets of Louvain with banners bearing inscriptions like "Lève Borms!" and "83,000 soufflets à la Belgique" (sarcastically quoting from an anti-Flemish paper). The University of Louvain is a private Catholic university, the only one in Belgium, so that, although Louvain is in the Flemish part of the country, there are many Bruxellois and Walloons amongst its students. There have frequently been clashes between the Flemish and Walloon students at Louvain, and the Rector, Monseigneur Ladeuze, himself a Walloon, has always, in accordance with the policy of the Belgian episcopacy, been severe against Flemish Nationalism, which nevertheless has

no more fervent supporters than the younger generation of Catholic intellectuals. This time the Walloons immediately made counter-manifestations and bitterly complained that their Flemish fellow-students had been allowed to insult Belgium. Since then a few Flemish students have been sent down by the academic authorities, and of all those who belong to Flemish organisations a signed declaration has been exacted by which they undertake to keep far from

any separatist or anti-Belgian demonstrations and especially from all demonstrations which might be explained as homage to those who are to be benefited by the Amnesty Bill.

Even *De Standaard*, a paper which is read in thousands of quiet Catholic homes, and which is always extremely respectful of the hierarchy, points out how very injudicious and dangerous a measure this is. It allowed a Flemish student to write in its columns about the insufferable sense of injustice which the doings of the academic authority are causing him and his friends to feel. Flemish students are expelled because they shouted "Down with Belgium," but nobody cares when the Walloons shout (as they commonly do) "A bas les Flamands, à bas les Flamingants, à bas les Boches!" (these terms being to their judgment synonymous!). A Walloon student who addresses a Flemish professor in the street as "crétin crapuleux" goes free with a warning. The Rector, writing to the Brussels jingo paper, *La Nation Belge*, alludes to the students who took part in the anti-Borms procession as "les étudiants patriotes."

It is impossible to make any predictions as to what the future holds in store for Belgium. What has been related is sufficient to show that the situation is an uncertain one. Belgium has so far been governed by a Walloon-cum-Fransquillon ascendancy. The Flemish people clearly are no longer inclined to acquiesce in their position of inferiority. Will it be possible to readjust relations peacefully? The answer depends mainly on the wisdom of Brussels, and although the signs are hardly encouraging, it would be too early to despair. In any case, the situation deserves a little more attention than it generally obtains in England. Whether Belgium is to be ruled indefinitely by the pro-French section of the population or may have to allow scope to the wishes of Flanders, which rather looks towards Holland, England, or Germany, is a question of some moment. The English Press should try to get independent information on what goes on in Belgium instead of relying almost entirely on Brussels correspondents who judge everything by Brussels standards and ignore Flemish opinion entirely.

CASSANDER.

BOLIVIA AND PARAGUAY.

THE long-standing dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay over the ill-defined territory of El Chaco, which came to a head in the first half of December, is a question of far-reaching interest both in Latin America and in the world generally; for not only does it test the mutual relationships of the more important South American Republics and their attitude towards the United States, but it provides a means of clearing up a rather delicate situation in which the League of Nations might clash with the Monroe Doctrine. Up to the time of writing everything has gone smoothly, but there are many corners to be turned before the straight road to settlement is reached.

Although Bolivia has been the victim of armed aggression involving the violation of her territory and the loss of valuable lives, this South American Republic, with an army trained on pre-war German lines, has shown a most creditable example to the civilised world by sacrificing her national pride in the interests of humanity. By accepting arbitration she has proved that the peace policy of the nations has been more than mere words, and she has earned the highest respect for her conciliatory attitude in circumstances where there was every provocation to resort to war. On December 7th three detachments of Paraguayan cavalry attacked Fort Vanguardia, south-west of Puerto Suarez, in the region of El Chaco, killing or capturing the garrison and setting on fire the buildings, which were flying the Bolivian flag. Although the Chaco region had long been in dispute between the two countries, the actual district round Fort Vanguardia had never even been claimed by the Paraguayans; and the same applies to Fort Boqueron, which had been erected by the Paraguayans and was subsequently taken by Bolivian troops. The fact is that the Paraguayans have long had designs on El Chaco in order to extend their restricted territory to about twice its present area, and have for many years been pushing forward their outposts in a disputed region, sparsely inhabited and little explored, which is very inaccessible from the more densely populated part of Bolivia.

It was only natural that fighting on this vague frontier should give rise to excitement in Asunción, the capital of Paraguay and a port on the Paraguay River, as well as in the Bolivian city of La Paz, which is the highest capital in the world and nearly 800 miles from the scene of action. Hasty mobilisations were ordered in both countries, and large numbers of volunteers hurried to the recruiting centres. Many Chilean officers offered their services to Paraguay, while a number of British subjects, who had spent many years in Bolivia, offered to fight for a country which they

already know and respect. There were, indeed, all the makings of rather a spectacular war, when Bolivia, responding to the appeals of the League Council at Lugano and the Pan-American Arbitration Conference at Washington, decided to restrict her military activities to purely defensive measures with a view to subsequent arbitration.

The territory of El Chaco consists of a low-lying, grassy plain, more than double the size of England, chiefly inhabited by Indians who live in the damp and mosquito-infested atmosphere of great tropical rivers. The land in dispute forms a triangle between the Paraguay and Pilcomayo Rivers, and it is here that Brazil, Bolivia, Argentina, and Paraguay meet. The Paraguay River here is freely navigable, and 100 miles of the Pilcomayo are also accessible to shallow craft; so that Bolivia, deprived of her access to the Pacific, would greatly benefit in this area from the river communications with the Atlantic at Buenos Aires. The Paraguayans, however, believe that "possession is nine points of the law," and were busy putting this idea into practice in El Chaco when the recent collision took place. While the coveted region is, so to speak, "just across the water" from Paraguay and easily accessible from the Paraguayan centres of Asunción and Concepción, a war in El Chaco would be a very difficult affair for Bolivia, although she could put 120,000 trained troops into the field. With lines of communication nearly 800 miles long, and having to rely for the most part on primitive means of transport, it would take Bolivia at least a month to bring an army into action in this distant theatre of operations. Bolivia's superiority in numbers is, therefore, somewhat counterbalanced by definite strategic disadvantages.

The corner-stone of international relations in South America since the War of Independence of 1825 has been the principle, accepted by all, that each one of the old Spanish colonies should, on becoming independent republics, retain the frontiers fixed by the Crown during the 300 years of Spanish rule. Thus Bolivia considered her natural boundaries to be those of that particular Spanish colony that was governed by the "Real Audiencia de Charcas," and this principle was accepted by the neighbouring States. The Audiencia de Charcas was founded by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century as covering a circular area of 300 miles from its central capital at Chuquisaca; and in 1563 received, by Royal Charter of Philip II, the lands of Chaco Boreal and part of Chaco Central "together with whatever other lands may be settled in those parts." It is this latter region that is now the subject of dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay.

In 1563 the Spanish king definitely ruled that the entire Chaco region belonged to the Real Audiencia de Charcas, fixing the

boundaries of this Spanish dominion in the south by the entire course* of the Pilcomayo River, and in the north by the lands of the Portuguese Crown which now form the Republic of Brazil. The territory now constituting Paraguay proper, as well as the disputed region, was therefore under the jurisdiction of, and held to belong to, the Audiencia de Charcas. Charcas constituted an immense domain, and it soon became obvious that special measures would be necessary to deal with native revolts, especially in the territory of the Guaycuru and Payagua Indians which now forms the Republic of Paraguay. Guayra was therefore made into a *Gobernación*, or seat of government, enjoying a certain measure of autonomy in order to meet emergencies, but its jurisdiction never extended over the Chaco region, as a provision to this effect was definitely included in a Royal Charter of 1617. About forty years later the *Gobernación* of Guayra was removed from the jurisdiction of Charcas and assigned to the Audiencia of Buenos Aires; but the Province of El Chaco remained under the jurisdiction of the Chuquisaca Government as an integral part of the Audiencia de Charcas. This is proved by a Royal Charter of 1743 to the effect that "all the nations or portions thereof that are between the Pilcomayo and Paraguay Rivers, extending beyond the community of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, do belong to Charcas." This is precisely the territory now claimed by the Paraguayans, although they have never at any time had rightful possession or authoritative jurisdiction over it. Finally, when Buenos Aires was in 1777 constituted a Viceroyalty, the Audiencia de Charcas was incorporated therein as including all the *Corregimientos* (districts under a *Corregidor*), townships and territories, over which its jurisdiction extended as from 1563, forming a single undivided unit within the new colonial organisation. It remained as such until 1810, and its *status* at that date was accepted by common consent as the *status* of the new Republic of Bolivia, on the same principle as was applied to the other new South American republics which accepted the same *Uti Possidetis Juris*.* It was in these circumstances that El Chaco became an integral part of Bolivia.

Bolivia has maintained the right to that sovereignty ever since, and El Chaco is as much an integral part of the Republic at the present time as it was an integral part of the Audiencia de Charcas during three centuries of Spanish rule. Moreover, there was no period in the course of Spanish rule when the region that is now Paraguay exercised authority or jurisdiction over El Chaco; and on more than one occasion the Spanish Crown emphasised the fact

* All the Spanish South American Republics were based on the provinces hitherto under the political and judicial control of the Spanish Audiencias. Peru was based on the Audiencia of Cuzco and Lima; Chile on the Audiencia of Santiago; and Ecuador on the Audiencia of Quito.

that the Chaco region rightfully belonged to the Audiencia de Charcas, which is now represented by the Republic of Bolivia. But, although the frontiers were perfectly clear in the documents of that period, it has proved very difficult in practice to fix the exact boundaries, partly owing to the inaccessible nature of the country, and partly because boundary rivers have changed their courses and important landmarks have entirely disappeared. Yet compromises have been reached in the case of most of the South American Republics.

In the case of Bolivia and Paraguay, however, there has been constant friction, although Bolivia has made repeated efforts to solve the question ever since 1879. The occupation of the western bank of the Paraguay River by the Paraguayans, and with it their claim to that territory, began in 1885; and ten years later Paraguay's defeat in the War of the Triple Alliance left the country in a sorry plight, with greatly reduced territory and an empty treasury. It was, therefore, not surprising that later, when Paraguay was beginning to get over the effects of her defeat, she should covet the possession of El Chaco as a substitute for the portions of territory taken from her by the Allies. At that time Paraguay created numerous obstacles to the Bolivian scheme for constructing a highway between Sucre, then the capital city, and the Paraguay River; and offered for sale at public auction land in El Chaco, which she had not yet occupied and over which she had not even *de facto* jurisdiction. It was not, in fact, until 1887 that Paraguay claimed the extension of her territory in El Chaco up to Bahía Negra and established a garrison at Fort Olimpo, thereby trying to confirm by a belated military occupation the acquisition of land which she had tried to sell two years previously. As years passed the Paraguayans continued their policy of aggression, which at the time Bolivia was unable to check, partly owing to internal troubles and hostilities in other directions, and partly because of the great distance and poor communications between the highland capital of La Paz and the low-lying plains of El Chaco. About 1907 the Paraguayans again advanced their position in El Chaco, granting large areas of land to colonising enterprises and to different kinds of industrial companies. Four railway lines were constructed on the western bank of the Paraguay River and military forts were built on the eastern bank of the Pilcomayo River. All these acts of military occupation were of a highly provocative nature, but if Bolivia was unwilling to commit herself to a policy of war it by no means followed that she thereby lost or impaired any of her rights, which are based on the *Uti Possidetis Juris* of 1810. At no time has Bolivia accepted Paraguay's unfriendly acts as transferring to that nation any of her sovereign rights.

Paraguay's chief claim—that the American *Uti Possidetis* is *de facto*, and that therefore the Paraguayan invasions of El Chaco give her sovereign rights over that territory—is incompatible with Latin American tradition and with the well-established interpretation of that principle in the South American continent; while her other claim—that Bolivia was not constituted as on the basis of the Audiencia de Charcas, but on that of the five provinces of Alto Perú—is likewise unacceptable. Paraguay holds that the Spanish Audiencias were mere judicial districts which became null and void as soon as the wars of independence began, but this view has met with universal disapproval as being contrary to historical fact.

When attempts were made to settle these differences, Bolivia approached the problem with an open mind. The titles showed that her claim extended as far as the point where the Paraguay and Pilcomayo Rivers join, including the whole of El Chaco, but as Paraguay had already occupied parts of this territory she was prepared to sacrifice her own rights to some extent in her desire to reach an agreement. Unfortunately, this conciliatory attitude merely gave rise to further demands on the part of Paraguay and even led to open attacks on Bolivian forts in 1885 and the following year; but none of these outrages provoked anything more than diplomatic protests from La Paz, and the Bolivian Government continued their attempts to reach a reasonable understanding. Years of complicated negotiations followed, marked by a series of agreements that were never ratified, and during all this time Paraguay continued to creep forward, carrying her forts further and further into what was undoubtedly Bolivian territory.

At last, in 1927, the Bolivian Foreign Minister, Señor Alberto Gutiérrez, made a special effort to bring matters to a head. He proceeded in person to Buenos Aires and there signed with Señor Díaz León, a member of the Paraguayan Parliament, a Protocol binding both countries to appoint representatives to meet in that city, under the auspices of the Argentine Government, to discuss the terms of a final settlement. But the Paraguayans were determined to make difficulties. Instead of concentrating on the fundamental question of boundaries, they demanded that they should not be asked to give up territory claimed under a certain treaty which was not ratified by the Bolivian Congress. The Bolivians, on the other hand, argued that the matter must be examined from the beginning, and that the discussion should not in fairness be limited to any given zone or to any given period. Not only did this Conference fail, but the Bolivian further proposal of arbitration in January last year gave rise to so many reservations and limitations from the Paraguayans that it met a similar fate. At this stage the Argentine Government stepped into the

breach and proposed (1) that the whole question should be submitted to international arbitration; (2) that, in the meanwhile, troops should be withdrawn to a distance of fifty kilometres behind the present forts; and (3) that present possession should not be considered as giving the possessor any rights before the arbitrator. When the Conference met again in Buenos Aires last May, Bolivia accepted all three points of the Argentine proposal, with certain amendments to clause 2; but Paraguay insisted upon limiting the question to be submitted to arbitration, and refused to consider clause 3 at all. The Conference was, therefore, again dissolved, and the Paraguayans resumed their advances into Bolivian territory with renewed zest, on the principle of helping themselves to territory first, and discussing the matter afterwards on a basis of their *de facto* possessions.

Ever since the proclamation of Bolivian independence the country has been the victim of territorial aggrandisement on the part of her neighbours, and Chile has deprived her of a natural outlet to the sea. It is, therefore, more than natural that she should demand justice, when she is threatened with the loss of a section of her territory that promises to be one of the wealthiest regions of the world and is connected by inland waterways with the River Plate. Although Chile is opposed to a powerful Bolivia and never misses an opportunity of trying to keep her in her place, the Bolivians have a good deal of support in Argentina as well as in other parts of South America. As far as it is possible to forecast the course of the arbitration settlement, inaugurated at Washington, it looks as if the Argentine Government will have a good deal to say, and it is only right that it should be so; for no other nation has the same power in relation to Bolivia and Paraguay as that which controls the passage of the River Plate and the railway systems connecting both these countries with the Atlantic. Although Chile may have some hold on Bolivia on account of the Arica-La Paz and Antofagasta-Bolivia railways,* she can have little or no influence with Paraguay unless in the event of hostilities with Bolivia. How far the United States intends to exert her influence in Latin America on this occasion remains to be seen, but she will be well advised to leave the South American Republics to settle their own affairs. By interfering in a dispute of this nature she might easily bring about a strong combination of Latin American peoples, who would snap their fingers at the Monroe Doctrine and adopt a line of policy highly detrimental to the commercial interests of New York and Chicago. If there is one pillar of strength on the side of peace in South America it is to be found in the powerful

* These lines run through Chilean and Bolivian territory, and are Bolivia's chief communications with the Pacific.

Republic of Argentina. No statesman knows better than Dr. Irigoyen the possible consequences of any form of hostilities in a continent where nations are so closely allied by language and culture, and few are in so favourable a position to ensure the execution of a judgment when once it has been accepted by both parties.

If this dispute has long been a source of friction in South America, it has now served a useful purpose by providing the League of Nations with an opportunity of feeling its way in Latin America. When the League Council made its appeal to Bolivia and Paraguay, it was thought that the United States might possibly resent this action in view of the Monroe Doctrine. Fortunately, however, Washington took the large view, letting it be understood that the League's effort for peace would be received in good part; and this establishes a precedent which must give general satisfaction to all countries represented at Geneva. But no less fortunate was the circumstance that the Pan-American Arbitration Conference happened to be sitting at Washington at the time of the conflict in El Chaco; for not only is that body better qualified than the League to examine a case of this nature, but it has a greater and more local influence with the parties concerned, and has better prospects of success in a task that would be difficult and delicate for the League to undertake. Yet there seems to be an unfortunate desire in Europe, especially in France, to claim the credit of preventing hostilities for M. Briand and the League Council, and no doubt the various League of Nations societies will hasten to include this so-called achievement in their League propaganda. This sentiment is not in accordance with the facts of the case. If Bolivia, as the victim of aggression, had wanted to resort to war, neither the League of Nations nor the Pan-American Arbitration Conference could have prevented hostilities; and it was entirely due to the conciliatory policy of the Government of La Paz, and their desire to reach a peaceful settlement, that peace has been maintained in South America.

E. W. POLSON NEWMAN.

GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM LESSING.*

THE memory of the man the bi-centenary of whose birth we are celebrating will be honoured not merely within the boundaries of Germany and the German-speaking countries but all over the civilised world. Special festival weeks in commemoration of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing will be held fitly in the towns of Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel; but it is meet that of all European countries except his own England should take a prominent place in keeping the memory of a man who did so much to spread in Germany a right appreciation of English thought and literature.

Let us first survey very briefly a life that was neither very long nor particularly rich in extraordinary events, but at the end of which Lessing was acknowledged on all sides to hold rank as the greatest critic of his time, as a remarkable scholar and antiquarian, a learned and enlightened theologian, one of the best dramatic writers of his country, and above all one of the most broad-minded men that Germany had ever produced. He was a manly writer, fearless and ever ready to combat sham, hypocrisy and narrow-minded intolerance, holding a place of honour between Luther and Schiller, and as such he appears before us in the fine portrait by Joh. Heinrich Tischbein the Elder that is now hung in the National Gallery at Berlin.

Lessing, who lived all his life in the middle and north of Germany, was born at Kamenz in Saxony on January 22nd, 1729, only ten days after our Burke. He was the son of a Protestant clergyman who destined him for the study of divinity. He was first sent to the famous classical school St. Afra at Meissen, one of the very few German secondary schools that correspond to our own "public schools." It reminds one in a way of Shrewsbury, being situated high on the left bank of the Elbe river, not far from Dresden, and is a boarding-school that is still flourishing. Here Lessing studied, in accordance with the custom of his time, chiefly classics and mathematics. Even at this early period his great gifts were acknowledged by his teachers, the headmaster declaring that the lessons given to the other pupils were too elementary for Lessing and speaking of him as "a horse which needed a double portion of food." Even as a small boy he liked nothing better than books, and in an old painting (by Habercorn, preserved at Kamenz) one sees the lad of seven or eight years seated surrounded by books and with a book lying open on his lap, while his young brother Theophilus (who died while headmaster of a school) is represented as feeding a little lamb.

* This Address was delivered, in a somewhat fuller form, at Cambridge on January 22nd.

In 1746 Lessing went to the University of Leipzig, where he remained for two years, but soon gave up the study of divinity, turning his attention to that of general literature and taking from the first a special interest in everything connected with the stage. While in Leipzig he was a constant visitor at the excellent local theatre and learned, as he says, "a hundred little things which a dramatist is obliged to learn and can never learn from mere reading." The result of his constant visits to the theatre and of his daily intercourse with actors was, that he acquired that wonderful technical skill which calls forth our admiration even in his earliest plays. The thorough familiarity with dramatic requirements which he thus gained as a young man qualified him later on to become in theory and practice the reformer of the German drama. But Lessing was a restless spirit, and continued to be such during the remainder of his life. Without completing his studies and taking a degree he left Leipzig and followed a friend to Berlin, another important literary centre. Here he learned Spanish and at once translated from the great writers Calderon and Cervantes; he also wrote comedies and composed epigrams and minor poems. After this he returned in 1751 to more serious studies at Luther's university of Wittenberg—now transferred to Halle—where, in 1752, he obtained the degree of "magister artium liberalium."

From December, 1752, until April, 1755, we find him again in Berlin. This time he became acquainted with the Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn, a man of business, as well as with the enterprising publisher Nicolai and the poet Ramler. He either wrote or superintended the literary articles in the *Voss Gazette*—a paper that is still flourishing—edited his *Theatralische Bibliothek* and produced the play *Miss Sara Sampson*, his first "domestic tragedy." His great partiality for the stage induced him to go for a third time to Leipzig, where he became an intimate friend of the poets Gleim and Ewald von Kleist, a gallant Prussian officer. The project of a "grand tour" through Europe as travelling companion of a young merchant was frustrated by the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, and, after a short stay on the banks of the Pleisse, Lessing returned once more to Berlin. In the troublous times of this prolonged war, when the German national feeling was strongly evoked by the heroic deeds of King Frederick the Great of Prussia, when the conviction became general that a new epoch was at hand, Lessing and his Berlin friends thought that the time had also come to initiate a new departure in literature, whose characteristics henceforth should be the natural and the manly. A ruthless campaign against inferior literature was opened in the excellent *Briefe die Neueste Literatur betreffend*, generally called *Literaturbriefe*, a most important critical work on certain sections

of German literature, most of the brilliant earlier ones (1759-60) being written by Lessing himself. In these letters all modern German authors were criticised with as much fairness as freedom, and the influence of the undertaking was widely felt. Beside these *Letters*, Lessing published the three books of his prose fables together with his five explanatory *Abhandlungen über die Fabel*, his tragedy *Philotas*, and other minor works.

In 1760 he became a member of the Berlin Academy, but soon left the capital to assume the duties of secretary to the Prussian General von Tauenzien, Governor of Silesia. He occupied this post during a period of five years, seeing much of the war and of military life, and eagerly seizing the opportunity of studying all sorts and conditions of men, studies which subsequently bore fruit in his masterly sketches of the various types of soldier in his *Minna von Barnhelm*. While at the capital of Silesia and busy with his secretarial duties Lessing studied nevertheless with much diligence, and thought out two masterpieces of poetry and art criticism, which, each in its own domain, opened out new fields of thought and work.

After a fourth visit to Berlin he finished in a way and published first his essay on *Laokoon* (1766), then his play *Minna von Barnhelm* (1767). This time his friends hoped to induce him to remain permanently in Berlin, and Lessing gladly entertained the idea. The position of principal librarian in the Royal Library had just become vacant. Lessing was proposed for the post, but King Frederick objected because his favourite Voltaire had once spoken of Lessing in very unfavourable terms. The man who at that time was already one of the most prominent German authors, if not indeed the most prominent, a profound scholar and who would have met the requirements of the great King better than anyone else, was again disappointed and obliged to leave Berlin to work for his livelihood in whatever position he could find. He was offered an apparently satisfactory post, which suited his taste and afforded him hope that he would be able to effect some lasting good. At Hamburg a German "national theatre" had been established, a praiseworthy first attempt at creating a model stage, a task that was subsequently taken up in Mannheim, Weimar, Berlin and Vienna. The best actors were assembled at Hamburg, the wealthy citizens took a great interest in the new institution, and it was hoped that, from this theatre as a centre, a new style of acting would be developed throughout the whole of Germany. Lessing was asked to help in this national undertaking by taking the part of a "Dramaturg," i.e., a writer of full and detailed criticisms on the plays performed. Unfortunately, the promising task had soon to be relinquished; but to it we owe Lessing's immortal

critical reviews, subsequently collected and published under the title of *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (1767-69).

After the national theatre had closed its doors, Lessing, who by this time was forty years old, and had led a life of constant vicissitude, found himself again without any means of subsistence. The great King whom he so much admired would not do anything for him. At length he was offered a position which, though not a brilliant one, yet was congenial and worthy of the man. In 1770 he became librarian of the large and valuable library of Wolfenbüttel in the Duchy of Brunswick, not far from the capital. In this position he remained till his death, constantly occupied in his many hours of leisure in the production of his various literary, archæological and theological works. Of the works which he produced during the last eleven years of his life only the following need be mentioned in this brief summary. *Emilia Galotti* (1772), a domestic tragedy, most skilfully constructed, must be studied in connection with Lessing's theory of the drama; in it the principles laid down in the *Dramaturgie* are applied with masterly skill. Already before the publication of *Emilia*, Lessing had written his *Abhandlung über das Epigramm* (1771), a sort of critical counterpart to his essays on fable-writing. From the year 1774 onward he brought out miscellaneous antiquarian, philosophical, and theological essays. In 1775, at the age of forty-six, he accompanied the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick on a tour to Italy, on the way to which country he spent some time at Vienna; but he was too old and too preoccupied with other things to be able to derive the same benefit from his Italian journey as Goethe, who went ten years after Lessing, when he was thirty-nine, and was able to stay in Italy a year and a half in complete independence. Unfortunately Lessing, who was such an ardent admirer of English literature, never had an opportunity of visiting this country and of seeing Shakespeare acted on the English stage.

In 1776, after his return from Italy, he contracted a late, but very happy, marriage with an excellent and highly refined lady, a widow, Eva König, of Hamburg, whom he had known for many years but whom to his lasting sorrow he lost scarcely two years after the marriage. Lessing's last years were spent in great sadness, and were moreover embittered by theological controversy. And yet he produced during that time three wonderful works full of the highest conceptions and noblest aspirations, viz., the religious drama *Nathan der Weise* (1779), the five remarkable dialogues on freemasonry entitled *Ernst und Falk* (1778-80), and lastly the philosophical and religious treatise *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* in which the development of the human race is shown

as a divinely planned evolution and education. This treatise, published in 1780, was his last important work.

Lessing died while on a visit to Brunswick on February 15th, 1781.

During the whole of his life Lessing was a good son and brother and a true friend of his friends among whom were many of the most distinguished men of the nation. Part of his correspondence with them has come down to our times.* He was also a devoted husband and a kind foster-father to the girl whom Eva König brought to his home. Lessing's paternal feeling for her is beautifully reflected in his last play, in Nathan's feeling for his adopted daughter Recha. He did not become a clergyman, but we may call him a great preacher. Like Schiller, he looked upon the theatre as "a moral institution," and it became his pulpit from which he preached the gospel of toleration, loving-kindness and fraternity. The kind and broad-minded spirit pervading his *Nathan* is still as persuasive, and I fear as necessary, as it was when this noble drama first won the universal applause of the best men and women of Germany.

In the history of German literature Lessing made himself immortal in two capacities, viz., as a literary critic and as an author. And it is worth noticing that he worked on these parallel lines during the whole of his life. He preferred to test his theories by practical experience, and in the long series of his masterpieces a critical, philosophical or religious work is generally followed by a poetical production. He is perhaps the greatest literary critic whom Germany has ever produced, certainly the greatest German critic of the eighteenth century. His prose, influenced by constant study of the ancient classical writers, is always clear, concise, even epigrammatic. His style is full of happy expressions and of short, striking comparisons. His critical essays are consequently still as fresh and attractive to modern readers as they were when they first delighted his contemporaries. His method of writing is, in general, as follows. In treating a given subject he begins by searching for a proper definition of it, pursuing his investigations with the most careful analysis, because he is of opinion that a correct definition once obtained the rest will follow naturally. In order to arrive at this, he adopts various methods. He very often seeks one or more literary opponents. He discusses and, while discussing, modifies and corrects the views propounded by other critics, and gradually succeeds in singling out all the elements necessary for

* An interesting selection has just been published in the well-known popular series, "Die Bücher der Rose," under the title *Das Buch Lessing. Briefe von, an, über Lessing. Auswahl aus Lessings Schriften. Mit lebensgeschichtlichen Verbindungen.* The editor is Dr. Heinrich Schneider.

his own definitions, and in eliminating everything which seems arbitrary and superfluous. By constantly examining theories propounded and comparing them with facts, he at last arrives at his own conclusions and formulates his own definition. Such is the method adopted in his essays on fable-writing. Or, again, he compares the original meaning of a literary term with its modern acceptance, and follows its development and gradual alteration through the literatures of several nations, an interesting study in comparative literature, such as is given in his essay on epigrammatic poetry. In treating philosophical or theological problems he was partial to dialogue form of which at all times he was a perfect master.

In Lessing's criticism the following characteristics must chiefly be noticed. On the one hand he endeavoured to do away with the authority of all writings which were not composed according to the highest conceptions of art. German literature was not yet independent, it was only gradually emerging from the period of imitation, and it is true that even Lessing himself, for a great part of his life, imitated foreign models and tried to learn from them. But he demanded that, if imitation and study of foreign models could not yet be dispensed with, only the *best* literary models should be imitated. Thus everywhere in his critical writings we find the endeavour to make out who the best authors were, to bring to light the real sources of poetry and to detect the true canons of artistic production. Lessing considered the ancients, especially the Greeks, to be the best models, Homer for the Epic, Sophocles for the Drama, Æsop for the Fable; Aristotle was the critic whom he valued above all others. Among Latin writers his favourites were the comic poets Terence and Plautus, and the epigrammatist Martial. In the domain of modern foreign dramatic literature he chose Shakespeare as the great master of dramatic poetry whose practice he found to agree in the main with the canons of Aristotle. He introduced Shakespeare into Germany, and his efforts were soon ably supported by Herder, young Goethe, and others, while Wieland produced the first (prose) translation of the majority of Shakespeare's plays. Though holding several French dramatists, such as Molière and Diderot, in high esteem, having himself learned from them, yet Lessing generally warned young German authors against the imitation of French models. He was of opinion that the French style did not agree with the German national spirit, and he showed, besides, that in their conception of ancient literature and criticism French authors and critics had been much mistaken. Neither did he find that Lafontaine in his fables had remained faithful to the traditions of ancient fable-writers, nor did he think that the authors of the classical French

tragedies (Corneille, Racine and Voltaire) had properly understood the rules laid down by Aristotle. Again and again he urged the writers of Germany to leave the inferior and derived models and to turn directly to the great classical Greek originals. With Lessing and Winckelmann began in Germany the period of Hellenism which constitutes for German letters the last, and a typically Greek, not Latin, Renaissance.

But not only did Lessing point out where the best literary models were to be found, not only did he establish clear distinctions between first-rate authors and writers of less merit. He also made other necessary and important distinctions. Before Lessing's time there existed in Germany no certain and well-grounded theory of poetry. The limits and extent of the domain of the different arts had not been properly fixed, nor had the differences between poetry and philosophy, poetry and religion been determined with sufficient accuracy. Distinctions quite familiar to modern critics were now for the first time clearly established. The relation between poetry and philosophy was first discussed by Lessing in his essay *Pope ein Metaphysiker* (with regard to Pope's *Essay on Man*, called by Lessing "Das Philosophische Lehrgedicht"). In the *Literaturbriefe* he treated of Klopstock's *Messias* and took that opportunity to add a few important remarks on poetry and religion in their relation to each other. At the beginning of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* he discussed the poetic difficulties inherent in the specifically Christian drama, the drama of merely suffering men and women martyrs all anxious to be killed. But especially important were the distinctions which in his *Laokoon* he laid down between poetry on the one hand and the arts of painting and sculpture on the other. This remarkable essay, which remained unfinished, became for a long time of the very greatest importance for critics as well as artists. Much of it is now superseded; some parts of it were at once rightly attacked and corrected by Herder, but the fact remains that Herder, Goethe and Schiller were all deeply influenced by Lessing's views, that the *Laokoon* statue was discussed in full by all of them, and that Lessing's teaching, based on the study of Homer's *Iliad*, was successfully applied by Goethe in his idyllic epic *Hermann und Dorothea*. Lessing's dramatic theories, as laid down in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, were likewise often discussed by Goethe and Schiller in their correspondence, were referred to in their *Xenien*, and were utilised in the structure of their later plays.

Lessing the author is hardly less great than Lessing the critic. The fables are highly characteristic specimens of Lessing's best prose with all its conciseness and epigrammatic brevity. Whether this style is specially suited to the telling of fables is another

question. As a poet Lessing turned his chief attention to the drama, the reformation of which was amongst his most cherished hopes. If his early plays were still much influenced by French models, yet they were more natural than those of the other young writers of his time. He showed much wit and power of comic treatment, and his ultimate ambition in early youth was one day to become the Molière of Germany. He wrote with a thorough and practical knowledge of the requirements of the stage, a condition which he justly considered to be indispensable for a playwright, and which both Shakespeare and Molière had possessed in so high a degree. Further, he did not merely imitate foreign models, or treat conventional subjects, but from the beginning he wrote from personal experience and conviction. His first comedy, *Der junge Gelehrte*, was directed against a weakness of his own, of which he was fully conscious—the danger of becoming a bookworm and a prig. It is an interesting fact that young Goethe, too, wrote his first comedy as a student at Leipzig with a similar object in view.* In his *Die Laune des Verliebten*, "a lover's whim," he chastised his own excessive jealousy. In other early plays, such as *Der Freigeist*, and *Die Juden*, Lessing already began to discuss social and religious problems, and in most of his later plays, including *Nathan der Weise*, he treated effectively one of the great national, social or religious problems of the time. All his greatest plays are plays written with a purpose. In *Miss Sara Sampson* English influence is clearly visible. With this work Lessing introduced into German literature a new kind of tragedy, the "dramatis personæ" of which were among the writer's contemporaries, in contrast with the French classical tragedy the characters of which generally belonged to the ancient times and to the princes and rulers of the earth. The later tragedies, *Philotas* and *Emilia Galotti*, are written in the concise manner of the classical Greek drama. Both are apparently influenced by ideas taken from the ancients, but in *Emilia Galotti* German social conditions and abuses are treated, although still under Italian names. When soon afterwards young Schiller attacked similar abuses he used German names and scenery throughout.

Though Lessing also studied the epic and lyric styles of poetry with great industry, and though he was well acquainted with the chief epic and lyric poems of ancient and modern times, yet he himself produced but little work in these styles, and indeed nothing that can be compared with what he did for the drama. The epic style was not attempted by him at all: he never either composed an epic poem or wrote a novel. The easy flow of language and the leisurely development of the action which characterise the epic

* On Goethe's indebtedness to Lessing and on Lessing's attitude toward Goethe, see Julius Zeitler, *Goethe-Handbuch*. Stuttgart, 1917. II, 444-48.

style and which so largely constitute its charm are the very antithesis of Lessing's brevity and conciseness.

In the domain of lyric poetry Lessing wrote *Lieder*, *Oden* and *Sinngedichte* (epigrams). He succeeded best in the poems in which the intellect is chiefly concerned. In his youth he wrote many clever and witty epigrams and other short and satirical poems, but now they are but little read in Germany. His early songs are for the most part conventional, and he was right in soon completely abandoning this kind of poetry. He did not compose any brilliant and artistic ballads, and in speaking of the poet Lessing it is only the dramatist who is referred to. He was one of the first German writers to advocate practically the introduction of the blank verse of the Elizabethan dramatists into German plays by making use of it in his last great drama, *Nathan der Weise*. Like Goethe and Schiller, he proceeded from the use of prose in his earlier plays to that of blank verse. In his early domestic tragedy, *Miss Sara Sampson*, he gave to all the chief persons English names.

In several of his dramas Lessing selected for treatment an old well-known subject which he adapted to his own purposes and which, in two important instances, he provided with a new and a finer ending. In *Emilia Galotti* he adapted the old Latin Virginia story in which a father prefers to kill his daughter with his own hand to sacrificing her youth and innocence to the desires of a tyrant. In spite of the Italian names and surroundings used as a cloak, everybody in Germany understood the criticism implied of actual German conditions. In his *Nathan der Weise* he made use for the chief scene of the old parable of the three rings, denoting the three monotheistic religions, but which he deepened and ennobled and provided with a fine positive ending, of which the old French verse parable "Li dis dou vrai aniel," and Boccaccio's prose account in the *Decamerone*, were still ignorant. And in choosing Dr. Faust as the hero of a play (in prose) of which unfortunately very little has come down to our times, Lessing was the first poet who intended to save the doctor, who in Marlowe's play, and in all the German plays derived from Marlowe's *Tragic History*, in the end fell a prey to the Devil. "Ihr sollt nicht siegen," calls out a voice from Heaven when the devils have concocted the plan of seducing the ever dissatisfied scholar through his boundless thirst for knowledge. But Lessing was convinced, and he wished to emphasise, that God could not have endowed Faust with a never-satisfied craving for knowledge merely in order to ruin him in the end. And in the same creative spirit in which he remodelled some dramatic subjects, Lessing invented ingenious new fables by modifying well-known old fables in some important detail from which resulted an altogether different solution and moral.

Lessing was not desirous of obtaining from his contemporaries mere conventional praise and lip-service without some first-hand acquaintance with what he had written. In a well-known epigram* referring to the famous singer of the religious epic *Der Messias* he said :

Wer wird nicht einen Klopstock loben?
Doch wird ihn jeder lesen? — Nein.
Wir wollen weniger erhoben
Und fleissiger gelesen sein.

He was too modest when at the end of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (1769) he wrote about himself as a dramatic writer :

Not everyone who takes up a brush and lays on colours is a painter. The earliest of my [dramatic] attempts were made at that time of life when we are but too apt to regard inclination and facility as genius. What is tolerable in my later attempts is due, as I am well aware, simply and solely to criticism. I do not feel within myself the living spring that works itself out of its native strength and breaks forth out of its own strength into such rich, fresh, clear streams. I must force everything out of myself by pressure and pipes. I should be poor, cold, short-sighted if I had not learned in a measure to borrow foreign treasures, to warm myself at foreign fires and to strengthen my eyes by the glasses of art. I am therefore always ashamed or annoyed when I hear or read anything in disparagement of criticism. It is said to suppress genius, and I flattered myself that I had gained from it something very nearly approaching to genius.

Much of the work that this indefatigable author produced and which at the time made a deep impression on the best of his contemporaries, and not only in his own country,† is now superseded and forgotten. The social conditions and the special circumstances from which many of his works sprang have changed considerably or have disappeared entirely. But some of his works live, and bid fair to live for many years to come. And the manly and broad-minded spirit from which they sprang still compels our own admiration and gratitude no less than that of his contemporaries; it is as fresh and as wholesome as ever. We admire the critic and the poet who has still something to say to each of us, and we cannot help loving the kind and noble man. In studying any of his greatest critical, philosophical and religious works we quickly feel the justness of the saying :

"To return to Lessing means to advance."

KARL BREUL.

* It is called "Die Sinngedichte an den Leser," and opens the collection of Lessing's epigrams.

† See Sydney H. Kenwood, Lessing in England (in *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. IX, Nos. 2 and 3, April and July, 1914, where other references are given).

BRITISH INFLUENCE IN JAPAN.

THE average intelligent Briton familiar with the main outlines of the history of modern Japan has at least one general idea about the country which is absolutely in contradiction to the facts, an idea that can hardly stand the test of three months' residence here. It is the illusion that Britons are popular and that British influence and prestige are very high. Side by side with this idea, or almost a part of it, is one to the effect that Americans are unpopular and in consequence their influence and prestige suffer. It is the purpose of this article to show that exactly the reverse is true, if possible to explain why, and finally to throw out at least one suggestion for the future. The vision conjured up by such phrases as "Japan the Britain of the East" is of a people sedulously and admiringly imitating our national life and international policy, following in our footsteps, largely under our guidance, and suitably grateful all the time. In the background of the vision there is an intelligent-looking Japanese gentleman in naval uniform just like our own or nearly, listening smilingly and respectfully to the instructions of Big Brother Briton. From what one sees of present-day Japan one feels that the vision never at any time approximated to the truth, and for the present it has as much relation to reality as the impression given by a Loti romance.

The two factors of personal popularity and social influence are linked very closely together, so that in examining the one we shall get frequent glimpses of the other. It is not that social influence depends upon popularity. Even the contrary is true; and in other parts of the East where Britain is considerably less popular her social influence is all-pervading and unchallenged. But in many respects the same reasons which account for the lack of British popularity in Japan can be given for her lack of influence on the life of the nation and people.

We turn involuntarily to the easier part of the task, that of setting forth briefly the incidents in the history of Anglo-Japanese relations before the war, a history which practically speaking is one of undisturbed harmony and which undoubtedly provided the background of fact for the popular illusion. From that gratifying account we must turn to a series of incidents which are undeniably responsible for the position as it is to-day. Through the period of extra-territoriality and unequal treaties Great Britain had rather less than her share of the anti-foreign sentiment, and her lead in the matter of the revision of the treaties, side by side with her friendly attitude throughout the Sino-Japanese war, transformed what was a very mild hostility into an almost ardent popu-

larity which prepared the public for the first Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902.

In many ways Great Britain was in a specially favourable condition to enjoy Japanese popularity. There were obvious geographical and historical analogies which caught the imagination of the host of writers and students who were industrially featuring this picturesque entry of an Oriental power into the comity of nations. The naval predominance of Great Britain led naturally to her experts being called upon to act as instructors and advisers to the growing Japanese Navy, and it is to this period that we owe the picture with the nautical tinge described above. If in political structure and military organisation pre-war Germany was taken as a more suitable model, it was certainly not felt in Japan itself that these two influences, the British and the German, were in any way conflicting, and there is no evidence that the popularity of the one ever jeopardised that of the other.

The first Immigration Act of 1907 brought home to Japan and the world the fact that this lusty Benjamin might constitute a menace to the United States, which menace, real or imagined, it was evidently the intention of America to combat in no uncertain fashion. And this, very naturally, generated in Japan an increased enthusiasm for the European attachments, and particularly for that of Great Britain. Hence the picture of the little-loved American secretly rather dear to our national imagination. China in those days was not seen as a possible field of rivalry. The spheres of influence of the British and Japanese were well separated and the relation in this respect as in others was still rather that of professor and promising pupil.

Up to the war then the picture was unclouded, but it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that ever since there has been a steady fading of the rosiness of the tints. It begins no doubt in the attitude of the two nations towards the Great War. In England, as in other allied countries, there is a tendency to disregard Japan's subscription to the war, engrossed as we all were with the struggle at the most vital centre, the western front. If we think of the Japanese participation at all we are more prone to refer to the benefits she derived from it, in China and in her own export trade, than to the advantages which the allies, as a whole, and Great Britain in particular, reaped from it. Now, rightly or wrongly every thinking Japanese is of the opinion that his country entered the war in fulfilment of the terms of the Anglo-Japanese alliance and for no other reason whatsoever. It presents itself then to his imagination as an entirely disinterested act, undertaken at considerable cost both in lives and material in fulfilment of an honourable obligation and entitling him to the gratitude of

his aided ally. It is not the purpose of this article to comment upon the justice of this attitude but merely to indicate that it exists, a fact which no foreign resident in Japan would deny. Not only do the Japanese feel that as a nation they are entitled to gratitude but they feel even more strongly that they have not received it. They regard the attitude of Great Britain at the Washington Conference of 1922 as tantamount to an abandonment of the Japanese alliance at the behest of the newly powerful United States of America.

The Japanese reaction to the termination of the alliance was something like this: "If Great Britain with her wide political experience estimated so highly the value of friendship with the United States as to be disposed to sacrifice without scruple an alliance with us in spite of our loyal co-operation in the war, how then shall we attempt to resist the growing power of the United States or to maintain an attitude of protest against the land laws of California or the growing agitation against our nationals? In a word, if America is so powerful that England must conciliate her at all costs, then so must Japan." This reaction plus the results of the great earthquake of 1923, and the gradual realisation in post-war years that the economic prosperity of the war period had gone for ever, strengthened the conviction of Japanese politicians that their obvious policy, all things considered, was the conciliation of the United States. As a result we see the Immigration Act of 1924 met with but mild protest, and a year or so later a solemn declaration was made to the effect that Japan had definitely abandoned its American emigration policy and looked for the future to Manchuria and the outlying parts of her own territories.

However well the Japanese may have learnt the lessons of the Washington Conference and England's post-war diplomacy, and however much the outside observer may feel that such a change of attitude is for the ultimate good of Japan herself, it can hardly be expected that, thinking as the Japanese do, there should be no bitterness against Great Britain which in a measure necessitated this change of attitude. But the conciliation of America was not the only pre-occupation of our post-war policy. Australia laid claim to our protection. How troublesome the family is to be sure! Emancipated Samuel has given his orders, and now the younger brother Digger is growing up and clamouring for protection of his racial fetish. The orders from Canberra were obeyed no less readily than those from Washington, and Great Britain, with the help of the British taxpayer, began the construction of the Singapore naval base. It requires little imagination to conceive the effect of this undertaking on the Japanese. Not even the ingenuity of strategians can conjure up any other power

against which British interests in the Pacific are "protected." Australian theories of the destinies of their continent as a working man's paradise protected as long as possible by the forces of British Imperialism are not unknown to the Japanese, and it is not to be expected that they can do anything but resent this manifest arming of their former ally against them.

The recent development of events in China has shown that British and Japanese interests are likely to clash there, and this fact is the burden of frequent articles in the Japanese Press. The feeling is that Japan must expand her influence in China and that her only serious rival in this field is Great Britain. We thus see that almost within a decade the whole political picture has changed. There are now at least four sources of ill-feeling on the part of the Japanese against Great Britain, yet so slowly do currents of opinion and thought move between countries so far distant from each other, that the majority of well-informed people at home seem still to think that our political relations with Japan are on the same footing as at the outbreak of the war. They are not; and if it cannot exactly be said that America has taken our place, it is certainly true that there are now infinitely less grounds for political friction between the United States and Japan than between Great Britain and that country. This is the political background, and it is hardly to be wondered that in such circumstances our popularity with the Japanese is definitely on the wane.

From drawing the picture of the political complications between our two countries we turn to the more difficult task of outlining the gradual decline of British social influence and prestige in Japan. In the shadow of the friendly political relations which existed from the early Meiji era up to the Great War, large numbers of Britons of every sort came into the country. First of all there were the naval experts of whom we have already spoken, together with large numbers of captains and engineers to aid in the development of the Japanese mercantile marine. Close on their heels came the business community, for in those days British interests had the bulk of the foreign trade, and with them the missionaries and a large heterogeneous body of teachers, thinkers, writers and advisers occupied either with interpreting Japan to the western world or introducing things western to the Japanese, or very often both at the same time. Political circumstances as well as experience with eastern communities placed these British folk in a particularly advantageous position and they prospered exceedingly in their various activities. Numerous converts were secured by the missionaries, considerable wealth by the business men, and a certain material prosperity and doubtless great intellectual satisfaction by the writers and thinkers before described.

This great body of active, contented folk which constituted the bulk of the foreign population of Yokohama and Kobe, housing itself in its rapidly-built concessions on the Brighton-Singapore model, could not be without influence on the Japanese with whom they came in contact, and so we saw English social life being taken as the standard "western" social life. English architecture influenced the new foreign style buildings which were springing up; as early as 1888 English became the official second language and began to be taught in all the schools. English fashions in clothes and food spread among the upper-class Japanese, and English manners and ethical codes began to be accepted in the educated world. The missionary field was largely occupied by the English, so that religious conversion to Christianity meant for the Japanese, almost subconsciously, social conversion to English standards. Old British Yokohama residents still speak affectionately of "these good old days."

How and when is it that this state of affairs has passed away? First of all, even in the days before the war the experts in various departments were being gradually weeded out. Rightly or wrongly the Japanese were beginning to feel that they could do without foreign help, and as that foreign help came rather from Europe than from America, the end of the period of the foreign adviser meant a diminution of European influence and particularly of English influence. The outbreak of the war naturally saw a general exodus of Englishmen of all classes, of the business and teaching groups principally, and to a very large extent their places were taken by Americans. There is no doubt that the foundation of the American ascendancy was laid in those early days of the war. From then the way has been easy. Geographical proximity, improved political relations, a vast missionary activity, and the important fact more clearly realised here in the East than in (say) Manchester, of the enormous material prosperity of the United States, have all contributed to the growing popularity of things and persons American.

Since the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, the "Britain down and out" story has gained increasing credence and had a growing amount of exposition in the Japanese Press. It is human nature after all, to be more inclined to believe ill of those against whom you have a grievance, whether real or imaginary, and this has been the case with Japan. The Japanese have lent a very willing ear to those who spoke of the disintegration of the British Empire, the passing of British financial ascendancy, the end of her dominion of the seas and the like.

So we see two very clear reasons for the decline of British prestige. First there is a feeling of political grievance as has

been outlined above, and secondly there is the feeling that Great Britain is no longer the force in the world that she was before the war. Japan very naturally in building her civilisation on modern lines has her eyes perpetually open for the successful, and so when she sees the growing prosperity of the United States, she very naturally places herself under the new influence. So we see American methods everywhere in Tokyo. "Foreign style" in architecture, language, cooking, shopping, debating, thinking, dressing or worshipping, now means "American style." There is not one aspect of the life of Tokyo youth that is not at some point influenced by America. There is perhaps much of this which is inevitable. The social influence of America is not a phenomenon peculiar to Japan, it is world-wide. Monsieur Lucien Romier in his study "Vues sur les Etats-Unis" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, has these significant words: "Le rayonnement politique des Etats-Unis reste faible par rapport à leur puissance dans le monde . . . leur rayonnement commercial et maritime reste aussi inférieur à ce que l'on croit ou à ce qu'il pourrait être. Leur rayonnement social est universel et influe aujourd'hui, à des degrés divers, sur les modes de l'humanité tout entière." This is borne out by a score of writers and observers in all parts of the world. We may deplore that our social influence is ousted in Tokyo; can we be perfectly sure that it is not being ousted in London? Nevertheless, there is still a definite social life which is British, something distinct from the American life, a tradition of social conduct which is unique and in many ways admirable, one of Britain's most important contributions to the civilisation of the world and which it is worth preserving and also extending if that is possible. It is worth extending in Japan for obvious reasons. It will be conducive to a better understanding of the British character and through it of the British policy—it will go far to dispel the doubts and suspicions with which Great Britain is regarded and will combat more effectively than anything else the steady flow of anti-British propaganda which is poured from all sides into the Far East.

This brings us to ways and means. One of the most noticeable characteristics of foreign activity in Japan is the important part played by Americans in education. This is not the case in the Government schools and universities where, for the most part, Englishmen are preferred, but it is the case in a host of private institutions whether they be Japanese-owned entirely or partly foreign and partly Japanese. Almost every group of missionaries in Japan has begun its activities with the foundation of a school, and therein it has not only preached the Gospel, but it has also "put over," as the phrase is, the American idea of social conduct.

There are schools of this kind in every grade, from primary school to university, and from them are turned out year by year some thousands of graduates whose American accent and social behaviour are an index of the influence they have undergone. It is probably insular prejudice to believe that this is against the interests of Japan, but it is certainly quite clear that it is against the interests of Great Britain.

On the other hand the English missionaries, although active in all parts of the country, make little attempt to put over their educational ideals. There is no doubt that from their own point of view they would secure a considerably greater number of converts by so doing, and in addition it would appear that if only a student body of reasonable numbers were trained on the British standards, it would go far to increase our social influence in the country and, which is far more important, assist towards a greater understanding of our life and ways. The Japanese Christian parent at the present time who wishes his child to have a Christian education has almost no choice but to send him to a school controlled by American missionaries. He may feel critical of what he will receive there. He may feel that the American social training will neither fit his son for the "cadre" of his Japanese life nor be very admirable in itself. His only alternative is to send him to the entirely secular Japanese school. If the British missionaries in Japan, then, would found schools and run them on public school lines, they would meet a real need from the Japanese point of view in addition to extending their own religious influence and rendering a signal service to their own country.

There is very little doubt that just as the organisation of society itself in Japan bears more resemblance to that of England than that of America, so English educational systems are more suitable to the Japanese than American systems. It is still necessary and will be so for many years to come for Japan to be led by a relatively small ruling class. The masses, though they have acquired universal suffrage much in the same spirit as they have acquired loud speakers, have little understanding of their rights and none of their responsibilities. It is frequently declared that what is needed for this is training in a tradition of responsibility in at least a limited class with the possibility of broadening the basis later on just as has been done in England. The type of education for that is undoubtedly the British system, stripped of course of its inessentials and adapted to local conditions. Many Japanese educators feel this and urge the adoption of British methods in Government schools, and indeed the colleges and universities go thus far in their tribute to English methods in that they are more disposed to engage Englishmen as teachers than Americans; but very little can be

done to spread British systems unless samples are there for all men to see. That is where the Americans score. It is possible to hear advocated in every part of the country where educators foregather that the American influence in Japanese education should be combated and that in its stead attention should be paid to British systems, but whereas the British ideals are to be found in books, articles and speeches, the American ideals are there on the spot, incorporated in flesh and stone. The result is that in spite of all the criticisms the American influence grows year by year. The only way for British systems to be appreciated by the Japanese public is for British institutions to be founded and to function in their midst. The most suitable people to found these institutions are, of course, the missionaries, but in their default it could be equally well done by private individuals with some measure of financial support. There is no precedent for the provision of such financial support by the British Government in any foreign country, and yet the peculiar nature of Japan's development and future possibilities is such that the advisability of some action could well be pondered in Government circles. French interests in the East are, in comparison with those of Great Britain, relatively small. Yet the French Government considers itself justified in subscribing to maintain here in Tokyo and elsewhere the "Maison Franco-Japonaise," an institution the sole aim of which is to keep the French cultural ideals before the Japanese public. This incidentally is in addition to the educational activities of the Catholic missionaries, most of whom are French.

As in the purely religious and educational fields, so in semi-social services American influence is supreme. All the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. work is done with American capital, by Americans with American methods. The only foreign hospital in Tokyo is American. The only English language newspaper devoted to foreign interests in Tokyo is the American *Japan Advertiser*. The proprietor of this is an American and the prevailing tone and make-up are also American. As the only offset to this there is the English-owned *Japan Chronicle* of Kobe, which maintains the highest traditions of English journalism in the face of increasing competition not only from the American *Advertiser*, but from the American-influenced native English newspapers, *The Japan Times* and *The Tokyo Nichi-Nichi*.

Enough has been said here then to show conclusively that partly by reason of the changed political situation, partly by the worldwide increase of American social influence, partly by the enthusiasm of the missionary movement, and partly by mere geographical proximity, American influence is to-day dominant everywhere in Japan. As that influence grows, British influence wanes.

It may be that there is very little that can be done about it, although it would seem that in one field at least, that of education, a valuable stand could be made. But whether anything can be done about it or not, it is well that the British public should know what the real position in Japan is and be prepared for a future when Japan has passed out of the melting-pot and assumed a definite shape as a modern State, impregnated everywhere with American ideas. It is well too that the British public should reflect that it is with this State that Great Britain will have to treat in the coming era of the Pacific, with this State that it will have to deal sooner or later when the time comes for clearing up the Chinese muddle, this State who will be, if she is not already, a sort of arbiter in the naval competition between Great Britain and America. It seems a pity that we can do nothing to leave our mark on her before it is too late.

H. VERE REDMAN.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE CROWN PRINCE RUDOLF.

FORTY years have elapsed since the tragic death of the Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria at his shooting lodge at Mayerling (in the Wienerwald, not far from the town of Baden) on January 30th, 1889; yet the mystery that surrounds this bloody tragedy remains unsolved, although there are still living in the former monarchy numerous people who were alive at that time, and among these are some who know more, perhaps everything, about the affair. And yet the public knows nothing. Despite a whole flood of books, pamphlets and articles that have appeared about this exceedingly lucrative theme there remains an apparently unfathomable secret. Now at last the first ray of light has lit up the darkness, a ray of light emanating not from a deceptive will-o'-the-wisp but from the quiet study-lamp of a learned man on whose guidance we may place perfect reliance. It is true, the whole of the mystery of the Prince's end is still not cleared up, but a large part of it, that which is of the greatest interest to the public: his death-bed. It is the veil hiding this mystery which has now been drawn aside.

We owe our knowledge to the diligent research of Oscar, Baron von Mitis, the former Director of the Vienna Family, Court and State Records. His book, *The Life of the Crown Prince Rudolf*, published by the Insel-Verlag, Leipzig, is the first attempt at a biography based on authentic material. We say attempt, and the author calls it thus himself; for although he devoted many years to the study of this drama, and had at his disposal the very extensive documents of his archives as well as many other sources, which he followed up with untiring diligence and the unfailing sagacity of the historical investigator, the result, however full and praiseworthy, leaves many questions unsolved.

If the theories of genealogists and biologists are sound, Rudolf's ancestors had endowed him in his cradle with a fatal birthday-gift, a grave burden due to inbreeding and direct inheritance. His father's mother, Sophie, Princess of Bavaria, and his mother's mother, Louise of Bavaria, were sisters. Further back still near relatives had intermarried. Then there was the fatal inheritance of spiritual anomaly that roves ghostlike among the Wittelsbachs, and, owing to this inbreeding and the consequently augmented danger from it, permeated his blood both from his father's and his mother's side. Whether this fatal inheritance was the real cause or not, Rudolf was a delicate, even weakly child; he was very intelligent and his education should have been a very careful one. Inconceivable as it may appear, it is just this which he lacked.

Not that the Emperor Francis Joseph neglected in any way the training of his son and heir to the throne; that would have been foreign to his conscientious sense of duty, but he showed a very regrettable lack of understanding in the choice of ways and means. In his endeavour to prepare him in every way and in all branches of knowledge for the great task before him, he surrounded him with a whole army of teachers, all of whom lectured and crammed the youthful brain with their own wisdom. This poor young brain was very receptive, but too much was expected of it. A less gifted child would probably have broken down mentally; Rudolf's brain held its own, but his nerves reacted. The Emperor not only expected too much from his mind but also from his body. The first man entrusted with the boy's education was General Count Leopold Gondrecourt who had distinguished himself in the war against Denmark, and his brigade was called the "iron" brigade. Though it cannot be definitely asserted, it may well be assumed that the deciding factor in the Emperor's choice was his military efficiency, which was after all sheer rashness,* not any special pedagogical flair. The fact that he was appointed to this post immediately after the war renders the assumption more valid; besides, it harmonises with the whole character of the Emperor, with whom military glory ranked above everything. In any case, the choice of this mentor was completely wrong. He treated the boy entrusted to him as if he were a strong, grown-up recruit accustomed to every manner of hardening experiment, not a tender child. A year later, in 1865, he was superseded by another officer, Latour von Thurnburg, a wise, moderate man who soon gained the boy's love and became his confidant; but even he could not deliver the poor lad from a veritable horde of nearly fifty teachers set on him between 1864 and 1877.

The Habsburg Court was strictly Catholic, and it was a matter of course that Rudolf was educated in this spirit. The result left everything to be desired. The boy of fifteen had already lost respect for things which were held in the highest esteem at the Court, religion and tradition. At this age he made notes such as these:

The priests did the greatest harm by doing their best to keep people abject and submissive by superstition and bigotry so that they as well as the aristocracy were able to do with poor people what they liked.

Or:

The Monarchy stands like a mighty ruin which remains erect from day to day but will fall at last. It has remained

* In the battle of Königgrätz the First Army Corps commanded by Gondrecourt lost nearly 10,000 men within a quarter of an hour, because he led his troops armed with bayonets to assault the Prussians with their needle-guns!

standing for centuries, and as long as the people allowed itself to be blindly led, all was well; but it has now served its purpose. All men are free and during the next storm this ruin will tumble down.

Again:

Are we higher spirits, are we animals? We are animals. But do we descend from the monkey, or have people always existed side by side with the monkeys, forming a special species of two-handed creatures?

The full weight of these words can only be gauged when it is borne in mind that they were not written by a social-democratic agitator or an atheistic teacher, but by a boy of fifteen who was Crown Prince of the oldest ruling house in Europe.

It may be objected that these thoughts could not have arisen in the mind of a boy and must have been gathered somewhere and stored up. The astounding, almost inconceivable fact remains that these were thoughts he remembered which became rooted in his youthful mind, as is proved by these jottings. It may be asked how Rudolf came by such views, where he had read or heard them at that time. According to the author of this book he was influenced by his teacher in Political Economy, Professor Karl Menger, who held very radical views. Together with his pupil he drew up a memorandum against the aristocracy and showed him the way to get it published.

On the completion of his education the Crown Prince travelled a good deal and interested himself chiefly in zoological and hunting affairs. It was not surprising that he became an assiduous and passionate hunter; for in this he merely followed in his father's footsteps and tradition, and in all ruling houses hunting is considered more or less the choicest pleasure of royal personages. With his passion for hunting he combined a lively and by no means superficial interest in zoology, particularly ornithology, which brought him the acquaintance of the well-known German zoologist, Alfred Brehm, with whom he undertook several trips. His active mind, his communicative character and his facile pen led him to write down the experiences and impressions of his journeys and to publish them in book form.

But neither zoology nor ethnography could slacken his thirst for knowledge, nor did his duty as officer satisfy him. Gradually he turned his attention to political events and soon his interest was fully roused. The Emperor, however, would not permit him to take any active interest in politics, because he would not share his power with anyone, not even his own son; thus Rudolf saw himself condemned to inactivity. With his passionate temperament he must have suffered veritable tortures, which were all the

harder to bear because, in his opinion, Austro-Hungarian politics were moving towards an abyss, especially in the Austrian half of the Empire, where a feudal and clerical tendency prevailed which Rudolf hated. For he had remained faithful to the principles—if they may be called so in this case—which he had expressed so energetically in his boyish jottings; in his opinion the influence of the clergy and the high aristocracy spelt the ruin of the Empire. He felt that it was more than his flesh and blood could stand to look idly and without being able to change it at a régime such as prevailed in Austria but not in Hungary. If he was not allowed to act, he would not remain silent; he would criticise—with his pen. Of course it had to be done secretly. Thus he became a diligent collaborator of a Liberal paper, the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, which had a wide circulation among the bourgeoisie; and when its editor, Moritz Szeps, started the *Wiener Tagblatt*, he wrote for that. Naturally such a collaborator—the future Emperor!—was received with open arms; the Liberal circles now hoped that if he came into power, the golden age of Liberalism as well as of Judaism would dawn—these two terms being then fairly synonymous in Vienna. Originally no friend of the Jews, he could not fail to become one in view of his principles and his intercourse with them. Anti-semitism was then held to be the most grievous sin against the holy spirit of Liberalism.

The Emperor did not exclude the Crown Prince so strictly from foreign politics as from home affairs. He repeatedly sent him to Berlin, to London, and once to the Courts of the Balkan States, including Constantinople. Rudolf carried out his missions with success. His elegant appearance, his excellent manners, his readiness of speech, his keen outlook, all did him good service. On the one hand he created a good impression, particularly at the British Court where he paid a visit on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in the summer of 1887; on the other hand he gave excellent reports regarding his impressions and observations. Still, he was unable to influence the trend of politics in any way. The Emperor regarded that as his exclusive domain.

If the Crown Prince had been able to exert any influence it would soon have been felt and seen in Europe. The bond between Austria and Germany would no doubt have become looser, and as soon as William II came to the throne it would probably have been dissolved. Rudolf considered the alliance with Prussia an onerous though temporarily unavoidable relationship. The only good he saw in it was on account of Russia, which he considered the arch-enemy of Austria-Hungary. He hated it above all because, in his view, it was the home of absolutism. A reckoning with Russia regarding the Balkan States seemed inevitable. As early as the

early eighties of last century he faced the threatening danger of such a settling of accounts. For this reason alone he considered it necessary to maintain the alliance with Germany. Without this driving force he would, on coming into power, have decided for the West and have looked for an alliance with France and England, whose spirit and culture were far more sympathetic to him than the Prussian drilling of the mind and the narrowness of Junkerism. Especially for democratic, republican France he had the greatest sympathy. Besides, he and William II did not get on well together. When the latter was still Crown Prince serious disagreements had occurred between them because, with his peculiar tactlessness, William had made disparaging remarks about Austria and these had been repeated to Rudolf. These disagreements became more acute when William, during his first visit to Vienna as Emperor, very adversely criticised the Austro-Hungarian troops, particularly the infantry of which the Crown Prince was Inspector-General. . . .

And Mayerling? Many an impatient reader may ask this question because after all the public is chiefly interested in the secret of his death, not in his life. It must be admitted that it would be opportune, for then no hiatus between politics and the tragedy at Mayerling would be needed. The causal and psychological connection of the book, however, shows here a perceptible gap. However full the material at the disposal of the author, in this respect it proves insufficient. The author tells us almost nothing of the reasons that made the Crown Prince turn away from his early scientific interests and indulge in a wild and sensuous life. His great discontent and bitterness at the inactive and uninfluential rôle allotted to him by his father, the depressing consciousness that—as he believed—the monarchy was heading for destruction while he was condemned to look on helplessly, the conviction that his father, the Emperor, was surrounded by bad counsellors: all this may have contributed to a morbid depression, but these reasons are not sufficient to make him take to a dissolute life. He may be forgiven for being a Don Juan; natural predisposition and opportunity account for that, and the women made it easy for him. But that is no reason why he should have taken to drink and finally, it is said, even to drugs, and have squandered his self-respect and health in evil company.

It is no doubt intentional on the part of the author that he withholds information on this point. It sounds paradoxical but has a very simple explanation. He wished to avoid at all costs entering the erotic plane, partly out of consideration for the Crown Prince's former wife, Princess Stephanie Lonyay, partly to counter from the outset the accusation of wishing to speculate with his book on

the public's craving for sensationalism. This discretion deserves all praise in these days, but on psychological and historical grounds it is to be regretted, because a biography whose hero is a Don Juan should not exclude the erotic from its scope.

In November, 1888, the Crown Prince made the acquaintance of Baroness Mary von Vetsera, a singularly beautiful girl, whose mother was of Greek descent and one of the Baltazzi, her father being said to have been one of the Sultan's bankers. Four brothers, Mary's uncles, Aristides, Alexander, Hector and Henry Baltazzi, though of unknown extraction, were, curiously enough, received by the otherwise exclusive aristocratic Viennese society which abhors everything exotic. They even married into the aristocracy, two of them countesses. The fact that they had money and were passionately devoted to horse-racing could not possibly be the reason for this success, for many others had money and indulged in sport without being considered worthy of such distinction. The Crown Prince Rudolf and Mary Vetsera fell in love with each other, and in January, 1889, their relations became intimate. It is not certain whether Rudolf seriously thought of marrying the girl and divorcing his wife Stephanie, with whom he had long ceased to live harmoniously. It is rather improbable that he decided to end his own and his sweetheart's life because his father, the Emperor, would not approve the relationship. Don Juans do not commit suicide if they cannot marry the woman they love at the moment and still less when there is a throne waiting for them. It is much more probable that he regarded the impossibility of marrying Mary Vetsera as a welcome pretext to end his life. The real reasons for this step are to be sought outside this love affair; as the author of this book rightly thinks, there was no single reason but a number of them.

An accumulation of contrarities of a personal kind and tragic conditions of a higher order, acting on one another, fostered seeds which were already biologically embedded in his nature. The unbearable burden dragged him down into the depths and he resolved to die. Any one of these factors may seem insufficient to a cool observer to break the courage of a normal individual, but in the diseased psyche the combination of them ripened the lurking wish to die, and it only needed the decisive moment to prepare the last scene of the drama.

The most important of these factors were the acute bitterness produced by the inactive, impotent rôle which he felt himself condemned to play, and his physical and psychical breakdown, particularly if it is true that his brain was already paralysed. According to all appearances, however, the last straw was a political incident in which he saw himself involved, the result of which would

have compromised him badly, especially with his father. If we bear in mind that several years before his end, his coronation as King of Hungary during the lifetime of the Emperor Francis Joseph was discussed, we can guess the sort of intrigue in which he saw himself involved. Had it failed, he would have found himself in a situation which a more robust constitution than his could hardly have faced. In view of this situation the escape by death with the loved one may have been welcome. The girl, at any rate, died in the happy belief that the Crown Prince had killed himself because he could no longer live without her.

People always talk of his suicide, which has been much doubted. Since the publication of Baron von Mitis' book, there is no doubt as to the manner of his death. This is proved by the various farewell letters both he and Baroness Vetsera left behind. Moreover, the author publishes for the first time a document preserved in the Vienna State Records which precludes all doubt. It is a memorandum by Count Hoyos. He had spent the evening of January 29th, 1889, the last on which the Crown Prince was alive, with him at Mayerling. He and Prince Philip of Coburg, Rudolf's brother-in-law, who had just arrived from Vienna for the shooting, and the valet Loschek, after breaking open the locked bedroom-door, found the unfortunate couple on the following morning with gunshots through their heads.

This sworn statement by Count Hoyos, who is no longer alive, destroys all the romantic legends which fame with an eye both to phantasy and business had displayed before a sensation-loving public in articles, cheap novels and later in films. Neither the story of the legendary carouse said to have taken place at Mayerling on the eve of January 29th, when Count Hoyos (who was ignorant of the presence of Baroness Vetsera in the hunting lodge) was the Prince's sole guest, and during which the Crown Prince is said to have been killed by a drinking companion, nor the story of the jealous forester who killed him because he had made love to his wife, are founded on fact. Nor is the version true according to which he was killed in a quarrel by one of the Baltazzi brothers, an uncle of Mary Vetsera, or that he had fought a duel with Baltazzi and been shot by him. He killed himself, and it is Baron Mitis' great merit to have finally destroyed all the legends. This does not prove, however, that a duel or something like it did not take place at Mayerling, either before or after the suicide, during which one of the Baltazzis or someone else was killed. There are many indications of such an affair. Though we now know how Rudolf died, we still do not know why he died. The future may—perhaps—hold the answer to this question.

THEODOR VON SOSNOSKY.

THE MODERNISATION OF ISLAM.

THE modernisation of Islam is as considerable a movement as the first preaching of a great religion; for the changes that it has already wrought are striking the world mute with amazement. And yet, to a serious student of these shifting scenes of Asia, its advent ought to have been apparent for at least a generation. In examining the nature and the causes of this social and cultural transformation which the people of Islam are undergoing, a certain classification is necessary. There are first of all the Arabic-speaking races, domiciled not only in the Arabian Peninsula but also inhabiting the land up to the fringes of north-western Africa with the Sudan and Egypt. They are the custodians of the culture of Islam in varying degrees. Next in importance are the people of Turanian stock embracing the Turks and the Uzbeks of Central Asia; then there are the Persians, Afghans, Indians, the Chinese and the rest. Practically in all of these regions a wave of modernisation has been surging, and on various points has definitely challenged that conception which the thralldom of mediæval priesthood had enforced upon the faithful.

The most spectacular change one notices in Turkey, where the old traditions have been cut off root and branch. With the political awakening there the entire fabric of society has had to conform to the Turkish national regeneration. Amongst the sartorial reforms the headgear was the first to go; a European style of dress has had to supplant the baggy trousers and short tunics; the veil disappeared from the face of the women. Social laws were altered too, female education was enforced, and indeed much else was enacted which could not have been possible even in the feeblest days of Sultan Abdul Hamid's reign. The majority of the Turks adopted it with such willing submission as has characterised them throughout the ages in obeying explicitly the commands of their military hero.

Those regions of Islam which touch the southern littoral of the Mediterranean Sea are also conspicuous in modernist tendencies, for although both Egypt and Syria and to a lesser degree Palestine also had copied much of the European ways even prior to the new order in Turkey, yet their Arab mentality had till quite recently constrained their display of it in all but the most meagre forms of westernisation. When, however, the Ottoman Empire ceased to exercise any political control over them, and especially after Turkey had cast off the old conception herself, the people of the Near East almost imperceptibly found themselves following a path other than that which their fathers had trodden. Speaking from personal impression, as I sat in a restaurant in Beyrout I could scarcely

tell that I was not in a wayside café in Milan. The electric signs over the shops there bespoke a foreign origin, yet to the modern Syrian they scarcely appeared out of place. The use of a taxi is as common in Jerusalem as in London; or again in that city of the Khilifas in Iraq, where in its winding dark alleys you might yet meet a thief of Baghdad in his pristine glory, they are laying asphalt on the roads. On feast days the sons of the Persian philosophers in Teheran treat themselves to a quarter of an hour's joy-flying over the city: thus efforts are being made to blend the ancient with the modern.

In my own country of Afghanistan where matters have moved rather briskly, in place of experimenting by the introduction of gradual steps they have endeavoured to swallow the European draught in one large gulp. The case of India is sad. Conditions there have tarried too long at the parting of the ways; consequently the people are neither one thing nor the other. Their ardour for Pan-Islam was exploited to the full by their political adventurers in the name of Khilafat. Whereas in China the nationalist movement finds its best supporters amongst the Moslems of the south-western provinces.

But those who are amazed by the unveiling of women in Turkey, the reforms of Persia or the modernising of King Amanullah are deceived if they take all this to be a single phenomenon—a revolution against Islamic injunctions of the past; rather it is a natural sequence of events which, when endeavours are made to break the thralldom of the clergy, appears in the history of man and sets up a reaction. It is merely a living expression of an age when the youth of Islam will have its vision no longer interrupted by the heavy tapestry of priest-made dogma. That it was bound to come is as patent as that day follows night. It is due to the evolution and the progress of causes past man's power to control. Yet it is no miracle.

In the New Dark Age of my faith, from which we have just emerged into the sunny vistas of real religion, a curious politico-religious system had grown; and it is, indeed, by reason of our forbears having been seen so long under that influence that the average European wonders whether we have not definitely divorced Islam by our modernisation. The truth is that the organisation of the Doctors of Moslem Law, backed by autocratic Eastern monarchs, was the very antithesis of the words of the Koran. In Turkey, for instance, no man was permitted to consult the Holy Book of Islam and seek interpretation for himself; despite the fact that the only reason for which the faithful places his Book above every other Revealed Law is that any man can have his cue directly from it. The Prophet himself emphasised this fact

repeatedly, and thereby meant to destroy the human tendency of priestcraft. This particular teaching was so deep that it was not until many political cross-currents amongst the Moslem States had much weakened the spiritual essence that the clergy at last won the battle which they had fought for at least a thousand years.

During so recent a time as the reign of Sultan Mohamed Khamis, in the standard book at the religious school of Huquq at Stamboul it was sternly enjoined upon laymen not to engage in the examination of the textual laws of the Koran, but to seek the guidance of the clergy. "The ordinary believer," it laid down, "must act in compliance with the opinions of the Doctors of the Law. He may not have recourse to the text of Scripture of tradition, neither may he act according to the opinions of older Doctors; he must act upon the opinions of persons in authority in his own time." If that is not priestly thralldom, I do not know what is. In Persia liberal interpretation was tantamount to heresy punishable by death; and it was within a few years of King Amanullah's ascending the throne of Afghanistan, that the clergy had the power of issuing decrees whereby a man could be stoned to death for declaring himself ever so slightly against the established Church. Not only did this pernicious system blind the people in regard to their right of free interpretation, and thus strengthen the hold of the Doctors, but also it served so to stifle the progress of the East on national lines that both politically and economically Moslem Asia had ceased to exist. But the Western impact which had been invading the mind of Islam through cultural and commercial contact for centuries began to manifest itself; for if there was no awakening, the Eastern youth at any rate, by comparing his lot with that of the European, was dissatisfied with his environment. The Turkish revolution, the assassination of King Habibullah of Afghanistan, the abolition of the Khalifat, are but three facets of this expression.

The principal result of the World War as affecting Islam was that the destiny of Asia received high emphasis. It accentuated the desire of the Modernists of Islam to free themselves from the incubus of clerical enslavement. Then the entire belt of nations owing allegiance to Mecca raised a standard of reaction—a revolution against priestcraft—and those Pan-Islamists who have been persecuted for their liberal views turned upon the clergy. It was at once realised that the Church should have no share in the Government of the State, and, indeed, in certain respects, it must be guided by the spirit of the age. The seclusion of women, for instance, was considered to be based upon the priest-made dogma which kept back practically one-half of the people from the task of nation building. When women paraded the streets of Constanti-

nople without veils the whole ecclesiastical body of the world raised a storm of protest. But they made a mistake in thinking that the youth of Islam continued to be ignorant of the religious law; for in their reply the words of the Islamic Holy Book were quoted: "Say to the believing women," enjoins the Koran, "that they refrain from casting their looks upon strange men and observe continence; and that they display not the decorated parts of their bodies except those which are external; and that they draw their veils over their bosoms (so as to cover their heads and ears and necks and breasts); . . ." They were effectively silenced, for there is no mention of covering the face; and what it amounts to is that merely modesty has had to be observed, and not the cruel practice of closing up the women in houses.

Likewise, polygamy has been frowned upon for economic reasons; and all petty superstitions of fatalistic tendency are challenged and banned, with the consequence that the New East is now in conflagration, with a fire that is consuming the dross; and Islam progresses in its original guise. That passionate striving of the clergy to enforce their dictum upon the world of Islam, to interpret the Prophet's law according to what would lend power to their own order, and to destroy everything otherwise constituted is no more tolerated either in Turkey or in Afghanistan. The Church is being subordinated to the State, by the era of awakening that has dawned upon us in Islamic countries; and so it has been with the last phase of all religious thralldoms.

But although these are the ideas of the youth of Islam, which are being put in practice throughout the changing East, in certain isolated countries the modernist movement can never make any definite headway. In understanding this we must recollect the classification of Moslem races which I have given at the beginning of this article. The conglomeration of nations that goes to make the present-day Moslem Federation, however allied its various members may be in religious observance, yet consists of two distinct minds: the one is Aryan and the other Semitic. The Turks belong to the first order whilst the Arabs possess a Semitic outlook which is also shared by the Afghans. The one outstanding example of this Semitic conception has been made known to us by the recent revolt in Afghanistan against ex-King Amanullah's modernisation reforms. It also strikingly illustrates how even now in Asia one nation cannot successfully copy another, for this was precisely what the young advisers of King Amanullah attempted to do when they thought that Turkish methods could be grafted into conservative Afghanistan.

It is only a half truth to assert that it is because modernisation savours of exotic influences that King Amanullah's subjects have

denounced it, for often in our history good things of other nations have been borrowed by us in Kabul; yet never has the introduction of wholesale "reforms"—reforms in the Western sense—been popular in Afghanistan. Let this be more closely examined. There are a host of political, religious and racial factors which place a ban upon innovation in Afghanistan because, being landlocked and geographically shut away amongst the most inaccessible mountains of the world, the people there have developed the conservative mentality which cannot admit any rapid change. One of the greatest questions there is the problem of the clergy; for being adherents of the Sunni sect of Islam the Afghans are devout to a fault. The law of their faith has controlled every walk of their life, and that law as revealed in the Koran and interpreted by the four Doctors of Law is considered all-embracing, immutable, beyond the necessity of change. It is believed to be a law made by God for man; and being so it is argued that the frail intellect of mere man has no power to alter it. It commands an absolute ethical servitude. The Turks may amend their legal code but theirs is an Aryan conception. The Angora nationalists being of a different race approach rather closely the Roman idea of law in thinking that laws are made by men for men. Not so the Afghan conception; and therefore the introduction of any ideals antagonistic to what is expressly our very own has never been successful throughout our long and chequered history.

Geographical aloofness has also assisted the Afghans to nurse their ancient tradition. The lack of economic development, and small attainment in modern scientific education, are also contributing causes of a revolt against the ways of Europe; last and not least important is the supreme influence of the holy men upon an average Afghan of the old type. In ex-King Amanullah's reforms a few items are worthy of special notice. They are the abolition of the veil, the sending of Afghan girls for higher education abroad, the wearing of European dress, the placing of a ban upon officials and soldiers who adopt the holy men as their spiritual guides, and the reorganisation of compulsory military service. In practically every item of these a discordant note was struck. They meant a direct challenge to the long-established power of the clergy. Regarding the unveiling of women, whatever Koranic explanation the Turks might have given, as mentioned in the earlier part of this article, the Mullahs or the Afghan priests were always adepts in controverting it. The dispatching of Afghan girls abroad was considered to mean imparting the "immodest ways of the unfaithful," and, of course, the wearing of the European hat was not permitted because the brim of the hat would not allow the

worshipper to touch the ground with his forehead, and with head uncovered he could not pray.

So far these reforms came within the scope of religion and the clergy, having been financially affected by the order, took advantage of the weaknesses of other items of the reforms and promptly denounced them. Moreover, in the adoption of European dress certain economic factors came into play. As is well known Afghanistan is an agricultural country where the earning and spending power of the people is extremely limited. And although they do not go about with only one sheet wrapped round them as in other parts of the East, yet they cannot afford to spend much in buying clothes. The meagreness of the wealth of the nation cannot sustain it; for indeed an imported bowler hat would cost an Afghan as many Kabuli rupees as would suffice to clothe him for the whole winter, especially if he does not belong to the capital. The dress reforms failed in consequence.

For these reasons and others which only meet the eye of an Oriental the new programme of ex-King Amanullah made no headway, nor will it be possible till modern methods are toned down to the conditions of the country and the mentality of the people. The progress has to be slow, every step carefully graduated and assisted by enlightenment which education alone can bring. There is room enough to prune down the effete customs within the strict limitations of what the Afghans justifiably claim to suit their ideal and temperament: but it would mean a challenge to the clergy of Afghanistan nevertheless. The priests there would be overpowered almost without their noticing it, but it must be done by stealth and design rather than by one massive forcible hand; for under the pressure of their protest the ex-King had to call off all his reforms. Withal it is a hopeful sign that the necessity for reform is shown in Afghanistan as elsewhere, and that reaction against the clergy has been started.

In conclusion, if I make reference to the abdication of ex-King Amanullah and his brother and the success of the rebel Chief, also much else that is to follow, as acts in a rapidly-moving drama, I do so to indicate how deeply in the mind of the Semitic races that form of religion is embedded which tolerates no innovation. Yes! indeed, you might change the face of Islam, but its mind none can alter.

IKBAL ALI SHAH.

SCOTTISH NATIONALISM.

PARTY managers received a rude shock from Scotland in November last. The Glasgow University Rectorial Election had come on, and soon the three main parties had candidates in the field. But before the fight had long proceeded a fourth arrived in the person of Mr. Cunninghame-Graham, representing a new organisation, the Scottish Nationalist Party. The contest was keen; leaders from all sides appeared, orated and departed. Up to the last day it seemed to be running a normal course and the outside world retired to rest fairly sure that Mr. Baldwin would win by a large majority, with Sir Herbert Samuel and the Labour candidate running for second place, and the Nationalist a bad fourth.

The battle of Gilmore Hill opened the next morning with all its accustomed fury, and with each Party strong in the faith. It closed amid a welter of pease-meal, rotten eggs and fish guts, with the Prime Minister certainly on top, but holding his seat by only 66 votes over Mr. Cunninghame-Graham in a poll of 2,644, and with the Liberal and Labour nominees hopelessly behind. Examination of the figures showed that but for the women Mr. Baldwin must have been defeated, for 211 more men had voted for the Nationalist candidate than for the Prime Minister of Great Britain; and this with a Nationalist organisation, which a fortnight before had mustered a bare half-dozen members (though now it numbered 800!), pitted against the tried machines of all three established parties. The country was astounded, and even the Press was unprepared. The great Party organs began a feverish search to explain away the result; they are still explaining.

What is this Nationalist Party? Who are at the back of it? What does it stand for? The inaugural demonstration of the Party took place at Stirling in June of last year. It was followed five months later by a Conference at Glasgow, when the following officers were appointed:

President: Mr. R. B. Cunninghame-Graham, the well-known writer and poet.

Chairman of Council: Mr. R. E. Muirhead, Secretary of the Scottish Home Rule Association.

Vice-Chairman: Mr. Lewis Spence, the Edinburgh littérateur.

Secretary: Mr. John MacCormack, of the Glasgow University Nationalist Association.

In addition to these the Party was able to claim among its members prominent Scotsmen like Mr. Compton Mackenzie, the writer, the Hon. R. Erskine of Marr, the Scottish publicist and Celtic enthusiast, Mr. C. M. Grieve, J.P., the leader of the "Scottish Literary Renaissance," and Major Douglas, of the Douglas Bank-

ing Scheme. It has the support also of the Duke of Montrose who, though not yet a member, has spoken for the Party on several occasions.

At the Conference the Secretary reported that since the inception of the Party he had been "almost overwhelmed" with inquiries from all parts of the country and the Dominions; and, flushed with the success of the meeting and their "moral victory" at Glasgow, the Executive Committee proceeded immediately to business. Since then, in the space of two months, headquarters officers have been created for the North, East and West of Scotland; national organisers have been appointed; an enlarged monthly newspaper has been started; a vigorous campaign of meetings and propaganda has been launched; some thirty district branches have been set up in different parts of the country; seven Parliamentary candidates have already been adopted and a score of others approved by the Council, for allocation to constituencies before the General Election. In addition to these activities, an influential deputation is being sent out to America and Canada to raise funds for the Party. It seems probable, therefore, that if things work out according to plan, at least thirty Nationalist candidates will be found contesting Scottish seats at the next Election. All this means business. The Scottish Nationalist Party may be led by poets and followed by youths; its policy, apart from Home Rule, may be nebulous as the clouds; but at any rate it is possessed of courage, determination and resource, and cannot, therefore, in my opinion, be loosely set aside as of no consequence. Its first testing ground will be upon the historic field of North Midlothian where, in the by-election now proceeding, Mr. Spence will stake his claims with the nominees of the three great parties of the State. The result of this election may exercise an important influence upon public opinion in Scotland during the coming months.

The history of Scottish Nationalist endeavour dates back to the time of the Act of Union in 1707, when opposition to the measure led to the formation of the Country Party, led by Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. This was the first Nationalist Party of Scotland, and it is worthy of note that though it demanded a Federal instead of an Incorporated Union, it was generally in favour of the Union. The present Nationalist Party, as we shall see, has much stronger views to-day. Vigorous, if spasmodic, opposition to the terms of the Union continued during the next few decades and gave rise in the latter part of the century to the Society of United Scotsmen, whose activities are said by some to have inspired Burns to the composition of "Scots Wha' Hae." But this body does not appear to have lived long, for throughout the next hundred years Nationalist demonstration was infrequent. Towards the end of last

century, however, and shortly before the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Home Rule Bill in 1886, the movement came to life again and various associations of patriotic tendency sprang up, such as the Scottish Patriotic Association, the Scottish Home Rule Association (which still exists) and, more recently, the Scots National League. It was about this time that the cause of National Government for Scotland first began to find expression in Parliament. The original Home Rule motion was moved by Dr. Clark in 1889, and since then no fewer than twenty-one Bills and motions have been introduced in the House of Commons. It is significant that in every case, except the first, these Bills and motions have been supported by a majority of the Scottish members in the House. On three occasions motions have been actually carried; on other three Bills have received a first reading; and in May, 1913, the second reading of Mr. Ian MacPherson's Scottish Home Rule Bill was carried by 204 votes to 159. Since the War further Bills and motions have been introduced, but on each occasion closed or talked out. In 1920 a Speakers' Conference on the subject took place but, while tacitly recognising the need for some form of devolution of Government, the Conference failed to find agreement upon any definite scheme of reform, and its recommendations, therefore, came to nothing.

It will be seen that the Scottish Nationalist movement is no mushroom growth, but that its present activity is merely the renewed expression of a long-nursed grievance in the hearts of numbers of the Scottish people. And is there not cause for grievance? Here is a great nation, with a proud history of incomparable achievement, a nation that has bred men of the highest standing in art, literature, science, commerce and statesmanship, with a genius and racial character of its own, whose needs and aspirations are being constantly neglected in the Government of these Islands. Only a few days per session are given to consideration of Scottish affairs in the House of Commons. Owing to congestion of business dozens of measures, hundreds of problems, many of them of vital interest to Scotland, are postponed or laid aside each year. At the present moment no less than twenty-five applications for Provisional Orders relative to Scottish Local Government, such as for tramways, buses, railways and electricity, lie awaiting consideration and approval of Parliament; all of them applications of importance to Scotland, none of them of the least interest to England or Wales. The Ross and Cromarty County Council seek powers for the construction of Dornie Bridge; the burgh of Ayr craves permission to run a system of omnibuses; Leith Harbour Trustees ask extension of time for the compulsory purchase of lands. What interest has the Imperial Parliament in these matters? What qualifications for

judgment upon them have English Members, whose approval, nevertheless, must be gained? The delay, trouble and expense incurred in sending deputations to London, complete with counsel, experts and advisers on some of these applications, is excessive.

Yet under the present system of Government, what else can be done? Parliament is overloaded with work and Scotland, alike with other parts of the country, suffers accordingly. I have heard it said, "Ah, yes. But you have your Scottish Secretary of State and your own Scottish Departments of Health, Agriculture, and so on. What more do you want?" The gibe serves only to strengthen the argument for Home Rule, for the position of Scottish Secretary is rapidly becoming impossible. Someone has called him "the political Pooh-Bah." It is a good description, for he is indeed a man of many duties. At any given moment he may be any one of sixteen different persons. At the 4 o'clock question hour he may speak as Head of the Department of Agriculture; at 4.10 as Chief of the office responsible for lunatics; at 4.15 as Vice-Chairman of the Scottish Education Department; at 4.20 as Head of the Police. Over-burdened, overworked, the post is one that cannot adequately be filled by any single man, and the work of each of its many departments suffers accordingly.

The complaint of the Nationalists regarding neglect of Scottish business is well justified. But they go further. They point to the unsatisfactory state of Scotland, to its diminishing agriculture, its excessive emigration, its wasting assets, its unemployment (60 per cent. higher, they say, in proportion, than in England), its ghastly slums. I think they go too far in this direction. Statements like that of Mr. Spence, that "It is only a plain statement of fact officially occluded that at the present time Scotland is well nigh an industrial wreck on the borders of a desert," do justice neither to the facts of the situation nor to the intelligence of the writer. Drained of these exaggerations, however, there is much truth in the contention of the Nationalist Party that Scotland is suffering unfair and unnecessary hardship as a result of the present system of Imperial Government. But these things alone would not have fanned the flame of nationalism. The Scots are a race slow to rouse to passion: their tempers are more placid, their enthusiasms less sudden and perfervid than those of the Irish. But they are intensely patriotic, and when after deep thought they feel their country's honour "gripped" they will rise to a man to defend it. Something like this has happened during the last few months. A year ago not one man in a hundred would have bothered to listen to Nationalist Party orators. To-day, thanks to the Local Government (Scotland) Bill, the majority of thinking people have become Nationalists at heart, if not at head. The introduction of

this measure has done more to strengthen the Home Rule Movement in Scotland than any single Act of the last thirty years. For what does it mean?

The scheme proposes to abolish no less than five different sets of local government bodies, parish councils, education authorities, district committees, district boards of control and standing joint committees, and to set up in their place one all-powerful council in each county or large burgh. In addition, the powers of the smaller town councils are to be curtailed, with the further threat that if they fail to discharge any of their remaining functions relating to public health, such as water supply, housing and drainage, the Board of Health may order the transfer of these functions to the County Council. That is to say, in order to carry out the Government's Rating Scheme, over one thousand individual authorities are to be scrapped, and all executive power to be concentrated in the hands of thirty-three county councils and four large town councils, together with some 200 smaller town councils, shorn, however, of important duties which they now perform. The Bill is the most revolutionary measure submitted to Scotland over a long period, and opposition to its terms has come from every part of the country. Conservatives, Liberals, and Socialists have united to condemn. Why was it introduced? Had anyone asked for it? Had the Local Authorities failed to perform their duties? Had the Royal Burghs, some of them with a record of 800 years' achievement, ceased to achieve? Was Education no longer the pride of Scotland? Was it now to rank with sewers and road metals on the tedious agenda of a county council? Were the poor in country districts no longer to have sympathetic treatment from local men who knew their needs? Were they now to become mere numbers on the dusty rolls of the county office? Was "government by the people" to be abandoned and control handed over to bureaucrats and officials in the County Cabinet?

Questions like these, hurled at the Government by long-respected Provosts and Baillies, echoed by members of Education Authorities, and re-echoed by Parish Councillors of long experience, shook the air of every town and hamlet throughout the country in the late months of nineteen-twenty-eight. It was in these circumstances that the first seeds of the modern Scottish Nationalist Movement were sown. They fell on fertile soil, and before the end of the year the ideal of Mr. Spence and his handful of colleagues had taken definite and remarkable shape.

With a broad, generous, imaginative policy, the Party might sweep the country. Unfortunately for its chances their programme, such as it is, falls short of any of these epithets; it is narrow, selfish and dull, the natural product of academic minds out of

touch with realities. The main objects of the Party, as expressed in the draft constitution, are "self-government for Scotland with independent national status, within the British group of nations, together with the reconstruction of Scottish National life." A fine sounding title, but what does it mean? Mr. Spence, at Midlothian, has made his position at any rate clear. "A Parliament for Scotland was the main objective in Scottish Politics to-day; all else was subsidiary." Such a Parliament would have "absolute control, executive and financial, of *all national services*,"* as in the case of any other of the British nations or dominions, with full powers of taxation and sovereign rights; (the policy) further envisages the necessity for *separate consular services* . . . as well as the *full control of the Scottish portion of the National Debt* and of emigration and immigration." He further proposes to bring the Scottish regiments back to Scotland to form the basis of a Scottish army which, however, together with the Scottish navy, likewise solemnly assembled, "would work in consonance with the Imperial Army and Navy." Before the campaign is over, Mr. Spence, no doubt, will go the whole hog and support—what some of his colleagues have advocated in the Press—autonomy also over foreign trade and the creation of customs barriers not only against the outside world but between England and Scotland too.

Whether these are the considered views of all Nationalists is another thing. One of their ablest supporters, the Duke of Montrose, thinks very differently. "It is said," he writes, "that Scottish Home Rulers want separation from England. No sensible person outside Bedlam or a lunatic asylum would ever suggest such a thing." Is Mr. Spence then among the Bedlamites? Or is the Duke of Montrose a Philistine in the camp?

Let it be repeated, "a Parliament for Scotland was the main objective in Scottish politics to-day; *all else was subsidiary*." This surely is the sign of poets and dreamers. All else subsidiary! Land reform, slum clearance, work for the workless—all these are of minor consequence to the Nationalists! If the Nationalists had 38, or even 74, members returned to the next Parliament, these great human issues, involving life and death for men of their own kith and kin, would be scorned aside, and in their place the Party "would introduce a one-clause Bill repealing the Act of Union of 1707. If that Bill were not passed . . . *the party would withdraw from the House of Commons*."

It is to be Home Rule then or nothing, and it is on this rock, I venture to suggest, if they are not previously wrecked by internal dissension, that the Nationalist Party will perish. For plain men and women have no time to-day for theorists and academics. They

* The italics are mine.

are suffering hardship. In the great cities of Scotland wellnigh a million souls are poverty-stricken. They demand bread, not high-brow baubles. True, Mr. Spence has outlined in a recent article a wide programme of national development for field and factory, but then Mr. Spence was once a Liberal, and when he thinks as a sober man of the world he thinks Liberal. The schemes of Land and Housing Reform which he unfolds in the *Edinburgh Review* and which appear occasionally in the Nationalist Newspaper are drawn mainly from the Liberal "Tartan Book." But none of these are official. On the contrary, Mr. Spence informed a Midlothian audience the other night that with regard to all questions of economics they as a Party were not at present concerned. "*They would leave anything of that kind to the Scottish Parliament*"!* No wonder! Is it possible to conceive the Liberal schemes of Mr. Spence being supported by the Socialist Mr. Greive, the candidate for Dundee; or the Conservative policies of Mr. Sims of Partick being swallowed by the Labour Mr. Muirhead of Renfrew? There may, after all, be reason in their mad blindness to practical issues!

Unless they widen their programme beyond present recognition I do not see the Party winning a single seat at the next Election. But they will cause trouble, and trouble mainly to the Labour Party. It is highly significant, first, that the most bitter criticism of the Party so far has come from Labour quarters; and, second, that of the seven seats where Nationalist candidates are now established six are held or are likely to be held at the next Election by Labour members. In four of the six direct attacks are made on leading members of the Scottish Labour Party. There is little doubt but that the Nationalist Party will draw most heavily from Labour votes. And naturally so, for they will make much the same appeal. Their speeches will be 99 per cent. condemnation of existing conditions; only 1 per cent. constructive. They will paint the picture and repaint it until nothing but blackness remains. They will lead their listeners to think that "*puir auld Scotland*"—in the one case on account of English domination, in the other because of Capitalism—is rapidly sinking in the slough of despond, this time never to rise.

I began with a note of appreciation of the Nationalist Party; I have passed to criticism. Let me end on a note of reason. With the spirit underlying the new movement, the spirit that demands for Scotland fair play in the Government of Great Britain, there is deep, if not universal, sympathy throughout Scotland. With their demand for some form of devolution of government there is complete accord in the Liberal, if not also in the Labour, Parties. But first things must come first. The problems of poverty, unemployment,

* Italics are mine.

housing and agriculture demand the immediate attention of Parliament. For a Government to launch forth in the new House of Commons on a great constitutional struggle for Home Rule and jeopardise or delay these other reforms would be to betray the trust imposed in them and to warrant the immediate and just censure of the whole nation. Let these great needs be met. Let the next Government proceed at once with measures for alleviating distress and developing our national resources; and concurrent with these, let it set to to think out a practical scheme of devolution, if possible along the lines of the Home Rule measure adopted by the Scottish Liberal Federation in 1924, which will obtain the support of men of good will of all parties and, when carried, be for the lasting benefit of the Scottish people.

J. HENDERSON STEWART.

P.S.—Since this Article was written the Duke of Montrose has expressed complete satisfaction with the Home Rule Policy advocated by the Liberal Candidate at North Midlothian and regrets that Mr. Spence, the Nationalist Candidate, has intervened in the contest.

LEONARDO DA VINCI: A CRITICISM.

FOR some four centuries Leonardo has been treated as more than human in his unapproachable greatness: succeeding generations have in fact taken him, as his contemporaries took him, at his own valuation. So important is it, if you want to cut a figure in history, to have an exalted opinion of yourself and to become a legend in your own life-time. Leonardo was never an ordinary being; he began life by being born out of wedlock, he continued it in a policy of isolation: because Florence was crowded with great artists, he left it, in 1541, for Milan: when Milan came to abound with clever painters of his own following, he joined Francis I and had France all to himself. Other artists were content to paint, or carve, or design buildings; he, a supremely accomplished draughtsman, was always deserting art for science, and dabbled in nearly every form of human activity. He even dressed unlike other men, and wore short coats because long coats were the fashion, cultivating also his remarkable *chevelure* with admiring care. The result was, that when he stalked abroad through the streets, people whispered: "There goes the mighty Leonardo," and very likely the dogs barked.

Moreover, he was always experimenting in technique, sometimes with disastrous results; and he invented two tricks (may we venture on the word?) which were of great service to painters less richly endowed than himself, to which we will revert. Thus, besides being a mystery man—a Melchisedech without legal ancestry or progeny, without wife and without family, unbound by close affection to anyone—he had a great technical reputation among artists; and indeed his fame was originally an academic one. Afterwards the cultured public gave him their worship, on the assumption that the artists must be right, though as a matter of fact they seldom are. That strange compound, the verdict of time, is made of many parts; and in the end, I think, the plain man gives the casting vote. The verdict of time is probably never wrong, if it has time enough; and the amount of time needed is greater when contemporary opinion has been mistaken, either by mistaking or by exaggerating the claims of a man of genius. The position of some artists, Michelangelo, for instance, and Titian, has been secure all along; but the Caracci fell long ago, and Botticelli, Tintoretto and Velasquez had to wait for their final crowns till the nineteenth century—Botticelli's now famous National Gallery *Nativity* indeed fetched only £25 4s. in 1837. Raphael survives, a little shaken; he no longer occupies the solitary throne in which he is represented on the base of the Albert Memorial. But Leonardo? Do our post-war generation, who, whatever their failings,

are remarkably free from snobbishness—do they really put him on an equality with Botticelli, or indeed with Piero della Francesca or Luca Signorelli? Leonardo da Vinci was a great intellectual pioneer; but the pictures really by him are few, and of these few, still fewer are finished and intact—even *Mona Lisa* has lost her complexion.

Of course, the cant about Leonardo continues. I suppose if you searched to-day's papers, you would find him alluded to somewhere along with Plato and Shakespeare; nor is this week likely to pass without someone referring to the *Mona Lisa* as the greatest picture in the world. Cant exists in art as much as in religion—I expect it flourishes in natural science too, if only we knew. But no one would dare to write what Pater wrote about that picture, fifty-four years ago—it is as long since as that—and published in his *Renaissance*, putting on the title-page of that book the only illustration in all his works—a drawing of a head which he thought was by Leonardo, but which is really not by Leonardo at all, and besides is not a very good drawing. Perhaps the visitors to the Louvre who are escorted round the *Salon Carré* by the representative of a tourist agency do really believe that *Mona Lisa* has "learned the secrets of the grave, and has been a diver in deep seas"; but the rest of us know that he was just experimenting in dimples with his beloved *chiaroscuro*, and we remember that the unfathomable smile about which everybody has written so ecstatically was probably evoked on the face of a rather stupid woman by the efforts of the artist to drag her out of her lethargy. Vasari, in fact, tells us that singers and dancers were employed in the room to prevent Mistress Lisa looking bored.

But though the cant is perhaps gradually drifting out of literature into journalism, it still continues. Few people dare say they don't really enjoy the copy of the *Madonna of the Rocks* by De Predis in the National Gallery or its original in the Louvre—though there are marvellous passages in the darkened picture. Few dare to give the *St. John Baptist* in the Louvre the one epithet which describes it—"repulsive." Even critics of well-merited eminence continue to do "puja" before such pictures as these; and few have yet followed Mr. Bernhard Berenson in his description of the Apostles in the *Last Supper* as conspirators having "the faces of people whose existence made the world less pleasant and certainly less safe." Indeed, I am myself horrified at my own temerity; when I have ventured to point out in lectures the defects of the *Baptist* as he—I ought to say *she*—leered at us from the screen in all his or her fleshly femininity, I have expected to hear a loyal voice from the audience shout "Shame!" or even "Blasphemy!" Indeed, I wonder whether I would even now venture

to pen these temerarious words if Mr. Berenson had not nobly and completely recanted Leonardo-worship ten years ago, giving reasons such as he has the knowledge and authority to give, in the third series of his *Study and Criticism of Italian Art*. I would not, perhaps, were I not sure that cant and snobbishness do as much harm to the spiritual values in art as in religion. The talk about Leonardo must be restrained, if we are to retain a right judgment in spiritual things. It is like the talk about Bramante in architecture. Cultivated people will tell you how they love Bramante; but if you ask them which of his buildings they like best, they will not be able to tell you, or they will mention something not of the first rank, the Concellaria at Rome probably, which is not really by Bramante at all; because Bramante was like Leonardo and Inigo Jones in being an artist of enormous contemporary reputation who has left very little authentic and completed work, and to whom have been attributed very excellent works by other men—as, in Bramante's case, the beautiful church of S. Maria della Consolazione at Todi. Architecture has, of course, suffered more from cant, and from pure snobbishness, than any other art; and our great hope for architecture to-day lies in the fact that architects have begun to see with their own eyes, and not with those of Vitruvius (such as they were), of Palladio, or of Pugin.

There was much more excuse for our ancestors than for us, because travel was difficult in their day, and comparison, in the absence of photographs, almost impossible; and besides, in the case of Leonardo dozens, nay, hundreds of pictures bore his name which he had not painted. Modern criticism, now so assured in its results, has reduced the *œuvre* of Leonardo to such a small compass that he would in any case fall to the second rank for the reason that there is not enough to judge him by. He was always planning great things which never came off, and, indeed, his reputation seemed to grow with every picture that he did not paint. His best work is to be found in his sketches, which, if they were not a little too facile, would almost rank with those of Michelangelo and Rembrandt, and in the few pictures which luckily he left unfinished: for his second thoughts were always worst—his restless intellect worked on the fresh inspirations of his genius till he spoilt them with academic devices and made them murky with *chiaroscuro*. The Leonardo of the *St. Anne* cartoon at Burlington House is thus a finer artist than the Leonardo of the much more affected *St. Anne* (itself unfinished) in the Louvre. If we make a list of pictures upon whose authenticity our best critics are agreed, it is singularly small: the *Last Supper* at Milan is a ruin; the little *Annunciation* in the Louvre is queried in the Louvre catalogue itself, and is in any case a mere boyish imitation of Verocchio. There remain only the three

Louvre pictures—the *Vierge aux Rochers*, the *St. John Baptist*, and *Mona Lisa*—a small list indeed; and if to these is really to be added the *Benois Madonna* in Petrograd, so much the worse for Leonardo. Besides these five or six there are three unfinished pictures—the early *Magi* and *St. Jerome* in Florence and the Vatican, and the *St. Anne* in the Louvre. Where are the Leonardos which once abounded in our country houses, in those happy days before scientific criticism arose, when the visitor might find a great master in his bedroom? No, there is little left of Leonardo; but what there is shows only too well the harm he did to painting by his two discoveries of *contrapposto* and *chiaroscuro*.

Contrapposto was a device to obtain an effect of movement by twisting the human body upon its axis. It gave us three centuries of affectation. *Chiaroscuro* also has happily no equivalent in the English language; the Germans call it *helldunkel*: but although the English genius is naturally for clean and wholesome colour—like the colour of our fields and skies as Constable dared to proclaim a century ago—we have not even yet entirely extricated ourselves from the gloom into which Leonardo's ingenuity threw us. He remains a great man, but both inventions soon became tricks by which in after years a poor artist was able to simulate composition and movement, and to conceal the weakness of his drawing and the poverty of his colour. Hence their popularity with so many generations of indifferent painters. By posing his model with some *contrapposto* and sousing his canvas with *chiaroscuro*, anyone in the world with a little patience could produce something that, in a gilt frame and seen from a distance, looked like a picture. But unfortunately Leonardo ruined generations of decent painters at the same time as he raised to the academies men who ought to have been bricklayers' labourers. Incidentally, he almost ruined himself. But he deserved his fate. He deserves indeed to sink into *chiaroscuro* himself for, though he was a man of genius, he spoilt the colour sense of Europe for three centuries.

Leonardo, in fact, was a great explorer rather than a painter. His position in history is secure; but it is due not so much to his wonderful drawing, exquisite as this is, nor to the few finished pictures which we possess—not so much to his pioneer work as an artist, as to the fact that he was one of the great precursors of modern science.

P. DEARMER.

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES: A NOBLE-HEARTED RACE.

IN many books of travel, and by superficial observers, the Australian Aborigines are described as "the lowest race on earth." But this description is simply untrue to fact; it is indeed a gross libel. There is nothing very original about it. It was started long ago by William Dampier—himself, it is said, somewhat of a buccaneer—the first Englishman who landed in Australia, on the North-West Coast, in 1688. He had what he called "some encounters" with the natives—and stayed there only a short time. But the phrase he coined has done duty ever since. It is quite a useful label, because it puts the Aborigines outside the range of conscience, and saves a lot of serious thinking as to the causes of their rapid disappearance. There may have been 300,000 when the white man first came. There are only about 70,000 left now. But the description will not bear examination. The Aborigines, it may be freely admitted, are often very destitute creatures, but you cannot accurately judge moral qualities by physical appearances. By their very origin they must have some good stuff in them—for it is now generally agreed by anthropologists that they belong to the Caucasian stock, with some admixture of negroid blood. Whence they came, and how they reached remote Australia, would be hard to say. Possibly they are an offshoot of the Dravidians of South India or the Veddahs of Ceylon. However it be, they are the most ancient representatives of the Indo-European family on the earth to-day—and on scientific grounds alone the 70,000 of them who still survive are well worth preserving.

But apart altogether from their origin, they possess natural qualities which render them capable of appropriate civilisation and uplift. When the white man first came into regular contact with them, they showed themselves harmless and inoffensive creatures. Captain Cook records no serious conflict with them—they were totally different from the savages of some of the lovely islands of the Pacific. Governor Phillip, who in 1788 established the first settlement in New South Wales, was favourably impressed by their friendliness and capabilities. The lively interest he took in them was conspicuous in his dispatches to the Home Government. He was anxious that they should be dealt with on some recognised system, leading to their preservation and uplift.

Unfortunately, Governor Phillip was before his time. It is probable that no good purpose will be served by dwelling at length upon the cruel treatment meted out to them, not only in the early days, but also in lessening degree ever since. But something must be said upon the subject—the facts cannot be denied. All along

they have been recorded by contemporary writers and in the public Press. All classes of the community have been implicated—not the rough and brutal only. In 1824 an Attorney-General of New South Wales declared that a certain judge in that Colony had openly proposed that all the natives in a certain large district should be destroyed. As late as 1838 a Governor of the Colony found it necessary to issue a public proclamation to the effect that indiscriminate killing of the blacks must cease for the future. In 1837 a Select Committee of the House of Commons, of which Mr. Gladstone and Sir George Grey were members, put on record the conviction that the effects of our colonisation upon the Aborigines "had been dreadful beyond example, both in the diminution of their numbers and in their demoralisation." No one dares to extenuate the treatment given in Tasmania—where nine-tenths of the Aborigines were exterminated in thirty years. And what happened there and in New South Wales has been repeated in varying degrees in all parts of Australia, as more and more of the vast Continent has been opened up for settlement. Plenty of people are still living who know all about the wrongs done in Queensland in the sixties and seventies—the punitive expeditions, the wholesale dispersals, the doings of the black police. In 1905 a Royal Commissioner, Dr. Roth, was appointed by the Western Australian Government to inquire into the administration of justice and the operations of the police in the north-west part of that State. The Commissioner's Report was so damaging that it was never given to the public.

And yet these wild men—as Governor Arthur, who was responsible for their final extermination in Tasmania, declared when all was done—are a "noble-hearted race." In the journals of famous explorers, such as Sir Thomas Mitchell, General Eyre and Sir George Grey, may be found many tributes to their kindness of character and fidelity, and also to their remarkable intelligence. When the white man has come into contact with them for the first time, there is no evidence of primary aggression by the natives in any part of Australia. In 1861-2, when the explorers Burke, Wills, King and Gray were lost for many months in the dead heart of Central Australia, groups of wild blacks who had never before seen a white man befriended them again and again, as if they had been lost children; and, as one after another the white men died, the blacks became more and more pitying—so reported King, the sole survivor of the party.

The following story also gives cause for reflection. A few years ago, in a remote part of the Northern Territory, 230 miles from the nearest settlement, four wild natives were arrested by a mounted trooper and some black trackers, all armed, on the charge of

having raided a fencer's hut. It is quite likely that these particular natives were absolutely guiltless of any offence—because the object of these punitive raids is to scare the natives generally, rather than to find the actual offender. These prisoners were fastened to one another with a chain round their necks to prevent their escape, and had to accompany the mounted party on foot. What happened as they neared the end of the long and weary journey was reported by the white trooper when he reached his destination at Port Darwin.

He had found the Roper River in full flood. He loosed the blacks from one another, and set them to swim the river in front of him. They reached the other side in safety. He followed on his horse, but the animal was caught in the swirl and thrown over; and before he could clear himself, he was kicked on the face by the horse, and rendered unconscious. The current was quickly carrying him to certain death, when one of the Aborigines, coiling his chain round his naked body, ran down the bank of the river, plunged into the stream, and at the risk of his own life brought his captor safe to land. Not content with this, after landing his man, he raced three miles to a Mission Station to bring him assistance.

A good deal of forgiveness, as well as courage, must have been operating there. One is thankful to record that when this very noble deed was brought to the notice of King George, he conferred the Royal Albert Medal upon his wild subject.

But this is by no means the end of the story. The present writer was working in Sydney at the time in a missionary capacity. Being much interested in the Aborigines, and anxious to raise them in public estimation, he made a good deal of this heroic act in the public Press, contrasting the harshness and cruelty of the white man with the forgivingness and devotedness of the black. One day a police sergeant from the Northern Territory entered the office of the Australian Board of Missions, and complained that the white people up there did not like our taking the part of the blacks—and that, as a matter of fact, we were making altogether too much of the incident. "After all," he exclaimed, "it is nothing so very wonderful. *The black fellows always act like that.*" "The black fellows always act like that!" This was the testimony of a man who had probably lived for many years in close contact with the blacks, and not on the easiest terms. He spoke, not willingly, but in a fit of pique—and so let out the truth. Can one imagine nobler praise of any race? Is it fair to brand as worthless a people which is capable of winning such a reputation for courage and generosity?

But it is not only in moral quality that the blacks stand high. Their general intelligence is quite up to that of the European.

A certain Aboriginal School in Victoria took the highest place among the National Schools of that State for three successive years. A full-blood Aboriginal of South Australia, David Unaipon, made quite a name for himself a few years ago as a scientific inquirer. He was not only a student of Newton and a fascinated searcher for the elusive secret of perpetual motion: he was also the author of a very practical invention for improving sheep-shears by combining curvi-linear and straight movement.—They are very far from being a stupid people.

Happily, a great movement of sympathy for this deep-feeling, imaginative, intelligent and gentle race is now taking place in Australia, and a determination is showing itself not to allow them to perish. The motive cause was supplied by a very horrible large-scale crime of quite recent date. About two years ago, in the far north of Western Australia, a number of wild natives, estimated about thirty, were reported to have been secretly murdered in batches, at three or four different times and places, and their bodies subsequently burned, by a punitive expedition of police, black trackers and civilians, organised to avenge the death of a white settler who had robbed a native of his wife. The news did not leak out until some months afterwards—but when it did become known, the Western Australian Government very courageously appointed a Royal Commissioner to inquire into the horrible rumour. After prolonged inquiries in this remote locality, conducted under most difficult conditions, the Commissioner generally confirmed the report. He found that some time in the month of June, 1926 (nearly a year before), at least three lots of natives had met their deaths while in the custody of the police party—and that in each case their bodies had been burned. He also singled out two members of the party, themselves police constables, as being personally and specially concerned in one of the slaughters. Unfortunately, when legal proceedings were taken against these two men, there was not sufficient direct evidence to enable the prosecution to proceed. This was only to be expected, considering that many months had elapsed before the inquiry was set up, and that great pains had been taken to secure secrecy and to destroy all traces of the crimes.

This revelation of the savage cruelty towards the Aborigines which is still possible in Australia has created there a widespread and growing desire to make the Aborigines a grave national responsibility. Among Federal and State legislators and officials, in the various Churches, and in the public Press, opinion is now imperatively demanding that all the 70,000 survivors shall be brought under the care of the Federal Government. The 50,000 Maoris are a national responsibility in New Zealand, and so are the

five or six millions of natives in the Union of South Africa. Unfortunately, up to the present time, the responsibility for the Australian Aborigines has remained parcelled out among the various States—and each State concerned has studiously left the native question in the political background and has been very jealous of any interference from the other States. Consequently, there has hitherto been no national feeling or regard for them. In fact, the bulk of the people in Australia, living as they do in or near capital cities of the south, have hardly been aware of the existence, across the northern part of the Continent, of so many survivors of the race which their immediate forefathers have so largely, and not without great cruelty, dispossessed. Now, however, there is good reason to believe that the national conscience is really being awakened—and quite obviously that national conscience will be able to work most effectively through the Central Government. When once the full national responsibility has been recognised, Australia will not be long in creating a policy and an administration worthy of its status as a nation. The administration of Papua, ever since it was taken over by the Commonwealth in 1906, has been quite excellent in every way. All that is needed now is for Australia to do for her own Aboriginal children what she has been doing so well for her adopted children in New Guinea. Surely that is not asking too much.

The working out of this scheme of nationalisation would require the establishment of a chain of large native reserves, with here and there a cattle station worked by the natives, across the whole northern part of the Continent. The natives are not only thoroughly reliable and loyal to their masters; they also make excellent shepherds, stockmen, teamsters, blacksmiths, etc. In all parts of Australia they have always been of quite indispensable assistance in the first opening-up of the country. The bulk of the 70,000 remnant are roaming in the far north, and could be made a valuable population asset in its vast and vacant spaces.

If the Federal and State Governments will agree to co-operate in this humanitarian enterprise—and there is every prospect that they will so agree—then the experiment will be watched with deepest interest, not only in England, but also in other parts of the Empire.

C. E. C. LEFROY.

FOOTBALL A SURVIVAL [OF MAGIC?

WRITERS in the sporting columns of the daily Press employ a vivid phrase to describe professional footballers who are tricky with their feet. They are “magicians of the ball,” and both players and their admirers doubtless accept the tribute in the spirit in which it is offered—as a piece of eulogy. But if the speculation indicated by my title is correct, it is a great deal more than that; what if evidence could be brought to suggest very strongly that football were actually the descendant of a magical fertility rite? Of course, the kicking to and fro of a ball may seem one of those natural and spontaneous pleasures which do not call for abstruse explanation; but experience is apt to teach us that the obvious is not always as obvious as it appears, and that behind the instinctive action of to-day often lies the deliberate action of past ages. The Greeks and the Romans played football; it is said to have been played in Ireland two thousand years ago; the Maoris, the Faroe Islanders, the Philippine Islanders, the Polynesians and the Esquimos all play it or a game very closely resembling it; and when we come to consider a canvas so wide in space and time, we cannot but wonder whether the whole meaning and significance of it lie plainly to view on the surface. Football is said to have been introduced into our own country by the Romans, and there, says the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the great football festival of the year was Shrove Tuesday, although the connection of the game with this particular date is lost in obscurity.* It is precisely this connection of date and game that would seem to provide a convenient jumping-off place for our research into magical origins.

The custom of Shrove Tuesday football still survives in a few isolated parts of England. Last year, it will be recalled, the Prince of Wales kicked off at the match at Ashbourne, in Derbyshire, where the “goals” are some three miles apart and in which each team is composed of an unspecified number of players. At Atherstone, in Warwickshire, and at Alnwick, in Northumberland, similar games are played on the same day, the ball in all cases being a good deal bigger than an orthodox football, made of leather, and stuffed with shavings or straw. Before the middle of last century the number of Shrove Tuesday football games was much larger. We hear of them in England at Bromfield (Cumberland), Derby, Sedgefield (Durham), Scarborough, Chester, Dorking, Epsom, Whitby, Twickenham, Bushey (Herts), Teddington, Kingston-on-Thames, and in London itself. They were played also in Wales and in Scotland. Some, of course, were abandoned, or so transmuted as to be of little interest, centuries ago—that at Chester,

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XI Edition, art. “Football.”

for example, underwent changes fatal to our purpose in the reign of Henry VIII. But others—such as those at Dorking* and Sedgefield†—survived till within recent years. So dangerous had the game become, however, not merely to life and limb but also to property, that at the beginning of last century widespread efforts were made to suppress it, efforts which, in a large number of cases, appear to have been fruitful and by no means ill-directed, since the respective teams had been wont to carry their struggle through the streets of towns or over the country-side, caring not a whit what damage they did and squaring many personal quarrels into the bargain.

France too had its Shrove Tuesday football, which went by the name of *soule*. Here, we learn, the ball was between one and two feet in diameter, stuffed with bran and weighing some twelve or fifteen pounds; and the teams, as at Ashbourne, were composed of as many young men as liked to join in the rough-and-tumble. Here too efforts at suppression were made from time to time; but love of the game was by no means easy to eradicate from the French heart. In 1852 at the village of St. Pierre four brigades of police were required to carry out the law; and in remote parts of the Cotentin peninsula it was occasionally played up to the beginning of the present century.‡

Shrove Tuesday, however, was not the only day upon which this strange form of football might be seen. In January, three parishes near Doncaster—Haxey, Westwoodside and Graiselound—still hold their annual game of “hool”; while on St. Peter’s Day (June 29th) down to the second half of last century, the villagers of Brabant used to play at ball round the ashes of a bonfire lit for the occasion.§ In Brabant, the winner—evidently the game was an individual and not a team one—became the King of Summer, or of the Ball, and he had the right to choose his Queen; or if the winner happened to be a woman (for both sexes took part) it was then her privilege to choose a royal mate. And this leads us to inquire into the aims with which the players of the Shrove Tuesday games entered upon their amusement, or, if football be really a magical rite, should we say their duties?

Generally speaking, the aim of the opposing teams seems to have been one (sometimes two) of the following: dipping the ball into a stream, lodging it in the branches of a tree or a hole in the ground, or bringing it into a certain parish. At Derby, for instance, where the game was played between the men of St. Peter’s and

* *Daily News*, February 21st, 1880.

† Sir Montague Shearman, *Football* (Badminton Library), p. 24.

‡ Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, IX, p. 183; Emil Souvestre, *Les Derniers Bretons*, Part 1, chap. 4.

§ Sir J. G. Frazer, l. c., X, p. 195.

those of All Saints’, “the goal of All Saints’ was the water-wheel of the nun’s mill, and that of St. Peter’s, on the opposite side of the town, at the gallows’ balk, on the Normanton Road.”* At Scone (Perthshire) the object of one team was “to hang it, i.e., to put it three times in a small hole in the moor, the *dool* or limit on the one hand,” and of the opponents “to drown it, i.e., to dip it three times into a deep place in the river, the limit on the other.”† At Scarborough the object of both sides was to plunge the ball in the sea; but at Doncaster, in Normandy and elsewhere, the team won who first succeeded in carrying it into its own parish.

According to a legend told at Scone, the annual football match on Shrove Tuesday originated in the days of chivalry. “An Italian, it is said, came into this part of the country, challenging all the parishes, under a certain penalty in case of declining his challenge. All the parishes declined the challenge except Scone, which beat the foreigner, and in commemoration of this gallant action the game was instituted.”‡ Perhaps—and one can appreciate Scone’s “gallant action” in beating the foreigner! But it happens that much the same legend appears, I think, at Alnwick; and even if in both cases the tale could be authenticated as history, the numerous other games which I have mentioned would still be left unaccounted for. Reluctant as one may be to discard these romantic traditions, one must soon accept the conclusion that games so similar, played from Scotland to Normandy upon one and the same day of the year, do not arise through any coincidence of mediæval challenges but have their roots in some far more primitive notions of mankind.

In the year 1858 two small boys were prosecuted at Crewkerne, in Somerset, for throwing stones against the door of the National School on Shrove Tuesday; and the prosecuting counsel made the interesting assertion that their act arose out of the custom in that town of “throwing stones against people’s doors on what the boys call Sharp Tuesday.” As a matter of fact, the custom existed also in Devon, Dorset, Cornwall and the Scilly Isles§; and the question arises, Is there any possible connection between stones and footballs, that both should be bandied about on this particular day? To the natives of New Caledonia at least there is no doubt that stones are objects of great virtue in the raising of crops. To ensure an abundance of taros they bury in the field stones resembling taros; a stone marked like the leaves of a coconut palm will help, if buried at the foot of the tree, to produce a good coconut crop; bread-fruit and yams can be obtained in plenty by the application of the same

* Journ. Arch. Assn. 1852. VII, p. 203.

† Sinclair’s *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1795), XVIII, p. 88.

‡ Sinclair, l. c.

§ *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, March 13th, 1858: T. F. Thistleton Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, p. 84.

method. In short, stones are valuable fertility agents to those fruits and vegetables which they resemble in shape.*

What then of a disc-shaped stone which might be thought to resemble the sun? Again, the New Caledonians come to our aid, for the evil-designing wizards among them claim to be able to create a drought with just such a stone pierced by a hole. At the moment of sunrise the wizard holds the stone in his hand, passes a burning faggot repeatedly through it (obviously with the intention of increasing thereby the sun's power) and says:

I kindle the sun, in order that he may eat up the clouds and dry up our land, so that it may produce nothing.†

The Banks Islanders ensure sunshine by hanging on a tree a flat round stone,‡ and the Indian of Yucatan also hangs a stone on a tree, with the object of preventing the sun from setting.§ Nor is the use of discs to represent the sun confined to so-called savages. The Moqui Indians of Arizona, who have in some respects attained a fair level of culture, play a symbolic game which consists in kicking a smooth flat stone towards a certain goal||; and in ancient Greece the Pæonian image of Helios was a small disc carried on a long rod.¶ One cannot help wondering, in fact, whether this form of representing the sun does not find its modern counterpart in the Shrove Tuesday pancake.

But we must come nearer than a flat disc if we are to succeed in suggesting a connection between fertility and football. At Thebes, at the Springtime festival of the Daphnephoria, or Festival of the Laurel Carrying, both Apollo (who was generally held to symbolise the sun) and Artemis (his consort, the moon) were represented by bronze globes, suspended from a pole of olive-wood wreathed with laurel and flowers. The upper globe—which was Apollo—was decked with saffron, the lower, Artemis, with purple.** What would appear to be the direct descendant of this representation could be seen until recently in Ireland where a pole from which was suspended two balls, covered one with gold and the other with silver, and declared to be the sun and the moon respectively, used to be carried round the villages on May Day.†† The women of Bury St. Edmunds used at one time to play at trap and ball on Shrove Tuesday, a game in which it may not be altogether an exaggeration to catch a glimpse of a symbolic representation of entrapping the sun as he rose higher in the sky at Springtime.‡‡ And the Yuchi

* Sir J. G. Frazer, I. c., I, p. 162.

† *Mœurs et Superstitions des Neo-Calédoniens* (Noumea 1900), p. 296.

‡ Sir J. G. Frazer, I. c.

§ Fancourt, *History of Yucatan*, p. 118.

|| J. G. Bourke, *Snake Dance of the Moqui Indians*, p. 245.

¶ Jane Harrison, *Myths of Greece and Rome*, p. 41.

** Jane Harrison, I. c., p. 42.

†† Lady Wilde, *Ancient Cures, Charms and Usages of Ireland*, p. 101.

‡‡ Thistleton Dyer, I. c., p. 86.

Indians of Oklahoma celebrate the first fruits of harvest by ceremonies, declared to have been instituted by the sun, which include the playing of a game of ball, the object being to drive it through an opponent's goal—which stands east or west of one's own.* During the night which follows, debauchery and laxity of the moral code is not merely condoned but encouraged.

It will thus seem reasonable to suppose that in the course of time, or in different parts of the world, the disc or ball of the sun, represented among primitive peoples by a stone, may have become "featured" (the film slang is not inapt) by an actual ball; and that just as the famous Shrove Tuesday tug-of-war at Ludlow, in Shropshire, originated in the idea of a symbolic battle between men and devils, and the expulsion of the latter, so the kicking to and fro of a ball was a piece of play-acting based on the idea of a contest between winter and summer for the possession of the sun, its heat and its generating properties. And Shrove Tuesday, at the very outset of Spring, when cock-fighting was the order of the day, and when houses of ill repute were raided by the populace (both customs having possible reference to fertility)—Shrove Tuesday would be the exactly appropriate date for such a contest; so that what might seem an opportunity for mere primitive hooliganism becomes in fact a great and solemn Cup Tie—with the health and harvest of the community as the prize. With the ball representing the sun, let us turn now to examine more fully the avowed objects of some of the Shrove Tuesday football games and the ideas which underlay them. Firstly, then, the notion of bringing the ball within the boundaries of a certain parish would seem to be easily explainable as the capturing of the sun for one's own people. The burying of the ball in the ground translates itself into an attempt to secure the sun's heat for the infant crops, and the lodging of the ball in the bough of a tree becomes comprehensible by reference to the customs of the Banks Islanders and Indians of Yucatan quoted above. A rather less easy target for speculation is the dipping of it into a stream.

As soon as man attains to even the most primitive stage of agricultural knowledge, he realises that both sun and rain are necessary to the production of a good harvest. In many primitive religions, therefore, the sun gods, the earth gods, and the water gods are in close harmony; in the Indian archipelago, for instance, certain tribes worship the sun as chief of the gods and believe that at the beginning of each rainy season he descends into a sacred fig-tree to fertilise the earth goddess.† Glimpses of those early days may still be caught in Western legend and custom. In Ireland

* Sir J. G. Frazer, I. c., VIII, p. 75.

† Sir J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the New Testament*, II, p. 55.

there are many wells bearing the name of Fountains of the Sun. In a certain spot in County Cork one such was discovered, on the draining of a marsh, standing in the midst of a stone circle which went by the name of Stones of the Sun; and the licence which marked the conduct of a "pattern" (the Irish counterpart to a Breton "pardon") formerly held on the site might well arise out of no particular desire for debauchery but from the solemn celebration of a fertility cult.*

After Christianity had become established in the Western world—"to destroy not but rather bend the pagan customs and usages to the service of God"—the connection between sun and water was in a measure maintained, and rain could still, it was believed, be procured by dipping the Cross, or the relics of a saint, into a well and scattering the water adhering to them on the surrounding ground; such, for example, was a custom observed till within recent years at the Fontaine de Barenton, which is to be found in the famous Forest of Broceliande or Brésilien, near Ploërmel, in Brittany.† Here, of course, the Cross or relics would seem to be mere latter-day substitutions for some representation of the sun god (always powerful in the hierarchy of the primitive heaven) used with a similar purpose in view; and our Shrove Tuesday football players would appear equally to be making use of a pre-Christian symbol in what appears more and more strongly to be a pre-Christian rite.

Any probability of a magical origin which may now seem apparent in the game is strengthened when we come to consider the players themselves. Though in a good many instances the teams were not deliberately chosen at all, in others tradition itself seems to have effected a very interesting choice. Both at Scone and at Melrose one team was composed of married men, the other of bachelors,‡ one, in fine, fertilising agents, the other, as yet, barren. Even more illuminating was the choice made at Inverness, where a match was played "between the married and unmarried women" in which—and mark this well—"the former are always victors."§ Sometimes, in places where the teams themselves present no special significance, accessory customs throw light on the fertility hypothesis. The free quarrymen on the Isle of Purbeck used, according to legend, to commemorate the original grant of their rights by kicking a football on Shrove Tuesday over the ground to which they laid claim, and among the Articles which bound the Freeman Marblers of the Isle we find the following, dated 1553:

* Eleanor Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles*, p. 68.

† *Mabinogion*. Trans. by Lady Charlotte Guest. (Everyman), p. 390.

‡ Thistleton Dyer, l. c., pp. 90, 91.

§ Brand, *Popular Antiquities* (1841), p. 42.

That any man in our companie the Shrovetwesdaie after his marriage, shall pay into the wardings for the use and benefit of the companie twelve pence, and the last married man to bring a footballe according to the custom of our companie.*

In the Isle of Purbeck it is the last married man who provides the ball that is to fertilise the fields; across the Channel, at Vieux-Pont in Normandy, the man last married before the first Sunday in Lent throws the ball to the players†; at La-Lande-Patrie it is thrown by the last married bride‡; and in the same province, incidentally, it was the custom for a newly-married woman to throw over the church a ball for which married men and bachelors scrambled—a custom which, in essence, found its counterpart in the north of England.§

The evidence which, as the result of only haphazard research, I have set out above, would seem to make a fairly strong *prima facie* case for the speculation that the sporting writer's "magician of the ball" might, were he so inclined, trace his profession back through the ages to some more sincere and worthy magician, a magician who, though he achieved nothing, believed in his art as a means of benefiting his people. It is ludicrous to suppose that the professional footballer of to-day enters the field with any such altruistic intention; but only half a century ago certain players of the Shrove Tuesday game retained at least a vestige of this faith in their power to do good to somebody other than their individual selves. For at Whitby the belief was held that he who did not do his utmost on Shrove Tuesday would be unable to "pull his weight" at the coming harvest,|| and in Normandy the players were convinced that the winning team secured by their victory a more abundant cider-apple crop than their defeated opponents.¶

W. BRANCH JOHNSON.

* Sir Montagu Shearman, l. c., p. 26.

† A. de Nore, *Coutumes, Myths et Traditions des Provinces de France* (1846), p. 244.

‡ Sir J. G. Frazer, l. c., IX, p. 183.

§ Brand, l. c., II, p. 98.

|| *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, February 10th, 1877.

¶ Sir J. G. Frazer, l. c., IX, 183.

NATIONAL GRANARIES: A STEP TO INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT.*

GREAT BRITAIN, cut off as it is from direct land communication with food supplies, and supporting a population far too great to exist in commercial isolation, is specially subject in time of war to the dread of starvation—starvation of food, and of what is hardly less necessary to us, raw materials for our manufactures.† Both of these we have hitherto protected by an overwhelmingly strong navy. But the Great War showed that the submarine had rendered such defence far less absolute than formerly and since the war our comparative naval strength is considerably diminished. Must we not look for at least supplementary protection in some other direction? Such security is I think to be found in governmental storage of the necessities of national existence. The most important of these is food and the most important of our foods is bread.

Are national granaries a practical possibility? Towards the end of the last century and at the beginning of this one, the question was a good deal debated.‡ The *Miller* newspaper had advocated the project so far back as 1886 (March and April numbers). In 1897 the Chamber of Agriculture held an inquiry and appointed the Yerburgh Committee to inquire into the subject. One of the schemes then examined was that of Mr. Seth Taylor, the London miller. He proposed the building at import ports of six granaries at the cost of £7,500,000. In these he proposed to store 10,000,000 quarters of corn at a cost of £20,000,000. Estimating the cost of storage at 6d. and the loss on replacing wheat at 2s. a quarter, and allowing interest on capital at 2½ per cent. (surely rather low even at that time) his total annual expenditure worked out at £1,250,000. Soon afterwards Mr. J. H. Mullins, a director of a large milling and grain importing firm, published a paper advocating a similar scheme, with the modification that the government should not build and store in their own granaries, but appoint to do the work, agents from amongst experienced merchants and millers.

The Chamber of Agriculture also pressed for a Royal Commission and this was at length granted: it sat in 1903-5. At the end

* The statistical part of this paper appeared in the *Economic Journal* for September, 1925, and is embodied in the present article with the kind permission of the Editor of that Journal.

† Mr. Mullins (see *infra*) points out another way in which we might be faced by death. He asks why, if on one noted occasion the corner in wheat engineered by Leiter advanced its price by 25s., it is not conceivable that potential enemies operating "quietly and carefully" on the leading markets, should not reduce us to "the verge of starvation before we were aware that anything had happened."

‡ See article on Granaries in *Encyclopædia Britannica* by G. F. Zimmer.

of their deliberations, the members of the Royal Commission were hopelessly divided in opinion and were therefore unable to make any authoritative recommendation. It is doubtful whether those who were adverse, had they been sitting after instead of before the Great War, would have been equally impressed by some of the arguments that appear to have weighed with them. They could not, for example, have believed that there was no danger of the supply's being cut off,* nor that under the new conditions of submarine warfare the navy was a sure defence of our overseas supplies, nor in face of the extraordinary expenditure of the last war, that the cost of a scheme of national storage would be so fantastically great as to put it out of the question.

But the case for revival of its consideration and revision of its data rests not only on the new conditions revealed by the war. The terrible difficulty that has always faced us in our increases of naval strength has been that they have aroused national jealousies, incited competitive armament schemes, and left the world far more engaged with warlike things than before. What a wonderful advantage would accrue to our country if these benefits could be secured without the accompanying disadvantages which go far to neutralise them. It may be said that it seems almost to be a condition antecedent to the success of those negotiations for reduction of armaments by mutual consent which must be a chief aim of international co-operation.

It is, of course, further to be remembered that efficient naval strength is diminished by every warship told off for convoy duty or for guarding routes. Admiral Lord Jellicoe says in *The Crisis of the Naval War* (p. 111) that in the late winter of 1917 for convoy duty "it was estimated that about fifty cruisers or armed merchant ships would be required if the homeward-bound trade to the British Islands alone was considered" and twelve more for outward-bound. At the time eighteen only were available for both purposes, and in order to use them the North Atlantic had to be denuded entirely of cruisers. Destroyers and sloops were deficient in about like measure. Admiral R. Phipps Hornby wrote to *The Times* on March 13th, 1916, "So long as this country has to import eight loaves out of every ten to keep her people from starvation, so long must the strength of our navy be adequate to guard our extended trade routes, irrespective of the magnitude or tenuity of the navies of other nations."

I attempt then a revision of former schemes in the light of our experience since 1914, and at the present level of world prices, taking a provision of *one year* as the least that could wisely

* Lord Wolseley when he was Commander-in-Chief had publicly stigmatised the theory that Great Britain might in war be starved into submission as "unmitigated humbug." (*Encyclopædia Britannica*.)

be contemplated. The annual consumption of Great Britain is 36,500,000 quarters, of which 7,500,000 are grown in the island, leaving an annual necessary import of 29,000,000 quarters. The cost at 60s.* per quarter would be £87,000,000, and warehouses with suitable silos built at, say, twelve centres good for railway distribution and either at or not far from the ports of import, would cost a further £23,200,000,† giving an initial capital expenditure of £110,000,000.

After the purchase of the original stock was complete it would be important to disturb the normal corn trade of the country as little as possible. Not only, then, should the original purchase be distributed over a considerable number of years (choosing years of good world-harvest for specially large purchase), but once the system was on foot the renewal of the grain should be carried out on a systematic plan fore-determined and publicly understood, which could therefore be counted upon. The disturbance to normal trade would then be negligible. I suggest that within each month the Government brokers should be pledged to buy 250,000 quarters of newly-imported or of newly-grown British wheat and to sell 250,000 quarters of the wheat that had been longest in their stores. The whole stock would thus be renewed each ten years. The Government brokers would, of course, sell at the highest and buy at the lowest prices they could obtain. The difference between these two prices would then not be one influenced by market fluctuation (except to the very limited extent possible in one month), but simply that measured by the deterioration of wheat during ten years' storage under good conditions; I find it difficult to know how much to allow for deterioration,‡ but am taking it at 3s. per quarter. As to the storage period, an expert opinion is given me that "actually it is practicable to keep wheat in suitable storage (provided it is in good condition and that turning facilities are available) for an indefinite period. Commercially this is never carried out owing to interest, charges, etc."

The possibility of there springing up abuses and corruption amongst the brokers of the corn-exchange and those employed by Government would be very small. Britain's annual supply (in addition to home crop) would be 29,000,000 quarters, just as it would be if there were no Government warehouses, but of this quantity 3,000,000, instead of coming direct from the exporting

* This is a difficult datum figure to determine. Seth Taylor, the London miller, in his scheme which was examined by the Yerburch Committee in 1897 assumed 40s. The average price for three years, 1918-20, was, however, nearly 115s., whilst that for the following three years was 55s. 4d.

† A quarter of wheat in store occupies 9.6 cubic feet. I have reckoned 1s. 8d. per cubic foot as cost of erecting granaries. This equals 16s. a quarter.

‡ Seth Taylor allowed 2s., but for what period I do not know.

countries, would be delivered from the Government warehouses and be wheat of not quite such good quality. The annual charge on the national revenue would be:

Interest on original capital (taken at 4½ per cent.) ...	£4,950,000
Maintenance of fabrics of granaries (1 per cent. on original cost)	232,500
Keeping corn in condition by turning etc., 29,000,000 quarters at 3s. (S. Taylor's estimate 2s.) ...	4,350,000
Loss on sale and replacement of one-tenth of this quantity at 3s. (S. Taylor's estimate 2s.) ...	435,000
	9,967,500
Add 1 per cent. for brokerage and expenses of management	99,675
	£10,067,175

Say £10,000,000.

This is higher than Seth Taylor's estimate of £1,250,000 (for about one-third of the quantity) even when one has taken into account interest at 4½ instead of 2½ per cent. and the addition of 50 per cent. to the charges for depreciation and turning (as well as for the original cost of the corn), but present-day conditions probably make the above estimate by the present writer, though fairly conservative, sufficiently sanguine. The figures do not, of course, pretend to be accurate (no forecast can be), but they are not so absurdly inaccurate that they give no kind of idea to the reader as to the measure of responsibility a scheme of this kind would impose on the nation.

The amount of £10,000,000 per annum is, of course, exceedingly large but compared with those of expenditure on army, navy and air of say £115,000,000 not too great to be contemplated. It is important to remember that we have not to take into account the initial expense of £110,000,000. This would be raised by a loan which would always have assets to set against it, whilst the annual interest on it of about £5,000,000 per annum is included in the sum of £10,000,000 just given. Moreover, is it not almost certain that to attain a like amount of security through the fighting services would cost a great deal more? So that by making a provision of nine or ten per cent. against danger in this way we can either reduce present military and naval estimates, or avoid future increases in them, probably to a far larger amount. The war-time profit on the sale of corn too is not to be disregarded.*

* Mr. Mullins says (taking, of course, pre-war figures) that if the reserve were sold "say at 80s., the price would leave the Government a profit of 40s. or 50s. a quarter, which would pay for the storage and annual charges of the reserve for from 15 to 20 years at 2s. 3d. per annum."

I have taken the storage of wheat for one year as a first objective. If it is said that this touches but the fringe of the subject, that one year is a short period indeed compared with the duration of the last war, that wheat is only one of our most important food supplies, and that as I have remarked raw materials for our manufactures are only second in importance to food itself,—I rejoin that should the experiment prove successful not only in giving greater security but also in effecting proportionate reduction in other defensive expenditure, it would be possible gradually to extend its scope; for example to lengthen the corn provision from a one year to a three years' supply, and to extend the storage system to other things, perhaps for instance to tinned beef, or to oil-cake for cattle, or, as Mr. Mullins suggests, to maize, barley, and oats which could be used either to feed human beings or stock. Meanwhile the initial experiment had it been in force during the most critical year of the submarine campaign against us in the Great War would immensely have diminished the danger to which we were then subject. True we do not live on bread alone but if the alternative were starvation we could, for a time, do so and if the failure of the supply of bread instead of being only six* were 52 weeks ahead of us, measures could be taken with infinitely more deliberation and consequent effectiveness, and if in the end it came to rationing, the eking out of the supply by this method could be done much more gradually and with the gain of many more weeks' grace.

Although people will now hardly acknowledge it to themselves, yet in their hearts they know that there is danger of the recurrence of the old cycle which has so many times run its course, the horror and dread which immediately followed war gradually yielding to light-hearted recklessness as new generations come into being.† What is to be dreaded is that the war passion will once more possess the peoples and make them ready for the devilries at the thought of which the generation which has just passed through them shudders. Looked at in the perspective created by these surrounding conditions, it may, I think, be urged that by helping to remove panic-fear, the most dangerous of all counsellors, the national storage of national necessities would be an exceedingly valuable condition. Fear would be replaced by a state of mind more favourable to fair judgment; so that it may, I think, be claimed not only that national storage would make the conditions of war less terrible but that it would actually diminish the risk of war itself.

HERBERT M. THOMPSON.

* At one time during the war I believe the stocks were not above a six weeks' supply.

† F. F. Urquhart in a chapter he contributes to *An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, when examining the cause of the Franco-German War of 1870, remarks "neither side had any real sense of the gravity and dignity of war."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

A TUNNEL AS SYMBOL.

THE argument now renewed on both sides of the Channel about the merits of a submarine tunnel show incidentally how far Europe is from confidence in settled peace. The commercial and general usefulness of such a tunnel in times of peace is by most people taken for granted, although there are those who probably would never overcome a prejudice against travelling under the sea and who would be sorry to give up the present cross-Channel system. The argument however is confined to strategic considerations. The tunnel, argue the old soldiers, would deprive this island of its insularity. This island, rejoin the more lively minds, lost its insularity when the first aeroplane flew across the Channel, and a tunnel moreover would in times of war (assuming France to be an ally) defeat the enemy's submarines and save this island from starvation more effectively than ever could the British Navy.

Fear in short still rules the minds of those whose fate it is to live in Europe. The only interesting diplomatic speculation that has been produced is the question whether a Channel tunnel would still further expose Great Britain to the diplomatic blackmail of France. The word blackmail would never be breathed, even if it might be thought, by professional diplomatists, but the strategic argument about the value of the tunnel as a food-purveyor presupposes France as a friend. The circumstance that France holds the strategic balance between Great Britain and the Continent and the fact that most French diplomatists fully appreciate that circumstance, explains much of the French bias in British policy and the total lack of a British bias in French policy. Would the existence of a Channel tunnel increase or lessen the French diplomatic lever? In practice it would probably have no effect if France were a belligerent enemy, for it could be blown up, flooded or controlled from either side; and if France were an ally, it would probably be valuable for war purposes.

What is interesting is that such questions are raised by a simple project for easier, quicker and more voluminous communication between France and Great Britain. In diplomatic theory those two countries are friends; yet the mere suggestion that they should be better able to get at each other shakes the foundations of a certain type of British patriot and excites the enthusiasm of a certain type of French patriot. Thereby unfortunately one is reminded of a certain permanent factor in British foreign policy. The present British Government has chosen to take the potential French menace at its face value, and has made "friendship" with

France its first principle, even though (with French encouragement) that principle has had the effect of alienating American friends of Great Britain, of almost totally estranging Germany, of warping the practice both of the Locarno and of the Geneva principles. There is an alternative policy, and the alternative has appealed to every post-war British Minister who has had to deal with France, with the one exception of Sir Austen Chamberlain. Lord Curzon always agreed with Mr. Lloyd George about France. Mr. Bonar Law was of the like opinion. Mr. MacDonald succeeded in humouring France without yielding ground to her. Sir Austen Chamberlain, unwisely as it would appear, has made it a consistent principle of his foreign policy to give France her head.

A CONTRAST IN BRITISH POLICY.

One result of the idiosyncrasy of Sir Austen Chamberlain's above alluded to has been the development of a well-defined contrast between two aspects of his own policy, the Chinese aspect and the European aspect.

That contrast itself gives an incidental illustration of one of Sir Austen's marked characteristics. Once he has set out on a certain course of policy he pursues it with a straightness and a determination that cannot deviate. That quality was the secret of his success in 1925, when for nine months in the face of widespread opposition, cynicism and distrust, he maintained his own faith and enthusiasm in the Locarno ideal, and by the sheer force of his steadfastness contributed an important factor to the success of that diplomatic enterprise. Similarly his policy towards China has pursued a course which has never deviated. In 1925 he showed himself to be ahead of every other Power interested in China by advocating the immediate abrogation of the extra-territorial judicial system, the granting of full tariff autonomy to China, and the restitution to China of the territorial "concessions." Throughout 1927, when the acute phase of Kuomintang xenophobia spent itself illogically and almost exclusively against Great Britain, he doggedly maintained the same progressive attitude to which he had earlier committed himself. No sooner in 1928 did the Kuomintang party establish its ascendancy on a formal basis by promulgating a new constitution, than Sir Austen Chamberlain carried his policy into practice by concluding a treaty of which the effect was to restore complete customs autonomy to China.

It is a matter of general agreement among British commentators that the policy of the British Government towards China has been a success. If one analyses the principles on which that success has been built, and if one applies those principles as a test to Sir Austen

Chamberlain's policy in Europe, the failure in the latter field begins to explain itself. It seems clear that the main reason why British policy in China has justified itself is that it has been steadily based on a full and frank recognition of the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese people combined with a firm insistence on British rights. It has been recognised, for instance, that it is impossible for the Treaty Powers to maintain their arbitrary control of Chinese customs. The mere fact that an organised public opinion in China resented and opposed such foreign control was wisely regarded by the British Foreign Office as a sufficient indication that that control could no longer be maintained. China, in short, was treated as a nation of human beings, actuated by commonplace feelings of patriotism, which naturally had a Chinese motive and none other. Sir Austen Chamberlain quickly decided, and remained true to his opinion, that the Chinese demand for effective sovereignty over China could not and should not be resisted. British "concessions" were evacuated, extra-territorial privileges were surrendered, tariff autonomy was conceded. The result is that a contented China is ready to collaborate financially and industrially with Great Britain, to their mutual benefit.

It is true that the European problem is in some ways more difficult, and that up to a point any effective move towards reconciliation in Europe presupposes the co-operation of France. It is the exaggerated deference to France that has produced the existing lopsidedness of British policy in Europe. British troops continue to occupy German territory in spite of the fact that official British spokesmen never tire of protesting their desire to evacuate that territory. The exclusively juridical aspect of the Treaty of Versailles is not an important consideration either in British official policy or in British public opinion. The fact that the territory of one European member of the League of Nations is occupied by the armies of other European members of the League of Nations may reasonably be regarded as a violation of the spirit, if not of the letter, of the Covenant of the League of Nations; and it is a palpable travesty of the Locarno principle. At any rate, there is a gross disparity in the fact that on the one hand Great Britain is restoring to China her territorial sovereignty and, on the other hand, maintains troops in occupation of German territory. Sir Austen Chamberlain, however, having set himself upon the path of collaboration with France, right or wrong, will probably persist in that course until the end of his office.

THE ABDICATION OF KING AMANULLAH.

It was announced by the Afghan Legation in London on January 14th that King Amanullah had abdicated the throne of Afghanistan

in favour of his elder half-brother, the Sirdar Inayatullah Khan; that the King's motive was patriotic and voluntary; and that the country's foreign relations would be unaffected by the change in the person of the King.

Thus apparently failed a dramatic and courageous, if precipitate, attempt on the part of an originally-minded Amir to transform a backward into an up-to-date country. It follows from everything that King Amanullah has done that he would never have abdicated from a motive of personal fear, except in the last extremity, and equally that he would probably abdicate the moment he felt that there was no patriotic alternative. He was thirty-six on June 1st of last year. He became King at the age of twenty-six. In ten years he did so much, thought so much, and attempted so much that his sluggish-minded subjects at last turned on him for no other reason than that they could no longer stand the discomfort of being roused from inertia.

Amanullah was the third son of the Amir Habibullah Khan, and the eldest son of his father's principal wife, the Ulya Hazrat. On February 20th, 1919, the Amir Habibullah was murdered at Laghman near Jelalabad, where the Court was in residence. The Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, the Amir's brother, was in residence with the Court at the time, but there was no suggestion that he was concerned in the murder. Amanullah had been nominated by the Amir as his heir, but Nasrullah Khan conceived the sudden notion of seizing the throne for himself. He took control of the army and invited Inayatullah Khan, half-brother of Amanullah, to make common cause with him. As the army tends to become a decisive factor in Afghan politics, Inayatullah promptly accepted Nasrullah's invitation. Nasrullah was declared Amir; but Amanullah, who was in Kabul at the time of his father's assassination, was helped by his mother, Ulya Hazrat, a woman of strong will, to win back the throne, a feat he accomplished in six days. Sirdar Inayatullah Khan thereupon and with complete composure transferred his loyalty to Amanullah, and renounced any claim he might himself have to the throne. The usurper Nasrullah died in gaol. It is the same Inayatullah Khan who has now succeeded Amanullah.

The main feature of Amanullah's reign has been his attempt to develop Afghanistan into something less primitive than he found it. He had the sense, in the first year of his reign, to regret a war he slipped into against British troops, and in 1921 he made an excellent treaty with Sir Henry Dobbs's mission in Kabul, as a result of which the independence of Afghanistan was recognised and facilities arranged for the transit of commercial goods through India to Afghanistan. A further result was the institution of an Afghan Legation in London and a British in Kabul, whose

joint services saved much of the traditional friction between the two sides of the Afghan-Indian border. It was probably the satisfaction he felt in having substituted first-class diplomacy for the disordered war of tribesmen that encouraged him, youth as he was, to aim still higher. He was impatient, as is the way of youth. To show that he disapproved of the corrupt crudity of the governmental machine in Kabul, he took to "dropping in" unexpectedly into the various Ministries and Government Departments, and spotting irregularities. He went about Kabul at night, disguised, exploring the unguarded sentiments of the Afghan people. Without disguise he openly mixed with all classes of the people. In 1927 he visited nearly every province in Afghanistan, a country of 245,000 square miles, twice the size of Great Britain and Ireland. He purged the public services, established a standard of public finance, taxation, justice, reorganised the army, propagated the virtues of education. In the matter of finance there had been no Ministry responsible for its administration; no budget was ever drawn up. Amanullah set up a Ministry of Finance and demanded an annual budget.

He made enemies. The brutal, uneducated, prejudiced, conservative old tribesmen made no pretence that they liked the young boy who earnestly tried to alter their habits. Amanullah, being unusually reckless even for a young man, never tried to temper the wind to the old men, never invoked tact or diplomacy to help him. He once said (and such a saying stuck to his name) that one Afghan boy was worth ten Afghan men, because the boy could be trained, and grown men are "fit only for the scrap heap." Physically he was fitter even than the average Afghan. He knew no tiredness in his own case, and was prone to assume the like resilience and stamina in others. On a famous occasion he was visiting Khost, and being suddenly recalled to Kabul, made the return journey—forty-four miles over mountainous country—on horseback without drawing rein; and when he reached the capital he called an immediate meeting of his Council of Ministers, whom he proceeded to preside over for several hours into the night.

Having explored Afghanistan, and having advertised his crusading zeal for a better, more ordered, more educated Afghanistan, whether the old men liked it or not, he next turned his mind to exploring the world outside, if perchance the world could add to his ideas for improving Afghanistan. He had prepared for his world tour by cultivating friendly relations with foreign countries. As a result of a mission undertaken by one of his Ministers in 1921, he made friendly contact with France, Italy, Germany, Turkey and Persia, each of which countries sent a Minister Plenipotentiary to his Court. He brought Germans, Frenchmen and Italians to

Afghanistan as engineers, architects, schoolteachers, invited Turkish officers to train the Afghan army, sent a party of Afghan youths to England to study police methods.

The youthful "Warrior King's" voyage round the world in 1927 and 1928 excited much dramatic interest, for he had made no secret of his quest for new things, to be applied, on his return, to Afghanistan. Queen Souriya sat at dinner-parties in Western capitals wearing Western clothes such as well-dressed Western woman might, and did, envy. Her dress allowance was clearly adjusted to magnificent ideas, she having adopted that particular Western idea with some alacrity. It was no doubt fortunate that the reputedly great wealth of the Afghan Royal Family was wholly (and necessarily) invested, and therefore if need be realisable, in foreign lands, well away from Kabul.

On their return to Kabul in the early spring of 1928 King Amanullah and Queen Souriya plunged, the one into his political reforms, the other into her social reforms. A Legislative Assembly of 150 members was constituted, to sit at Kabul for eight months every year, and to be elected from the members of the Grand Assembly. The period of compulsory military service was extended from two to three years, the privilege of exemption from military service was abolished, a special universal tax was levied on all males to meet the expenses of the army. Amanullah himself assumed the duty of Prime Minister to carry through the reforms. He announced that polygamy would be made illegal, European dress compulsory, the fez, the purdah and the veil would be abolished, that compulsory co-education for boys and girls between six and eleven years of age would be started in Kabul, that public libraries would be formed, and new factories for industry built. Amanullah at the same time acted virtually as his own Foreign Minister, and concluded treaties with many foreign countries, including Great Britain, Turkey, Egypt, Persia, Bolivia, Switzerland, Finland and Poland.

He moved too fast. Before the end of November the Shinwari tribes had organised their discontent into action on the eastern frontier, and Amanullah, full of confidence, himself proceeded to Jelalabad to direct his armies against the incipient insurrection. Within a week of his reaching Jelalabad, that town was cut off from communication both with Kabul and with Peshawar, and the situation began to appear more serious than Amanullah had expected. Amanullah began to use his aeroplanes to bomb the Shinwari troops, he was pronounced by the Eastern Mullahs to be an infidel, contradictory reports were spread from India first of Shinwari successes, then of Royalist successes. Half way through December a sort of ten days' armistice was reached between the

Royalist and the Shinwari forces, but before the ten days were over, Kabul itself was being attacked by other insurgents, and the Shinwaris were using the truce for equivocal purposes. The bandit chief Badcha Saquao emerged at the head of 400 choice bandits and tried his hand against a suburb of Kabul. The foreign residents concentrated within their Embassies and Legations, martial law was proclaimed in Kabul, reports and denials followed each other about defections in the army. It became clear that a thorough muddle had been produced throughout Afghanistan. The details of the muddle are hardly interesting. King Amanullah was driven to appeal for voluntary recruits to support him; on Christmas eve British R.A.F. aeroplanes made a dash through the Khyber Pass and rescued Germans, Frenchmen and Turks from their respective Legations; other such rescues were made; in Christmas week Amanullah was reported to have gained the upper hand, a report which was belied within three weeks by Amanullah's abdication from the throne. A few days before abdicating, Amanullah withdrew all his reforms: but the sop came too late. Whether Amanullah would "come back"; whether in the alternative Inayatullah would pacify the country; whether the rebels would be satisfied with the defeat of Amanullah's Westernising reforms or would prolong the rebellion pointlessly—such questions could not be answered when this paper was written. The rise and fall of the young Warrior King of Afghanistan is the story of a youthful and incautious spirit ahead of his time and circumstance.

THE SERB DICTATORSHIP.

On the evening of January 5th King Alexander decided to put an end to the Yugoslav domestic crisis by abrogating the 1921 constitution, suspending parliament, and appointing an arbitrary Ministry under General Pera Zhivkovich to carry out his decrees, pending the formulation of a new constitution. The number of the world's dictators was thus left unaltered, for the elimination of King Amanullah was balanced, in the arithmetical sense, by King Alexander. It had been hoped that King Alexander's conferences with the Croat leaders in the first week of January would lead to a solution of the Serbo-Croat deadlock, but the hope was not fulfilled. It is too early to express an opinion on King Alexander's action, for the proof will be in the result, although there are those who normally feel concern when such dictatorships are launched.

The event of January 5th, coming as it did after exactly ten years of Yugoslav statehood, attracted the attention of the political philosophers. Had Yugoslavia after all been a mistake? From the Croat point of view had Belgrade proved any better than Budapest? Such questions were asked. No one pretended that Yugoslavia had

in practice proved anything like as successful an experiment as Czechoslovakia, and the natural tendency was to exaggerate the Yugoslav failure and to concentrate the blame on Belgrade. When such fundamentals were in dispute it was natural to wonder what would be the view of Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson, the man who without doubt constituted in his own person the greatest single factor in the formation of Yugoslavia at the end of the war. From the point of view of historical perspective it is fortunate that such an historian as Dr. Seton-Watson, for all his personal part in Yugoslav history, never loses his objective critical sense. He has made more damaging (because better informed) criticisms of Belgrade than any other critic, and in the days following King Alexander's *coup* his counsel of moderation in criticism was by the like token equally convincing. "Unhappily," he wrote (*Observer*, January 13th), "the statesmen who controlled Yugoslavia's destinies in the post-war period were less worthy of the occasion than the soldiers who had endured to victory or than the peasant masses who made victory possible: and the new Constitution of 1921 was framed on exaggerated centralist lines such as placed undue power in the hands of an incompetent clique in Belgrade, and speedily produced deterioration in all branches of the administration—especially in the former Austro-Hungarian provinces, which were accustomed to more ordered and efficient methods."

If, however, the narrow Serb outlook of Mr. Pashitch was partly responsible for the friction between Belgrade and Zagreb, the policy of Croat obstruction adopted by Mr. Radich was also to blame. The problem of Serbo-Croat harmony is complicated by past divergences of constitutional, psychological and religious practice in those two branches of the Yugoslav race, but it is Dr. Seton-Watson's unchanged opinion that Yugoslavia, as a State conception, is not only right, but cannot be supplanted by any alternative, that Serbs and Croats are inextricably mingled and for good or ill permanently dependent on each other.

The situation which has produced the present dictatorship is mostly the product of 1928. At the end of 1927 an improvement seemed to have begun in the general conditions of Yugoslavia. The Skupshtina was doing steadier business, the Vukichevich Government had a programme of progressive reforms which wore a convincing complexion, and although no suggestion ever left Belgrade that the centralist principle would be modified, its effect in practice seemed to become less difficult as the District Assemblies began to function. The extreme Federalists were surprised at the incipient efficiency of those Assemblies. In accordance with the 1921 constitution the control of such institutions as hospitals and technical schools was being decentralised, the Minister of Justice was engaged

in reorganising the legal system and standardising law-court administration in Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia-Slavonia, the old Austrian Slovenia, the old Hungarian Voivodina, Dalmatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is true that when a debate took place in the Skupshtina about the condition of the central prison of Belgrade (the Glavniacha) two Montenegrin deputies provoked a free fight in spite of the decorous example set by a former Minister of Justice, Dr. Grisogono, who contributed a serious examination of the problem; but such an incident was not as bad as those which took place in 1928, and moreover the central prison in Belgrade, an institution where the police are allowed on their own responsibility to push third-degree methods to the length of flogging, is a subject which naturally produces extreme emotions.

It was at least unfortunate at the end of 1927 that when the Government tried to do a fair and reasonable thing it was precisely the opposition that created discord. It is a notorious fact that those parts of Yugoslavia which formerly belonged to Austria-Hungary have borne more than their fair share of taxation in the Yugoslav State. At the end of 1927 Dr. Bogdan Markovich, the Finance Minister, honestly tried to do what no former Finance Minister had tried to do, by balancing the budget and at the same time levelling the incidence thereof. The situation was that in old Serbia no income tax was paid at all, the only income tax being levied in the former Austro-Hungarian provinces. The opposition groups in December, 1927, proposed the drastic solution of abolishing all income tax whatsoever as from January 1st, 1928, a proposal which might have appealed to most taxpayers in the provinces above alluded to, and which might have been acquiesced in by the old Serbs: but which could not possibly appeal to the Minister of Finance who was desperately trying to balance his budget by imposing a 10 per cent. cut on all Government departments. Mr. Radich, however, threatened that both his and Mr. Pribichevich's parties would withdraw from the committee, from the Skupshtina and from Belgrade unless his demand were conceded. Has all the fault been concentrated on the Belgrade Government?

At the beginning of 1928 the opposition parties seemed to lose some of the self-control that had characterised them during the autumn of 1927. Mr. Pribichevich not only attacked the Government's financial plans; not only (as was his habit) ventilated the grievances of Croatia; but displayed a versatility and a catholicity of criticism such as threw some reasonable doubt on his critical faculty. He objected to a special grant of 12,000,000 dinars being voted to Macedonian improvements on the ground that no country except Czechoslovakia treated its minorities better than Yugoslavia. Now if he was prepared to deny that Macedonia was in need of

help, his oratorical pleas for Croatia were to that extent discounted. On January 3rd, 1928, he went so far as to declare that the new provinces of Yugoslavia, which before the war had looked to Belgrade as to the Yugoslav Piedmont, had after the war found that the Belgrade régime was worse than that of Vienna. Such a statement was ominous.

It was clear that a serious agitation against the Government was developing. It was intensified by a further outrage in Macedonia on January 13th, the effects of which the Government vainly tried to counter by changes in the administrative personnel. Mr. Radich and Mr. Pribichevich had clearly made up their minds to ride the anti-Belgrade storm. They started a joint campaign in Croatia, during which Mr. Pribichevich at one meeting made the inflammatory observation that "the present rulers in Belgrade are barbarians against whom the cultural institutions of the new territories must be protected." The nerves of the Vukichevich Cabinet were becoming affected, so much so that Mr. Vukichevich gave away his fear of the Croat leaders by making advances to Mr. Radich, and offering him three portfolios in the Government, within a few days of Mr. Pribichevich's declaration above quoted. Mr. Radich, as might have been expected, felt his position thereby strengthened and refused to enter Mr. Vukichevich's Ministry unless he took Mr. Pribichevich with him, a condition which Mr. Vukichevich in the circumstances could not consider. One crisis followed another with the result that Mr. Vukichevich resigned on February 7th.

During the next fortnight six separate attempts were made without success to form an alternative government. The alternatives having failed, Mr. Vukichevich himself returned to power on February 23rd with a new Cabinet containing the same Ministers with shuffled portfolios. The first of the alternative attempts to form a government was made by Mr. Radich himself, he having been promptly sent for by the King. That was the first occasion in the history of the new State when a Croat had been summoned to form a Government, a fact which in itself illustrated both the general impression that the Croat discontents were making, and the particular effect they were having on the King. Mr. Radich having failed, the cleavage was made worse by Mr. Vukichevich's failure to secure the participation of any Croat in his new Cabinet. That new Cabinet, however, was saved from a too Serb complexion by the inclusion of the Slovene Clerical leader, Father Koroshets, as Minister of the Interior. Father Koroshets moreover was *persona grata* to King Alexander.

During the January crisis the defects and corruption which normally characterise a purely Serb executive provided additional matter for the Zagreb Press to get excited about. During a trial of

twenty leading Communists, for instance, physical torture was used to extract "evidence," a fact which led to renewed indignation against Belgrade. Almost symbolically Mr. Liuba Jovanovich, a former Minister of Education and President of the Skupshtina, died on February 10th, whereby was lost to Belgrade an outstanding figure in whom all Croats had confidence. It had been one of Mr. Pashich's worst disservices to the Yugoslav cause when in 1926 he engineered the expulsion of Mr. Jovanovich from the Radical Party. Mr. Jovanovich's death was all the more unfortunate because it fell within a month of a graceful act on the part of King Alexander which deserved to reap a harvest of Croat sentimental response. On January 19th Queen Marie gave birth to her second son, who was christened Tomislav after the first King of Croatia, the thousandth anniversary of whose assumption of power was celebrated at Zagreb in 1927.

During the early spring of 1928 the tension between Zagreb and Belgrade varied in severity. The Radich-Pribichevich combination was as strong as ever, but it seemed to develop some sense of the national interest by refraining from fulfilling its periodic threat to withdraw altogether from Belgrade. The tension was relaxed a little during May, when two important questions of foreign policy, the ratification of the Nettuno Conventions and the raising of a London loan of £50,000,000, somewhat absorbed popular interest. Unfortunately the announcement made by Mr. Marinkovich on May 28th that the Government intended to ratify the Conventions coincided with some unpleasant anti-Yugoslav outbursts in Italy, during which the Zara mob burnt a portrait of King Alexander, and with some counter unpleasantness in Yugoslavia. Serious results, however, were avoided by the promptness and the far-sightedness with which Mr. Marinkovich apologised to Rome.

There seemed no doubt that the relationship between Serbs and Croats was improving, when suddenly a thing happened which tore that relationship in two and started the deadlock which ended in King Alexander's *coup* of January 5th. Mr. Marinkovich was in Bukarest attending a conference of the Little Entente, when on June 20th the Croat deputies indulged in some commonplace obstruction in the Skupshtina. A battle of abuse developed however between the Croats and the Radicals during the course of which a Montenegrin Radical, Mr. Punisha Rachich, suddenly jumped up and demanded that an immediate stop be put to what he called the insults of the Opposition. He had completely lost his temper. He shouted, "If no one is ready to punish Radich, I will do it myself," and drawing a revolver shot at the Opposition benches. Two men were killed, Mr. Pavle Radich (nephew of the Croat leader) and Dr. Basarichek, and three, including the Croat

leader, Mr. Stephen Radich himself, were badly wounded. The assailant disappeared in the confusion that followed, but appeared four hours later at the Ministry of the Interior and demanded to see the Minister. He was arrested.

In the alarm and indignation that spread through Yugoslavia King Alexander did all he could to quieten nerves. He went at once to see Mr. Radich as he lay in bed, and arranged for the Vienna specialist who had attended Dr. Seipel when an attempt was made on his life, to hurry to Belgrade by aeroplane.

The emotional disturbance, however, was too great to be thus arrested. The deputies of the Croat Peasant Party withdrew to Zagreb and announced that they could have no further relations with Belgrade, or at any rate with the Vukichevich Government of Belgrade. Oddly enough it was the Radich-Pribichevich combination that now remained as the political connecting link between Serbs and Croats; for Mr. Pribichevich is a Serb, an intensely national Serb, who had been prepared to join forces with Mr. Radich in a campaign for the redress of Croat wrongs, but who could never contemplate a Serb-Croat rupture. Mr. Pribichevich indeed in his own person illustrates Dr. Seton-Watson's diagnosis of an inextricably mingled race. A further illustration of the same phenomenon was provided by the person of Father Koroshets, the Slovene Clerical leader, who was Minister of the Interior in the Vukichevich Ministry.

The tension between Croats and Serbs, for which the original responsibility must be largely attributed to Mr. Pashich, but which was undoubtedly increased by Mr. Radich's own inclination to intransigence—the political leaders on both sides were something less than first-rate politicians—had thus been strained to breaking point by the action of a notoriously wild and bloodthirsty Montenegrin who had made a reputation for atrocity in the Balkan wars. The widow of the murdered Pavle Radich set an example of Christianity and of commonsense by publicly appealing that her husband's death should be made the occasion, not for more hatred, but for a new start in brotherly love between Serb and Croat. King Alexander, whose every action in this horrible crisis revealed a sense of decency and a longing for something better in his kingdom, tried to second Mrs. Radich's appeal by begging her to give him the honour of educating her two children.

The example of the Croat Peasant deputies in resigning from the Skupshtina was followed by the dissentient Serb Democrats, the total number of secessions being 85. The work of the Skupshtina was thereby reduced to a farce, the Opposition parties concentrating on a demand for the resignation of the Vukichevich Government. Mr. Vukichevich did in fact resign on July 4th. King Alexander's

task of finding a successor was made nearly impossible by the increased intransigence of Mr. Radich, who refused to collaborate with any friend of Mr. Vukichevich on the global ground that all such friends were a band of murderers. Mr. Pribichevich too adopted the attitude that the existing Skupshtina was itself an insuperable barrier to any solution of the problem, and that to consent to participate in any government working through that Skupshtina would merely be to perpetuate the breach between Zagreb and Belgrade. On July 8th Mr. Radich was well enough to travel back to Zagreb; and unfortunately, if inevitably, his journey was made the occasion of exaggerated sympathy for himself and exaggerated antipathy for everyone and everything Serb.

Even in July King Alexander revealed the cloven hoof of a tendency to look to the army for national salvation. At that time the tendency was no doubt in its infancy, but it appeared at any rate symptomatic that on July 12th, faced with the party obstacles to the formation of any new government, he asked his War Minister, General Hadzhich to attempt the formation of a non-party Ministry, prescribing that his Ministry should embrace representatives of all the Yugoslav provinces. General Hadzhich took the invitation seriously. He quite logically considered the implications of the political issue that had arisen over the question of the continuance or the dissolution of the existing Skupshtina. The question was of some practical importance in view of the two outstanding issues of foreign relations, the still unratified Nettuno Conventions and the still doubtful London loan. It might be that a dissolution of the Skupshtina and the resultant delay of a general election might cause trouble in the former matter and prejudice the latter. He therefore took the thorough-going precaution, not of consulting by telegram, but summoning to Belgrade in person, the two relevant Ministers abroad, Mr. Djurich from London and Mr. Rakich from Rome. Mr. Djurich reported that the City of London would not float the loan unless it received the immediate authorisation of the Skupshtina, and Mr. Rakich that Italian opinion would take a serious view of any further postponement of the ratification of the Nettuno Conventions. General Hadzhich thereupon decided to proceed on the assumption that the existing Skupshtina must continue. The Croat leaders flatly refused to have anything to do with the existing Skupshtina, and General Hadzhich, thus failing to fulfil the condition laid down by the King, reported to the King that he could not form a Government.

By the end of July a Government was formed out of the four biggest parties by none other than Father Koroshets, whose success produced an unexpected new reaction on the part of Mr. Radich and Mr. Pribichevich. Mr. Radich had had all the limelight in a

straight political fight between Serbs and Croats. The emergence of a Slovene Clerical as the head of a new Government had the simple but curious effect on Mr. Radich of making him resent the intrusion of a third factor, which might conceivably militate against the gratifying localisation which had so far characterised the conflict. Mr. Pribichevich, who had by this time lost all enthusiasms in life except that of acting as watchdog in defence of Croatia Slavonia, unhesitatingly took his cue from Mr. Radich, and roundly refused to recognise Father Koroshets, on the sufficient and perfect ground that Father Koroshets in the rôle of Prime Minister constituted a "provocation to all Croats"! There is something attractive in Mr. Pribichevich's ruthlessness of loyalty to his friends, but it has its limitations as a contribution to practical politics.

Father Koroshets none the less got to work. He summoned a meeting of the Skupshtina for August 1st and began the proceedings by a wholly appropriate condemnation of the June murders. Zagreb meanwhile was intent on prosecuting the quarrel. A rival parliament was formed, also on August 1st, in the old Croatian Diet in Zagreb, by eighty of the eighty-five seceding deputies from Belgrade. The Zagreb "parliament" referred to Belgrade as a "rump parliament," formally declared the abrogation of the existing constitution, and postulated the reconstitution of the whole state. Mr. Pribichevich was as violent as ever. Presiding over the assembly in Mr. Radich's absence, he made a speech of which the point was that it was not only the Croats, but all Serbs outside old Serbia (that is, the Serbs of Croatia, Voivodina, Dalmatia and Bosnia) who condemned the Belgrade Skupshtina and refused to accept its authority. He made a notable addition to his *obiter dicta* about Belgrade by observing that in the Belgrade Skupshtina "the argument was decided not by reason but by weapons."

Political form, whether in Serbia or in Croatia, is seldom of a high order. In the summer of last year it sank lower than usual. Two members of the Skupshtina, accused of complicity in the murders of June 20th, were allowed to hide behind their immunity as deputies and were not released from that immunity until the Croat Press had lashed itself into a fury of indignation. During August a further political murder was committed, this time in Zagreb, and the tone of at least one journal of "opinion" bordered upon an open incitement to further murder. Mr. Radich, whose already delicate health had been further weakened by the Skupsh-tina outrage, even though the actual wound had healed, died suddenly on August 8th. His last act or his last known act (for it was embodied in his will) was one of the best things he did: he nominated as his successor at the head of the Croat Peasant Party by far the most enlightened politician in Croatia, namely, Dr.

Trumbich, who had worked hard for the cause of Yugoslav solidarity and independence during the war, and who was the first Yugoslav Foreign Minister (1918-1920).

The funeral of Stephen Radich, which was attended by nearly a quarter of a million of people, and from which Serb official representation was rejected, marked the definite beginning of an era in which Croat discontent crystallised into a demand for decentralisation on extreme federalist lines.

For the rest of the year the deadlock between Zagreb and Belgrade not only persisted, but hardened. Mr. Pribichevich, it is true, showed some reaction, and at last broke partially away from Croat propaganda. The death of Stephen Radich had undoubtedly broken his most binding link with Zagreb, and the exaggerated demands formulated by such Peasant leaders as Mr. Machek, Mr. Predavets and Mr. Krnievich—who went to the length of postulating virtual independence—could not be harmonised with the Pribichevich principle of Serbo-Croat solidarity, a principle from which he had never swerved. Those Croat leaders in public statements at one time committed themselves to a policy of a separate parliament, a separate army, a separate control of foreign affairs. They refused to be represented in Yugoslav delegations abroad. When, however, Italian opinion began to draw conclusions from such wild statements, Mr. Machek was galvanised into something more realistic, and he issued a deliberate statement to the effect that no Croat wanted to disturb the existing conception of a unified Yugoslav state, but demanded only full equality with the Serbs within the state organism. Therein was revealed, as is always revealed in an extremity, the basic sentiment which binds Croat with Serb, for good, for ill.

During November the Belgrade authorities showed some nervous inconsistency, at one time threatening to prosecute the Croat leaders for sedition, at another promising to meet their wishes half-way by a measure of decentralisation involving Croat autonomy. On December 1st two people were killed in Zagreb in some grimly ironic rioting that took place while the tenth anniversary was being celebrated of Serb-Croat-Slovene unity. During these gradually worsening conditions King Alexander remained silent, but it was inferred that he was thinking the more. The appointment of a soldier on December 7th as Governor of the Zagreb district seemed to be a straw in the wind, a straw which also indicated the instability of Croat feeling. Indignation was expressed in Zagreb against the appointment of a soldier to a civil post, the ground of the indignation being that the appointment was tantamount to a violation of the constitution. Yet for five months Croat spokesmen had been claiming that the constitution was dead, and on one

occasion made the definite submission that "there was no longer a constitution, but only a King and his people." Who knows but that such statements sowed in the mind of the King the seed which bore fruit on January 5th?

The culminating crisis arose on December 30th when the Belgrade Government resigned. The Coalition of Radicals and Democrats had split over the appointment of a military Governor of Zagreb and the general question of Croat grievances. Mr. Vukichewich himself, supported by Father Koroshets, withstood the Democrat demand for a more conciliatory policy, holding the view that the situation could now be saved only by iron firmness. During the first week of January the King intervened by summoning to Belgrade the Croat leaders and discussing with them the possibility of a Serbo-Croat compromise. It was understood that the extremity of interpretation they placed upon the principle of federation convinced the King that for the time being political collaboration between Zagreb and Belgrade on the existing constitutional basis was out of the question. There was no prospect of any new Government being formed to take the place of that which resigned on December 30th. An ominous suspense seemed to paralyse Belgrade.

It was then that the King made the sudden decision to impose his personal dictatorship. During the night of Saturday to Sunday, January 5th to 6th, a Royal Proclamation was posted throughout Belgrade in these terms: "In order as quickly as possible to bring about the formation of those institutions, that state administration, and that organisation of the state which best answer the general needs of the nation and the interests of the State, I have decided that the Constitution of the Serb, Croat, and Slovene Kingdom of June 28th, 1921, ceases to be valid. All the laws of the land will remain in force until suspended by decree. New laws will be promulgated in the same manner. (Signed) Alexander." To judge King Alexander's action immediately was difficult, for it was hard to see clearly what alternative was open to him after the failure of his interview with the Croat leaders. He will be judged by results.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

January 15th, 1929.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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THE NATURE OF RELIGION.*

In publishing the second edition of his Gifford Lectures on *The Nature of Religion*, the Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh has added to his First Series the opening Lectures of the Second Series, and has thus completed his survey of the subject by outlining an argument in vindication of the Truth of Religion. As would be expected, Dr. W. P. Paterson has dealt with his great subject in an extremely weighty and comprehensive way. He has discussed The Types of the Religious Subject, The Relation of Religion to the Instincts and to the Sub-Conscious, and has given a careful description of the different kinds of Religion which have emerged throughout the long history of mankind. In his careful treatment the Author has left no part of his subject untouched, and has brought to his task all the resources of his wide scholarship, psychological and anthropological, as well as philosophical and theological.

The value of his book is enhanced by the lucidity of its exposition, the weight and balance of its judgments, as well as by a shrewd Scottish humour which from time to time lights up the seriousness of his arguments. An example of this last quality is to be found on page 376, where in discussing Pantheism, Dr.

* *The Nature of Religion*. By W. P. Paterson. Hodder & Stoughton. 8s. 6d. net.

Paterson remarks, "If I may well think too highly of myself to consent to be obliterated in God, much more may I think too highly of God to make Him entirely responsible for me." Theological students, especially Christian ministers, should not fail to procure and study this book, which we do not hesitate to say is the most valuable statement and criticism that has been published in recent times. In commending this volume with great admiration of its thoroughness and entire agreement with its main conclusions, one or two comments may not be out of place.

Dr. Paterson inclines to the view that Religion "has been served by a special instinct impelling man towards God" (p. 98), and that the religious instinct is an "elemental fact of the spiritual constitution of man" (p. 109). This conclusion may be accepted provided that it be safeguarded from any such exaggerated distinction as would separate the hunger and thirst after God, and the assurance of His reality, from the complex of instincts and strivings with which human nature has been originally endowed. The organ of God-consciousness and of response to Him can no more be isolated and self-enclosed than God is separated from and outside the universe, of which He is Source, Life and Law. Since He is not one object among many, but the spiritual and supreme Reality Who constitutes all objects, it follows that the religious response to Him will bring into fullest expression vital contributions that are supplied by all the instincts and activities He has constituted, and that, by this response, all these will be sublimated by being raised to the highest use.

In the next place, Dr. Paterson devotes three Lectures to the consideration in succession of Religion as Duty to God, Religion as Love of God, and Religion as Light. Undoubtedly these three outstanding interests have severally dominated distinct types of religious quest and experience throughout the ages, and may therefore be clearly distinguished from one another, provided that the predominance of one interest be not treated as altogether excluding the presence of the others. It follows naturally that the Author is disposed to treat the first as predominantly moral, the second as emotional, and the third as intellectual. He has no difficulty in drawing illustrations from religious history that in the main justify this view. Yet it is possible to press it too far, and in the judgment of the present writer this impression may easily be created in respect to the treatment of the love of God as "essentially a matter of feeling" (p. 263). It is true that Dr. Paterson guards himself by saying that though love has been referred to as a feeling it is "a great deal more" (p. 264). It is this "great deal more" which stands out pre-eminent in the doctrine of the New Testament and, despite the occasional presence of emotional

excesses, in the spiritual consciousness of Christian saints. The love of God is the complete spiritual response of the entire personality, with all its powers, moral and intellectual as well as emotional, to God as its supreme and satisfying object.

When we speak of the religion of the heart, the heart should stand not merely for the emotions, but for the entire personal reaction to God—a reaction caused primarily by the all-sufficiency of the Object and not by the emotional pleasure of mere feeling. In the same way, when the theologian affirms that "God is love," his doctrine is not, or should not be, sentimental. The love of God stands for the creative and redemptive self-giving which supplies the motive and informs the whole spirit of His governance of the universe and of His grace to men. Naturally, as an eminent Presbyterian thinker, Dr. Paterson remarks that Calvinism has "found it possible to ascribe a real unity to the total scheme of things without the necessity of sacrificing to this ideal the personality of man and the honour of God." Undoubtedly this was the case so far as Calvin's formal propositions in regard both to God and man were concerned. The question, however, is whether these verbal assertions have material substance when the over-emphasis laid by Calvinism upon the Will of God is taken into account. Their claims can only be completely satisfied in so far as the sovereign Will of God is treated as the expression and executant of His love, and, therefore, not as the supreme but as the subordinate principle of world-explanation.

J. S. L.

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THE SLUMS AND THE NATIONAL CONSCIENCE.*

Sir J. Walker Smith, sometime Director of Housing at the Ministry of Health, in his introduction to the remarkable volume on the slum problem by his former colleague, Mr. B. S. Townroe, declares that :

In the near future the nation will probably be asked to join in a concerted attack upon the problems of the demolition and replanning of overcrowded and insanitary areas in Great Britain. There can be no doubt as to the readiness of all, who realise the moral and physical evils that result from slums, to do everything in their power to respond to the call.

It is not perhaps possible to believe wholeheartedly that the necessary attack on a national scale will be undertaken in the near future and it is necessary to doubt the assumption that all those who

* *The Slum Problem*. By B. S. Townroe, with an Introduction by Sir J. Walker Smith. Longmans. 6s. net.

realise the moral and physical evils of slums will be ready to help. The evidence is clear enough that rural local authorities and rural solicitors and even doctors tolerate these horrible evils because they are afraid to oppose local vested interests. Mr. Townroe writes :

Some clergymen in small towns and country villages have written the full details of the appalling conditions that exist in their parishes where it is impossible to make any forward move owing to the opposition of local vested interests. It is because of this latent but extremely powerful opposition that I emphasised at the outset of this book that no Minister of Health, however zealous and capable he may be, can hope to succeed in his war on the slums without the wholehearted co-operation of local authorities. It is no use issuing circulars, or laying down regulations as to slums and overcrowding unless the men who have the control of local councils are prepared to take action regardless of interested opposition.

Such a revelation is heartbreaking, since the great proportion of these coward councillors are members of religious communities and would be horrified at the thought that there was anything wrong in supporting local vested interests. Archbishop Davidson, whose message from Lambeth Palace of July 9th, 1928, is reproduced by permission in this book, deals with that type of man and that type of religious mind :

Christian folk as such should be making their voices heard in a way that cannot be gainsaid. Scarcely any sacrifice, individual or corporate, civic or political, is too great for rolling away the reproach of conditions which to our grandchildren will seem as unbelievable as the facts and figures which Wilberforce used in his anti-slavery campaign a century ago or Lord Ashley in the mines and factories a little later. To me it seems that the best endeavours of public men will be paralysed until the voice of the whole people of every class—especially of the class which is not itself suffering from this intolerable ill—declares that this thing cannot be trifled with, and that, cost what it may to any group or class or fellowship, we must bring it to an end. I do not scruple to say that its continuance in a Christian country is contrary to the Will of God.

Lambeth itself, such is the irony of things, confirms the Archbishop's view that "the best endeavours of public men will be paralysed until the voice of the whole people" is heard, since the Thames floods revealed the underground dens that men called homes in that strange parish.

Mr. Townroe's book, the work of a great specialist in a terrible disease, reveals however that the mere clearance of slums is the least of the steps towards the solution of the slum problem. The slum mind survives the clearance of the dens and it re-creates new dens out of new houses and new garden cities. It is definitely

a moral problem that involves the education of the whole people : statesmen, educationists, administrators, architects, craftsmen as well as slum-dwellers. There are certain questions that should not be political : foreign policy is for the most part not political, education at last is not political. The slum question should not be political. All parties must work for the creation of such economic and educational conditions as will make impossible the survival of the slum.

Sir Walker Smith boldly attacks the whole principle and practice of the subsidising of house building and of the Rent Restriction Acts and pleads for the free play of economic forces. The private investor is to be encouraged to put money into new buildings and to manage those buildings when let. Management is the essence of the whole matter while the slum mind remains. Money will not abolish the tenant with the slum mind :

Even if the whole of the proceeds of the suggested surtax were devoted to slum clearances, we should not be nearer a permanent solution unless all the tenants of the new houses built to replace the old slums were inspired by a spirit of cleanliness and a care for public property. The Glasgow Corporation, for example, are suffering so seriously from destructive tenants that they have had to employ special officials to safeguard their property, and the experience of the last few years has proved that new buildings can quickly be reduced to squalor by Glasgow citizens with the "slum mind."

It may be that substantial prizes for the best-kept dwellings would do more even than special custodians. There is some little experience in this direction and all to the good. A long row of very poor houses had in front long slips of gardens that for a hundred years had been in each case a foul rubbish-heap. The owners had the inspiration to offer substantial prizes for the best gardens ; the rubbish heaps disappeared, the public houses were emptied in the keenness of the competition and a whole sad area became a grove of flowers. Management is an art and the slum mind can be extirpated in the schools. But nevertheless the problem is a terrible one and not one that can only be attributed to ignorance on the part of owners or slum-dwellers. There is still an immense deficiency of houses and the deficiency can only be made up by shrewd investors who are shrewd managers of the new houses that they build. Mr. Townroe makes clear the vast moral, physical, and mental loss that is involved in our huge slum areas. They breed sickness, they add vastly to the rates in the treatment of slum diseases, they weaken the man-power of the nation and they are "breeding grounds not only of physical disease, but of mental rebellion. . . . There can be no defence of slums." Mr. Townroe gives the history of the subject from 1842 to the present time.

We see the good work done by voluntary housing associations of which there are almost thirty in the country. Mr. Townroe gives examples of cases where "particular blocks of property in private hands are better managed than some of those administered by public authorities and philanthropic companies. The fundamental cause of the success of this form of private enterprise is that there is a permanent and highly-trained repair staff always at work." On the other hand, we see that terrible and well-known person, the destructive tenant. The question of compensation is made as clear as it can be made to the lay mind. The subjects of reconditioning, town planning, high tenements and women management are well discussed. Women managers of property have created for themselves a new profession. Mr. Townroe declares that "the outlook is neither hopeless nor gloomy," but certainly the movement for the abolition of slums is one that needs the whole soul of the nation behind it.

J. E. G. DE M.

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OCTAVIA HILL.*

These interesting early letters of Octavia Hill, edited by her youngest sister, Mrs. Emily S. Maurice, are very welcome, for they give an insight—such as only intimate letters can give—of the personality of a remarkable woman who was one of the pioneers of education, housing, and social reform. The letters (1856-1875) were written between the early ages of seventeen and thirty-five years.

The love and appreciation of nature which these letters exhibit reveal the observation of the smallest detail: the rustling of the wind, the fallen leaf, the movement of the clouds, the light on hill and dell. Nothing escaped her; she was an artist by nature, and it mattered little to her by what medium she gave expression to it. Beauty to her was life, and when she met in human nature its degradation, she brought all her powers, mental, artistic, and physical, to heal and restore both body and soul.

The problem which is stirring the nation to-day was her problem, How can any good thing come out of evil habitations? She set herself the task of making the dwellers of these slums feel that some one cared for their better being, not as she crudely put it, "by lifting the poor by gifts"—for which sentence Ruskin corrected her—but by enabling them to earn their own independence. Octavia Hill was only too grateful for gifts of money which provided her with the means to buy some of the most degraded slums, though it cut her to the heart to turn out the tenants who clung

* *Octavia Hill: Early Ideals.* From Letters edited by Emily S. Maurice. Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.

to their wretched surroundings. She knew that to do lasting good it is necessary to turn a deaf ear to the unholy content with things as they are, and strove with all her might and main to remedy it. She enlisted Ruskin's interest, to help her in her housing scheme; and her intercourse with him brought her untold pleasure, as her letters to him and his to her manifest. For ten years she worked for him, drawing and copying under his supervision. His letters were a delight to her, and since their correspondence drew forth mutual heart-openings, the reader knows both master and pupil better for these early letters. They reveal, on the pupil's side, the thoughts and aspirations of a remarkable girl to which Ruskin, the master, responded with kindness and affection, and helped, both with advice and gifts, the schemes that were nearest her heart, though he never failed to point out to her anything that he deemed impracticable. She had a great gift of memory, and she describes many of her conversations with Ruskin.

Part III of this volume consists of quotations from various letters which indicate the real source of Octavia Hill's success: her strong belief in God and humanity upholding her in all her work for the outcast and the poor degraded folk with whom she came in contact. All sections of society were the better for her acquaintance. She had a wonderful gift of inspiring others: even Ruskin fell under her spell, as she undoubtedly fell under his. In the early letters—which may perhaps be regarded as Victorian hero-worship—the attraction of the Apostle of Beauty, whether in language or in art, to a mind as receptive as Octavia Hill's was the outcome of their friendship. They had some battles-royal over points that they could not hold in common, but never anything to break that friendship.

Many of the early letters are written to a friend, Mary Harris, a member of the Society of Friends, far older than herself. They corresponded for about twenty years, and Octavia made her the confidante of her hopes and aspirations, and also of the deeper questionings and emotions which beset her active imagination. The spiritual and sympathetic nature of Mary Harris was of the greatest help to her friend. The last letter in this volume is addressed to her and is full of thankfulness in recollection of the past. "He shall bring all things to your remembrance." Abounding in faith and hope for the future, yet in consciousness of the changing times, she closes with "Well, they will change I suppose, on and on to the end; but He who governs them changes not, nor will He change, so they will continue to be a blessing." Strong in the faith, she overcame all difficulties and her works follow her. "My only hope of reform is that of living side by side with people, till all that one believes becomes livingly clear to them." Much

might be quoted from *Thoughts and Aspirations*, but they must be left to the reader, who will find pearls of great price amongst them.

The sonnet by the late Canon H. D. Rawnsley printed as a foreword to these Letters sums up the personality of a great pioneer :

OCTAVIA HILL.

August 13th, 1912.

Her name is graved on England's golden roll,
 For she was golden hearted, ever strove
 To help with clear-eyed wisdom, strenuous love,
 The poor to feel that better far than dole
 Was self-respect, self-help, and self-control.
 Before her faith all mountains seemed to move,
 All gulfs were filled, all paths made straight to prove
 God still was of this world the Over-Soul.
 Ah! never more in London's friendlier street,
 In London's homelier alley shall we see
 Her flashing eye, her sympathetic face;
 But tho' the noblest heart has ceased to beat,
 Her spirit, more effectual and free,
 Calls us to fill the unwearied worker's place.

S. DE M.

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LIFE AFTER DEATH.*

This book has a refreshing simplicity of statement, whether in respect to the theory or the evidence for the survival of personality after the physical death of the body, that is very attractive. Mr. Drayton Thomas summarises the conclusions with which his evidence provides him, and there is on that evidence a clear case of a world in close touch with ours in which personalities, released from the flesh, live a life analogous to ours, a life in which there is full recognition of the relationships that existed in the flesh, whether relationships of kin or friendship or love. The spirit world is definite and not hazy; it is fully cognisant of the life that is lived here, full of carefulness for the proper living of this present life, and full of hopefulness, joy and growth.

The world that Mr. Drayton Thomas constructs for us from his evidence is not in any sense opposed to the highest religious conception of this present life. It is indeed a natural continuation of it. The question that the reader will ask is whether the evidence is such as to justify the conclusions arrived at. The author has certainly striven to eliminate the elements of fraud, of wrong deduction, of hopeful error. He realises fully that there is the possibility or the probability of fraud based on the assertions of

* *Life Beyond Death with Evidence.* By the Rev. Charles Drayton Thomas, with an Introduction by Viscountess Grey of Fallodon. W. Collins Sons & Co. Ltd. 21s. net.

mediums and, therefore, lays great stress on Book Tests, Cross Correspondences and Newspaper Tests which eliminate the intervention of the medium to some considerable extent and perhaps in some cases almost wholly. The Newspaper Test is curious: through a medium a person is asked to refer to an advertisement in a future issue of a well-known paper in a specified place as to some fact with which he is not familiar but can verify. The person communicates the fact to the Society of Psychical Research and awaits the publication. Before publication the place of any particular advertisement could not be specified, but it is specified in the message. The newspaper appears, the advertisement is found, and is found to contain the information. It is a very extraordinary business, since it indicates that Time is not a controlling element in this surrounding world. Mr. Drayton Thomas declares with confidence that these Newspaper Tests "provide definite proof of communication from some mind other than that of any person on earth; and that they sometimes contain evidence that the communicator is one of the sitter's departed friends." In fact, however, the medium is not eliminated and the advertisement was dispatched to the newspaper and paid for by some material person. Yet the fact remains that communication with the Society for Psychical Research seems to bear "independent witness to the fact that these tests were actually received by me on the day before their verification became possible." It is true that the possibility of fraud is not absolutely eliminated, while the subconscious action of the recipient, so to speak, of the advertisement is not to be wholly neglected: that is to say, the recipient or the medium might possibly be the person who, quite unconsciously or even fraudulently, sent the advertisement to the newspaper. All forms of error or fraud must be eliminated, and it is not possible to say that the proof of the intervention of a mind other than that of any person on earth is definite, though it is sufficiently definite to satisfy the critical mind of the author of this book. That is the trouble with all this class of evidence: fraud is not only possible, but has been proved (though not in Newspaper Tests) in many cases. If it were not so the element of doubt would disappear. But it has also to be remembered that in the initial stages of every form of science fraud has been intermingled with fact, and in the case of proving the identity of disembodied personalities the interest is so overwhelming that error or fraud is likely to creep in, however earnest and scientific the investigation in hand. Moreover, a great deal of the evidence in every case has a subjective element which is impossible to communicate as objective evidence to a third party.

The late Lady Grey of Fallodon in her remarkable introduction to the book rightly says that "this book is not likely to be of use

to such as find a more sublimated union through the channel of the Holy Eucharist." But those are comparatively few. "It is with this other vaster portion of our fellow creatures that those of us who believe we have spoken with the risen dead want to speak. And it is for these that such books as this are published." If the knowledge of the after-life is brought within the limited intellectual and spiritual outlook of those to whom Christianity is but a name in its revelation of the Life beyond Death, then there is a hope that these myriads will turn to Christianity as the Key of Immortality. But there is a scientific side to the whole psychical movement. As Lady Grey of Fallodon acutely observes:

It is not that communication with the dead is any new discovery; it has been an old tale in the long Story of Man. The Folklore of every country is charged with it; religions are based on it and vitalised by all it implicates; but for lack of verification, all this has gone down the wind. Now in this modern movement, the thing is being built upon a rock. There has been instituted a system of evidential investigation. This is brought to bear on such psychological material as may be presented to the test. Anything that has not passed through the mill is disclaimed; nothing is rightly held of value that does not bear the hall-mark of the trained scrutiny. And the work grows.

Moreover, the scrutiny of the nature of faith is proceeding side by side with the scrutiny of the physical universe and, in the process, the nature of personality is emerging on the side of the angels.

J. E. G. DE M.

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RECENT LIFE IN RUSSIA.*

In *Life Under the Soviets** Mr. Alexander Wicksteed has written an interesting account of his residence in Moscow under the present régime. Mr. Wicksteed claims to write as an impartial observer. His story is impartial in so far as he describes his actual experiences and the conditions of life prevalent in Russia to-day. But this impartiality is perhaps somewhat obscured by the inclusion in the narrative of the writer's own views of life and liberty. There is a great need to-day for a truthful picture of Soviet Russia unembellished by personal opinion or political criticism. The British public wants to know the facts so that it can make up its own mind on the problem of Russian life.

Mr. Wicksteed has endeavoured to avoid all personal political bias and criticism. But he has been unable to avoid political science. His definition of liberty is likely to prejudice the book in the eyes of the average Englishman.

* *Life Under the Soviets*. By Alexander Wicksteed. Bodley Head. 6s. net.

I must confess that my idea of a free country is one in which you can earn your living, otherwise than as a manual labourer, without having to wear a collar and tie, and where you can go to bed and get up when you want to and not when other people think you ought to. In Russia you enjoy an exceptional degree of freedom in the things that really matter, that is to say in the details of your daily life.

The writer puts forward this definition of freedom with all seriousness. By implication it must stand condemned by the great mass of Englishmen. It is the negation of democracy. In calling the details of daily life the things that really matter, Mr. Wicksteed implies that the consciousness of political liberty, and freedom of speech, are things that are not all-important. Englishmen, it is true, are not always thinking of freedom of thought. The reason is, not that they disregard it, but that they consider it a fundamental characteristic of British democracy, and as such can take it for granted. Mr. Wicksteed applies a different standard of freedom to Russia. But such an application implies that Soviet Russia is not a nation ruled by democratic standards, which no doubt is true.

If, however, we disregard the author's limited view of freedom, and look for the bare facts of modern life in Russia, we find a very instructive picture. In one chapter Mr. Wicksteed discusses Moscow shops. The most important are the co-operative and government Trust shops. In practice these State concerns have a monopoly. In 1921 private trading was made legal. But taxation and certain disabilities have made the position of the private traders practically impossible. Their only chance has been to explore new avenues of trade in which the State shops are not interested. But once they are successful in creating a new demand the Trust shops come in and drive the small man out of the market. However, it is an interesting fact that the Soviets found themselves forced to recognise the claims of the independent business man.

The author insists on the expanding purchasing power of the average Russian. There is probably a large measure of truth in this; but one fact should be remembered. The prices of goods in a Trust shop are legally fixed. But the demand is greater than the supply. The result is that a great number of people have sums of money which they cannot use. This expanding purchasing power may be, and probably is, an economic fiction. The general prosperity of a country may, to some extent, be judged by its housing conditions. In Russia the position is very bad, and though it is also bad in England the misery is not State-sanctioned. It is very common in Russia for one family to make its home in a single room. The Government has introduced a system of rationing the floor space. "This allowance has varied a little from time to time, but is now

just over nine feet square (not nine square feet) for each person." Mr. Wicksteed frankly says that no one except a Russian would submit to these prevailing conditions. This tolerance, he maintains, is firstly due to Russian fatalism, which accepts the position as an act of God. The second characteristic is "that when the average Russian has attained to a very low standard of material comfort he loses interest in that side of life and devotes his energies to something else." In other words, the democratic stage has not been reached.

Mr. Wicksteed reviews briefly nearly all the aspects of Russian life. He comes to the conclusion that no Russian would wish to return to the Czarist régime. The Communists have benefited the Russian masses by their policy of education and progressive measures of reform. He admits that there is a very low standard of life. But, "The great majority of the people I meet are not only hopeful but confident that their difficulties are merely temporary, and that they have already 'turned the corner.' . . . It is this hopefulness, more than anything else, that provides the Communists with the tremendous driving force of which they have given such ample evidence." Mr. Wicksteed well shows that the Soviet reforms, especially among the peasants, are having the effect of making them conscious of their own power. "Will they [the Bolsheviks] be able to adapt themselves to the conditions that will arise when the peasant, under their guidance, becomes politically conscious?" This seems to be the fundamental question in Russian politics.

Mrs. Sidney Webb has written a valuable introduction to the book. Her view of modern Russia is admirably fair. Though not entirely in agreement with the author, she sees in the volume a valuable description of life and labour in Soviet Russia to-day. "Mr. Alexander Wicksteed has had an incomparable opportunity of watching this life for the better part of a decade . . . as a normal inhabitant of Moscow unconcerned with politics, but taking part, year after year, in the daily work of the Russian people." That fact gives this earnest book substantial value, though it is necessary to note an absence of both historic and economic background.

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THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.*

The subject of the freedom of the Press is very largely in this country to-day an historical matter, since though there are limitations on what may be printed, and especially in the regions of

* *The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press, 1819-1832.* By William H. Wickwar. George Allen & Unwin. 16s. net.

obscenity, sedition and blasphemy, yet those limitations are in practice rarely overstepped, while the English Press itself is not unfairly limited by the technical law of libel. Truth and fair comment form a defence to any civil action that should properly be capable of defence. On the other hand, the public are guarded from the evils to which abuse of the privileges of the Press might lead. A fair compromise of rights and duties has been worked out from experience, while in most cases of what might be technically criminal libel the law officers have adopted the policy recommended by Henry Brougham more than a hundred years ago of presenting a blind eye to writings that may be technically seditious or blasphemous.

Experience, and especially experience in the period dealt with by Mr. Wickwar from 1819 to 1832, has shown that the writers of outrageous articles or paragraphs are more often than not concerned with advertising their organ of publication or with acquiring the fame of cheap martyrdom. Prosecutions simply give a hoped-for and greatly extended circulation to the offending publication. There are no doubt even to-day cases in which seditious or blasphemous libel passes the bounds of contemptuous tolerance, especially when active treason or grave crime of any sort is recommended to any section of the community, but such cases are very rare indeed, since an overwhelming percentage of the population, whatever political opinions are held, are averse to lawbreaking and harshly discourage its advocacy. But the law, it should always be remembered, has remedies in reserve.

Perhaps a more difficult modern case is the publication of obscene literature. To-day, with the vast multiplication of the reading public and the spread of literary education, there should be some check on the publication of literature which poisons the fountain of moral life. During the present century the evil has grown to terrible proportions, and it is the business of the legislature to devise tests that the Courts of Justice can apply with speed and practical equity. The reintroduction of the State licensing system which expired in 1694 is unthinkable, but there is in fact a simple way out; unless a book dealing with sex questions has the *imprimatur* of a university or a learned society it should only be published at a price beyond the reach of the general public. In that case no possible injustice to the individual author or breach of the essential freedom of the Press can take place, and yet the general public will be effectually protected from writers who hope to make large profits from libidinous publications.

The history of the period dealt with by Mr. Wickwar, immediately preceding the Reform Act of 1832, and indeed of the whole period from the date when the freedom of the Press actually began

with the cessation in 1694 of the State licensing of publications, really illustrates these various propositions. From 1694 the freedom of the Press consisted, according to Lord Mansfield, in printing without any previous licence, subject to the consequences of law. That in fact is the rule now, though the law is not that which obtained in practice in the eighteenth century. It is somewhat of a mistake to write as if the struggle for the freedom of the Press was taking place in the period 1819 to 1832, since during the whole of that period the regular newspaper and other publications of all parties were subjected practically to no restriction. The struggle was of a different kind. It was for a special freedom, the freedom to attack all form of religion, not merely the Established Church, and the constitutional structure of the realm, and not merely the unreformed House of Commons. Mr. Wickwar at great length sets forth the battle on behalf of entire freedom to publish anything, and the value of the volume as a piece of research work is the careful documentation of the evidence relating to the prosecution of men such as Carlile (and his family), Cobbett, Horne, the Hunts, Paine, Ridgeway, Sherwin, Spence, Waithman and Wooler.

The Government, and especially Lord Sidmouth, and later Robert Peel at the Home Office, were in a very difficult position as to the violent and very often horrible publications of these men and the small groups that they represented. The country was suffering from famine and unemployment as the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars; the scandals that centred round the Prince Regent (who in this period succeeded to the throne as King George IV) made the monarchy an obvious point of attack; the Established Church had not yet fully thrown off its eighteenth-century lethargy, though the evangelical revival was in full blast. Mr. Wickwar, strangely enough, seems to consider that the Parliamentary grant to aid new parishes in populous areas (a very proper counterblast to the Industrial Revolution) was a sign of an unreformed legislature, while the new Radical party had not yet taken constitutional shape. There was a great and increasing body of Reformers which included all the Dissenters and many lawyers who found their natural leaders in Bentham and Brougham. This new Whig Party had as its first goal a reformed House of Commons, but it had no sympathy with the violent and very often monstrous views of the advanced Radicals. The usual view now is that the defiance of the Government delayed the due processes of reform. Lord Eldon held, and probably rightly, that these advanced agitators were guilty of treason, but the Government, in view of the public clamour of private constitutionalists and the Evangelicals who had ranged themselves in societies for the purpose of prosecuting the writers of seditious and blasphemous pamphlets, perhaps unwisely instituted

a number of prosecutions in pursuance of the existing law of criminal libel. At that date, perhaps at any date in view of the anarchical Spencean movement, no Government could close their eyes to what was going on. But prosecutions undertaken by private societies, though they showed the feeling of large classes in the country, were wholly undesirable.

Mr. Wickwar, in his spirited if not wholly judicial narrative, makes the reader partly realise that whatever the views of the persons that the Government felt obliged to prosecute, views that in many cases were not only treasonable but revolting, the defendants were stout-hearted folk, and were extraordinarily British in the bull-dog tenacity with which they held to the principle of absolute freedom to print anything. Mr. Wickwar declares that

The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press was a struggle for the right to oppose, a struggle for change against men who feared the unknown. It was an appeal to nature, to human nature, by men and women who found no satisfaction in having fellow-men to take it on themselves to play Providence over them. Like most English struggles for political freedom it was a religious struggle. That is why the Law of Blasphemous Libel was almost as important as the Law of Seditious Libel itself.

This statement is somewhat misleading, since there was really no question of political or religious freedom involved, and the struggle did not result in the passing of any law to make it legal to blaspheme or to publish treasonable matter. Lord Campbell's Libel Act of 1843 removed any reasonable ground of complaint by the newspaper Press. Mr. Wickwar declares that with this one exception

The Freedom of the Press in Great Britain is not the product of any law. It is based, on the Government side, on the consciousness that no generally satisfactory alternative to freedom has been discovered, and, on the side of enthusiasts like Richard Carlile, on the conviction that civil and religious liberty in general, and Freedom of Discussion in particular, is so precious to some men and women, and so necessary for the happiness and welfare of all, that it has to be practised, in almost total disregard of any laws to the contrary.

This was not a very logical conclusion. It does not at all follow that because "The Freedom of Discussion . . . is so precious to some men and women" they should be at liberty to scatter that discussion broadcast on the world. It cannot be "necessary for the happiness and welfare of all" that there should be no legal limit to the subjects and form of published discussions. There must be no limits to the registration in permanent form of the thinking of every generation and of every age whether it be in the sphere of religion, philosophy, politics, literature, art, science or sociology.

But that is not to say that the freedom of the Press is consistent with the wholesale corruption of society, or the wholesale advocacy of the abolition of any rule of law. In this country the golden mean of common sense has to some large extent been found, but it is very difficult to believe that the Spencean movement had very much to do with it.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Mr. J. A. Spender's latest book, *The America of To-day*,* supplies an admirably lucid and well-balanced survey of the richest and strongest Power in the world. Having passed some months in the country in 1921, he returned to it in 1927 as the first Page Memorial Fellow, and spent a winter travelling, listening and talking. Though, with his usual modesty, he merely offers impressions and opinions, he is one of the shrewdest and most experienced of observers, and the reader may follow his guidance with complete security. The first part summarises his travels from New York and Boston via Detroit (the city of cars), and Chicago, to the Middle West and California, then back to Washington by New Orleans and the South. In a few unpretentious pages our traveller enables us to realise the differences between the various geographical sections of the vast territory, while never allowing us to forget the underlying resemblances. The second part passes in review the life and institutions of the American people—the theory and practice of business, politics, law, the churches, prohibition, the race problem, journalism, universities. Here eulogy and criticism are evenly distributed, for, like other travellers, he finds much both to praise and blame. The absence of class-feeling and class-barriers, the energy and kindliness, the zeal for education—these are some of the qualities which rightly receive high marks. On the other hand we hear something of the professional politician, the systematised crime of New York and Chicago, the flouting of prohibition, the commercialising of the Press, the sterility of fundamentalism. The diffused prosperity of the country is frankly acknowledged, but we are reminded of agricultural distress and urban unemployment, and the dangers, no less than the advantages, of buying by instalments are clearly set forth. The third part discusses American policy and British-American relations. Mr. Spender does not regret the refusal to join the League of Nations, and urges us not to woo or to worry our transatlantic kinsmen. Events, not appeals, are bringing the United States nearer to Europe, and the Kellogg Pact marks a real though somewhat indefinite advance. Discussions of the debt, the navy, and the commercial situation are followed by a chapter of conclusions, which leaves the reader cheerful if not content. Mr. Spender finds "the natural friendly disposition towards one another" to be "the abiding mood of the great majority in both countries"; and if this is so, as we believe it to be, actual and prospective differences should present no very grave difficulties to statesmen on both sides of the water.

* Ernest Benn. 12s. 6d.

Readers of President Masaryk's great book, *The Making of a State*, will find much that is familiar to them, but also much that is fresh, in Dr. Edward Benes' massive volume, *My War Memoirs*.* We are fortunate indeed to possess such detailed and authoritative records of the steps and stages by which Bohemia was transformed from an Austrian Province into the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia. Benes, as all the world knows, was the chief colleague of Masaryk in the work of national emancipation, and we may read in these 500 pages of his immense and manifold services. The two men had believed in democratic institutions and national self-determination before the war, and they saw in the world-wide conflagration the opportunity of destroying an Empire whose existence had, in their opinion, become an anachronism. Whatever may be thought of their aim, no one can deny the high-minded sincerity and courage of these two scholar-patriots who risked their lives for their principles as much as any soldier in the field. Some of the details in this large-scale narrative will prove rather wearisome to the general reader; but there are many chapters of great importance for the diplomatic history of the war. For Masaryk and Benes the goal was the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire; for Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Americans, on the other hand, the supreme aim was the defeat of Germany. If it had been possible to ensure or accelerate the overthrow of Germany by detaching Austria, the Allies would have been only too glad to pay a price of keeping her alive. The danger was averted by the long duration of the struggle, the firm grip on Vienna by Berlin, the refusal of Austria to make the necessary sacrifices, and the unflagging efforts of Masaryk and Benes (and their friends in London and Paris) to convert the Allies to the gospel *Delenda est Austria*. The conversion was only effected in 1918, just in time for the claims and authorities of the new State to be recognised before the collapse of the Central Powers. How different would the result have been, muses the author, "if, the differences of interest and opinion among the Allies being what they were, and in view of the Allied unfamiliarity with conditions in Central Europe, they had negotiated about us and not with us." The volume ends with the Armistice, and we are promised further instalments on the Peace Conference and the post-war policy of the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister.

* * *

Sixteen modern writers, of whom the outstanding names are Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb and Mr. Bertrand Russell, have been brought together to compose a book edited by Mr. Charles H. Beard, an American author, entitled *Whither Mankind: A Panorama of Modern Civilisation*.† Mr. Beard, in his introduction tells us with a curious mixed metaphor that "the age of Victorian complacency has closed everywhere; those who are whistling to keep up their courage and deceive their neighbours merely succeed in hoodwinking themselves." He adds that "anxiety about the values and future of civilisation is real." Has it not always been real? Prophets, Isaiahs and Jeremiahs, are no new prophets though their modern successors write in English of their own and Mr. Beard has his own views which are not perhaps shared by everyone in the field of history. The decay

* Allen & Unwin. 21s.
† Longmans. 17s. 6d. net.

of agriculture was certainly not "one of the chief causes of the breakdown of the Roman State." Moreover it is a large assumption that modern civilisation is "founded on science and the machine." It is founded on human nature. Mr. Beard suggests that "man's inhumanity to man" is "an essential characteristic of the race." That is not true, of course, but such a point of view takes the sting out of the definition of civilisation adopted in this book.

* * *

The *University Review** (formerly the *University Bulletin*) issued by the Association of University Teachers in its first number in the new form has brought together a remarkable series of articles. Lord Melchett writes on "The Relation of the Universities and Industry," a subject of the first importance, and he insists that "there are many who are still a long way yet from understanding the psychology of industry. But at present practice is ahead of theory, and the country is feeling its way, and not unskilfully, towards a more peaceful future. Towards this movement the universities have already made some contribution." The Bishop of Ripon writes on the Newer Universities and Religion: "A real 'university chapel,' the official spiritual centre of the newer universities, might do an educational work which would be revolutionary and reassuring at once." There are also various literary and scientific articles, overseas "letters," reviews of books, university news. It is a live review which should play a great part in university life and it is worthy of the warmest welcome.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Miss K. E. Overbury, of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Dr. E. E. Lowe, of Leicester, were in 1927 invited by the Carnegie Trustees to visit the United States of America for the purpose of studying American librarianship methods in view of the current development of the Public Library service in the British Isles. Here are two papers recording the impressions of these librarians published under the title "Further Impressions of the Public Library System of the United States of America."† They supplement the reports of six British librarians who attended in 1926 a Jubilee Conference of the American Library Association. Dr. Lowe saw ample evidence that libraries are playing a great part in American education. He notes heavy losses in books by theft and thinks that the English safeguarded open access system has much to recommend it. Miss Overbury notes the fact that in American public libraries special provision is made for children both in the library and in the school. We are doing the same to-day. The keenness of the women librarians filled her with wonder.

* * *

Professor A. Pearce Higgins in his very excellent volume of "Studies in International Law and Relations" declares that after the lessons of the Great War Democracy has "a great opportunity of

* The University of Bristol. 2s.

† Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees, Comely Park House, Dunfermline. [gratis on application.]

showing that it can avoid the errors of the past, and of proving that under its régime the system instituted by the Covenant of the League of Nations, which is based on the recognition of the mutual rights and interests of all the States of the world, will not share the fate of the old and less complete attempts to establish a world organisation." But mere words cannot achieve this, and Professor Pierce Higgins holds that "it is a matter of education, and there is need to begin in the schools, and to encourage the upper classes to study the history of their own time, and of that immediately preceding." But much can be done by the international lawyer in commending the law "to the instincts of reason, justice, and humanity of States," and suggesting the methods by which the call of justice can be answered.

* * *

"The World Court in 1927,"* by Mr. M. Fanshawe (the third annual Supplement to "Information on the Permanent Court of International Justice"), issued by the Information Services on International Affairs (10 St. James's Square, London, S.W.1.) deals with the work of the Permanent Court of International Justice in the lengthy session of 1927. The Court pronounced four Judgments, four Orders of the Court, and one Advisory Opinion. The Advisory Opinion dealt with the jurisdiction of the European Commission of the Danube between Galatz and Braila, and the Court, by nine votes to one, held that the Commission has the same powers on the maritime sector of the Danube from Galatz to Braila, including the port of Braila, as on the sector below Galatz, and that the dividing line between the respective competencies of the European Commission of the Danube and of the Roumanian authorities in the ports of Galatz and Braila is to be fixed according to certain rules as to navigation.

* * *

"The Life of Moses"† by M. Edmond Fleg has been translated by Mr. Stephen Haden Guest. The difficulty of translation must have been great since M. Fleg is a poet and his work "the Vision of Moses, the Man of God, as it has come down through four thousand years of Jewish tradition" presents the essential difficulty of translating poetry. But the translator, as he says, faces also the inevitable comparison with the magnificent English prose of the Authorised Version. Mr. Guest to some extent has followed Dr. James Moffat's new translation of the Bible. M. Fleg has enlarged the Bible narrative with material from the Talmud. He tells us that in the creative memory of Israel the Biblical Moses lives on, transfigured by a tradition rich in wonderful legends. Such a book is to be welcomed by English readers and makes the romanticist crave for a history of Solomon the Great on the same plan.

* * *

Mr. A. Watson Bain's volume "A Poetry Book: from Spenser to Bridges,"‡ intended for boys and girls from fourteen upwards, is an excellent compilation, though it is open to criticism in the absence of exact references to lead the student to the exact work in a collected edition. The modernisation of Spenser is defended on the ground

* Cambridge University Press. 15s. net.

† Victor Gollancz Ltd. 12s. 6d. net.

‡ Cambridge University Press. 5s. net. (School edition, 3s. 6d.).

that we read Shakespeare with modern spelling. But Mr. Bain, perhaps, overlooks the fact that Spenser was deliberately archaic and intended his verse to be read in that form. However, in any form it is delightful. The stanzas from Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyám* are ill-chosen since they give an idea of spiritual hopelessness and that is not the motive of the poem at all. Omar was a believer in God and Immortality; but he was not prepared to accept current creeds. These criticisms only bring out, however, the intrinsic value of a collection that should make boys and girls love English poetry.

* * *

A learned correspondent writes with respect to Miss Wallas' doctorate volume on the Marquis de Vauvenargues (1715-1747) noticed in this supplement in the issue for December, 1928:—Miss May Wallas is to be congratulated on her scholarly study of Vauvenargues.* English readers know Lord Morley's essay and the famous aphorism "Great thoughts come from the heart," which he popularised; and French readers possess Paléologue's charming little volume in the *Grands Ecrivains Français* series. No one, however, in any country had taken the trouble to collect every scrap of biological information about an interesting personality, and to analyse his thought in detail. These tasks Miss Wallas has undertaken and triumphantly performed. We knew in outline the story of the young Marquis who was born in 1715 and died in his thirty-second year; who entered the army when his true vocation was literature, and who fought a losing battle against failing eyesight, smallpox, and other maladies; who won the friendship and respect of Voltaire, and the affection of the elder Mirabeau and Marmontel; who felt himself born to greatness, and died on the morrow of his first and only book. But on all these incidents and relationships new light is thrown, and Vauvenargues emerges as a real, attractive, pathetic figure. The second part of the volume is devoted to his thought, his debt to his predecessors, and his relation to the intellectual life of his time. His *Introduction à la Connaissance de l'Esprit Humain* is scarcely more complete than Pascal's *Pensées*, and his other writings are as small in bulk as they are fragmentary in character. Yet he has won a place in history by the nobility of his ideas and by the beauty of some of the aphorisms in which they are enshrined. He was a moralist, not a philosopher in the academic sense, and his reflections on life were the fruit of his own struggles and disappointments. He fought with equal vigour against "severity" and "frivolity," and preached a gospel which combined many of the best elements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Miss Wallas has shown herself equally competent to reconstruct a personality and to pronounce on the value of philosophic ideas, and her conclusions are presented in a literary style which it is a pleasure to read.

* Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.

THE BRITISH TRUST IN AFRICA.

FIVE years ago Mr. Thomas, then Secretary for the Dominions, appointed a strong and carefully selected Committee, with Lord Southborough as Chairman, to consider and report

- (a) On the measures to be taken to accelerate the general economic development of the British East African Dependencies and the means of securing closer co-ordination of policy on such important matters as transportation, cotton-growing, and the control of human, animal, and plant diseases.
- (b) On the steps necessary to ameliorate the social condition of the natives of East Africa, including improvement of health and economical development.
- (c) On the economic relation between natives and non-natives with special reference to labour contracts, care of labourers, certificates of identification, employment of women and children.
- (d) On the taxation of natives and the provision for services directed to their moral and material improvement.

Three members of this Committee were sent to East Africa as a Commission under the Chairmanship of Mr. Ormsby-Gore

to obtain as much information as possible in the time available on all subjects covered by the terms of reference to the East Africa Committee, and to report to the Secretary of State on any facts which they may consider have a bearing upon the above matter.

The Report of this "East Africa Commission" was received by Mr. Amery (Mr. Thomas's successor) and published in April, 1925 (Cmd. 2387). Mr. Amery thereupon dissolved Mr. Thomas's East Africa Committee, desiring, apparently, himself to deal with the matters reported on, which, it may be observed, were by no means fully disposed of by this Commission and had not been intended to be. Substantially, the most important general question involved was the interpretation to be placed on and accepted by Parliament of the pronouncement made in 1923 by the Duke of Devonshire, in the "Kenya White Paper" (Cmd. 1922), namely, that the British Government accepts with regard to its tropical African Dependencies the doctrine of trusteeship for natives pronounced in the Covenant of the League of Nations. "This paramount duty of trusteeship," the Duke of Devonshire said, "will continue, as in the past, to be carried out under the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the agents of the Imperial Government, and by them alone." He added that it was His Majesty's Government's "considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict the former should prevail." Lord Southborough's Committee had, incidentally, been requested,

as quoted, to consider "means of securing closer co-ordination of policy" on specified subjects. Mr. Ormsby-Gore's Commission reported on a number of critical questions, particularly in connection with the Government of Kenya, and on the basis of their observations a certain amount of administrative action has since been taken: but they did not make recommendations tending towards any form of closer administrative union or federation, nor did they anticipate the major work intended for the Southborough Committee of formulating Imperial principles of trusteeship for natives.

In July, 1927, Mr. Amery issued a fresh White Paper, the immediate effect of which was to create disquieting uncertainty as to the meaning to be assigned to the Duke of Devonshire's declaration, and effectually modifying its language. The Duke of Devonshire had said the responsibility of the British Government was permanent and sole. Mr. Amery said, "While these responsibilities for trusteeship must for *some considerable time* rest *mainly* on the *agents* of the Imperial Government, His Majesty's Government desire to associate more closely in this high and honourable task those who as colonists or residents have identified their interests with the prosperity of the country." In the same Paper he stated to Parliament that "a new movement" had arisen "on the part of the European settlers towards closer contact," that two unofficial Conferences on the subject had been held, "attended by leading settlers from the various Dependencies," that "the desirability of Federation had figured in the programme of nearly all the candidates at the recent Election for the Legislative Council in Kenya," and that "the business communities in this country concerned in East Africa had also through the joint East Africa Board and otherwise indicated their interest in closer union." He added that His Majesty's Government considered as a result of discussion with the Governors of the Territories that some form of closer union appeared desirable, and that they had authorised the sending to Africa of a special Commission to consider whether by federation or some form of union more effective co-operation might be secured, and to make recommendations in regard to possible changes in the powers and composition of the local legislatures (*a*) as the result of the establishment of any Federal Council or other common authority, (*b*) so as to associate more closely in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government the immigrant communities domiciled in the country, and (*c*) so as ultimately to secure more direct representation of native interests.

I do not desire to criticise the representations made in this White Paper as to the source of the pressure for the reopening of the question of closer union (or "federation"), which Mr. Amery had

withdrawn from the Committee originally constituted to consider it, because there is considerable obscurity and conflict of statement upon that subject, both as regards the representative and originating character of the unofficial Conferences mentioned (one of which at least is generally understood to have been entirely organised and financed by a single prominent Kenya politician) and as to what those Conferences and the Election addresses referred to really advocated. It is true that in regard to the question of federation the Executive of the Kenya Convention of Associations issued a manifesto claiming that in any such scheme, first of all the European community of Kenya must be given an elected majority in the Kenya Council and secondly, because Europeans in Kenya outnumber those of British nationality in Tanganyika and Uganda, Kenya must have a preponderant voice in the Federation. But when this demand was criticised as claiming a somewhat exorbitant share of trusteeship for Kenya, white colonists' explanations were issued deprecating the suggestion that they had supported this movement with any such purpose, and Mr. Kenneth Archer, in a speech reported in the *East African Standard*, declared that it was completely inaccurate to say that the idea of federation originated with Kenya.

Mr. Amery, however, on whatever impulsion, appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of Sir E. Hilton Young to make recommendations upon the basis of his revision of the Duke of Devonshire's statement and to advise on the constitution of a central Authority and the other matters mentioned. Their Report* is a document as important in its bearing on the future relations of Britain with Africa as that of the Simon Commission will be in regard to the future of India. But the most remarkable thing in the whole effect of it is that it brings back the consideration of the entire question of East African native policy to precisely the same position as it was in when Mr. Amery dissolved the Southborough Committee, except that four years of critical time have elapsed, during which courses of policy, divergent from those commended in this Commission's Report, have been allowed to make further way, and the harmonising of the situation has been further prejudiced by Mr. Amery's variations on the Duke of Devonshire's theme. For to put the upshot summarily, the Commissioners advise that Mr. Amery's variations will not do. The responsibility for trusteeship must permanently—at any rate so far as can be forecast—and not merely "for some time to come," and solely and not merely "mainly" remain with the Imperial Government and its agents, and with them alone, and cannot be delegated to or shared

* *Report of the Commission on Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa.* Cmd. 3234. 6s.

with the European residents in these territories. Further, they agree with Mr. Ormsby-Gore's Commission that no scheme of Federal constitution can as yet, if it ever need at all, be considered. As to "closer union," they say that although there do in fact exist possibilities for more effective co-operation of such importance as to deserve serious attention, these are of minor significance compared with the need for a common policy in dealing with all matters affecting the natives. "The chief need," they say, and those words are intended to be taken literally, "in Eastern and Central Africa to-day is that there should be applied throughout the territories as a whole, continuously and without vacillation, a native policy which while adapted to the varying conditions of different tribes and different localities, is consistent in its main principles." This need is urgent, because, while the Commissioners state very clearly their views as to the proper principles to be followed, which are in accordance with the earlier declarations of His Majesty's Government, and constitute a reasoned justification of those declarations, those principles have already been endangered by political principles of a contrary character urged by some European residents in the territories, who claim that their views should prevail, and claim further that they have been encouraged to expect that they shall prevail by British Colonial Ministers and their representatives.

But far more important than this is the fact, to which the Commissioners not obscurely allude, that policy incompatible with those principles has prevailed so far in other parts of Africa as to create a state of affairs with which the South African Government appears to be now preparing to deal by still further pursuing a policy of definite antagonism on the part of Europeans against the freedom of natives. The central problem of Eastern and Central Africa, they say, is to discover a basis on which white and black, with Asiatics as well, can live together under conditions of rapid economic change, and with adequate opportunities for political development. . . . As compared with South Africa, the contact is still in its early stages, and problems are less complicated, more amenable to treatment and easier of solution. The manner in which the problems of Eastern and Central Africa are dealt with may influence the whole of the future development of the British Empire. They express indeed some justifiable confidence that the argument they set forth will be with most English readers in a sense a commonplace, but they observe that there is some opinion still in favour of courses which could only be consistently pursued as part of a policy of repression. The opinion to which they refer is of the character already alluded to as commending itself to some Kenya residents. That its acceptance and the pursuit of its principles involve a policy of complete repression is demonstrated by what is at this moment

occurring in South Africa; where the declaration of industrial war made in the Colour-Bar Law of 1926 is now, it is proposed by General Hertzog, Mr. Tielman Roos and Dr. Malan, to be followed up by a declaration of political war at the hustings.

The ideas at this moment politically dominant in South Africa threaten in no metaphorical sense a future of conflict between Europeans and Africans. Those ideas are not dominant in this country: on the contrary, our responsible statesmen of all political parties have outspokenly repudiated them and pronounced for a contrary policy consistent with what most Englishmen understand by British Imperial traditions generally, and more specially and particularly with the new formulation of European policy towards Africa embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations, and adopted by the Duke of Devonshire as completely applicable to British-governed territories in Africa and expressly to these particular territories of East and East Central Africa.

"The problem of devising some form of Imperial control confined to broad issues of policy . . . is one for which a solution is needed not only in Eastern and Central Africa but for the proper development of other non self-governing dependencies. . . . Whatever action is taken in matters affecting native interests and the relations between natives and non-natives has a significance beyond the particular subject or the particular country immediately affected, and will have its reactions over the whole field of policy and throughout all the territories of Africa.

"This interconnection of interests extends beyond the limits of the British Empire to all other European Powers who are responsible for the administration of African territories."

Precise and definite statement of these principles is urgently called for, because the expression Trusteeship, which is used in the Covenant of the League and in its application to British possessions, is indefinite. There is no Trust Deed for our Colonies. In regard to the territories under mandate of the League such Trust Deeds of more or less precision have been put into writing in the form of agreed documents. The same ambiguity exists in regard to the expression "interests of the natives," which British administrators are, we have been told, to regard as paramount. A very definite view is held by that school of Colonial politicians whose activity is creating the dangers which the Commission desires to avert, that the interests of the natives are best served by opening Africa to economic development through the direct operations of white investors and employers of labour.

Not only do the Commissioners confess considerable doubt whether the possibility of the permanent establishment of European family settlement is proved even in Kenya, but, even assuming it, they maintain, quoting words of Mr. Amery's, that

" Eastern Africa is never going to become a white man's country, even in the sense in which South Africa has become a white man's country. It is a country in which the native races would always form a dominant element of the population, and their interests would be paramount.

" Even when an optimistic view is taken of the possibilities of white settlement in Eastern Africa it would be true to say that it is not so much as a home for the white race, but as providing a source of supply of foodstuffs and raw materials and a market for manufactured goods that these territories can become a factor of major importance in the economy of the British Empire.

" European settlement in these territories does not constitute a self-sufficing community. . . . All the unskilled, and increasingly the greater part of the skilled, labour of the country will be performed by natives, the only opportunities for Europeans apart from farming will be found in the professions and impositions of management and oversight."

They call attention to the following significant facts: The total population of Europeans in Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia is estimated as 19,555. " It is doubtful," they say, " whether of the Europeans in these territories as many as one-third (i.e., 6,000 or 7,000 including women and children) can be regarded as having their homes permanently in the country."

In Kenya the number of Europeans is estimated as 12,529, of whom 2,199 are classed as engaged in agriculture. Of those so engaged one-third are employees, and many of these may not intend to set up a permanent home. Even of those who own estates a considerable number do not intend to settle finally in Africa and to bring up their children there. It thus appears that there are in Kenya about 1,466 landed proprietors or farmers (assuming that the figures relate to heads of families only) of whom, the Commissioners tell us, about two-thirds do not intend permanent settlement. These 1,466 persons own between them 10,511 square miles of land, an average of $7\frac{1}{2}$ square miles (say, 5,000 acres) for each individual, or of those who intend permanent settlement about 21 square miles, or 15,000 acres per man. For labour these occupiers are entirely dependent upon natives. No native is permitted to own an acre of land in all this vast area; he may only reside there as a labourer under statute. The native population of Kenya is estimated at about 2,500,000. There is one European, man, woman or child, to every 200 natives, or of residents intending permanent settlement about 1 to every 600. These white residents are for their livelihood entirely dependent on the possibility of getting natives to work for them: the farmers directly, the professional men indirectly. It has been seriously propounded by local political spokesmen for Kenya settlers, and the claim is frequently urged with

some vehemence and even intemperance of language, that this immigrant European community of employers of less than one-half per cent. of the population shall be made autonomous in the position of their community having responsible government with an electoral franchise either confined to themselves, or so adjusted as to give them entire control. The rarefied air of the Kenya highlands is credited with producing a kind of vertigo, characteristic of distension and congestion of the encephalic tissues. The idea proposed has only to be stated in black and white with these relevant figures to demonstrate its absurdity, in a situation in which the Imperial Government has solemnly and repeatedly pledged itself to act as Trustee for the natives with the interests of the natives as paramount.

Surely it ought to be manifest that if any Englishman goes out to farm in Kenya, he must accustom himself to recognise that he does not thereby acquire a right to govern 200 resident-officials upon the command of whose labour his farming fortunes are to depend. The most clamorous representatives of the Kenya settlers, for whom such an arrangement might for a time be made exceedingly profitable, and of whom two-thirds intend to clear out before the inevitable trouble begins, have consistently claimed no less than this. They claim, moreover, that they have been encouraged to expect this authority by utterances of Secretaries of State and of Governors. Mr. Churchill, whom they profess to quote, said definitely that the development of self-government must imply equal rights of franchise for all sections of the community. The apprehension that this principle might be applied to the Indian community, which outnumbers the European by two to one, immediately produced a threat of armed rebellion and preparations for a *coup de main* to kidnap the Governor. It is doubtless true that Governors have talked sympathetically about the " natural development " of British institutions: but the Commission quotes Mr. Amery's own words that Kenya can never be a white man's country or British community. If white men go there to settle they will have in future to realise that in no circumstances can their tiny group be entrusted with the responsibility for the government of their country of sojourn, though scope and opportunity must be given for them to exercise in their own interests such functions of self-government as do not infringe on the interests of the natives.

So far are the Commissioners from following Mr. Amery's lead towards giving this small community increased responsibility and control in regard to trusteeship for natives that they recommend the establishment of a Central authority, to be quartered in Africa, in the form of a High Commissioner or Governor-General, who shall there represent the Secretary of State for the Colonies with a view

to maintaining the continuous observance of the principles of trusteeship laid down by the British Parliament. It is neither opportune nor possible here to examine the merits or possible difficulties of this precise recommendation as a means to the end desired, nor the subsidiary suggestion that the Secretary of State should be assisted by a permanent Advisory Council on East African affairs analogous to the India Council. The Commissioners make recommendations for the amendment of the constitution of Kenya, proposing the substitution of four unofficial members appointed to represent native interests in the place of four of the official members which now give the Government a mechanical majority in the Council. These particular formulations require and will receive careful criticism and discussion: the importance of the Report lies in its insistence on the necessity of establishing a definite code of the principles which Parliament and the nation demand shall be applied continuously in the interpretation of our vague and indefinite profession that we are and must act as Trustees for the natives of Africa.

We have had the Ormsby-Gore Report, full of useful matter, we have had Mr. Amery's fantastic and inconclusive sally. We have now this careful, detailed argument of the principles, and of the reasons of the principles which are held in regard to these matters by our most experienced African Governors, such as Lord Lugard and Sir Hugh Clifford, the principles in assertion of which the Covenant of the League of Nations was drafted, which are held sympathetically by the leading spirits in the Mandates Commission and in the International Labour Office, which have been emphatically pronounced by the Labour Party in this country and which must on their record be presumed to be held by the Liberal Party, and which have been declared by the Duke of Devonshire and by Mr. Churchill. The same principles are definitely and outspokenly formulated in the resolution of the Labour and Socialist International Congress held at Brussels last August. The time is surely come for the decision of our future lines of policy in these and similar territories to be settled by Parliament by means of consideration in a joint select committee of both Houses, as the question of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms was settled for India, and as the course to be taken on the Simon Commission will be.

"What is required is" (I quote the Commissioners), "first, to define what are the essential native interests; secondly, to settle what are the conditions which must be created and preserved in order to give those interests a fair field in which to start an adequate measure of protection and assistance for their development, and thirdly, to allow nothing to interfere with those conditions. . . . The essence of our recommendations is that the field of native interests should be clearly defined and safeguarded, not only in the interests of the natives, but also so as

to make clear the scope for development of the immigrant communities. . . . If the interest of the immigrant communities had in fact been allowed to extend so far as to trespass on what ought to be preserved as the fair field for native advancement, a difficult situation would have to be faced. But we believe that in the territories in which we are concerned, there is, in point of fact, still time to prevent the creation of any such difficulty."

This conclusion, from which I see no ground for expressing dissent, is emphatically satisfactory: and it leaves the field perfectly clear for dealing with the most important and urgent recommendation of the Commission that "the field of native interests should now be clearly defined and safeguarded, that there should be a clear idea now and at each stage of development what British policy both as regards natives and immigrants is to be, and that this policy should be affirmed not merely as that of one political party but with the concurrence of all."

OLIVIER.

THE GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS ON DE-RATING.

RATING is not a subject which appeals readily to a student anxious to find his way through the complexity of modern social problems. The rate-collector, moreover, is not often selected as a hero in popular romance. The Minister of Health recognises this deficiency in public interest and resorts to the use of stimulating and picturesque phrases. It is arresting to be told that the inequitable system of rating is effecting the slow strangulation of our agriculture and industries, and further, that it has actually brought to ruin some of our greatest industries. It must be confessed that a closer analysis arouses a suspicion of the accuracy of these wide generalisations. The farmers are certainly not wildly excited at the prospect of de-rating agricultural land and farm buildings. They show no exuberant gratitude, knowing by experience that, so far as the benefit reaches them, it will make little appreciable difference to their financial position. On industrial depression, the statements of the chairmen of the great banks to their shareholders, and the review lately issued by the Ministry of Labour, are a wholesome corrective of the undue pessimism of the Minister of Health. The review states that the increase of unemployment, which occurred in the second quarter of the year 1928, was not due to a general decline in trade, but was confined almost entirely to six industries. No single test of industrial depression can be isolated, but none is in itself more searching, than that of unemployment.

Rates are imposts, levied by local authorities, to meet the expenditure involved in the discharge of services locally administered. This expenditure is partly incurred for national services, which mainly benefit the community at large, and partly for local services, which mainly benefit the ratepayers or owners of rateable property. If these latter services had not been supplied by the local authority, to supply them would often have cost more to the individual. This is not the occasion to follow further the distinction between services mainly national, and services mainly local. I doubt, however, whether students, interested in the rating question, will differ from the conclusions in the Report issued by the Royal Commission in 1901, that this distinction is the starting point, if a true reform of our rating system is to be equitably effected.

Whatever may be the conditions of agriculture, the proposal, under the name of de-rating, to exempt agricultural land and farm premises from all contribution towards the expenditure of local authorities cannot be justified. It means the total excision of these properties from the rate book. The effect is to narrow the sources of local taxation open to local authorities, permanently impairing

their capacity to meet additional charges or such fluctuations in local expenditure as are inevitable from time to time. The Royal Commission, after detailed inquiry, reported that no such exemption should be permitted. The Commission refused to advise further exemptions of any kind, even for hospitals and similar institutions, in spite of a favourable report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed in 1900. Apart from the general objection against granting exemptions from rateable liability, there are particular reasons why to do so in the case of agricultural land, and farm premises, would create a fresh inequity in rating incidence. So far as rating expenditure is for local improvement and benefit, the occupiers of agricultural land are not called upon to pay more than a fair share, reasonably proportionate to the benefit received. The classification which places these properties in the lowest class, and which gives a 75 per cent. reduction in rateable assessment, has already redressed all reasonable grievances. In addition, rate expenditure on local improvements has done much to bring agricultural land within the areas of building demand, thus largely enhancing its value to the owners. To judge from the arguments adduced in favour of the Government proposal, to excise agricultural land and farm premises from the rate book, under the term of de-rating, an inexcusable confusion is made between the principle of exemption and the principle of classification. The system of classification has been more fully developed in Scotland. Generally, agricultural land in Scotland has been placed in the lowest class, which means the remission of 75 per cent. of the charges levied on houses and other properties placed in the first class. In England the 75 per cent. reduction on the assessment of agricultural land was advocated so long ago as 1836, and applied later to rates levied under the Public Health Act of 1875. Rates levied under that Act gave the occupiers of agricultural land and other property, such as the running lines of railways, a 75 per cent. reduction, which is equivalent to classification in the lowest class in Scotland.

It is a complete confusion of principle to argue that classification in rating is any precedent for exemption. In Command Paper 3220, issued by the Government, an illustration is given which aptly denotes the nature of the injustice which arises from the total exemption of the owner or occupier of agricultural land from all rating liability and the excision of such land from the rate-book. The passage states that it is fair that water should continue to be paid for by the occupiers of de-rated properties, on the same basis as other consumers, and that where this is the case at present, certain adjustments are necessary by substituting net annual value for rateable value, in existing enactments relating to

the fixing of water rates. No one will doubt the justice of this proposal. The same principle is applicable to other services of quite localised benefit, such as drainage, lighting, local roads and open spaces. Ratepayers who are now contributing to such services cannot be exempted without unfairness to their fellow contributors to the common expenditure. In answering a question in the House of Lords, the Minister, representing the Government, placed the difference between the water rate and other rates of common local benefit on the fact, that the water rate is paid in respect of something which is actually used by the ratepayer, while many of the other social services, provided by the local authority, are not so actually used. Other services may not be used in the same way; but if localised benefit is the test, it is in many instances just as necessary to provide these other social services, as it is to distribute a wholesome supply of water. The only sound rule is that all beneficiaries, from local expenditure, should contribute fairly in all cases without distinction.

It may be said that although, on principles of rating, the Government proposals cannot be supported, it will be of advantage to institute a system of Government subsidies in aid of agriculture. No doubt any Government subsidy may be of some financial assistance to a subsidised industry, when not weighed against counterbalancing disadvantages, but to give these subsidies, under the guise of rating reform, can only lead to difficulty and confusion. The rating proposals of the Government, tested as a subsidy to agriculture, will not materially improve the financial position of farmers or the prospects of agriculture. They will not restore an acre of grass land to arable cultivation, or maintain arable cultivation in the agricultural districts unsuited for grass farming. The assessment of rates on agricultural land and farm premises has already been reduced 75 per cent. by classification, so that if the Government proposal should result in giving the whole benefit of exemption to the farmers, it would only exempt them of 25 per cent. of the rates, to which the occupiers of agricultural land are still liable. The aggregate amount of the subsidy, over £4,000,000, is considerable, and might be applied on a different basis to the real assistance of the agricultural industry. The latest published statistics show that, exclusive of mountain and heather, there are rather more than 30,000,000 cultivated acres in Great Britain. Therefore the indiscriminate distribution of the proposed money grant only amounts to a few shillings an acre, and would give the least assistance where assistance is most required. The whole grant will certainly not accrue to the benefit of the tenant farmers in its final incidence. It is said that the classifications heretofore made in the rating of agricultural land and farm premises have not led to the raising of

rents. This may be so, owing to the growing depression in agriculture, but, if it has not led to the raising of rents, it has in many cases prevented the necessity of their reduction.

Rates are not assessed on agriculture as an industry, and are not affected by the prosperity or loss of an individual farmer. They affect the industry in the same way as rents. No doubt the farmer places both rates and rents on the debit side of his balance sheet. When a new lease is arranged, it is known to be the ordinary business practice to consider the amount of the rates, in fixing the rental as between the lessor and lessee. This will allow the proposed rate exemption to be discounted or intercepted in favour of the landlord. A landlord is not necessarily superhuman, or above the lure of a business advantage which the legislature has conferred upon him. Assuming, however, that the whole benefit of exemption ultimately accrues to the tenant farmer, farming, as an industry, can receive little or no substantial advantage. Those who argue that the whole benefit of classification of agricultural land in the fourth class, and the consequent reduction of rates, has gone to the tenant, will not forget that this adjustment of 75 per cent. has not prevented what the Minister, so picturesquely, calls the strangulation of agriculture. If this is so, the remaining 25 per cent. cannot reasonably be expected materially to defer the impending suffocation. A leading authority of considerable experience, in a letter to the papers the other day, stated, "I have never known the inherent conditions of agriculture worse, or the result of its outlook more discouraging." Not an inspiring outlook. The estimate may be true of arable farming, but it is too pessimistic for the future of grass farming.

In the poorer arable districts there are farms unlet, and farms only let at a sporting rental. Omitting these extreme cases, it is necessary to see how the proposed rating subsidy would operate on lands of differing quality. In the discussions which took place before the Royal Commission, certain instances were taken to show the unfairness of indiscriminate rate adjustment, and particularly the small benefit which would be gained in the poorer districts. An illustration was taken of a farm in which rentals, and rates, each stand at 5s. an acre. The assistance of the present Government proposals would consist in a total exemption of rates, already assessed at 75 per cent. reduction. This works out at 1s. 3d. per acre. The rate per pound no doubt differs in various localities. I have before me a demand note at 4s. 8d. in the pound, but this is a low figure. It would be fair to take an average at 10s. in the pound, which is somewhat above the average figure in the majority of districts, where the charge on agricultural land is a considerable source of rating income. If the rate is only at 5s. in the pound,

the annual remission would be 3d. or 4d. per acre, and double the amount where rates are 10s. in the pound. Take again land rented at £1 an acre, a quarter of this is 5s. If the rating is at 10s. in the pound, the Government subsidy would amount to only a subsidy of 2s. 6d. per acre. This subsidy would be of little value to a depressed farmer. It is practically not appreciable, if it is thought desirable to arrest the change from arable to grass farming.

In agriculture, as in other industries, one of the disturbing factors is the decrease of employment. A main reason of this decrease arises in the change from arable to grass farming. I know a farm of which the acreage has remained throughout substantially the same. Some years ago this farm was largely arable. It has now been largely converted into a grass farm. This farm, as an arable farm, employed continuously nine men and extra hands at harvest. Now only three men are employed, and these not for their whole time. Fortunately the workers, employed in agriculture, enjoy the advantage of the minimum wage act, and no reaction towards a lower wage can for a moment be considered. The difficulty of giving rate, or other, relief to agriculture in this country arises largely from the existing tenancy system. There is no certainty that such relief may not be largely discounted or intercepted for the benefit of the lessors. This suspicion is strengthened by the history of the ultimate effects of the Repeal of the Corn Laws. It is the cause of the not unnatural opposition of landowners to high rates and low prices. This consideration gives increased importance to the arguments for a drastic change of land tenure, so ably advocated by Professor Orwin of the Agricultural Research Department in the University of Oxford. His book is not based on theory but supplies facts and figures, which have not been answered. This change is already overdue. It should be carried through, while all parties agree that it should be accompanied by a fair measure of market compensation on principles long established, and which, in their recent developments, have been equitably applied.

The Government proposal for the assistance of productive manufactories, whether considered as a step in rating reform or as a subsidy, differs materially from the proposal made in the case of agriculture. There is no exemption of productive manufactories, and no excision from the rate-book. The classification is altered to give the occupier or owner a 75 per cent. reduction in rating assessment. This lower classification cannot easily be justified. There is no reason for holding that premises utilised for productive manufactories do not receive a full share of benefit from expenditure on localised services. Moreover, productive manufactories are carried on under widely differing conditions. To attempt to include them in one category involves great anomalies. There is no

justification for giving the same assistance to breweries and chemical industries as, for instance, to the mining, cotton, textile, and heavy steel and iron industries, by classing them in the same category of rating relief. No doubt any industry will obtain advantage by the grant of financial assistance from the national purse, but this does not prove that the money of the taxpayer has been equitably distributed, or that assistance has been given in proportion to need. There is no satisfactory evidence either that the present condition of all industries is mainly due to the inequity of rating, or that the Government proposals will afford effective permanent improvement.

The mining industry gives an apt illustration. Information may be found in the lately issued Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom, and in the figures supplied by Lord Onslow in answer to a question in the House of Lords. The Abstract gives the total output from our coal-fields in tons, and their value in pounds. The figures supplied by Lord Onslow give the existing rates per annum at 4.42d. per ton of saleable coal raised, and 4.80d. per ton of coal disposable commercially. The estimated relief per annum from Government proposals is given at 3.32d. per ton of saleable coal raised, and 3.60d. of coal disposable commercially. The existing rates do not account for the existing depression, and the figures of the estimated relief will not provide an effective permanent remedy. The causes of the depression in the mining industry are widespread, depending on various influences both national and international. The loss of markets, and the supersession of coal by oil and electricity as a motor power, are not due to the inequity of the rating system, nor is the supply of former British markets in Italy and France, by reparation coal from Germany. An inquiry on a wide basis has already been started at Geneva, and some system of drastic new organisation will be required. In the present deplorable conditions in the mining districts of South Wales and on the North-East Coast, no one will grudge any national assistance which may help to palliate the misery which results from physical want and mental depression. There is an appalling national tragedy requiring national aid, not to be met by charity, but an obligation on the Government. At the same time, it is observable that there is no suggestion of immediate benefit to the miners from the Government scheme, and no proposal for an exemption from rates of mining cottages or for the excision of such cottage properties from the rate-book.

The gravest objection to the Government plan is that it takes money out of the heavily-charged public purse for the benefit of industries in some of which the owners are already receiving a profitable return from their investments. Breweries and distil-

leries, chemicals, tobacco, and other industries, mainly employed in the production of luxuries, will receive Government assistance amounting in the aggregate to several million pounds. Such a form of subsidy cannot be justified on any principle, especially at a time when, according to the Minister, certain industries are suffering from strangulation, resulting in an abnormal amount of unemployment. This cannot adequately be provided against without a much more carefully considered scheme of State assistance. Two arguments, so far as I know, have been advanced in favour of this wasteful proposal. It is said that those who oppose it would be classing industrial prosperity within the category of crime. This is a misstatement. Conviction is not brought about by attacking a thesis which no sane person has ever supported. It would be as logical to suggest that it was a slur on an industrious working man, in steady employment, not to provide for him the assistance granted to his less fortunate brethren, who, often through no fault of their own, have fallen behind, under the stress and strain of modern competition. The second argument is based on the suggestion that all manufactories, whether prosperous or not, must be treated in the same way, and on the same basis. The fallacy of this generalisation consists in including in one category a number of premises utilised in different ways, and for different purposes, to which no common principle is fairly applicable. If this waste of public money, at a time when public economy is urgently needed and there is an abnormal amount of unemployment, is a necessary incident of the Government proposal, the proposal itself stands condemned as both unfair and unjust, whether regarded as a step in rating reform or a financial subsidy to assist depressed industries.

The proposal to assure a reduction in certain railway charges may, no doubt, be of assistance to the selected industries, if they are sufficient to stimulate the output and to increase the employment demand. So far no sufficient information has been made public on which to form a reliable opinion. Special attention has been devoted to the trade in export coal. The conditions of the coal industry are such that it is right and necessary that we should do all that is possible to stimulate the output; but, as stated in an earlier part of this article, there are wide-reaching questions to be settled, both national and international, which are outside the range of rating reform or any readjustment in railway charges. Moreover, the proposed reduction in railway charges has no direct connection with rating questions, or any suggested inequity in railway rating. The method of valuation of railway property for rating assessment may be cumbrous, but it is understood by those practically concerned. It appears that no change is proposed. Shortly after the war the local authorities and the railway companies agreed

to the valuation of railways for rating assessment, not unfavourably to the railway companies. The real question seems to be whether it is intended to change the accepted principle that, in the matter of railway charges, railway companies should treat all competitive interests on the same basis, without preferential treatment, for the advantage of particular trades or particular traders. After the war the old maximum rates, in the Statutory Railway Schedules, were replaced by a system of standard rates, but the principle of not allowing undue preference was retained under the jurisdiction of the Railway Commission. At the present time all export rates for coal are low, owing to the proximity of the exporting mines to the ports and the carriage of minerals in full trainloads. If it can be shown that a special preference in favour of export rates will really stimulate the traffic in export coal, no objection would be raised; but this does not depend on the inequity of the rating system, and should be effected without the consequent confusion and difficulty which have been introduced. There is not space within this article to examine the railway question in sufficient detail. No adequate statistics were given by Lord Onslow in his speech in the House of Lords. The objections already stated to the Government proposals on the de-rating of agricultural land and the classification of particular manufactories in a lower class can be summarised in a few words. Agricultural land should not be exempted from all rate charges, and should not be excised from the rate-book. This will not only narrow the source from which local authorities can raise a local revenue, but create an inequity and inequality as between the different classes of ratepayers in the same locality. There is no excuse, in rating ruling principle, for the wasteful proposal of paying from the national exchequer a sum of something like eight million pounds to shareholders, and others, interested in prosperous industries, such as breweries, chemicals and tobacco, at a time when the national exchequer is overburdened and there are urgent claims to help the unemployed. There is said to be a proverb in Chinese Central Asia, "The rich stand by the rich as the stream seeks the desert." This saying might not inaptly be applied to the Government proposals on de-rating.

PARMOOR.

SAFEGUARDING IN THEORY AND PRACTICE.

SINCE the Annual Meeting of the Conservative Party at Yarmouth last autumn it has become more and more probable that the General Election, now expected early in June, will turn like that of 1923 mainly on the issue of Free Trade *versus* Protection. Mr. Churchill indeed stoutly maintained the contrary when he addressed the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in January, and even declared that he is still a Free Trader—though he has introduced more protective duties than any Chancellor of the Exchequer during the last century or more. The Prime Minister rejoices that Free Traders like Mr. Churchill can support Safeguarding, while he repeats that he is pledged and continues to be pledged not to introduce Protection. But as he has introduced it on a very large scale, he must be employing the word in an unusual sense. Let us see how matters stand. Mr. Baldwin favours and has agreed to facilitate a further extension of Safeguarding duties which are not only protective, but highly protective. Moreover, he has been responsible for many other protective duties such as those on silk goods, motor-cars, commercial vehicles and petrol, which did not pass through the Safeguarding avenue. The casuist's interpretation of Mr. Baldwin's pledge is that by Protection he means "general Protection," or a general Protective tariff; but the Conservative Party under his auspices has passed a resolution for the Safeguarding of iron and steel, and a group of Yorkshire Protectionist manufacturers, with the encouragement of Sir Henry Page-Croft, are pressing an application for the Safeguarding of woollen and worsted cloth. There is nothing new in this application of Bradford worsted manufacturers for a protective duty on French dress goods. They made a similar one in 1925, which was rejected. The serious feature this time is that the manufacturers at the beginning of December obtained the support of the Wool Textile Trade Unions, whose Executive Sub-committee passed (by a majority of fifteen to nine) a recommendation which amounted to a rejection of Free Trade in favour of Protection. "We have," they announced, "come to the conclusion that unemployment in the wool textile industry has been and is likely to be accentuated by the importation of foreign dress goods, and we are of the opinion that with certain limitations the Trade Unions should support the employers in making a further application for Safeguarding."

On December 4th, this was followed up by a meeting of the Trade Union officials with the employers concerned in the negotiations, when it was agreed that a joint committee should be formed to apply for Safeguarding duties on foreign worsted and woollen

goods weighing from two to eleven ounces per square yard. It was admitted that the single warp cloths which are being imported are not largely manufactured in Britain, and that if they are to be replaced by British goods of a similar character, British manufacturers and spinners will have to equip themselves for the purpose. In these circumstances, the Yorkshire Liberal candidates, "being entirely free and independent of the influences which have been brought to bear upon the Trade Union officials," issued a statement expressing their unqualified adherence to Free Trade, as "essential to the interests of all classes and to the very existence of a crowded island, whose inhabitants would starve did they not possess a foreign commerce and shipping of incomparable size and value." At the same time they reaffirmed the resolution adopted by the National Liberal Federation at Yarmouth on October 11th, that "the Customs Duties laid upon many classes of imports (including the necessaries as well as the comforts of life) by the Tory Government are raising prices and the cost of living"; that under this policy unemployment has increased; that Protective Duties hamper trade, restrict exports, and encourage the raising of Tariffs against British goods in foreign countries and in the British Dominions, and that "the Liberal Party, as the traditional champion of political and economic liberty, pledges itself to sweep away all Protective taxes, and take the lead in the world movement for the removal of commercial barriers."

After pointing out that protective duties corrupt politics and create international friction, they proceeded:

According to the statements of our own Protectionists, the protected wool industries of France, against which the new Safeguarding application will be principally aimed, are only able to pay half the Yorkshire wages, and their exports of wool manufactures are only about one-third of ours. If we imitate their protective policy we must expect similar results—a rapid diminution of exports, and a rapid dwindling of wages to the French level. Moreover, it is obvious that Safeguarding cannot alter fashion and cannot be confined to importations of light goods. There is already a demand for the extension of this application to all woollen and worsted fabrics, and also to yarns. Those who want Protection for their own industry cannot deny it to others. If wool, why not iron and steel, and leather, and boots and shoes, and so on, until practically everything that we use and wear, and all our machinery and tools, have been raised in price? What does this mean? It means a general rise in prices amounting probably to at least one-third, a general reduction of real wages, and a general increase in the cost of production. Every rise in prices means diminished consumption in the home market and a diminished output. No wonder that unemployment has increased as Safeguarding Duties have been extended. Every rise in the cost of production

means diminished sales to our customers abroad, and consequently diminished output. Diminished output means diminished employment and declining wages. Protection may enrich a few, but only at the expense of the great majority of the people.

If this application is granted, practically every voter will walk to the polls in protected trousers, stockings, or skirts. That is what most of us would call general protection. A tax on warm clothing is not morally distinguishable from a tax on food. It is just as bad to starve from cold as to starve from hunger.

In this country since the repeal of the Corn Laws Protection has had a bad name, and its advocates in recent times have adopted other nomenclature such as Fair Trade, Reciprocity or Retaliation (in the last two decades of the nineteenth century), and Tariff Reform or Imperial Preference between 1904 and 1914. But all these disguises failed. Will the new voters be bamboozled by a new name? Historically the word Safeguarding as a substitute for Protection was first employed by the Coalition Government after the war to cover two distinct purposes—first to foster by prohibitions, or heavy duties, the so-called Key Industries, such as dyes, chemicals and optical glass; secondly, to ward off by means of a special tariff an influx or inundation of cheap goods which certain experts and politicians anticipated (or professed to anticipate) from countries like Germany, whose currency was depreciating rapidly after the war. It is curious that a depreciating currency should alarm the economic experts of any country except the victim! I need not digress to explain why the theory proved erroneous; but it may be admitted that there was some reason for adopting a new name to distinguish a Protective “anti-dumping” duty of this sort upon goods coming from a particular country—just as a retaliatory duty against one country differs from a general protective duty levied on imports from all countries alike.

But we are concerned now with the Safeguarding policy which Mr. Baldwin instituted early in 1925, not by a Statute, but by an administrative order or White Paper under which industries suffering from foreign competition were invited to lay their case before the Board of Trade. If that Department thought that a preliminary case had been made out, it was to go before a committee which would hear the petitioners and their opponents, and then decide by the application of certain tests whether the industry should be safe-

* At Bingley on Monday, January 28th—I quote the report of the *Yorkshire Post*—Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, President of the Board of Trade, threw the safeguarding mask aside. He claimed that, wherever a duty had been imposed, employment in that industry had benefited; and for this purpose it did not matter whether the duty was a Safeguarding, a McKenna, or a Key Industry duty. “They are duties,” he added, “all exactly the same in character, and I think must stand or fall together.”

guarded by a protective duty or not. In a letter addressed to his Party quite recently Mr. Baldwin dwelt on the fact that at the last General Election he had given two pledges. One was to safeguard industries suffering from unfair foreign competition:

It was the policy we adopted at the last General Election, and it will be continued. We are pledged and shall continue to be pledged not to introduce Protection. We are pledged and shall continue to be pledged not to impose any taxes on food.

This quotation shows that the Prime Minister still distinguishes between Safeguarding and Protection, and his speeches indicate that he wants the country to believe in the distinction. The *Daily Telegraph*, a newspaper which is very loyal to Mr. Baldwin and to the Conservative Party, went so far as to say in a leading article on September 26th, 1928, that there is as much difference between Safeguarding and Protection as there is between Free Trade and Protection. And yet in the dictionaries safeguarding and protection are synonyms, and every safeguarding duty imposed has been a protective duty. Mr. Baldwin’s distinction at best therefore comes merely to this: that the Safeguarding duties do not amount to a general tariff, though each duty is itself a general duty directed against the goods of all foreign countries with a preferential rebate on goods imported from other parts of the British Empire. There is also a distinction in procedure; for in the ordinary way protective duties—that is to say, customs duties on commodities produced at home without a countervailing excise—are imposed in the Budget without any public investigation, whereas the Safeguarding duties are only imposed after the trade concerned has applied for protection, and after its application has been granted by an administrative tribunal.

So much for the distinction; but even if we accept its validity we cannot allow that Mr. Baldwin’s pledge has been honoured: for he said, after taking office, that no British industry should receive protection until it had passed through the Safeguarding avenue. What are the facts? The most important of the protective duties imposed since 1924, in which year (after Mr. Snowden’s Budget) Great Britain had once more regained a free trade basis, never came before the Safeguarding Committees at all.

1. First of all there are the duties popularly known as the McKenna duties, originally imposed by Mr. Reginald McKenna in September, 1916, for the express purpose of discouraging a curiously selected list of luxuries and bulky imports, partly to help our foreign exchanges in the war, partly (in view of the submarine campaign) to save shipping space for food, raw materials, and munitions. These duties were imposed at the high rate of 33 per cent. on motor cars, cinema films, musical instruments, clocks,

watches, etc., and it was agreed by Mr. Asquith's Coalition Cabinet that they should be repealed after the war. Mr. Bonar Law himself said at the time that these duties were absurdly high from a Tariff Reform point of view, and could not form part of any general system of protection. Nevertheless, after the war they were continued, and were only repealed in the Snowden Budget of 1923. They have been restored by Mr. Churchill with the addition of commercial motor vehicles and motor tyres, without any reference to the Safeguarding procedure.

2. Next come the so-called Key Industry duties, originally imposed in 1921 for a period of five years, with the avowed intention of fostering certain war manufactures. The dye monopoly (which is a severe handicap on many of our trades) was established about the same time on similar grounds, and still exists, with a system of licences in lieu of customs duties. The Key Industry duties were reimposed with additions in 1926, again without any reference to Safeguarding committees.

3. Next come the duties on silk and artificial silk. These were introduced by Mr. Churchill professedly for revenue purposes, and are combined with certain excise duties; but as the excise is much less than the customs tariff, these duties also are protective. Mr. Churchill introduced them to meet his increasing expenditure; and he also defended them partly on the ground that they are luxury duties which need not be paid for by those who cannot afford to wear silk garments or silk stockings. But seeing that women of all classes insist on wearing stockings and that artificial silk stockings are quite cheap, this argument is seldom used on the platform.

4. Some other purely protective taxes have been imposed in Mr. Churchill's Budgets, of which three must be mentioned. One is the duty on foreign hops for the benefit of hop growers in Kent and Sussex. The second is the complicated arrangement for the benefit of British sugar refineries. The third is the customs duty on petrol and light oils amounting to fourpence per gallon, which was expressly imposed by Mr. Churchill not only to provide revenue for his scheme of rating relief, but also (by raising the price of oil) to stimulate the Scottish oil shale industry and to encourage new processes of extracting oil from British coal. So far as raising prices is concerned, the petrol duty was fully and immediately successful (or shall I say fully and immediately *effective*?), for on the very next morning in every part of the country the price of petrol was raised by fourpence-farthing per gallon—the farthing representing the additional cost which wholesalers and retailers have to extract from the consumer when a customs duty is imposed.

Lastly come the Safeguarding duties proper, which have been imposed piecemeal. The Safeguarding White Paper contains the

rules and tests by which the claim of any industry to be safeguarded is to be judged by a Committee of the Board of Trade. If the committee pronounces favourably, its recommendation is laid before Parliament. So far every such recommendation has been accepted by the Government and passed into law. Altogether about fifty applications have been made to the Board of Trade, which has turned down thirty and referred twenty to Safeguarding committees. The Committees have reported favourably on nine—the most important being cutlery, gloves, buttons, lace, wrapping or packing paper, and hollow ware, which last means pots and pans for domestic use, “the kind used by housemaids,” to quote the homely explanation given by the President of the Board of Trade.

It may be useful here to summarise the principal rules by which Safeguarding applications have been tested under the White Paper :

- A. Whether the industry is of substantial importance.
- B. Whether the volume of competing imports is abnormal.
- C. Whether the price of the competing goods is below the price at which they can be manufactured profitably in Great Britain.
- D. Whether employment in the home industry has been seriously affected.
- E. Whether the foreign competition is “unfair,” owing to lower wages, etc.
- F. Whether the British industry is reasonably efficient.
- G. Whether the imposition of a Safeguarding duty would seriously and adversely affect other industries using these goods.

In a narrow, restricted, and semi-legal sense the above seven rules, which have now been “simplified” in order to open the door wider, might be said to embody the official theory of Safeguarding. It will be observed that they leave an enormous amount of discretion to officialdom, and there is good reason to protest against this un-English policy of entrusting financial authority to bureaucrats who are not really independent and yet are not really responsible. What, for example, is the meaning of “substantial importance,” or “abnormal,” or “seriously affected,” or “unfair,” or “reasonably efficient”? These terms are incapable of exact definition, and are susceptible of widely different interpretations. Sir Henry Page-Croft, for example, would regard all foreign competition as unfair, and would hold that any competitive import will seriously affect employment at home. Then again how can an official at Whitehall decide at what point goods can be manufactured profitably? Profits vary from firm to firm, and from time to time, and from place to place, in Great Britain. But when we come to the last test—whether a Safeguarding duty will injure other industries—we are confronted with a problem of prime importance which every practical man of business is bound

to recognise. If this test were strictly and impartially applied the scope of Safeguarding, and consequently of Protection, would be restricted within very narrow limits. Mr. Baldwin, as we have seen, has pledged himself not to tax food imports, because that would raise the cost of living, which would be equivalent to raising the cost of production, by reducing the real wages and therefore the efficiency of the working classes, or forcing the employers to compensate their workmen by raising nominal wages to cover the increased cost of food. That being so, I would submit that the taxes on cutlery, on pots and pans or on buttons, must also raise the cost of living and production. People cannot cook or eat without knives and pots and pans. In the same way, the taxation of buttons is equivalent to the taxation of clothing; for men at any rate have not learned to do without buttons on their clothes. The taxation of wrapping and packing paper is a direct burden on industry; for retail and wholesale traders cannot do without brown paper, and the addition to its cost may be compared with an addition to postal charges, already immense. The tax on petrol is another formidable tax on transport, and so is the tax on commercial vehicles and motor tyres.* These last are not technically Safeguarding duties, but they exhibit the fundamental vice of Protection. They restrict trade by increasing the cost of production and making it more difficult for our manufacturers to dispose of their goods in neutral markets. They reduce the differential advantage which a Free Trade country always has over a Protectionist competitor.

It was Mr. Churchill, I think, who coined the phrase "selective protection" to describe Safeguarding, and it is a very good description. It is true, as he indicated, that one or two Safeguarding duties may be very profitable to particular manufacturers, by giving them a monopoly or a quasi-monopoly in the home market, and enabling them to extract much higher prices from their customers at home. A smaller output at a higher price reduces employment but it may increase profits. A Protective duty is like a subsidy. Thus the sugar subsidy has made the unprofitable industry of growing and manufacturing the sugar beet quite a profitable one. But we have to pay double the price for English-grown sugar as taxpayers and consumers, and this support of an unprofitable industry has already cost us, I think, about twenty millions sterling. The cost to the country of a Safeguarding duty is not to be measured by the revenue, but by the revenue plus the additional price. Every additional protective duty reduces the value of previous protective duties, and increases the burden on trades which have not been protected or cannot gain anything

* Ford cars and vehicles cost more than two-thirds as much in Great Britain as in the United States.

by Protection. To take an extreme instance: if you imposed a duty of a shilling on every orange imported into this country you would create a good deal of employment for glass manufacturers and builders; for a considerable number of orangeries would be built in order to cater for a few thousands of wealthy people who would still go on buying oranges.

At first sight it might have been supposed that the Safeguarding duties and the other protective duties imposed since 1924 would at least have increased employment in those favoured trades. But an examination of the official figures has shown that this natural expectation has not been realised, and I am free to confess that I myself was at first somewhat puzzled and surprised. I should have predicted that there would have been some increase of employment in the newly-protected trades at the expense of all the other industries, including the cotton and woollen manufacturers, the distributive trades, shipbuilding and shipping, and the retailers. But experience has shown that it is not so. Even in the motor industry employment has seldom been so good as in the year 1924 when the protective duties were removed. One explanation is to be found in the fact that the exports of the Safeguarded industries have declined since they were Safeguarded. In 1924 the exports of six industries (then free, but now protected by Safeguarding duties) were valued at £8,309,396. In 1927 they were valued at £7,372,896. The manufactures included in this table are lace, gloves, gas mantles, cutlery, packing and wrapping paper, pottery and earthenware. The exports therefore have fallen by 11 per cent., which might account for a reduction of about three-quarters of a million in the wage bill. We have not yet got a complete and satisfactory set of figures relating to unemployment in these trades, but I will assume that it was about the same in 1927 as in 1924.* If so, the decline in the export trade was offset by an equivalent increase of sales in the home market. That, of course, is a very disappointing result for the advocates of selective protection. May I submit my explanation? A protective duty of one-third on wool dress goods would have two effects. It would exclude a certain proportion of French and German cloth, and thereby increase the demand for the similar cloth manufactured at home. But the increase of price in the home market would have the opposite effect of diminishing the home demand. People could not spend more on wool clothing. Men would buy more shoddy cloth. Women would buy more cotton and artificial silk. Or they

* Since writing the above I have read an able analysis of the subject in a pamphlet entitled "Protection and Unemployment," by D. Rowland Evans (Price 3d. Liberal Publication Department, 42, Parliament Street, S.W.1). His conclusion is that unemployment has increased in the protected trades more than in the unprotected trades!

would economise and make their suits and skirts last longer. So that while the profits of some manufacturers might be increased, the volume of trade and consequently of employment would not be increased but diminished. The manufacturer may have an increased profit on a diminished turnover. Thus "selective protection" offers no attraction for wage-earners even in the selected industries; and as the protective duties have multiplied, general trade and employment have become worse. To promote a general recovery of trade, according to the theory of political economy which I try to expound, the first and best thing that the British Government could do would be to effect such economies in our public expenditure as would enable a Chancellor of the Exchequer to remove all the protective duties that have been imposed since 1924. The worst thing it can do is to follow Mr. Baldwin's policy of increasing expenditure and multiplying taxes.

F. W. HIRST.

EXPERIMENTAL DICTATORSHIP IN YUGOSLAVIA.

NEVER had legendary princess a more imposing array of good fairies around her cradle than had Absolutism in Yugoslavia at its birth. If we except one across the Adriatic who could in no event have been expected to give her blessing, all the fairy godmothers of our modern world were ready on that surprising Sunday morning to wish the infant well. Since the voice of the Press at home automatically ceased to be its own, its approval was unimportant, but the foreign Press was unexpectedly kind. International finance was so prompt in appearing at the cradle that no one will doubt that it at least anticipated the happy event, even if it had no share in the parentage. The Serbian Nationalists rejoiced that the King was going to treat the "rebellious Croats" firmly at last, but the Croats proclaimed themselves as equally delighted to see that the days of the Serbian "business politicians" were numbered. The industrial and trading community hailed the new order with delight (would not the ruinous extortion of the official hand ever stretched out for bribes and the insolence of government employees come to an end?) and the peasant, if undemonstrative, at least made no protest. There was neither bloodshed, resistance, nor complaint at the birth of the new régime and, with every outside circumstance in its favour, the germ of failure, should it not achieve the success generally predicted at its birth, must come from within itself.

It will be interesting to see how two diametrically opposed attempts to solve very similar problems succeed in Roumania and Yugoslavia. Dr. Maniu, son of the "new" provinces, has overthrown the corrupt "veiled dictatorship" of the Liberals in the former country and, with a democratic mandate, is seeking in the name of "Westernism" to rebuild the State. The Croats, too, complained of an unacknowledged dictatorship of the most "Oriental" elements of the State, of "made" elections, of a corrupt and inefficient political civil service. Had Stephen Raditch possessed the balance of Dr. Maniu in addition to his personal magnetism, he, too, might have become a national instead of a racial peasant leader. Largely because he lacked such balance, the Yugoslav problem developed on different lines, the Croats ceasing to concern themselves with the Serbs, but demanding the right to put their own house in order.

As with Roumania, the financial moment was decisive. It is a useful reminder to students of affairs of the post-war decrease of the direct influence of foreign offices, embassies and legations, and the vast access of power to international finance capital among the

credit-hungry countries of Europe. The change is not one to be welcomed by believers in democratic institutions. Your banking-group has no questions to answer in Parliament, its ambassadors are forced to maintain no Press attachés to furnish information even with the maximum of evasion, for it desires not a good Press, but no Press at all. It has no electors to face, and its shareholders are concerned only with results, not with methods. A balance-sheet is less communicative than the whitest of White Papers. But the urgencies of post-war Europe compel States to submit foreign policies, home affairs, armaments, army, navy and civil service, to the approval of the invisible international forces which are able, if they will, to perform the functions once designed for the League of Nations without its responsibilities. Dr. Maniu, one may say, could not secure the loan essential to his country unless he could put his house in order. But in what order, not the Roumanian electors, but a financial group in New York, London and Paris decides. So with Yugoslavia. Its need for money was imperative. The Croats, following the lead of the Roumanians of Transylvania, had warned the powers of Wall Street and Lombard Street that they regarded the Belgrade Government as fraudulently elected, their acts as illegal. They succeeded in blocking the way for the loan, which prospect seemed hopeful enough before the Skupshtina murders last June. It seemed that by April at the latest, King Alexander, like the Roumanian Council of Regency, would be obliged to order the stiff-necked Serbian coalition to resign, and to entrust a neutral "veiled dictator's" cabinet with the task of holding honest elections. The Croats were as certain as the Transylvanians that time was on their side. Voltaire, however, would have warned them that to-day God is on the side of the big bank balances. Those who planned the present régime in Yugoslavia showed a pious desire for Divine support.

There was one way of circumventing the Croat plan of financial starvation, and that was, without bothering about Croat approval, to establish a régime which would secure the confidence of international finance. The question of supreme interest to-day is "Who originated the *coup*, the King, General Zhivkovitch and the military, or the Serbian Parties?" Everything points to the motive power having been given by King Alexander himself. Last year, by a curious coincidence, half-a-dozen members of the present Cabinet, including General Zhivkovitch, visited the King at his summer residence in Han Piessak, in Bosnia. Whether or no a *coup d'état* and a régime of Absolutism were then decided upon, there need be little doubt that the constitution of the present Cabinet was then fairly definitely fixed, either as an election or as a revisionist-absolutist Government. On Saturday night, on January 5th,

within an hour of the *coup*, members of the Government were telegraphing to their friends "All went off according to plan."

It is not to be supposed that the King could ever have set before himself as an aim of policy the securing of dictatorial power. Unconstitutional government cost three of his predecessors their thrones, and one of them (the last Obrenovitch) his life. The King is not likely to have forgotten it. The only line for legitimate criticism to take is to ask whether or no he was right in rejecting the solution of free elections demanded by the Croats. The appointment of General Zhivkovitch to form a neutral "government of the high hand" to conduct honest elections was frequently recommended by Croats—memorably by Stephen Raditch himself. Despite his personal energy, ambition, and active military training, King Alexander has democratic blood in his veins. Not merely that of his peasant great-grandfather, the illiterate "Black George"—Kara-Georg—who led the revolt against Turkish tyranny, but also that of his father, King Peter, who, as a Socialist *émigré* in Switzerland, wrote in his preface to his own Serbian translation of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*, "The nation which is incapable of winning its parliamentary freedom is unworthy to exist." His declaration in the first proclamation that parliamentary government was always his own ideal rings as true as does his entirely accurate description of the misery into which the empty form of a non-existent democracy had plunged the country. No one need mourn in the Royal *coup d'état* in Yugoslavia the death of democracy; what has happened is the substitution of a self-confessed non-democratic régime which has given high-sounding guarantees of incorruptibility and reform for a corrupt, masked anti-democratic system.

The Absolutist Cabinet guarantees that it will make way for a "truly democratic" régime "when the task is ended." The promise (which is unofficial, but has been given repeatedly) may mean much or little. It may mean everything and prove impossible of fulfilment. But if it is really to save the country, if it is not to sacrifice the Dynasty and the Triune Kingdom itself, it will be obliged on account of the Croats to carry out decentralisation willy-nilly, and willy-nilly to give place to others before many years have expired, on account of the anti-autocratic character of the Serbs. For the realisation of both these essentials, its composition and early proceedings are none too favourable. Dr. Matchek and other Croats repeatedly drew my attention to the fact that no Croat political leaders have been invited to join the Cabinet, while five prominent politicians of the late Serb Coalition occupy leading posts. On the fateful Saturday, the King sent for Dr. Matchek for a second time to obtain from him precise details of the Croat demands for constitutional changes. Dr. Matchek demanded

"Personal Union"—an independent, fully legislative Croat Parliament subject only to the authority of the Crown. Even to this, the most extreme form of the Croat autonomy demand, the King did not reply "impossible." The Croat leaders pointed out that the wide powers of self-government possessed by the individual German States before the war in no way impaired the strength of the German Reich, whereas a rigid centralism would have caused disunion quite as great as anything now feared in Yugoslavia. The King then sent for Professor Jovanovitch, the expert on constitutional law at Belgrade University, and afterwards for the Serbian political leaders. It is clear that it was not on account of the personal feelings of King Alexander, but of the stubborn resistance of the Serbs, that the decision was taken to put into execution the plans already prepared for the present dictatorial régime. Until all the world knew of its birth the Croat national leaders had no intimation that the solution of the dictatorship for an unlimited period would be attempted. The late Stephen Raditch had, indeed, begged the King to let General Zhivkovitch form a Cabinet to carry out honest elections; no one can imagine that what has actually happened would have met with his approval.

Many of those who were looked upon as enemies of Croatian autonomy are to be found in the new Cabinet. It is no wonder that the rashly expressed, momentary relief of the Croat leaders has given place to distrust, coupled with something approaching despair. The new régime professes to be above party politics, although it is only the Croat Ministers who are non-party men. The attempt to place the Serbian political leaders and Croat national leaders on all fours is very misleading. The Serbian Radicals had control of the Government machinery for electoral corruption, and were themselves elected mainly in Macedonia—certainly not because of the love of the discontented Macedonians for the Radical Party, but because in this area the particular severity of the gendarmerie has always made the election of Government candidates automatic. The Croat national leaders, on the other hand, were elected despite the power of the Serbian Radicals to manipulate votes. It is suggested from Belgrade that they are merely self-seeking professional politicians who can be as advantageously and easily eliminated as the office-hunters of the Radical Party. It is, of course, impossible to solve definitely the question as to how far the Croat peasant has been "led by the nose" by his leaders, and how far their attitude is really the expression of an intense national will. But no one who saw the memorable funeral of Stephen Raditch, to which the peasantry flocked from every corner of the new provinces, can doubt that the speeches of the Croat leaders express the deep feelings of the peasantry to a much greater extent than Belgrade has ever

admitted. Why should we assume, as Belgrade would have us assume, that the abolition of corruption and unjust taxation, together with economic concessions affording the peasant a better market abroad for his produce, would mean the end of the demand for autonomy? Under Hungary the Croats had a cleanhanded and efficient Government, but were nevertheless jealous of such autonomy as they had preserved, and readily suffered persecution in its defence. At no time of their history have they ever been willing to surrender their national individuality, nor have they ever lived as one nation with the Serbs of the kingdom. Until they reject their present leaders and show the world their distrust of them, we must accept Croat national feeling as the real force. They have a magnificent party organisation and party discipline strong enough to enable them to resist forcible attempts to break their organisation.

General Zhivkovitch expressly disclaimed, in a conversation which I had with him, any intention of introducing "fascism" into the country. Yet the new penal code contains unusual provisions imposing penalties for *lèse-majesté* and for "slandering the State." It is the counterpart of the latter provision in the reactionary codes of Italy and (more especially) Hungary, which has enabled the Governments of these countries to send hundreds to prison, and to stifle, not only criticism, but to a large extent even discussion, of their actions. The last four or five years of a generally reactionary tendency in Europe have shown that dictatorship is little less infectious than democracy. Just as, during an era of progress, repressive Governments are forced to give place to those of more liberal tendencies among their subjects by the example of the growth of freedom among neighbours, so the force of example can multiply dictatorships. One of the strongest impulses to absolutism in Yugoslavia was its existence in one form or another in Italy, Hungary, Albania and Bulgaria—four out of the five neighbours who are regarded as "encircling" Yugoslavia. More than anything else must Yugoslav absolutism be regarded as a reply to Italian fascism, a concentration of the forces of the country in one hand. Its reception in Italy has shown very clearly that Rome recognises this, and Italy is believed to have made the change in the Yugoslav régime the main reason for refusing to renew the Treaty of Friendship between the two countries which expired on January 27th. Having secured ratification of the Nettuno Conventions, her interest in the Treaty has evaporated. True, she hints at the conclusion of a new one at some date yet to be fixed; meantime she perfects her system of treaties with Yugoslavia's neighbours. When Greece and Bulgaria have been fully reconciled through Italian good offices, the moment will have come to tell Yugoslavia on what terms she may have the friendship of Italy. They will not

be easy, and they will be displeasing to France. That is the opinion of Zagreb and of an important section of Belgrade. But under Absolutism it cannot be voiced, except guardedly, and the new régime claims that all is right with the world, *Vreme*, the organ of the Italophile M. Ninchitch, even suggesting amazingly that the lapsing of the treaty improves Italo-Yugoslav relations!

As Dr. Matchek told me, the Croats feel an acknowledged dictatorship to be no greater misfortune than the unacknowledged one to which they have had to submit for ten years. These, however, are early days for such pronouncements. Despite anxiety, the Croats are prepared to wait, despite unhappy omens, to hope for an acceptable solution. "No solution," declared Dr. Matchek, "can be permanent which is not based on the freely-given consent of the Croat people." And not a single representative of the Croats is in the Cabinet. It is not a happy prospect for Croatian autonomy, but the door is not shut. If King Alexander remains Dictator in fact as well as in name, he can summon Croat and Serb leaders to conferences, discuss with them the question of constitutional reform, and as personal dictator impose his will on the Serbian hegemonists in the proclamation of a new, decentralised Constitution. Even here there lurks the danger of the Serbs one day refusing to acknowledge the legality of a "dictated Constitution."

Much interest attaches to the personality of General Zhivkovitch. "A simple soldier," he was described to me before I had a talk with him, "who has little education outside military education. He may suggest to you the successful ranker." He did not. There was little of the Sir William Robertson type about this genial, rather Turkish-looking soldier. He suggested far more the Grand Vizier in khaki. For some reason General Pera Zhivkovitch has been described as the defender of Belgrade and a soldier with long record of front-line service in the Great War. This is incorrect. The defender of Belgrade was another Zhivkovitch; the new Prime Minister had not a great deal of front-line war service. He is, and has always been, an agile-minded, reliable right-hand-man of the King, an adroit political soldier, an admirable instrument of a dictator's policy, but not, it would appear, a man to originate a policy. At the critical time of the Salonica trial in 1917, King Alexander was much criticised for failing to pardon Colonel Dimitrijevitich ("Apis") who, with Majors Jankovitch and Tsiganovitch, had sent from Serbia into Bosnia the student Gavrilo Princip, whose assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Sarajevo launched the world war. Dimitrijevitich and other members of the "Black Hand" (a secret society of the Regicides of 1903) were in 1917 extremely powerful. They were suddenly arrested, convicted of conspiring against the Prince Regent (now King Alexander) and

shot, it being stated later that their share in the guilt of the assassination of Francis Ferdinand was borne in mind when their execution was decided on. The trial wiped out the leaders of the Black Hand and broke up the whole organisation, but its minor adherents nourished resentment against General Zhivkovitch, who had stood by the Prince Regent throughout the action taken against this undoubtedly dangerous organisation. That resentment has disappeared. It might well revive as a nucleus of a hostile movement in Serbia should the suspicion arise that the Dictatorship were to be more permanent than it has declared itself. That is one direction of several from which a secret military movement might develop.

Informed opinion as to the next line of development is (at the moment of writing) as follows. The King, who has already seen privately a number of prominent Croats, is likely to show particular interest in Croatian affairs in the near future. He is justly advised that whereas the only bond uniting the Croats to the Serbs is a grudging but compelling self-interest, the Croatian peasant is filled with sentimental loyalty to the Royal House. To allow the Croat peasant to be persuaded that he is, after all, a "Serbian King" would be the last disaster for the country. Croatia will, therefore, be encouraged to bask in the sunshine of the Royal favour—King Alexander may even transfer his residence to Zagreb for a month or so. The Serbs, it is hoped at Court, will appreciate that this will be done, not with any intent to slight them, but out of motives of high policy. The King, already rejoicing in the reputation of the "peasant King," will try to earn that of the "King of the Croat Peasantry" as well.

What attitude will the Croat political leaders adopt towards this courting of the peasantry? It is expected that they will fall into line with the Royal plans and range themselves on the side of the Monarchy, for fear of losing their adherents if for no other reason. Prince Paul of Yugoslavia is likely to be appointed to the historical office of Ban of Croatia—a measure which, of course, would flatter the Croats and greatly increase the popularity of the Royal House. Even the Serbian hegemonists approve of this plan, for they have made the discovery that the Croats are an extremely naïve race, and believe that if their passive loyalty to the Royal House can be warmed into real enthusiasm, a Constitution may then be proclaimed which need concede but little of what they themselves really want to retain. Again the entire responsibility is thrust upon King Alexander personally. According to this plan, the dictatorship should come to an end within some six months, and, indeed, that is about as long as it can safely last without tempting the Serbians who are "out" to engage in underground intrigues

against its continuance. A real test of loyalty will be put before General Zhivkovitch and his Cabinet when this moment for ending Absolutism arrives.

Permanent success will, of course, depend almost entirely upon the Constitution which is granted. Is it to confer real autonomy—not, we may be sure, in the form of such an independent Parliament as Dr. Matchek has demanded, but, at any rate, an autonomous Diet coupled with representation in a Federal Parliament, perhaps to sit alternately at Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubliana? Or will the hegemonists succeed in persuading the King that the Croats will be satisfied with the shadow while they retain the substance, thus sowing the seeds of eternal recrimination? The danger of the brief dictatorship—if it proves to be brief—is that its actions will be wellnigh irrevocable.

If wholesale condemnation of the Yugoslav *coup d'état* is out of place, so, equally, is enthusiasm. The dangers of such a measure are great—so great, that one may be certain that the peril to the country was extreme indeed which could induce the King to stop the country from continuing to bear the ills she had in order to fly to others that she knew not of. There is the peril from abroad; there is the peril in Serbia from the “outs” who will soon grow jealous of the “ins.” There is the greatest peril of all, of the Serbian hegemonists seizing the glorious opportunity “to stop all this nonsense” about Croatia with a firm hand and so definitely losing a people that, despite everything, still sees to-day no alternative to coming to terms of some sort with the Serbs, and desires nothing better than to be ruled over by the House of Kara-Georg. There is, too, a great opportunity for a group of high-hearted, talented, self-sacrificing men who will put nation above race, to create a federated Yugoslavia in which unity may be generated in the only lasting way, from the bottom upwards, and not in an empty form imposed from above. Is it such a group which now surrounds King Alexander? Probably the existence of Yugoslavia depends on the answer.

G. E. R. GEDYE.

AUTHORITY, FAITH, AND UNITY.

THE situation of Mankind at the present time makes the question of Christian Unity, and therefore of Re-union, of evergrowing urgency and importance. And this for every reason, theoretic and practical, religious and doctrinal, social and international. The urgency and importance of the problem, and therefore of the task, were brought to a commanding position in the thought of all Christian Churches throughout the world by the Lambeth Appeal to all Christian People issued by the Anglican Bishops in 1920. The Appeal, however, and still more the reasons and influences that prompted it, have raised larger and deeper questions than were dealt with by the Bishops, or than are immediately suggested by any merely ecclesiastical, and, therefore, somewhat external and superficial, considerations of the ideal of Unity, thus narrowly conceived. The largest issues of the meaning and content of the Faith, of the Nature and Seat of Authority in regard to it, and of the relations between both have been inevitably raised for re-examination with the aid of modern knowledge and in view of the world situation. Such a re-examination cannot, as things are, avoid being controversial, if it is to be frank and searching. Yet happily the ideal of Unity has taken such possession of the best minds that the old rancour has vanished, that the old bleak and abstract oppositions are being superseded, and that more accurate knowledge is leading to truer and more sympathetic appreciation of the Values of the contributions made to Christian thought and life by all the great Christian Communions.

In the light and by the help of this truer and more generous influence, it is proposed to notice in this article three notable books that have recently appeared, the first representing a Congregationalist, the second an Anglo-Catholic, and the third a Roman Catholic point of view. They are *Catholicism and Christianity, a Vindication of Progressive Protestantism*, by Dr. C. J. Cadoux (George Allen and Unwin), *Authority in the Church, a Study of Principles*, by Canon T. A. Lacey, D.D. (A. R. Mowbray & Co.), and *How the Reformation Happened*, by Mr. Hilaire Belloc (Jonathan Cape). Despite the profound differences of outlook and judgment represented by these three authors it may prove possible to extract an underlying principle, more or less common to them all, by the help of which the problem of Re-union must be estimated and its immense difficulties attacked.

Professor Cadoux has produced a book that gives evidence of extensive learning and immense research. His exposition is clear and easy to follow. It is amply documented by reference to the best authorities on every part and every side of the discussion.

The treatment is comprehensive, and so exhaustive that every element of the controversy is included and that all are examined with a diligence and thoroughness that could hardly be surpassed. While not displaying any originality—perhaps this would be impossible in a case that has been so long and persistently argued—his book may fairly be taken as a complete compendium of the Protestant view of the Roman Catholic claims. Yet evidence is given of the new and better spirit that is coming to prevail, by the fact that not only is the argument courteous and considerate, though unsparing, throughout, but that the volume opens with chapters that deal with the impressive challenge, with the great advantages and the outstanding merits of Roman Catholicism.

Having opened, however, with this appreciation, the author proceeds, in the first place, to dispose of both the existence and the need of any External Authority either to define, to impose, or to regulate the Faith, emphasising both the ultimacy and the sufficiency of the "Inner Light." If that Light be sufficient, as is argued by the Roman Catholic Church, to establish belief in God, to recognise the claims of Christ, and to judge the credentials of the Church, *a fortiori* it must be sufficient to deal with the minor problems that remain, without making a suicidal surrender to the Authority of the Church. This opens the way to the demolition of the Papal Claims by examination of the Petrine texts, the position of St. Peter among the Apostles, and the early history of the Bishops of Rome. In the case alike of St. Peter, the Roman Church, and the Bishops of Rome the existence of immense, perhaps paramount, influence is manifest, but certainly not of supremacy, still less of infallibility. So the volume proceeds, dealing exhaustively, not only with Creeds, Mariolatry, Ecclesiastical Marvels and Morals, but also with the miraculous elements of the New Testament from the standpoint of advanced Modernism.

The extreme Modernism of the book is, indeed, its greatest drawback, both for its immediate purpose and on more general grounds. For the immediate purpose of representing the massed objections to the Papal Claims it is a mistake to scatter, instead of concentrating, the available forces by needlessly antagonising both Anglo-Catholics and Evangelical Protestants. More generally the reduced version of the Christian Faith which Dr. Cadoux presents, while emphasising the transcendently spiritual and personal presence and influence of our Lord, rests upon a view of the rigidity of the Natural Order which, if carried to its inevitable and legitimate consequences, is fatal not only to miracles, but to the reality of the very spiritual influences for which Dr. Cadoux contends. It goes almost without saying that, while friendly to the current aspirations after Christian Unity, our author dismisses all

existing plans for giving corporate expression to it as impracticable and even undesirable.

For the purpose of this article the most important point to be investigated is the account given by Dr. Cadoux of the "Inner Light," which, with large reliance upon George Fox and Dr. Martineau, he holds to be the seat of religious Authority. By this Inner Light, also called "Private Judgment," is not meant, so we are assured, the mere authority of intellect and reason. It includes not only the "appreciation of all absolute Values," but "also conscience and the moral sense: it includes apprehension of the Indwelling Christ or (in a more general way) man's responsive sense of the Divine" (p. 117). He who surrenders himself to the Inner Light, while arriving at personal conclusions and resting upon decisions of "private judgment," is enabled and under obligation to "test them in that final court of appeal that God has set up within him—the light of reason, the love of truth, the voice of conscience, and the sense of the Divine" (p. 121). "To call this test 'subjective' is in a certain sense true: to call it 'merely subjective,' as if by being in any sense subjective it lost all title to validity and adequacy, is but to betray confusion of thought" (p. 121). This is really to admit that, while the exercise of private judgment should and must be personal, it should not be individualist. It must be instructed by tradition and education, by fellowship in pursuit and in discovery throughout the realm of religious faith as in every other sphere of human interest and endeavour.

It is always a pleasure to read Canon Lacey's writings for their ample and exact scholarship, their lucidity and delicate discrimination, as well as for their breadth of view and their combination of trenchancy with reasonableness. His recent book, *Authority in the Church*, though comparatively slight, is distinguished by all these qualities. While directed to the vindication of the Anglo-Catholic view of the position of the united Episcopate in the life and government of the Church, Canon Lacey's argument proceeds by way of a careful and dispassionate survey of the Apostolic origins and the early development of ecclesiastical organisation, advancing conclusions that are not less hostile than those of Dr. Cadoux, to the Papal Claims. What is particularly noteworthy, however, is the way in which Canon Lacey explains the nature of Authority, basing his exposition upon the sense of the Latin *auctoritas*, from which our word is derived.

"Politically," he says, "it signifies an influence which was rather personal than official, rather moral than legal. It would not be used of the formal powers exercised by magistrates or by the commander of an army. A private citizen might have much more *auctoritas* than any of these; he would have what

we call a dominating personality, and his word would carry weight. Here, indeed, we touch the exact meaning of the term; *auctoritas* is moral weightiness."

By this way we are to pass to the modern use of the term authority, as signifying Legal Power. "It will be important," Canon Lacey adds, "to keep this twofold meaning in mind as we discuss the place of Authority in the Christian Church" (pp. 2, 3). Upon this basis Canon Lacey proceeds to investigate Catholic Consent and the organisation of the Church.

"In all highly organised societies it is natural to think first of these forms of legal authority which are visibly working with undeniable effect, but we have seen that Moral Authority is primary, and has in fact lent its name to the other kind" (p. 15).

Hence the Moral Authority of the Apostles was the source of the Catholic Consent which the Ecumenical Councils safeguarded and expressed. "General Councils, in short, are merely instruments for ascertaining and registering Catholic Consent" (p. 23), and the working of this Consent is illustrated by the eventual fixing of the Canon of the New Testament, not by official Authority, but by the sense and judgment of the Universal Church. The authority of the whole Church finds expression in Catholic Consent. "This Authority is represented by the moral weight that is naturally and inevitably ascribed to the common judgment of any human society" (p. 28).

At this point it is well to turn to Mr. Belloc's book, *How the Reformation Happened*. As a Roman Catholic the author deplores this event as, from every point of view, sheer loss, and as only imperfectly explained by its apparent causes. As a historian, who is not a theologian, he gives prominence to all the events and all the disorders that well-nigh destroyed the sense of unity throughout Europe and shook the Central Authority of the Popes. While taking account of the moral laxity that prevailed, he lays stress upon the military weakness which prevented the Holy Roman Emperor from giving effective aid to the Authority of the Church, and upon the balance of military forces which led to "the Draw" that followed the wars of Religion. He does no kind of justice either to Protestant Religion or to the Reformed Theology, and in rightly criticising the Idea of God which determines Calvin's system of doctrine, he omits to point out that it was fundamentally Augustinian, though hardened and made consistent by the Stoicism, inexorable logic and individualism of Calvin. For Mr. Belloc hatred was the fundamental motive of the Reformation—hatred of unity, of the Mass and of the Catholic Faith.

Yet, when Mr. Belloc is constrained to take note of something

deeper and more positive, he calls attention to the damaging influence of a process that he calls "A Crystallisation of Religion."

"By that term I mean," he says, "a sort of hardening in what has been elastic and fluid, an exaggeration of routine and precise rule as opposed to latitude of movement; a growing of the letter against the spirit; a preponderance of the framework in the living organism, as against the flesh and blood thereof" (pp. 44, 45). "With this crystallisation," he adds, "this hardening of official action, went a parallel (and much graver) evil among the laity: to wit, a reliance upon the externals of religion at the expense of the spiritual life" (p. 46).

This "crystallisation" is treated as temporary, yet in dealing with the Council of Trent Mr. Belloc concedes that "it defined in everything. It established

"a rigid discipline. Much that had been debatable was fixed; local use and privilege were curtailed; a greater uniformity infused a whole policy of united action" (p. 227).

What is this but to show that the process of "crystallisation" persisted, and, it must be added, this process reached its culmination in the Vatican Council; above all, in the acceptance and imposition of the Dogma of Papal Infallibility.

In conclusion it should be noted that in dealing with the rise and services of the Society of Jesus, Mr. Belloc pays a tribute to Suarez as a "man of genius" who

"stands at the origin of that political theory which has coloured all modern times. He it was who, completing the work of his contemporary and fellow Jesuit, Bellarmine, restated in the most lucid and conclusive fashion the fundamental doctrine that Governments derive their authority, under God, from the community" (p. 233 Note).

If this doctrine be fundamental to the State, one asks, can it be less fundamental, in a consistent Divine Method, to the Church? And if so, what becomes of the Absolutism of the Pope, and of the correspondingly absolute submission that is exacted from the Christian Community from whom his Authority is derived?

Divergent as are the points of view represented by these three authors, it yet seems possible to extract from them a common principle. The "Inner Light," while ultimate, must not be "merely subjective." That is, it must be social, as well as individual, in its exercise. Authority is fundamentally moral, and if Catholic Consent is to be secured on an Apostolic basis, this Consent must be moral, and must, therefore, be morally critical of what claims to be Apostolic. "Crystallisation" of Authority and "reliance upon the externals of religion at the expense of spiritual life" are dangerous, and indeed deadly, evils. These statements are surely capable of reconciliation and synthesis. Even as they stand, they combine to demonstrate that the achieve-

ment of Unity must depend upon a right solution of the relations between Authority and Faith, and that any such solution must be derived from nothing less profound than agreement in the inmost spiritual experience of the Christian life. In order to be Catholic, Unity must, above all, be Evangelical.

It comes to this, that Catholic Consent must be restored before it can be organised, that this Consent can only be secured by a Moral Authority which "commends itself to every man's conscience in the sight of God," and that, in order to this, the process that has led to undue "crystallisation" must be reversed. Agreement about Order, Jurisdiction and Organisation—Legal Authority, to use Canon Lacey's phrase—can only be reached through agreement in what lies deeper and is more universal than these. All these are means, indeed consequences, and not ends in themselves. The fundamental question in regard to the Christian Faith, Religion, Experience, is not How it comes about, but *What it is*. In proportion as agreement on this is reached, a successful approach may be made to the question of Order and Organisation, without making the mistake—both unspiritual and unscientific—of treating means as universally necessary, which have not been universally operative wherever the End has been, or is being, attained.

Neglect of this essential condition made the Conversations at Malines—inevitable and desirable as they were on the basis of the Lambeth Appeal—not only abortive, but misleading. This was partially, though inadequately, confessed by one of the Anglican members of the Conference, who "wished to insist afresh that organisation is relatively of secondary importance, and that the dogmas are the things of primary importance." Another Anglican stated his opinion that the duty of the Conference "was to bring increasingly to light all that may promote the cause of Re-union, but to set aside or postpone all that would put difficulties in the way" (see Report). Such handling of the subject is building with "untempered mortar."

The main trouble lies with the excessive "crystallisation" of Rome, and of such Anglo-Catholicism as approximates to Rome. Apostolic Authority was exerted and Catholic Consent was gained, at the outset, not by the suppression, but by the uncompromising exercise of spiritual freedom—as, for example, when St. Paul "withstood" St. Peter "to the face"—and by the moderating influence of a Common Evangelical experience and loyalty. This interplay of Authority and Freedom continued throughout the first ages of Christian history. On the one hand the rise of the Episcopate and the natural influence of those Churches which had been the centres of Apostolic teaching and labours—notably the Church of Rome—made the Bishops—especially of these Churches—the custodians of Apostolic traditions both of faith and order,

and thereby constituted the Episcopate the expression and instrument of the unity of the Church as resting upon "the faith that was once for all delivered to the Saints." The contents of this tradition and the symbol of this unity are summed up in the so-called Apostles' Creed. Yet, on the other hand, within the loyalty of this tradition and this unity there sprang up a succession of Teachers and even of Schools, who used the greatest freedom in giving expression to their own personal faith, in explaining and defending the faith of the Church, and in interpreting the Holy Scriptures both in relation to their own spiritual experience and in establishing contact between the faith of the Church and the thought of their times. What would have become of the Church—its faith, its life, its prospects—without the originality and freedom of thought that characterised, for example, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria and Origen, Athanasius and Augustine, or, in a lesser degree, Irenæus and the Apologists? Only by the free exercise of such freedom, with its attendant diversities of opinion and interpretation, was it possible for Faith to find ultimate expression in the Nicene Creed and then to hand it over as an instrument of the Moral Authority that preserves the essentials of the Faith.

The eventual ascendancy of Rome over the West, and the consequent development of the Papacy, first of all in practice and then in theoretic doctrine, marked the triumph of Legal over Moral Authority, of Order over the spiritual freedom of faith. It gave to doctrines the hard-and-fastness of dogmas, and then imposed them as laws. It developed worship into rich and imposing, but rigid, ceremonialism. It separated Authority from the free play of spiritual forces, and went on to put thought into leading strings. It treated the people merely as sheep and made the helpless dependence and docility of sheep the standard of Christian excellence. It secured its autocracy, during subsequent ages, by the toleration of superstition, worldliness and moral laxity. It turned the legitimate influence of Rome into absolutism, making use for this purpose of the secular position and glamour of the Eternal City, and justifying this usurpation, as it proceeded, by the narrow interpretation of our Lord's words, "Thou art Peter," and by the more than dubious argumentation which applied these words to the Bishop of Rome. At every point of doctrine, worship and practice, it hardened the distinction between the spiritual and the secular, the supernatural and the natural, the Church and the State, into separation. Hence its dogmatic system comes down to us laden with obsolete metaphysics and scientific conceptions that have long been superseded. To accept the system, as it stands, is a cast-back, not a venture forward. It involves a well-nigh fatal dualism between the influence of the Divine Spirit in the ecclesiastical

sphere and the obvious methods of His activity in the wider realm of human life.

All this, however, while true and needful to be said, is not the last word. The grave drawbacks of the Roman Church must not blind us to the presence of an over-ruling Providence, which here, as in every other case, has borne with and made use of human limitations and imperfections. It must never be forgotten that the Roman Communion has "kept the Faith," though it has overlaid and in many respects degraded it, that it has been the Home of Saints and the refuge of many bewildered wanderers, that it has been the Nurse of early Civilisations, though it has often sought to stifle them in later growth by the swaddling bands of its Authority. On the other hand the Reformation, going hand in hand with though distinct from the Renaissance, was at the outset and in the sphere of the inward religious life, the revolutionary triumph of Freedom over autocratic Authority. There is no need, for the present purpose, either to defend its position or to justify its protest. From the standpoint of eventual Re-union, it is more important to remark that, if the exaggeration of Order has inflicted grave injuries upon the religion of Christ, the Freedom that is claimed for Faith has its dangers, if it either makes light of Moral Authority, or creates an inadequate or rigidly exclusive Order. In the former event, Faith tends either to harden into individualism, or to evaporate in subjectivity. In the latter event, Faith becomes encased in sectarianism. This is, indeed, the shadow cast by Rome upon the Protestant Churches. The revolt against Roman Order necessitated the creation of a Reformed Order. In order that any such alternative might be contended for as Divine, a New Testament model had to be sought. The effect of the comparative fluidity and immaturity of Church organisation in Apostolic times was that the New Testament supplied material for varying models, each one of which was contended for by those who fashioned it as the only, or the most faithful representation of the Divine ideal. Hence the creation of differing types of organisation, and the emphasis laid upon precisely those features which most sharply distinguished each denomination from all others, and all of them from Rome, as of pre-eminently Scriptural, and therefore Divine, authority. Thus the creation of the essential means of a select Christian fellowship became equally the establishment of walls of sectarian exclusiveness. It is from the manifold evils of this state of things that the present-day advocates of Re-union are seeking a means of escape.

In view of all this must the ideal of Re-union, in any full sense of the term, be abandoned as an impracticable, and even undesirable, illusion? By no means, if "first things be put first"; if, as the result of this, all parties are prepared to admit that, humanly

speaking, the results of centuries cannot be undone in decades, that Re-union must proceed by stages, and that the attainment of a deeper and wider agreement in the Faith must precede its expression in the Order of the Church. The really fundamental question is that of the Faith, and this, not as meaning the submissive acceptance of Dogmas formulated and imposed by "legal Authority," but as involving the free and energetic exercise of faith, both personal and collective, upon the Gospel—an exercise in which the Christian Community, as a whole, must take part. This must include the endeavour to establish and unfold the contents of the Faith in coherence and not conflict with all other truths, the maintenance of its identity, not by slavish adherence to the past, but in living response, under Divine guidance, to the unfolding of the present and the prospects of the future, as these are disclosed.

If this process is to take place and to be pursued with growing success, the following conditions are indispensable:

1. All Christians must learn to recognise that, however sundered, they belong to one another, and must study to behave to one another accordingly. They must come to realise that, however sundered superficially, all who "hold the Head" are joined together, whether they know it or not, in His one Spiritual Body. This truth carries with it the conclusion that no section, however imposing its appearance, venerable its descent, or Scriptural its constitution, is self-sufficient, or, in itself, watertight and complete. None, by itself, is adequate to express and realise the full contents and the inexhaustible promise of Christian faith and life.

2. In the light of this fact of Spiritual Community, we must all come to see that, for the present, even existing differences, serious as they are, may be used for our mutual enrichment and not for perpetual estrangement. The so-called Churches of Authority and of the Spirit, of Order and of Freedom, have benefited, in the past, by their interaction, severe as the tension has been. Even Roman Catholics acknowledge the benefits of the Counter-Reformation, which was occasioned, and indeed rendered inevitable, by the Protestant Reformation. Protestants, on the other hand, should acknowledge that their fissiparous tendencies have been checked and their aspirations after unity quickened by the imposing spectacle of the unity of Rome. Moreover, the safeguarded tradition of Rome, while over-crystallised, exercises a preservative and steadying influence upon those outside its Communion in the exercise of their spiritual and intellectual freedom.

3. Furthermore, it must be recognised that the enjoyment of unity, explicitly wrought out and practically expressed in Re-union, is a goal to be reached as the embodiment of a collective spiritual attainment. The Epistle to the Ephesians, which is the classic and authoritative exposition of the Nature and Unity of the Church,

makes this clear when it describes the varied ministries of the Church as having been bestowed for furthering a spiritual process, described as "the building up of the body of Christ; till we all attain unto the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ" (Eph. iv, 12, 13). Only in this way can the "Moral Authority" and the "Catholic Consent" be gained, upon which Re-union will put the seal. Hence the exercise of subjectivity, disciplined by fellowship—not the "mere subjectivity" of individualism—must be welcomed, and not anathematised, as the loyal and indispensable response to the Divine Spirit "Who takes of the things of Christ and shows" them to His people. Only in this way can Moral Authority be established.

This spiritual response, while mindful of past achievements, must not be fettered by them, for as in the sphere of Biology fresh variations react upon the whole organism, so fresh decisions, reached under the influence of the Spirit, must needs react upon the form in which the Faith has been articulated, though not upon its vital meaning as experienced in the Christian consciousness. Hence the Roman position—that free discussion is permissible until the Pope has spoken *ex cathedra* and that from that moment the result is "crystallised"—gravely limits the vital process that is essential to the growing apprehension of the Faith and to the Moral Authority of the Church.

4. It follows from all this that extended opportunities must be sought and provided for co-operation in prayer, in study, and in every kind of social service.

5. Meanwhile, all lesser Re-unions should be welcomed where past differences have become obsolete, provided the promoters of all these limited schemes keep "the larger hope" in mind as the ultimate objective to be reached. Examples of such Re-unions are to be seen in the recently consummated Union of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Churches of Canada, in the impending union of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, and in the approaching union of the Methodist Churches in the British Isles.

6. Finally, the disposition of mutual appreciation, of teachableness, and of patience must drive out the temper that delights in narrow and bitter controversy, which must ever be barren of results, and devastating to those who are possessed by it. "Speaking the truth" by all means; but "speaking the truth in love," without which even the truth becomes untruthful. Thus, and only thus it would appear, can Unity be consummated and Moral Authority be established in a fellowship and eventually in an Order, not artificially imposed, but created and sustained by "Faith that worketh by love."

J. SCOTT LIDGETT.

HISTORY WITHOUT TEARS.*

WE are often warned that history books are now interminably dull and lack readers. Yet it may be doubted if there ever was a time in Britain when more permanent additions were made to historical knowledge and when there was a more genuine interest in every aspect of historical writing. The dangers which obviously surround us have driven men to take refuge in the past and to seek in history, if not a new philosophy, at least a source of distraction and consolation. Moreover, the great events of our time have made it necessary to review past careers and old judgments from a new angle—and the multitude of pseudo-historical books is a compliment to rather than a criticism of those who are trying to lay the new foundations with solid workmanship.

Mr. Guedalla has played no small part in this historical revival, and his powers have grown with practice. Despite the criticism which, according to the fashion, he has occasionally directed against the professional historians, his own work has more and more imitated their methods with advantage both to himself and to his readers. He has the two qualities without which no historical work of importance can be produced—delight in his labours and courage to display them. If it has sometimes seemed that he has preferred rather to turn an epigram than to state a truth, to produce an amusing book rather than a satisfying one, his solid qualities have visibly increased, while the valuable sprightliness which sometimes displays insight, if not inspiration, has fortunately not diminished.

That his latest work is a book of documents drawn from the family archives of Broadlands and Hawarden shows his appreciation of research. In an interesting introduction, printed in italics, he emphasises the duty of trying to find out as much as possible before writing a biography, and justly condemns the school of writers which is content with the modicum of information necessary for its immediate artistic purpose and cares but little whether its final production is true or not. It is unfortunate that this admirable defence of the search for historical truth is coupled with the startling thesis that all historical biographies should be of the same length: Palmerston and Granville, Gladstone and Sidney Herbert, Salisbury and Dilke, whatever their length of life or the magnitude of their contribution to the history of their own times, must all be reduced at least to a common standard of measure in one volume. The inevitable waste material which the giants amongst them leave behind, after the operation necessary to confine them in the bed of Procrustes which Mr. Guedalla considers indispensable, may then be allowed to enlighten the waiting world,

* Gladstone and Palmerston. Edited by Philip Guedalla. Victor Gollancz. 1928.

whose appetite for such learning has been sharpened by the perusal of the standard biography.

It would perhaps be pedantic to suggest that even Mr. Guedalla's *Palmerston* would have been improved if he had first read the letters produced in the present volume before he delivered what must be presumed to be a final verdict in the prescribed form. That he applied his theory to one of the most intractable of subjects shows his fine courage, and Palmerston, like Metternich and other long-lived statesmen who knew how to keep in power, has waited long for an interpreter. At any rate, he now promises us a selection of Palmerston's correspondence with his colleagues drawn from various family archives, and, if all are as interesting in content and as attractive in format as this present volume, our debt to him will indeed be great. For though many of these letters deal with dry-as-dust subjects and contain details of long-forgotten and sometimes not very important transactions, they are beautifully reproduced in good type on excellent paper, illustrated with a number of *Punch* cartoons, facsimile specimens of the letters themselves and a couple of excellent portraits, and hardly at all disfigured with learned notes. Moreover in a brief but illuminating commentary, with references placed at the side of the page instead of the foot, so as not to fatigue, Mr. Guedalla underlines most of what is important in the new volume so that some readers, it may be feared, will find his summary all that is necessary to peruse.

If such proves to be the case it is much to be regretted, for two men like Palmerston and Gladstone could not exchange even the briefest of notes without making some observation worthy of permanent record and at the same time throwing much light on their own vigorous personalities. The record is inevitably an imperfect one, for each of them was writing to others letters on the same subjects, to which no reference is given, so that only a part of their minds is revealed. Moreover the correspondence has a trick of petering out abruptly, when a real issue is laid bare, for most of the letters were exchanged when the two were colleagues in the same Cabinet, and they often naturally preferred to settle their differences verbally, either alone or in the presence of colleagues who had also a right to be heard. Behind the letters also is a background of speeches made either in the House or on the platform, which, as is always the case even in the most united Cabinets, were often directed rather at critics sitting on their own Front Bench than against those on the other side.

Nevertheless there is much to be learnt from these letters even when they cover familiar ground on which the views of the writers have long been known. Each was specially skilled in appealing both to the House of Commons and to a wider public, though

Palmerston most excelled at the first and Gladstone at the second art. Nothing perhaps is more interesting in the whole book than to watch these experts, one grown old at the game, the other just realising his tremendous potentialities, arranging the right setting for their policies. The Opposition was, indeed, pitifully weak during most of this period, but the House had many independent members and amongst them were the Radicals with their strong hold on a wider constituency. The Prime Minister and the Chancellor left nothing to chance, and, since each could appeal to a different section of the House, when they were united they were irresistible. Once a policy had been agreed upon Palmerston planned his batting order, to use his favourite metaphor, with supreme skill and the opposition bowling was flogged to all parts of the field.

But since busy men do not write much about matters on which they are in agreement, the letters largely deal with controversial topics, argued strongly and sometimes with acerbity on both sides, but always with a deep respect for the other's opinion. Palmerston himself managed the inevitable battle of the Services with the Chancellor, whose zeal for economy has never been approached by any of his successors. But if Gladstone was the apostle of saving the people's pocket, Pam had a lifetime's advocacy of armaments behind him, and in the clash of argument the last word with the public on this point in spite of the efforts of Cobden and Bright. He obtained therefore the new ironclads whose construction rendered most of the British fleet obsolete, and the fortifications of the dockyard towns to save us from the invasion of an Emperor who was our ally during the only European war we fought between 1815 and 1914. But Gladstone kept the old man's obsessions within reasonable bounds and never yielded to Pam's theory that only the experts could judge of the amount of money needed for defence, discussing the scale of ships and men with much technical knowledge as well as overwhelming commonsense. Similarly, though Gladstone naturally got his way during the period of his famous budgets on the methods by which money was to be raised, Pam's criticisms, generally in defence of Property, especially landed Property, were by no means to be despised. The Prime Minister always wanted the outline of the Budget as early as possible to prepare himself for the fray in the Cabinet and the House. But he of course realised all that Gladstone's financial genius meant to his Government, and in this matter he was always content to accept him as a final authority when unable to deflect him from his course.

Near the end occurs the famous controversy on the franchise, for Gladstone was going further and further away from the old principle that the right to vote depended on property. On this last point Pam remained adamant to the end and no Reform Bill could pass except over his dead body. It was the only occasion

on which he appealed to the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility, and Gladstone found it hard to exculpate himself from the charge of indiscipline. Yet even here both men made great allowances for the other, as men who genuinely admire one another do even in the hottest controversy.

On Foreign Affairs there is but little except a few interesting letters on the American Civil War. Historical research has long ago vindicated Palmerston from the suspicions which were so unjustly levelled at his policy during these critical years. He always discussed the question of intervention with admirable commonsense and coolness. Gladstone's errors, also well known, are repeated here, but it is obvious that he did not give the question the attention which it deserved if he was to speak about it with a clear and commanding voice. It was at any rate a mediation of all Europe that he desired and not one of Britain single-handed, which he rightly saw was doomed to failure. He relied mainly on the force of "international opinion" which he thought must reach even across the Atlantic. But on the means by which such a body of opinion could be produced he was decidedly sketchy, and his proposals were never within reach of Pam's practical politics.

On Italian questions the two men, of course, formed with Lord John Russell the famous *Triumvirate* which placed British policy on the side of a united Italy at the crisis of her fate. There is but little here about it, doubtless because they were in such close agreement, but Mr. Guedalla rightly emphasises the fact that Italy from the first was a bond between two statesmen, in many respects so dissimilar in character and training, and continued so to the end.

It is, however, in smaller affairs that the letters are most amusing and perhaps most revealing. Pam, like Dr. Johnson, is always at his best in dealing with simple human issues which affect the life of the common man. Despite his long official career he never for one moment lost touch with the ordinary everyday life of the people. His views on the disposal of liquor and corpses are again ventilated in his own vigorous and peremptory style. He believed that neither should be permitted to be consumed on public premises: "The Beer Shops licensed to have the Beer drunk on the Premises are a Pest to the Community. They are Haunts of Thieves and Schools for Prostitutes. They demoralise the lower Classes. I wish you would turn your mind to consider Whether this Evil could not be abated." Whether the abolition of the Saloon thus advocated in 1853 has fulfilled all expectations may be questioned, but Pam, of course, had no objection to good liquor being consumed elsewhere. At any rate he was entirely in the right in refusing Gladstone's plea that the Canon of Ely should be allowed to continue burials "within and under the Cathedral."

"I have thought it right to discontinue everywhere the barbarous Practice of depositing human Bodies under the Floor of Buildings frequented by human Multitudes," he told the applicant. "People might as well want to bury Dead Bodies in the Cellars of their Houses or under their Libraries as in Churches." Unfortunately Gladstone's contributions to these interesting discussions have not survived.

There are also records of methods of dealing with the patronage of the Crown especially as regards the Church and the Universities. Nothing could be more calculated to please his colleague than the Prime Minister's habit of allowing the Chancellor to convey the gratifying news of preferment to some recipient for whom he had pleaded. On one occasion the new Bishop was the Chairman of Gladstone's election committee at Oxford, and Pam deprived his own University of its rightful turn in order to be "useful" in the matter. Gladstone recognised the obligation, but if this appointment was a job it did not prevent the Chancellor from being compelled to seek a more democratic constituency in South Lancashire, an important turning-point in his career. As to University professorships Pam was a bit doubtful of his qualifications for appointing them, but he was confident that at any rate he could carry out the duty better than the Universities themselves:

I do not know that generally speaking the advisers of the Crown know better Means than University Authorities have for making a good Choice. But I know from Cambridge Experience that local Jobs are often perpetrated in the filling up of University offices by University Election.

The Responsibility attaching to the advisers of the Crown is sometimes a Security if not for the best Choice at least against a very bad one.

Gladstone did not apparently contradict this judgment and, though methods have changed since that time, some people remain of the same opinion to-day.

Pam was indeed a good deal more progressive in academic matters than the Ancient Universities in the Sixties. Perhaps he had learnt from the Prince Consort, whose opinion on this point he was more likely to value than on foreign affairs. At any rate, he was most anxious that science should be encouraged:

"We spend public Money liberally but usefully for the Encouragement of Art," he wrote: "we buy Pictures and mediæval Curiosities: we pay for Frescoes, Statues and Galleries: but we do comparatively little for Science. And yet Science is fully as deserving of public Encouragement, and the Knowledge which it imparts and the Truth which it establishes redound quite as much to the Honor and Fame of a Nation as the Triumphs of art, and are often attended with Results of more practical usefulness."

The quotation shows the old man's readiness to move with the times. Mr. Guedalla has always insisted on displaying him as a relic of the eighteenth century amidst the new Victorianism. But that is a view which attaches an undue importance to externals. Pam may not have prated about Progress or believed in Parliamentary Reform, once 1832 was over, but he was in many respects in advance of some younger colleagues. In domestic matters, his abandonment of Protection, his desire for the improvement of the towns and his care for the general interests of the poor, are of the spirit of the age, while in foreign affairs he was, of course, one of the first to recognise the strength of the dominant characteristic of nineteenth-century politics, the growth of Nationality. Even his zeal for armaments emphasises his place in the same century. He was indeed singularly in tune with his times, and did not win his appellation of the "People's Darling" by foolish obscurantism.

By the Sixties, however, during which nearly all these letters are written, Palmerston had recognised that times were changing. Above all, he was conscious that he had colleagues to whom he must often defer. "As to Cabinets," he wrote to Russell in 1864, "if we had colleagues like those in Pitt's Cabinet, such as Westmoreland and others, or such men as those who were with Peel, like Goulbourn and Hardinge, you and I might have our own way on most things: but when, as is now the case, able men fill every department, such men will have opinions and hold to them." Of these able men Gladstone was by far the ablest, and no one was more conscious of the fact than Palmerston himself. The phrases that he used in warning him for some stern battle in the House show how he appreciated the genius of the man who was so soon to take his place: "I hope you will be ready to-night with your Sledge Hammer in Case of Need," "We shall want a great Gun to reply to Disraeli. Would you be ready to follow him?" Not every Prime Minister has shown so little jealousy of a younger colleague. But Pam obviously rejoiced in the magnificent energy and intellectual power which had done so much for his own Government, however he might seek to restrain or modify its exuberant zeal. In the last important speech which he made in the House he showed his sense of the position by defending his Government from the too obvious charge that they had failed in their Schleswig-Holstein policy, not by a fiery denunciation in the old manner, but by an irrelevant eulogy of the brilliant success of Gladstone's financial schemes. Indeed, a note may be detected in these letters that but rarely appears in history—the tribute of heroic old age to its successor and the recognition of new forces by one whose strength, so long maintained, is failing visibly at last.

C. K. WEBSTER.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE DUTCH EXHIBITION.*

DUTCH art as it can now be seen at Burlington House is many-sided. It used to be the fashion to bring it all under one simple formula and to speak of it as naturalistic, descriptive; imagination was denied to it. In the face of the infinite variety of temperaments, of moods, of attitudes towards life, of ways to achieve beauty, revealed at the Exhibition, it is impossible not to recognise that Dutch art has a much more universal scope. Consequently its relations with Dutch history, with Dutch society and civilisation, must be much more complicated than is generally assumed. In the course of this essay, in which to begin with I shall not consider modern art at all, it will be quite impossible to deal exhaustively with the subject indicated in the title. I shall have to pick out, somewhat arbitrarily, a few points for more particular treatment.

One question at any rate, which presents itself at the very outset, I shall not evade. Many visitors to the Exhibition have been struck by the similarity in general character and appearance of the Primitives in the first room with those that were the great feature of the Flemish Exhibition two years ago. What are the relations between Dutch art and Flemish art, between Holland and Flanders generally? In Sir Robert Witt's Introduction to the Catalogue the common rule to which the Northern and Southern Netherlands were subjected before the rebellion against Philip II of Spain is mentioned in explanation of this. But there was a great deal more to unite Holland and Flanders than the accident of a common ruler. There was the basic fact of community of language. Nearly all the more important centres of Flemish painting were within the Dutch-speaking area, Bruges, Ghent, Louvain, Brussels, and later on Antwerp. The various principalities, counties, duchies, bishoprics, had not waited for the Dukes of Burgundy to unite them under their rule before they entered into cultural relations with each other. Literature had flourished very greatly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and while they were still politically divided, the cultural unity of the Netherlands appears very clearly from the way in which a common literary language was formed and poets followed and influenced each other. In that literary movement the lead was with Flanders and Brabant, at that time incomparably the richest and most populous and most advanced of all the Netherlands. And so it was with painting too.

* This essay contains the substance of a public lecture given on January 23rd at University College, London.

Of this first Netherlands school of painting, as of mediæval Netherlands literature, the great centres were in the south, and they attracted some of their best artists from Holland. Bouts and David, who were represented by some fine works at the Flemish Exhibition, were both Hollanders. I do not, of course, mention this because I grudge their glory to the Flemings. On the contrary, my point is that the Flemish and Dutch Primitive schools form a unity, so that it does not much matter whether a particular painter is included in one or other of the two: the most rational thing to do would be to show them together as Netherlands Primitives. The first room of the present Dutch Exhibition, fine as it is, is still no more than a fragment torn off from the harmonious unity of early Netherlands painting. These Holland Primitives really cannot be understood without Van Eyck, and Van der Weyden, and Van der Goes, or the later ones without Quinten Matsys and Gossart. And what is more, by showing in this first room of the Exhibition only Northern, only Holland, Primitive and sixteenth-century painters, really the great seventeenth-century output of Dutch art comes to rest on an unnaturally restricted basis. The great Flemish Primitives, who could be seen at Burlington House two years ago, are no less to be counted among the spiritual forefathers of the seventeenth-century Hollanders. I just mention Breughel and his peasant scenes in connection with Ostade and Steen; I recall the landscape studies in the early Flemish pictures, and again Breughel, in connection with the glorious seventeenth-century Dutch school of landscape painting; and in regard to Vermeer no Northern Primitive has the same interest as Van Eyck's wonderful portrait of Arnolfini and his wife at the National Gallery.

Now I must not try to conceal that the views so apodictically advanced here are extremely controversial. I could quote many authors who, on the contrary, look upon the divergence which admittedly becomes marked in the seventeenth century as the perfectly natural outcome of an inherent difference in national character, and they are very clever in pointing out the plain signs of this in the works of the early painters: many are the arguments that have been laboriously built up to prove the essential difference, based on national difference, of the Dutch and Flemish Primitives. To me this seems to be no more than evidence of the fact that art critics no less than historians or whatever category of scholars or laymen you like find it difficult, when looking at the past, to free their minds from the conceptions suggested by the present. To-day, Holland has been profoundly affected by Protestantism, while Flanders has remained Catholic to the core; Flanders, moreover, has become, superficially no doubt, but still enough to deceive

the casual observer, gallicised. Both factors, Catholicism and French influence, have tended to produce a difference between Holland and Flanders, which is now closely bound up with the political systems of Holland and Belgium: so there is a tendency to look upon that difference, which is recent and accidental, as truly national. Historians of art generally start with the assumption (which if they only knew it is purely political in character) that there has always been a Northern and a Southern Netherlands nationality; and with that delusion firmly fixed in their minds they go and *look for* differences to support their thesis. As a mere historian it is fitting that I should speak modestly on these matters, but I know that I shall have all students of art with me when I say that when critics *look for* certain things it is surprising what they will find!

I certainly do not mean to suggest that there are no differences between Dutch and Flemish painters. But you have the same position with regard to Italian art. Of course there is a Florentine tradition differing from the Venetian tradition. Yet nobody will deny the essential unity of Italian art, which is all the richer for being varied. In the same way critics and historians, instead of always being on the look out for differences in order to support modern political systems, would follow a more natural course if they started by accepting the two great Flemish and Dutch schools as the product of the one Netherlands race, which down to the break-up at the close of the sixteenth century at any rate was united not only by a common language, but by a common civilisation.

Now this brings us to a second great problem. What was the effect of the great political changes, of the independence and prosperity of the Northern Netherlands, of Protestantism? There is here again a great danger of over-simplifying, of hasty generalisation. Dutch painting, we have seen, is infinitely more varied and complex than is sometimes supposed. But the same is true for Dutch intellectual and cultural life in the seventeenth century generally. To represent Calvinism as the only motive force behind it, for instance (as is often done, even in Holland—especially by the Calvinists!), is to overlook this important truth. To my mind the influence of Protestantism on Dutch art has been largely negative. It made a clean break—that of course it did—with the tradition of religious subjects that had so largely governed painting before the Reformation. The Church had been one of the great centres of artistic activity. It suddenly ceased to be so. The old historic churches of the country were all seized for the Presbyterian service, cleared of their statuary and pictures, and whitewashed. Untold treasures of mediæval art got lost in that way, even the

hospitals and almshouses banished the religious pictures that former generations had revered. No further orders came from that side. A mediæval church in Calvinist possession was often a thing of austere beauty. Several painters loved to bring out the effects of their chaste and unadorned architecture: De Witte, whose pictures at the Exhibition go so well with the Vermeers, managed to diffuse them with a certain warmth in spite of their nudity; the full effect of stark bareness you get in the earlier work of Saenredam. But you cannot on the strength of Saenredam and De Witte say that Calvinism proved an inspiration to Dutch art. The one undoubted effect of the Reformation in Holland was to rob art of church patronage.

Not that religious subjects were dropped altogether. In fact, Rembrandt is one of the great religious painters of the world. But Rembrandt probably belonged to the Baptists. Some of his works, the lovely "Adoration of the Magi" for instance, which the King has lent from Buckingham Palace, or the etching of the "Death of the Virgin," show that he did not close his mind to the great tradition of the Catholic Church in subjects of this kind. If it must nevertheless be admitted that there is in his treatment of biblical themes a freshness, a directness, an individual independence, which he could not have achieved without the Reformation, there is at the same time in his religious feeling a humanity which seems hardly consistent with the hard tenets of the ruling Church. Art and Calvinism can hardly be on very intimate terms. Calvin's morality was Puritanical. His theology laid stress on the predestination, on the depravity of man, whose only salvation is in God's free grace. When looking round the rooms in Burlington House, will anyone maintain that that is the attitude of life characteristic of the men who painted these portraits, and these landscapes, and these interiors?

In fact, from the beginning of Dutch independence two currents of thought were engaged in an unceasing struggle. There was a fanatical Calvinist party. To them Calvinism was all in all. For Calvinism the struggle with Spain had been undertaken, and the first duty of the magistrates was to make Calvinism rule the new State. But from the beginning this system met with determined opposition in Holland. It was not merely the instinctive resistance which unregenerate man is sure to offer to any attempt to subject him to so well-meant a tyranny. The opposition was intellectually fully equal to the attack. It appealed to the great principle of liberty—"libertinists" was the name given to them: the war against Spain, in their opinion, was not undertaken for the sake of one particular theological or ecclesiastical system, but for the sake of conscientious and political liberty. It was the

tradition of Erasmus, one of the great Hollanders of all times, which inspired these men. The great theologian Arminius formulated an anti-Calvinist system; Grotius, the famous jurist, was one of the protagonists in the political struggle. It is true that their party suffered a heavy defeat in the crisis of 1618, when the Stadtholder, Maurice of Orange, overthrew Barneveldt by a famous *coup d'état*, and next year the Synod of Dordt disciplined the ruling Church and subjected it more rigidly to Calvin's doctrines. Yet the victory was more spectacular than real, and while different persons ruled the State the relations between Church and State were not essentially changed, and society was not very radically, and certainly not very immediately, affected. Political power remained in the hands of a well-to-do commercial class, an oligarchy who, while they belonged to the Reformed Church, were yet very anxious to prevent the Calvinist ministers from encroaching upon matters of State: the Holland burgomasters were all for toleration, for not interfering with the people, for letting Jews and Catholics, Baptists and Lutherans, live as they pleased so long as they kept within the law.

Of course I do not mean to suggest that you will find any direct evidence of these politico-theological quarrels in the art of the painters. Painters are not as a rule either politicians or theologians, and the Dutch painters of the seventeenth century certainly were not. But the politico-theological struggle which I mentioned helped to create the conditions in which this art could live. Had Calvinism succeeded in fastening the yoke of Puritanism on Dutch society, there could have been no art at all. But more than that. The fierce contest gave vigour and zest to intellectual life in the Republic, and dignity and dimension—no less than did the life and death war which the nation was all the time waging with Spain, and afterwards, in the second half of the seventeenth century, with England and France. The rise of the rebellious provinces to a position of wealth and power, the immense effort of commercial and colonial enterprise, all that, of course, helped to quicken national life in the domain of the spirit. But no less important was this internal strife about the most vital principles of human belief and conduct.

In trying to indicate some of the conditions under which Dutch painting flourished I do not for a moment pretend to have explained the deeper springs of this art. What causes art or literature to flourish, and to flourish in just that manner, in any given period or country, is always a mystery. The marvellous efflorescence of Dutch art in the seventeenth century is perhaps more mysterious than most other cases. Everybody knows that nearly all the greatest of these painters found little honour, and at any rate

had no financial success, in their life-time. Rembrandt began as a fashionable painter and lived in style, but the second part of his career, when he was doing his greatest work, was spent in the gloom of poverty and neglect. Vermeer had a difficult struggle. The great landscape painters had to practise their art as a hobby: De Koninck was a skipper on the canals between Amsterdam and Rotterdam; Hobbema gave it up and bribed the maid of a burgo-master to obtain a post in the customs. Even the popular Jan Steen and Frans Hals, who painted industriously all their lives, came to grief financially.

Must we conclude from this that after all the Dutch did not care for art and did not deserve their painters? It would be an absurd conclusion. Art, even ignored, even despised, springs from the deepest life of a people, and cannot be separated from it. And here the very profusion of painters and their productivity must be mentioned as one of the causes of their poor remuneration; the bourgeois organisation of society was another. In the first decades of Dutch independence there was nothing that could be dignified with the name of a court. Maurice, William the Silent's son, was a soldier before everything; he never married. His younger brother, Frederick Henry, who was Stadtholder from 1625 to 1647, had ambitions; under him The Hague became a princely residence. Guided by his secretary, Huygens, an eminent Dutch poet, it seemed as if he would do something to encourage Dutch art of a more monumental character; Rembrandt obtained some orders. But nothing came of that. All that was most original in Dutch painting had to depend on the support of a few discerning spirits (there were some in the case of Rembrandt) or on the patronage of the middle class or even of humbler people.

Whatever may be said of the shortcomings of contemporary appreciation of art, it would be a mistake to think that there was not a circle of people passionately interested in it. The delight in the beauty of everyday material things celebrated by so many of the painters was a feature of the national mind, and it embraced the pictures with which countless middle-class houses were decorated. There were collectors, there were connoisseurs. There was, too, a recognition of the fact that this art was a thing of more than ephemeral importance. Writers of town histories in many cases devoted a chapter to the artists who had worked to the glory of the town (and who only too frequently had died in poverty a short time before). Before the century came to a close several writers (Houbraken being the most informing of them), as Van Mander had done for the sixteenth century, wrote the history of this new great school of painting. Yet there is this curious fact, and that really is more surprising than the whole distressing story of low

prices and poverty: most of the theorising about art that was done seems to us to have borne no relation to all that we consider significant in the actual work done by the painters. Most of the critics were inspired by an academic tradition, and in fact a whole school flourished, almost absent from the present Exhibition, of painters who worked in accordance with its principles and under Renaissance and Italian influences, closely connected, too, with contemporary Flemish art. It was these men whose work was really to the taste, not only of the Stadtholderly court when it began to take up art at all, but of the wealthier burghers themselves, and if we know them no more, in their own time these painters were often rewarded with great material success.

By what then, we ask again, did the art live that was destined to survive? Even when we turn to literature we get but little enlightenment. In one respect no doubt we can see the same forces at work and producing similar results: the first half of the seventeenth century is the golden age of Dutch literature. That vivid and active period used all means to express itself and literature was certainly one of them. But on the whole Dutch literature seemed to derive its inspiration from different sources than those that fed the best of Dutch painting. At the beginning of the century there was one very remarkable poet, Breero, who died young in 1618, and in his comedies as well as in his ballads and songs, with their vivid and familiar pictures of low-class people and their frank enjoyment of life, I seem to feel the spirit which animated Hals, Ostade, Steen. But Breero stood by himself. Generally speaking Dutch literature was deeply respectful of classical examples and strove after the kind of formal and cerebral beauty that led the painters nowhere. The profound humanity of Rembrandt, his pity and his mysticism, find hardly an echo in contemporary poetry. The quiet simplicity of Vermeer and of De Hooch is a thing of which the painters seemed to guard the secret. The landscape, in which Seghers and Ruysdael, De Koninck and Cuyp, found harmonies and contrasts that stirred their souls within them, remained undiscovered by the poets. I am not depreciating Dutch literature—I say it was different from Dutch art. As the century advanced and the shadow of Louis XIV and of Versailles began to fall across Europe, the tyranny of academicism became more implacable and crushed the spirit out of Dutch literature; at the same time, painting too was taught to obey the rules and became ever more fashionable and dull. Before that stiffening, that drying-up occurred, both literature and painting flourished; but while the poets were closely connected with the Renaissance and Classicist spirit that was characteristic of most manifestations of European civilisation at the time, the painters, or

at least those painters whose fame stands highest to-day, explored new paths, and in their independent ventures discovered the most moving beauty and the most timeless truths.

I have already confessed that I see no ultimate explanation of that phenomenon. But that is why it is so impressive. The spectacle of these simple, inarticulate men, struggling along with difficulty, away from the main current of opinion, without any official encouragement, without, one is inclined to think, being able to find strength in a hope that posterity would do them justice—and yet making no compromises, yet expressing themselves so surely in the only way posterity could understand—that spectacle seems to me to be extraordinarily noble, revealing as it does the unconquerable desire for beauty and for truth that is in man.

P. GEYL.

DICKENS AND BALZAC.

MOST of the criticisms levelled at Dickens by modern writers, in England and abroad, turn around the vexed question of realism and idealism in the novel. It would be unfair for the Dickensian to take such criticisms too literally, and to object that a work of imagination cannot possibly eliminate the personal element, that Art is not Science and that a picture is not a photograph. Such critics as George Gissing, for instance, need not be reminded that a certain idealisation is essential to any artistic achievement. The whole question is one of proportion: how far can the author's feelings and imagination influence the story and its presentation, in a novel dealing with modern life, without depriving us of our belief, not in the very existence of characters and situations, but in the possibility of their existence?

Dealing with the early works of Dickens, especially with *Oliver Twist* and *Nicholas Nickleby*, Mr. Gissing states, without hesitation, that "Dickens never mastered the art of adapting simple probabilities to the ends of a narrative." This judgment has been endorsed by several contemporary writers, who find again and again, in Dickens' works, extraordinary coincidences, providential encounters, startling events which seem to belong more to the popular melodrama or film scenario than to the world of literature. They are also shocked by the proper language used by people like Fagin and his band, or by women of the type of Nancy, Alice Marlow, and Lizzie Hexham, who seem to avoid certain expressions to which we have been so carefully initiated since the Victorian Age. They feel, and this feeling is not entirely groundless, that in such matters, as well as in anything connected with love and passion, Dickens is most anxious not to infringe the conventions of his time. Did he not confess, in his preface to *Oliver Twist*, that he saw no reason why the dregs of life should not serve the purpose of a moral "as long as their speech did not offend the ear"? This respect for conventions, or perhaps this exaggerated delicacy, is the object of a long diatribe by Hippolyte Taine, in his *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*, in which the author voices the imaginary advice given to Dickens by his readers: "Do not treat love after the manner of George Sand, as an all-conquering passion breaking, if need be, the bonds of marriage and defying the law. Nothing can interfere with law and order. This is somewhat inconvenient, it is true; but art's loss is the public's gain. Never mind. You will comfort yourself by thinking how moral you are. Your lovers will be insipid, for the only interest which their age reveals is the violence of their passion, and you may not describe passion. In *Nicholas Nickleby* you will

show two honest young men marrying two honest young girls similar to all other girls; in *Martin Chuzzlewit* you will again show two honest young men, absolutely similar to the first, marrying in the same way two honest young girls, absolutely similar to their predecessors; in *Dombey and Son* there will be only one honest young man and one honest young girl; otherwise it will be just the same. And so on. The number of your marriages is surprising and should suffice to people England."

Another reproach made by Taine in the same passage, which has been echoed again and again since, concerns the repetition of some familiar tricks of attitude or speech, so frequently used by Dickens in order to emphasise certain characteristics of his heroes: "Miss Mercy will laugh on every occasion; Mark Tapley will always say 'jolly'; Mrs. Gamp will always talk of Mrs. Harris; Dr. Chillip will always be shy; Mr. Micawber will always utter the same pompous phrases and will pass, five or six hundred times, with comic abruptness, from the most exalted joy to the deepest misery. Each of your characters will be the embodiment of a vice, a virtue or a ridicule, and the manifestations of his dominating passion will be so frequent, so absorbing, that he will no longer be like a living man, but like an abstraction clothed in human garments."

There seems to be a strange idea abroad that the characters of Dickens appear like silhouettes, that they are devoid of depth and true relief, that one cannot, if I may use the expression, "walk round them" like one can, for instance, "walk round" the great characters of Shakespeare or Molière. The only possible explanation seems to me that some readers may be unduly influenced, in their vision of Dickens' characters, by the burlesque interpretation given to them by Dickens' illustrators. As far as they go, these drawings may be admirable but, at the risk of challenging general opinion, I venture to say that they do not go nearly far enough. The same remark can be made concerning the scenic adaptation of Dickens' novels. If Balzac's heroes had been treated in the same way, they, no doubt, would appear to certain people in the same distorted and clownish attitudes. It is indeed curious that Balzac should have been opposed, again and again, to Dickens as the founder of the truly realistic novel, as the pure artist who, regardless of morals, conventions and prejudices, admired human life for its own sake, exalted all passions, studied them remorselessly, as the scientist studies an illness, and succeeded in extracting beauty from the very dregs of modern society. While Dickens, according to Taine, shrank from certain subjects, Balzac excluded nothing from his range of vision: "Every passion for him was a force, and therefore beautiful. He probed its causes,

developed its effects to the extreme, and made of it a sublime monster, truer than truth itself."

Because Flaubert, de Maupassant and other so-called realistic novelists were strongly influenced by Balzac's works, it has been somewhat hastily assumed that the "father of realism" must have observed throughout the detached or objective attitude which his followers attempted to maintain in their pictures of modern society. For the same reason, he is supposed to have refrained from any exaggeration, any melodramatic coincidences. This later belief is, to a certain extent, fostered by the fact that Balzac's best-known novels, such as *Eugénie Grandet*, *Le Père Goriot* and *César Birotteau* are, indeed, remarkably free from such incidents. But if we read *L'Histoire des Treize*, *Le Lys dans la Vallée*, *Louis Lambert* and most of Balzac's short stories, we find that the fashion of the time for sensational situations and sentimentalism reasserts itself with a vengeance. Whenever Balzac's imagination is not kept within bounds by the all-absorbing interest of a central figure, he leaves Dickens' wildest flights into romanticism far behind. The only difference between the two authors seems to be that, while imagination and observation are usually closely associated in the stories of Dickens, Balzac's works may be divided into two groups according to their prevailing tendency.

Neither can it be said that Balzac's dialogues are more "accurate" than those of his English contemporary. If the latter fails to reproduce the coarse expressions prevailing in the London slums, the former never succeeded in adapting his characters to the aristocratic manners for which he professed such childlike admiration. As M. Faguet very truly remarks, it is indeed somewhat unusual for a lady to say to a Viscount, "Do you really mean it, my pet?" or for a Duchess to exclaim: "Hein!" in public. Such expressions may indeed be employed, but they are not typical of the aristocrats whom Balzac endeavours to portray; they are as much out of place as the refined expressions which have been so severely reproached in Dickens' Lizzies and Nancys.

If Balzac deals more boldly than Dickens with sexual problems, one must be blinded with self-delusion to assert that he ever assumes the indifferent attitude towards moral questions which is supposed to characterise the sound realist. We are inclined to think that his moral comments are far more obtrusive than any digression of the same kind in which Dickens may indulge. Even in *La Cousine Bette*, which is considered one of his most outspoken books, he tells us plainly that "marriage must be considered as a duty" because "it represents life with its labours and its hard sacrifices, accepted on both sides," and that "the profligates are as guilty as other criminals who are far more

severely punished." He constantly interrupts his story to indulge in an eloquent defence of the family, which is for him the basis of all civilised society, and of religion, which is the only means of checking the power of money, the ever-recurrent object of his fierce attacks.

With regard to the emphasis given to certain characters by endowing them with peculiar tricks of manners and speech, we might very well oppose to Taine's attack on Dickens Emile Faguet's praise of Balzac: "Another process," writes Faguet, "used by an author who has succeeded in living inside another character, is to give that personage such and such habits of body, gesture, speech or facial appearance as recur repeatedly in the same outward mannerisms, thus marking the secret connection which binds together body and soul, our movements and our instincts, our behaviour and our ordinary tasks, our familiar gestures and our customary thoughts. . . . Herein Balzac excels. . . . He knows the characteristic obsessions or kink which a man acquires little by little in his workshop, his office, his study or his shop and which he can never get rid of. . . . He never loses sight of it; it is ever present to his mind; he brings us back to it time and again with a truly wonderful art in varying its expressions so as not to weary us by its recurrence, and he is very ingenious in repeating what is sometimes necessary without ever saying over again what would be tiresome." It would be difficult to express more adequately Dickens' own method of characterisation. Indeed, if it could not be shown that the English writer was not acquainted with the works of his French contemporary when he employed it, we might wonder whether the familiar attitude of the "Father of the Marshalsea" were not a reproduction of Crevel's posturing and whether Mr. Mantalini's blandishments were not a refined echo of Vautrin's coarse jocularities. It would no doubt be more judicious to remark that this process of characterisation has been used in all countries and in all times by the greatest painters of human nature, including Molière and Shakespeare.

The last criticism levelled at Dickens by Taine in the passage quoted above concerns the lack of construction of most of Dickens' works and the looseness with which the various episodes which compose them are bound together. The English public is supposed to have urged its favourite author never to develop an action as a logical whole and to write merely a series of disconnected sketches, adventures and memoirs. Here again Taine, who is a confirmed Balzacian, disparages the English writer to the greater advantage of the French. It would be interesting to know how many works of Balzac could stand this test successfully! *Eugénie Grandet*, no doubt, and *César Birotteau*, but even the *Père*

Goriot appears as the unbalanced juxtaposition of two distinct stories: that of Goriot and his daughters and that of Rastignac and his lady loves. In *La Cousine Bette*, the jealous spinster, Baron Hulot and Valérie Marneffe lay claim, one after another, to our attention, and what shall we say of the long-winded descriptions and irrelevant digressions which interrupt the story? An English critic would be quite justified in making an imaginary French public urge Balzac to delay his action, as long as possible, by describing first the countryside, then the town, then the street, then the house and finally the room in which the scene takes place, or in interrupting his story to give us his personal views on politics, racial characteristics, philosophy, science, phrenology and Swedenborgian mysticism. The fact is, of course, that neither the English nor the French public were in the least to blame for the freedom with which both authors dealt with their subjects. It was due far more to the haste with which they were generally compelled to work and to their habit of starting their story without having a definite plan before them.

In stating the various criticisms addressed to Dickens, I have purposely avoided giving a personal opinion as it seems to me far more interesting to show that the very author to whom Dickens is often compared by those who disparage his works displays the same melodramatic tendencies, the same inclination to moralise and to appreciate or depreciate his own characters, the same artificiality of language, the same method of characterisation and the same lack of structural unity. Balzac and Dickens share, in short, to a very remarkable degree, the literary fashions of their time. Writing in the beginning of the nineteenth century stories dealing with contemporary surroundings, they occupy an intermediary position between romanticism and realism. They are still too close to the age of great lyric poetry and autobiography to witness impassively the events of their narrative. They both made a great discovery when they found out that they could apply the art of Walter Scott to present-day surroundings and to the people among whom they lived. But, while doing this, they never lost their sense of historic or legendary perspective. We feel that we might meet in the flesh most of their characters, but we feel, at the same time, that these characters are sufficiently remote, sufficiently idealised, for us to meet them in some strange world of their own. Here again the best critics agree. Answering the usual arguments of the realists about Dickens, G. K. Chesterton retorts that he not only wrote literature but "created a mythology" and that *Pickwick* is just as much an elf as a man. In the same way, speaking of Balzac's characters, Emile Faguet declares that they form "a society, a people, a nation which is almost

real, just as for the poets of antiquity the Gods of Olympus are a race of individuals with distinct characters which they preserve throughout their various vicissitudes. Balzac felt that he had created his own special mythology, and in that he was quite right."

It is a strange delusion to think that, because both authors chose to place their stories among contemporary surroundings, they bound themselves to the last tenets of a purely realistic conception. It is a still graver mistake to believe that Dickens and Balzac allowed their imagination to roam, at the risk of twisting a few facts, because their art had not reached the stage of unadulterated objectivism. Between the imaginative stories of Swift or Cervantes and the realistic novel of modern days, there is room for a third kind of narrative in which imagination and observation combine harmoniously. The origin of this third genre is due to Balzac in France, and to Dickens in England.

* * *

The description of Dickens when he started public life need scarcely be recalled. One remembers Mrs. Carlyle's remark that his face was "as if made of steel" and Leigh Hunt's exclamation: "It has the life and soul in it of fifty human beings." The physical contrast between the two writers is, to say the least, startling. If Dickens' profile was keen, Balzac's was blunted. If the Englishman was thin and wiry the Frenchman was distinctly stout and broad. If the first was made of steel, the second seems to have been made of india-rubber. "He was not tall," wrote Lamartine, "although the brightness of his face and the mobility of his figure made it impossible to reckon his height, for it wavered with his thoughts; there seemed to be a gap between him and the ground; now he would stoop down to earth, as though to gather up a sheaf of ideas, and then he would draw himself up on tip-toe in order to follow the flight of his thoughts towards infinity." The two men differed as a ball differs from a sword.

Keeping such descriptions in mind, we should be inclined to fancy that Balzac wrote Dickens and that Dickens wrote Balzac. The English "human comedy" is in a way much broader and more varied. It deals with a world of people belonging to all classes of society. It fluctuates from one mood to another, passing without transition from gruesome horror to broad humour and from the closest observation to the wildest fancy. The French "comédie humaine," on the other hand, confines itself practically to the Parisian and provincial bourgeoisie. Balzac's observation is not keener, but it is peculiarly relentless and is pursued to the most cruel conclusions. Once in his stern mood, he never indulges in comic relief. The knight's sword becomes a surgeon's knife.

There are other differences which belie external appearances. In spite of his intellectual brow, Dickens seldom indulges in generalisations. He never makes a show of his knowledge of art and letters. He is far too busy with his own writings to be waylaid by his admiration for other writers or artists. He is far too much absorbed living with his characters to allow himself to be distracted by philosophical or mystical considerations. In spite of what is generally believed, Dickens is far more of this world than Balzac and could not possibly have written, for instance, the last pages of *Séraphita*, one of the finest flights into mystic poetry to be found in French literature; neither could he have bored his readers with the hasty generalisations and ill-digested information which fill so many pages of the *Comédie Humaine*.

A great deal too much seems to have been made of Balzac's pessimism and perhaps, even, of Dickens' optimism: "Dickens has just as much right to his optimism," writes George Gissing, "as Balzac to his bitter smile." We should like to know the exact meaning of such a sweeping statement. Ought we to understand that Dickens' conception of man's destiny, his faith in a future life and in God's providence, is stronger than Balzac's? (A contention difficult to uphold.) Or does it mean that Balzac's sad endings and sinister characters are a sufficient proof of his gloomy outlook upon life? This would indeed be a most superficial conclusion. It would lead us to say, for instance, that Molière was an optimist, while Shakespeare was a pessimist. The only remark we might venture on this score is that Balzac's genius inclines towards tragedy, while Dickens' genius inclines towards comedy. We meet, in the *Comédie Humaine*, delightful people such as Schmucke and Pons, lovable characters like Derville and the Abbé Birotteau, tender-hearted maidens like Eugénie, Ursule Mirouet and Modeste Mignon, just as there are, in Dickens, a number of villains without any redeeming features, like Fagin and Jonas, and of irretrievable wretches like Mr. Uerdle and Mrs. Skewton. And who would venture to say that Dickens' smile is not bitter when he looks at them?

The fact is that both authors are, in the true meaning of the word, optimists, for they admire the same virtues and denounce the same sins. Their moral sense never wavers and almost all their characters remain perfectly straightforward throughout the story. Pessimism is the child of doubt, and there is no doubt in their minds about the characters which they create. These are never complex and we need not puzzle about their motives. This fact has long been recognised with regard to Dickens and has been even one of the criticisms levelled at him by the admirers of the Russian novel, but it has not been sufficiently emphasised with

Balzac, who is as removed from Dostoevsky as his English contemporary: "There is no mystery whatever in Balzac's works," writes Emile Faguet: "he only cared about simple characters and looked on complex ones as untrue."

The best way, perhaps, to realise how akin are the two authors is to compare their reaction to certain impressions, to watch, for instance, how Balzac's recollections of his school days in *Louis Lambert* echo faithfully some of Dickens' memories, how they experience similar sensations walking through the streets, sitting in a lawyer's office, or haunting some cheap boarding-house. Remember the description of London at night, on the first page of *The Old Curiosity Shop*, and read the following lines at the beginning of *Ferragus*: "Oh Paris! Who has not admired thy sombre landscapes, thy vistas of light, thy deep and silent blind-alleys, who has not heard thy murmurings between midnight and two in the morning, knows nothing of thy true poetry and of thy weird and vast contrasts." Remember the description of Dodson and Fogg's office in *Pickwick* and open the *Colonel Chabert* at the page depicting Derville's "den": "The room was crossed by a pipe connected to a disused mantelpiece upon which could be seen chunks of bread, pieces of cheese, pork cutlets, tumblers, bottles and the master clerk's cup of chocolate. The smell of these edibles mixed so strongly with that of the over-heated stove and the peculiar smell of office paper that the stench of a fox would have passed unnoticed. . . . Behind the principal clerk's stool was an enormous set of pigeon holes which covered the whole wall, each compartment being stuffed with bundles of papers from which hung a large number of labels and red tape." The two impressions coincide, even to the smell of old paper and to the hanging labels.

The more we pursue such comparisons, the more we are inclined to believe that Dickens and Balzac are bound together, not only by a common literary discovery, but by a world of common impressions and feelings. They not only did the same thing, but they did it almost in the same way. They not only discovered the crowd and the street, but they described the same objects and the same types. One might fancy a picture gallery where Grandet and Gobseck would face Fledgeby and Scrooge, where the vanity of Crevel would challenge the pride of Dombey, where the parvenus M. and Mme. Birotteau would meet Mr. and Mrs. Boffin, where du Tillet would wink at Carker and where Mme. Vauquer would upbraid her rival, Mrs. Bardell. It would be too much to say that there is no great character in Balzac for which a counterpart could not be found in Dickens, but the relationship of their heroes and heroines is striking. Both writers excel in describing the pride of the bourgeois, the greed of the miser, the unscrupulous methods

of the upstart, the picturesque gossip of landladies, porters, and servants. They both generally fail when dealing with aristocrats and young and innocent girls. They both will be criticised for the same defects and admired for the same qualities. They both will find their place among the giants of art and literature, like Shakespeare, Rabelais and Rubens who are too eloquent to remain discreet and far too strong to be perfect. The appreciation of their works is not merely a matter of literary taste; it depends on the reader's temperament. The world may be divided between the admirers of Dickens and of Thackeray but it will never be divided between those of Dickens and of Balzac.

EMILE CAMMAERTS.

THE MELLOWING PROCESS IN RUSSIA.

THIS article does not purport to be an expert analysis of conditions in Russia. Its more modest object is to record certain conclusions, possibly wrong conclusions, which the writer, who had some experience of Imperial Russia, has drawn from study and from observation during a recent visit to Soviet Russia. Generally stated, these conclusions are that although there will be no formal renunciation of her theories regarding the ideal future organisation of government, commerce and social life, Russia in practice will settle down to something like stability without further catastrophic changes. Changes will come by gentler processes and will reveal a tendency to swing away from the left.

Everywhere doctrinaire enthusiasm flourishes best where obstacles prevent too much testing of theory by practice. When such obstacles begin to be removed, when the responsibility for action replaces the responsibility only for advice and agitation, when the intractability of human material is re-discovered, caution creeps in. After the first steps based on theory have ended in muddle, something that works from day to day instead of another thing that is ideally perfect (but doesn't work) acquires a compelling attractiveness. When that something has been found, the sobered doctrinaire is as averse from a forward move as he was formerly in favour of it. For the day-to-day problems he will be rather tempted to borrow solutions from the past than to gamble on what the future may afford if his theories are developed.

These are platitudes. But they seem likely to be illustrated by conditions and processes in Revolutionary Russia which already knows the divorce between theory and practice and between appearance and reality. There have been good illustrations of such a divorce in the organisation of industry. Two systems were tried after the early successes of the Revolution; a third system has replaced them, and is now in being; and, according to the Communists, this is to give way to a fourth and a fifth. A broad summary of the five systems need not be too long.

(i) There was an initial experiment in the control of individual factories by the workmen engaged in them.

(ii) The Government then nationalised the factories. It supplied them with raw materials, fuel, food for the payment of part of the wages in kind, paper for the payment of the balance of wages in tokens. After allowing for the retention of such part of a product as might be used in the factory itself for the payment of wages in kind, it took over the whole output and distributed it on a system of ration cards and accounting. There was no private selling nor buying, no marketing, no circulation of commodities or

money. Between factory and factory there was no competition.

(iii) Chaos obtained as a result of the first and second schemes and the complete ruin of industry was imminent. In 1921 Lenin's New Economic Policy changed the system to State capitalism. The factories were taken over by State trusts. The State remains still the ultimate owner and controller; but in respect of practical management it functions as if it were the sole shareholder without being the managing director. The trust is intended to act independently as regards initiative, internal administration and competition in efficiency with other trusts; it watches costings and fixes its prices so that there is a commercial profit on sales; it is liable to wage disputes. The capital is supplied by the banks or by the State direct. The net profits are paid to the State and appear as revenue in the budget.

(iv) But this State capitalism is not what the Russian economists are satisfied to label socialism. Socialism is to come when competition and production for sale at a profit are eliminated. Calculation is to be made of the country's requirements by a central organisation; then plant, labour, and raw materials are to be appropriated for an equivalent production. Distribution is to be according to need, not according only to the capacity to purchase.

(v) The next step—though it is a departure rather than a step forward on the same path—is to be full communism. There will be no central government, but only small autonomous communities producing for use and exchange. Committees of the workers will settle the affairs of each producing unit.

It will be seen that the future fifth scheme has a good deal in common with the past first scheme; that similarly the fourth and second resemble each other. The first and second failed upon practical test. That failure is not forgotten; and whatever catch-phrases may be displayed on banners carried in public processions, even good communists are now saying that socialism and communism are dreams and theories. The incentive has not yet emerged which can adequately replace enlightened self-interest and payment by results as a spur to efficiency; until it does, dreams and theories must these future schemes remain. Even State capitalism itself has to have its exceptions and special cases in order that Russia's needs in manufactured goods may be supplied. There is a continual tendency to offer more and more favourable terms to the foreign concessionaire. Recently, too (the writer has not got the details), encouragement has been offered to Russian subjects themselves with hoarded capital in foreign currencies to employ it for profit-making in private industrial undertakings.

Foreign trade is very strictly reserved to the State. In the organisation of internal trade, as distinct from industry, there has been a

seesaw again between establishment of a State monopoly and relaxations in favour of private undertakings. Trade is carried on by State enterprises, co-operative enterprises and private enterprises. The turnover of the first is about the same as the second; the joint turnover is about 80 per cent. of the whole. The private trader, the "nepman" (NEP=New Economic Policy), enjoyed a period of considerable prosperity after Lenin had made the economic changes of 1921. It is true he was disfranchised and his trading was carried on under special disabilities as regards taxation and facilities for purchase and sale; but in the difficult years of 1921 to 1923 it was possible to evade some of these disabilities and indulge in practices, not in themselves very reprehensible though contrary to the law, which yielded illicit profits. Closer control since 1923, prosecutions for the smallest irregularity, and the strength of the co-operative and State shops have by now made nearly an end of the nepman of any standing. Large numbers are in prison for irregularities and the terms they are serving are long; others are carrying on their career of private trade with the nerve-racking zest that gambling with life and liberty adds to it; others are the mere petty hawkers of the streets. The last class is very numerous, and the odium against the nepman does not extend with the same bitterness to those who belong to this class, for in general they do not organise other persons to do work on their behalf and for their profit.

The visitor to Russia has some difficulty, however, in appreciating how deeply into the mind of the good communist the bitterness against the higher class of nepman goes. Murder and rape may be treated leniently without great mischief resulting; but organised shop-keeping . . . ! No doubt fear is the parent of this attitude. If the nepman were a voter he might influence policy, so he must be disfranchised; if he were a prosperous man he might be a dangerous object-lesson in what private enterprise achieves, so he is taxed and bullied until prosperity is impossible. But as the small private trader is not going to disappear, it seems doubtful whether this odium, along with many other notions, can be a permanent feature of Russian opinion. One type of private trader, the street cabby, is too useful altogether to be blotted out with a heavy hand. Another kind, the street hawker, is also, at least for the present, an essential economic functionary in the process of distribution. He may achieve the distinction of a booth at which he sells chocolates, cigarettes and portrait-brooches of such revolutionary leaders as are under no cloud. At last he may need one or two assistants. Communist vigilance will have to be very keen and long enduring if in the end a broader public opinion is not going to approve (and a narrower public opinion is not going to view apathetically) an extension of his trade. Very important results would follow on tolerance.

As might be expected, State capitalism has not developed far in agriculture. The extremist sighs for the industrialisation of the peasant; that is, that he should become a wage-earner on State-owned farms run by power plant on factory lines. The Revolution proceeded differently. It abolished the landed aristocracy and handed over the land to the peasants. But in return it has had to tax the peasant heavily or to put upon him obligations equivalent to a tax burden. Especially is this so in regard to the wealthier peasants, the "kulaks." Above all, there is no free market in grain, and prices are fixed at figures which give the peasant no purchasing power in respect of the enormously costly products of industry. In addition to high prices there is at all times either a general scarcity of manufactured commodities—textiles, boots, iron-ware, household ware—or a faulty distribution, so that the peasant cannot buy, even if he happens to have the means. The lesson for him is that, work as he may, he will not procure any large reward; taxation or commodity dearth and shortage will prevent it. If he develops into a kulak he becomes as loathsome a mortal to the good communist as is the nepman of the town. The general effect is that the peasant tends not to produce beyond his own wants. The writer had an opportunity of discussing what motive it was which was expected to replace the self-interest of the peasant as the incentive to produce. There was an infinity of talk but very little precision in it. A something which might be called a "cultural, humanitarian urge," whatever that may mean, seemed to be expected to achieve the miracle. But the "urge" is not in first-class working order, and the Government is not relying on it. It is relying on fresh taxation (scaled to penalise the worse worked farms and to fall lightly on the better), on distress and confiscation for non-payment, and on some organisation of co-operative farms.

The obvious ways in which production could be stimulated are the restoration of a free market in grain instead of fixed prices, relaxation of the severity towards the progressive kulaks, and provision of large industrial supplies. Owing to the insufficiency of the output of the State factories, the last will hardly be realised without the help of the private trader or foreigner. Given industrial plenty and rural economic freedom and some fair fortune with the next harvest, there should again be an exportable grain surplus. In its absence the vicious circle runs: no grain surplus for export, loss of purchasing power abroad, loss of essential imports for rural Russia, no stimulus to the peasant to produce, no grain surplus for export. Russia contrives to achieve extraordinary results by unorthodox methods, but it would seem that this circle can only be broken by a departure in policy.

The advance, then, towards an extreme form of socialism in in-

dustry and agriculture has been barred by practical difficulties, and tends to be relegated to a remote future. In the waiting time the army of bureaucrats naturally gets used to a particular state of things and a comfortable apathy steals over the enthusiast. If there are fanatics remaining who raise their voices, the sound of those voices is a nuisance. It is not necessary to question the sincerity with which certain original plans were assumed to be right; but their execution is long postponed, and the indefinite maintenance, "at any rate for our time," of temporary expedients which have been made to work, becomes highly attractive after the dulling of primary energies.

Vested interests hostile to change also tend to entrench themselves in the branches of the Government which are not immediately concerned with economics; theory and practice clash again.

In theory, according to the political constitution, power rests in the voters; but no one pretends that in reality there is not a dictatorship. Voters grouped according to vocation choose the members of village and town assemblies (Soviets). Delegates, elected by vote from these Soviets, become members of the Soviets for larger areas; and so on until the Soviet for each constituent republic of the Russian Union has been chosen, and finally the supreme body, the Soviet Union Congress, which has 1,500 members. A new process then starts of delegation to less unwieldy bodies. The Congress delegates to a Central Executive Committee (about 500 members) which in turn delegates to its own Presidium (21 members) and to a Council of People's Commissars (11 members). The powers delegated are both executive and legislative, and in practice, it is said, belong to a group of about seven outstanding men among the Commissars. What the dictatorship pronounces regarding principles has to be accepted as axiomatic, though details are open to discussion. When failure or muddle causes a murmur that cannot be ignored, change can be effected by the dictatorship throwing overboard a colleague, who disappears into exile. In conversation there is perfect frankness in admitting that there is a dictatorship and that inconvenient election results are obviated by the pressure of good communists in the primary elections. This pressure is to continue until a process of coaching the next two generations in the schools has eliminated all but communists from the Russian world.

All this is done—let us say sincerely done—in the supposed interest of the peasant and factory worker. "There is an absolute best for them," runs the axiom. "It has been discovered and it is going to be imposed whether they or anybody else may like it or dislike it. The benefit, if not seen to-day, will be seen to-morrow—or, at any rate, some time." But the tendency of the methods is inevitably towards the creation of a governing class, with its own peculiar interests which will not continue indefinitely to be those

of the peasant and worker. The same tendency is operating in the courts and offices. Although the dictatorship of the proletariat—say, of a small body which believes it acts for the proletariat—is supposed to mean that all activities are undertaken only to exalt the peasant and artisan, even the casual observer can note the consciousness of being a "black-coated" worker in those who in a position of authority come in contact with the "mere" factory hand. Changes which would really enable the proletariat to control policy will not come unresisted as this governing class consolidates itself.

Outside altogether of economics and politics it is possible to find illustrations of the divorces between theory and practice, or between appearance and reality, referred to in the opening paragraphs of this article. They occur in so many of the experiments which the Russians have tried; and they illustrate again and again the tendency—as yet a tendency only—to swing away from extremes back towards what is normal in the western world. Three illustrations will be given: the first concerning the relations of a sea captain and his men, the second concerning domestic life, the third concerning the mentality of the Russian child.

There is a very beautiful and popular ballet, *The Red Poppy*, now to be seen in Moscow. With the ramifications which give scope for the dances cut away, the plot is brief. A Soviet ship enters a British-Chinese port and the chivalry of the captain and crew towards the oppressed Chinese labourers is so inspiring to the coolies that they revolt and successfully hoist the red flag. The captain and crew are shown to be on terms of great intimacy; they walk together, attend entertainments together, and in general may be said to be dearer together than brothers. Communist spectators react with a thrill to this picture of enlightened relations between master and man. But in their franker moments ships' officers admit that it is a picture only. On a Russian ship the captain and crew do not mess together; ashore they do not go to a bar together; if an order is disobeyed there is punishment. A British seafarer, at any rate ten years ago, would put the matter thus: "Sailors 'asn't no use for a lot of something philosophy. You 'it 'em 'ard and they understands you. You 'it 'em soft and they thinks you're a something-something." There is an echo of the real ways of men and ships and seas in this opinion; and, if it now be obsolete and false, human nature has still far to travel before the picture in *The Red Poppy* is less false. Ships' captains when a crisis comes will govern themselves accordingly.

The second illustration was to relate to domestic life. On the particular point to be mentioned, theory is remarkable and present practice is remarkable—as very little discussion with Russians and no long waiting as an onlooker in a registry office for marriages and

divorces will speedily reveal. Much of what is thus remarkable can be condensed into an imaginary proposition put to a young communist girl, willing, as everyone appears to be, to discuss any topic unshocked. No part of the possibilities in the proposition are exaggerated and the fact that it does not shock robs it, happily, of any suggestive nastiness. The pleasantness or unpleasantness of the ideas can be considered on merits. This is the proposition:

"On January 1st you marry Ivan. On the 10th you go off with Basil. You return on the 15th and find that Ivan has divorced you in your absence. You don't want to marry Basil; but on the 20th you may marry Nikolai. Tiring of him on the 25th, you divorce him and marry Dimitri. Dimitri divorces you on February 2nd. You re-marry Ivan on the 3rd and divorce him on the 10th. Later you discover there is going to be a child with some confusion about the parentage. You obtain the necessary authority and have an operation performed for abortion. Do you consider the laws which allow this eccentricity to be good for a country and a people?" The girl replies placidly: "Why not? Only individuals are affected. It is their concern."

But the Registrars of Marriages and Divorces are beginning not to swallow whole this theory of complete individual freedom in such matters. At present they have no discretion to refuse marriage and divorce, though the criminal law sometimes intervenes after the event—as by treating some objectionable cases of marriage and speedy divorce as rape. The Registrars, however, are drawing conclusions from what is passing under their eyes and they have periodical opportunities of expressing their views. Despite the communist opinion that the destruction of immediate family bonds leads to a wider brotherhood of man, there will in time be a reaction, supported by the Registrars, in favour of subjecting the theory of individual licence to a safeguard. Neither marriage nor family life will again be what they have remained in the west; but they will cease to be what, at their blackest, they can be now.

The mentality of the Russian child was to yield a third illustration. How far is coaching going to succeed in turning children into the serious little communists who are wanted as future crusaders, and how far is there permanence in the success so far achieved? For it is terribly, terribly obvious that some success has been achieved. In the young there is an appalling apparent solemnity. Talks with communists and actual observation of children of ten to sixteen years of age, both convey the impression of a seriousness and precociousness in childhood which elsewhere would be dreaded as abnormal and pitiful. Children's committees sit to manage the internal affairs of the schools and to deal with complaints by the teachers, whose limited powers of punishment, linked

with the mania of the present Russian child for analytical discussion, make ordinary discipline a farce. In the museums and institutes groups of children move about, owlish, unsmiling, taking notes on the relation between art and revolution, between crop-rotation and revolution, and so on. There is a story told of infantile precocity which concerns the grouping of communist infants into Octobrists (8 to 10 years), Pioneers (10 to 16 years), and Young Communists (16 to 21 years). A child of six retired into silence for a week and then explained to his parents and teachers: "I have thoroughly examined all human political knowledge and reached the conclusion that communism is the best of all forms of social organisation and I have prepared a treatise which proves it. I now claim not to be classed as either an Octobrist or Pioneer, but at once to join the Communists." The writer inquired what happened if, in the course of a political address to young people of this type, the lecturer slipped on a banana skin: would there be a yelp of childish laughter? The answer given was that there would be no laughter but the children would write an analysis of the incident!

But this appearance of things is falsely read if it be interpreted as depicting the real childhood of Russia. It is not normal childhood which has taken on this mask of solemnity; it is the childhood of that epoch of civil war which now belongs to the past but has left its mark. Probably it is not perfectly appreciated in Great Britain how the civil and border wars of 1917 to 1920 affected family life in Russia. What had been a single empire became a battlefield overrun by five or six different armies. Wives, husbands and children became separated by accidents of war or by precautions to avoid a centre threatened by war. With territory in so many different hands reunion was impossible for years, and there was automatic divorce after long separation. In such circumstances infants grew up to know hardship from birth, to stand in queues for food, to flee before an enemy, to be familiar with bloodshed. It is the infants from these days who are abnormal. The abandoned ones, who became dangerous street marauders, well known as the wolf-children, are being swept into special institutions. But even the unabandoned ones were middle-aged men and women from birth; and these are they who do not laugh. The newest children laugh; childhood is still childhood with them; and, despite the coaching process in the schools, it is unlikely that the future infant of six who writes a communist treatise will escape being duly kicked by his playmates and discouraged by his teachers. Children and children's laughter may be expected to play a healthy part in pricking bubbles of absurdity in Russia just as they do elsewhere.

The epigram that Russian co-education leads directly to liberty, equality and maternity, also grows less true. It was true when

half-adult children were thrown together in classes for the first time; but ill consequences are diminishing now that the passage of time means that co-education has started in infancy. Old-fashioned Russians still revile the precocity and depravity in the schools; but another and more hopeful view is possible now.

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There emerges from this rambling analysis the conclusion already suggested in the first paragraph, that the days of the wilder experiments are over and that if the situation is not static it is because of the tendency to move to the right. It may be expected that Russia will rest a long while with a theoretical constitution enabling workers to delude themselves with the notion that they are the government; with a professional government and governing class consolidating itself in the background; with an industrial and trade organisation based on State socialism but exhibiting a tendency to multiply exceptions to the State and co-operative monopoly in manufacturing and merchanting.

It may also be expected that apathy will modify the "good" communist attitude of hatred towards such exceptions and of belief in the wilder of the social experiments. With the government firmly enough established not to have to fight secret daily battles against counter-revolution, revolutionary fervour will abate, with the consequence that there will be criticism of what was blindly approved and more tolerance of what was blindly hated. Youth, emerging from the schools and universities, will reassert its right to independent thought instead of suffering itself to be coached; for concerning this coaching it already shows itself restive about the isolation and eccentricity of Russia in relation to the western world which is a feature of her current life. It will not be axiomatic to the new thinkers that the nepman and the kulak are scoundrels to be disfranchised and over-taxed. It will not be axiomatic that Russia is the one reliable trustee for the proletariats of the world. (Needing the help of foreign experts and foreign capital she will tend more and more to mind her own political business within her own borders.) But for mellowing to take place as a benignant process and for liberalism to be a growth from the apathy of the fanatics, the government must be reasonably safe from a struggle for existence. It is faced with four main dangers.

First, there might be a peasants' rising in consequence of the dissatisfaction with the yield from the land. Combined action is difficult, however, and the peasant is infinitely patient and dull. A few communists will continue, as now, to be murdered in the villages, and discontent will otherwise express itself in passive resistance only.

Secondly, the Ukraine might withdraw from the Soviet Union and

form a permanent alliance with Poland. The economic results would be formidable, and the Russians treat the possibility seriously.

Thirdly, there might be dissatisfaction on the extreme left, which has been taught to look for a steady march towards socialism and communism.

Fourthly, there is the possibility of bankruptcy. At the present stage of her history there are certain things that Russia must import if she is not to perish, and the failure of the grain exports has made it steadily more difficult to finance these imports. Heroic measures are taken to assemble exportable commodities to replace the grain. There are food and petroleum queues in the towns; the capital goes without white bread; Leningrad, butterless, groans to see a whole cargo of butter leaving the port for England.

The Red Army, diplomacy, and the police may together deal with the first three difficulties. The fourth is a really formidable danger, and in that very character is a powerful determiner of the policy of moving away from extremes.

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Towards the Russia which is thus settling down to stability, what should be the British attitude? The old debts, the old concessions, and the resumption of full or limited diplomatic relations are still a matter for treaty; and it may be assumed that in any negotiations Russia will not omit to stress again that Great Britain was in a state of war with the Red Government in 1919 and 1920. But outside the general settlement or in advance of it, is there room for British enterprise as by the investment of capital or the taking up of concessions or the giving of credit, upon terms, for purchases? On the whole, the conclusion seems to be that there is room, that the Soviet Government would keep its engagements (save in the event of a communist upheaval in Britain), that British industry would benefit, and that capital invested would command a reward commensurate with the risks. There are ways of making the working of a concession difficult without any breach of the letter, but there is expert advice available to reinforce caution in this respect. Russia is a country of vast potential wealth offering a vast potential market, and it is almost certain that American capital is going to be used freely in striving after both. Let Great Britain aim at her share, facing her risk boldly.

Lest there be any doubt on another ground about the propriety of British assistance being afforded—the ground, namely, that to afford it would be to condone the martyring of the old bourgeoisie—it may be said at once that those of the bourgeoisie who remain and the kin of those who died or fled, are hungry for British co-operation. It is they who would be most helped by it, they and the needy millions who are free from blood guiltiness and whose want cannot be questioned.

H. O. S. WRIGHT.

THE EUROPEAN MINORITIES.

AS the representatives of both Canada and Germany have given formal notice that they propose to raise the question of the European Minorities Treaties at the next meeting of the Council of the League of Nations, it is probable that the whole problem of minorities will be a leading issue in European politics during the forthcoming year. The problem is indeed already affecting, to an extent hardly realised in Great Britain, the whole course of international relations; and although we ourselves are not responsible to any international tribunal for our relations with our own minorities, we are directly concerned with the Minorities Treaties, both as a guarantor in our capacity of permanent member of the Council, and also as largely responsible for their existence through our part-authorship of the peace treaties. We cannot therefore remain indifferent to the present very unsatisfactory condition of this problem.

The Minorities Treaties were imposed after the war on certain States in Central and Eastern Europe in which the frontiers had been so re-drawn as to leave large numbers of minorities of different race, religion and language under the rule of other nations, which were in many cases their hereditary enemies. The racial minorities alone amounted to some twenty million persons, so that the problem created by them cannot be considered to be a small one; and foreseeing that discontent among these millions of people would certainly become a danger to the peace settlement, the Powers which made that settlement bound the States concerned to grant the minorities under their rule a certain minimum of rights and liberties, which were placed under the guarantee of the Council of the League.

The whole intention of the treaties was to remove the question of minorities from the wider field of politics. All agitation was most carefully discountenanced, and the question reduced to one of simple administration. The obligations laid on the treaty States were not heavy; they did not go beyond the bare demands of justice and humanity, and any treaty State which adopted reasonable administrative principles should have been able to dismiss the fear that the treaties would ever be invoked against it.

Unfortunately the non-political aspect of the treaties which was their most essential point was never preserved. The treaty States, who from the first violently resented the treaties as a diminution of their sovereignty and a derogation of their position as compared with other States not so bound, adopted the attitude that any and every invocation of the treaties, whatever its apparent justification, was in reality a masked irredenta or hostile political

move. They therefore set to work with great tenacity to make the treaties inoperative. To do this it was necessary to win the support of the Council of the League, and at first the task was not easy. In their first meetings the Council and the Assembly took a serious view of their obligations towards the minorities, and many proposals were advanced which would have assured the minorities their just dues. But immediately an outcry, not wholly unjustified, arose from among the treaty States, that the suggested procedure would open the door to every kind of factious abuse of the treaties for political purposes. The procedure was accordingly remodelled on various occasions, always with the purpose of guarding against this danger, until it reached its present form, in which the danger has probably been wholly averted.

The right of raising an alleged infraction of the treaties is confined to members of the Council, but as a representative of a friendly State obviously cannot go scrutinising the internal affairs of a fellow member of the League, collecting and verifying stories of its misdoings, alleged infractions of the treaties are in practice first brought forward by the presentation of a petition from a member of a minority, or other person or body. The petition is then submitted to a special section of the Secretariat, which examines it with a lynx-eye for any hidden ulterior motive, and wherever (in theory) it appears to be a genuine request within the terms of the treaties, sends it to the government incriminated for observations, afterwards passing the petition and observations to a specially constituted Committee of Three Members of the Council, consisting of the President and two other members, being disinterested in the dispute. In theory again, if the Committee finds that a real infraction of the Minorities Treaties has been committed, they collectively seize the Council of it, by this collective action avoiding the odium which would fall on a single State if it questioned the administration of another State. The Council then considers the petition, and if it decides that action is necessary or desirable, it invites the defendant government to attend, and is empowered to "take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances." It may also refer any "difference of opinion on the question of law or fact" to the Permanent Court of International Justice for decision (in the case of a few States, an advisory opinion).

In theory—once more—this procedure should eliminate all insincere or unfounded complaints, while bringing genuine grievances before the Council for redress. In practice nothing of the sort occurs. It is well known and not denied that in no treaty States in Europe, except perhaps Austria and Estonia, have the minorities once managed to enjoy anything even approximating to their rights

as guaranteed by the treaties. On the contrary their grievances are legion, and while in some States, notably Czechoslovakia, their position is gradually improving, in others, such as Yugoslavia, it is going from bad to worse. If the Council really received and examined all legitimate petitions sent in to it, it would be occupied in sitting twenty-four hours a day throughout the whole year, and then it would not get through all the work. Actually, the Secretariat, which receives hundreds of petitions, rejects the vast majority of them as non-receivable; the Committees of Three then suppress practically all which reach them from the Secretariat, and the Council does nothing about those which reach them from the Committees of Three. So far as can be ascertained, in the eight years of the "operation" of the treaties, the Council has taken firm action against a recalcitrant treaty State, and has had the courage to appeal to the Permanent Court, in two cases which were really so linked as to form one, this being the dispute over the German settlers in Poland in 1921. In two further cases, both concerning Hungarians in Roumania, it negotiated compromises with the defendant government; and in one case regarding Ukrainians in Lithuania, it seems likely that it may in the future take action. Further, the Council has called for periodical reports on the progress made in granting autonomy to the Ruthenes of Czechoslovakia; it has decided, as against a complaint made by the Slovaks in Hungary, that the Hungarian laws "if effective in law and practice" will do away with cause for complaint; it has decided to "rely on the wisdom of the Lithuanian Government" in respect of their treatment of their Polish minority; and made a few other equally futile recommendations of the sort. It is fair to add that it has effected improvements in a considerable number of cases by private representation. With regard to the worst cases of oppression of minorities, it is notorious that the sufferers dare not appeal to the League at all, for fear of calling down upon themselves or their families redoubled oppression by way of reprisals.

This is the result of the political considerations which the Council and the Secretariat have allowed to sway their actions. On the other hand, it is equally obvious that where no machinery exists for preventing complaints of every kind from coming before the Council, the result is little more satisfactory, the only difference being that farce is substituted for tragedy.

Upper Silesia is under a special regime to which the ordinary minority procedure cannot be applied. It is governed by a special convention, under the terms of which complaints are sent ordinarily to minorities offices situated in German and Polish Upper Silesia, and failing settlement by these offices, to the President of the Mixed Commission. Where the parties are dissatisfied with the

solution offered, they submit their petition to their government, which is obliged to forward it to Geneva, where it comes directly before the Council, the controlling action of the Secretariat and Committees of Three being eliminated. On December 15th last, "all the representatives of the members of the Council and the Secretary-General," to quote the official documents, assembled and listened first to an appeal, M. Adatci, Japanese representative, acting as rapporteur, in which M. Josef God made known his complaint that his little son, Henry God, had been compelled by the Polish authorities to attend a Polish elementary school, whereas Mr. God, senior, wished him to be taught in German. The question turned on whether little God knew enough German to be allowed to attend a German school; and this question was considered, as said, by "all the representatives of the members of the Council and the Secretary-General," M. Adatci reporting and M. Briand acting as President. The Council then proceeded to consider, for the second time, whether German children at present attending school in Nowa Wies should not rather be allowed to go to the adjacent village of Wirek. This being settled, they then went on to consider the alleged exclusion of twenty-three German school children from the school of Swierklaniec, nine from Nowa Wies and thirty from Lipiny. Four more questions of approximately equal importance occupied the attention of the Council for the remainder of the full day. At the next Council meeting there will be half a dozen more.

It is obvious that we have here a complete deadlock. In the one case in which minority grievances really get ventilated, the time of what is nominally the highest political tribunal of the whole world is taken up with trivialities which ought to have been settled by a local district council. It is, moreover, quite undeniable that the situation thus created is a political one. Whatever may be the policy of the German Government, the local German organisation in Polish Upper Silesia is certainly conducting a deliberate agitation with the purpose of proving that Polish rule in this district is unsatisfactory, and of keeping the question open until the time when Germany feels able to press for a revision of her frontiers through the application of Article 19 of the Covenant. Presentation of petitions of this type to the Council is not in reality in accordance with the purpose of the Minorities Treaties, which is precisely to safeguard the *status quo*, but the machinery is being worked in such a way as to defy its real object. On the other hand, throughout almost the whole of the rest of Europe the minorities are finding the rights guaranteed to them by international treaties denied to them in cynical fashion, and that again from political motives on the part of the treaty States, and out of

political considerations which have gained a hold on the minds of the Secretariat and the Council.

The existing situation is thus deplorable from either point of view, and it is high time that the whole question was thoroughly ventilated and a complete reform introduced. This is not, of course, an easy task. The treaty States are undoubtedly anxious to do away with the treaties altogether, and have consistently blocked any suggested reform. They declare themselves, indeed, ready to accept measures applicable, not only to themselves, but to all members of the League. But in doing so they are on safe ground, for they are well aware that the rest of the League has no intention whatever of submitting to similar restrictions, and the worse the consciences of the States possessing minorities but not bound by treaties, the greater their determination to submit to no international control.

To abolish the treaties altogether, as the treaty States suggest, and as some other statesmen on the Council have seemed inclined to advocate, would be fatal. It would not only be an act of treachery which no government with even the slightest decent regard for its obligations and responsibilities should even contemplate, but it would also be a wholly unjustified and most dangerous step. It would involve treaty revision, and it is obviously impossible to do away with the one provision meant to safeguard minorities without a drastic re-drawing of European frontiers. It is equally useless either to ask the present treaty States to accept any increase outside of their present obligations, or to attempt to extend these to other States. The only feasible solution is therefore to keep the present treaty arrangements, but to amend the existing procedure, which has proved so unsatisfactory. A certain improvement could be effected if the Secretariat were allowed to inform persons submitting petitions which it has rejected as non-receivable of its actions and its reasons, and if the petitioners were allowed to see and answer the replies submitted by governments on their own petitions. No real improvement can, however, be looked for unless the task of sifting all petitions, of rejecting those which are merely factious or trivial, and of bringing the real grievances to the notice of the Council be taken out of the hands of the Committees of Three, and thus purged of all political considerations. This task should be entrusted to a separate body of men, appointed by the Council on more or less the same lines as the existing Mandates Commission. This body should consist of authoritative and impartial persons, representing their countries rather than their government, the representatives of non-treaty States being in the majority. It must have the requisite leisure to give a real examination to all the petitions submitted to it, and should be

empowered to undertake the duties at present carried on by the Secretariat of communicating with governments and making, where desirable, informal and friendly representations. Where the case is so serious that it cannot be solved by this means, the Committee should draw up a report, and if it does not actually make recommendations to the Council, it should in such case present the final rights and wrongs in so short and clear a form that the Council should have no difficulty in coming to a quick decision. Further, the Committee should not hesitate to recommend that the Council ask the Court for an advisory opinion, and it might even be well for such a request from the Committee to be forwarded to the Court automatically and without discussion by the Council. Many of the worst of the minorities cases to-day arise out of legislation which is obviously in disagreement with the provisions of the treaties, and in such a case the Court is the proper tribunal to point out the discrepancy, when the States would be bound to amend their legislation accordingly. During the first year or two the Committee will be overwhelmed with work, but although the number of individual cases on which grievances are founded is enormous, the adoption of a comparatively small number of principles and their embodiment in legislation would reduce this number to a surprising extent. There would remain only the cases where the law is violated, generally by the ill-will of some subordinate official; and if the government knows that in such a case it will be on its defence before the world, if it cannot comfort itself with the thought that its friends on the Council will take parental care to stifle anything to its discredit, then even these cases will tend to disappear and the purposes of the Minorities Treaties will for the first time be fulfilled.

C. A. MACARTNEY.

TOM ROBERTSON: A CENTENARY CRITICISM.

THE birth centenary of T. W. Robertson affords an opportunity to re-assess the reputation of a dramatist whose work marked a turning-point in the development of English comedy. Other than by students of the drama, Robertson and his work are forgotten; yet it is with him that the history of the modern drama properly begins.

The Robertson family had been associated with the provincial theatre since the early eighteenth century. One William Robertson, grandson of a noted comedian of the York Theatre, was manager of a theatrical company which his family had for many years conducted on the weary round of the Lincoln circuit. Of his many children, two became famous: the youngest, afterwards the celebrated Mrs. Kendal, the eldest, Thomas William Robertson, born at Newark-upon-Trent, January 9th, 1829. Tom Robertson was "nursed on rose-pink and cradled in properties." He first appeared on the stage at five, and continued in child-parts for two years. He was then sent to school, appearing in the company's performances only while on holiday. At fifteen he left school. Thereafter, he filled innumerable parts, from Hamlet to low comedy; wrote many of the then popular low comedian's *entr'acte* songs; adapted productions for the company's repertory; acted as prompter, painted scenery, and was generally a jack of all theatrical trades in every town on the circuit. In 1849 his father, financially embarrassed, was compelled to disband the company. Faced with the problem of fending for himself, Robertson came to London, where, as he later said, he "ceased to live and began to exist."

By haunting the theatres and accepting any minor parts with which fortune favoured him, he snatched a precarious livelihood. In two years' time he had completed a comic drama, *A Night's Adventure*. When this was accepted by William Farren the young dramatist's elation can be imagined. His first step had unaccountably transported him to the playwright's goal—West End production. The piece was produced at the Olympic Theatre in August, 1851. The critics condemned it, the public endorsed the condemnation, and it came off after a brief unsuccessful run. Branded with failure, Robertson was thrust even farther back among the host of dramatic mediocrities.

The period of fourteen years which ensued between the Olympic failure and Robertson's first success was one of extreme privation. His condition at one time became so critical that, together with his friend H. J. Byron, he attempted to enlist. Robertson failed to pass the medical examination, and the two weary combatants,

unable to secure refuge in the ranks, resumed hostilities on the dramatic front. He later enjoyed comparative affluence as prompter under Charles Mathews at a weekly wage of £3, but this employment soon terminating, a further period of vicissitude followed. Meanwhile, Robertson continuously wrote, translated, adapted, and poured out a stream of one-act farces and comedies. These, consistently declined by managers, were generally sold to Lacy, the dramatic bookseller and publisher, for trifling sums. In 1856 Robertson married Elizabeth Burton, whom he met while both were fulfilling minor engagements at the Queen's Theatre. Shortly after, the couple obtained engagements at the Theatre Royal, Dublin, Robertson playing character-parts and acting as assistant stage-manager, his wife appearing as "leading lady." This engagement abruptly terminating, they toured the smaller Irish towns. The venture proved unsuccessful, and they returned to England. This Irish failure probably strengthened Robertson's determination to abandon acting for journalism. At this decision he arrived not long after their return; but no one was more aware of the precariousness of journalism, and he would scarcely have surrendered the small, but now comparatively steady, income derived from the theatre, had not his wife assisted him by continuing to act whenever possible. This courageous woman persisted in that course until her death in 1865, at the early age of twenty-nine, on the very eve of her husband's success.

With this practical encouragement Robertson turned entirely to his pen. In addition to writing for Lacy, he turned out a number of burlesques, travesties, and squibs; contributed sketches and stories to journals; and attempted novel-writing. He became "The Theatrical Lounger" of the *Illustrated Times*, to which he contributed a series on theatrical types which remains one of the most authoritative commentaries on the contemporary theatre and its inhabitants which we possess. As a contributor to *Fun*, he joined that notable gathering which attended the younger Tom Hood's "Friday Nights" at Brompton, and finally became a recognised member of the journalistic coterie. Thus, the precariousness of the minor writer's career substituted for the precariousness of the minor actor's, the lean years drew to a close, and in 1864 he gained his first success with *David Garrick*. As a conspicuous milestone, marking his entry on to the important stage of his dramatic career, this drama is mentioned. It cannot, however, be critically considered, for it is merely a free rendering of Mélesville's *Sullivan*, a drama the hackneyed theme of which was described by Gautier as "the everlasting story of Garrick, Talma, or Kean curing some foolish girl of a passion for them as actors by exhibiting themselves in private life under the most repulsive

conditions." Impressed by Sothern's acting, Robertson conceived for him the character of a bohemian gentleman of the day in a comedy which should include a scene of heroic and sentimental intoxication, obviously suggested by Sothern's famous drunken scene in *David Garrick*. This comedy was *Society*.

With *Society* begins the period of Robertson's success. This period of six years, terminating with his death in 1871, is rendered memorable by his association with the Bancrofts and the production of the six popular plays written for the Prince of Wales's Theatre. On these—*Society*, *Ours*, *Caste*, *Play*, *School*, and *M.P.*—Robertson's dramatic reputation is based. *Society*, after many rejections, was eventually produced in Liverpool by Alexander Henderson. Here it was an immediate success. Marie Wilton (Mrs. Bancroft), in company with H. J. Byron, had recently taken over the Prince of Wales's Theatre; and, after its Liverpool success, Miss Wilton willingly heard the comedy read with a view to London production. Declaring it better to be dangerous than dull, Miss Wilton decided to produce, though there was much fear and trembling. The comedy, however, was a tremendous success, and from that night of November 11th, 1865 dates the foundation of a new dramatic school in England.

The condition of the contemporary theatre is notorious. The inadequate remuneration given to native dramatists, and the fact that French plays could be performed without payment, led to the monopolisation of the English stage by adaptations of French farce and comedy. The English playwrights were all adaptors, and, with the possible exception of Taylor and Reade, scarcely any dramatist was producing worth while original work. The tradition of the artificial comedy of the preceding century persisted. The view of humanity, the plots and situations, were alike artificial and threadbare. Characters had become caricatures, the popularity of burlesque seemed to have affected the acting, and the actors themselves were all conventional stage-types in that age in which, says Clement Scott, "stage-lovers were nearly all sixty, and dressed like waiters in a penny ice-shop!" Even mounting was still in that phase wherein, as Charles Mathews complained, two chairs indicated that two persons were to be seated, the two chairs being removed indicated that the two persons were not to be seated.

Robertson corrected this prevailing artificiality by achieving one ideal. This ideal may be simply defined as the writing of definitely English comedy, which should interpret some plausible phase of real life by appropriate mounting and natural, unaffected acting. W.S. Gilbert credits Robertson with having "invented" modern stage-management; and Squire Bancroft records that it was in *Caste* that the first distinct stride was made towards realistic

scenery: "The rooms for the first time had ceilings, while such details as locks to doors had never before been seen upon the stage." One quotation from Robertson's stage directions will illustrate his efforts to introduce natural acting. Of a naval rôle in *War* he notes:

"Captain Sound's manner is to be hearty, but not rough; in every respect that of a captain of a man-of-war, not the master of a halfpenny steamboat."

His success in making comedy the vehicle of some aspect of normal life may be estimated from the six plays he wrote for the Bancrofts. Of these, *Society*, dealing more faithfully with life than contemporary dramatists had done, yet retains traces of the artificiality of the period. This was remedied in *Ours*, which has a plausible story and characters which are conceivable human beings. *Play*, *School*, and *M.P.*, though successful, do not attain the level of *Caste*. This is his masterpiece, and, since it supplies a complete study of Robertson, dramatist and man, it may be briefly considered.

Its form is borrowed from Scribe, its spirit from Thackeray. Its theme is concerned with "the social law that commands like to mate with like, and forbids a giraffe to fall in love with a squirrel." The story is straightforward. The Hon. George d'Alroy, an army officer, is the son of a lady who, by a second marriage to a French nobleman, bears the title of Marquise de St. Maur. D'Alroy, in the parlance of the day, is "spoons" on a girl of the theatre, Esther Eccles. With her sister, Polly, a charming young hoyden, Esther supports a worthless father. Sam Gerridge, Polly's fiancé, is an honest Cockney plumber. Captain Hawtree, who, despite his worldly pose, has the proverbial heart of gold, is d'Alroy's friend. The first act, *Courtship*, taking place in Esther's home in Stangate, concludes with the socially impossible marriage of d'Alroy and Esther. In the second, *Matrimony*, staged eight months later in lodgings in Mayfair, the Marquise discovers the marriage on the very evening on which d'Alroy, ordered to India with his regiment, tears himself from the fainting Esther. In the third, a year later, we return to Stangate to discover Esther with what Gilbert called "a roguey-poguey in a cradle." D'Alroy has been killed in India, and Esther has returned to interviewing theatre managers. Her father, the drunken Eccles, prompted by mercenary motives, appeals to the Marquise, whose condescending offer to adopt the child is spurned by Esther. The Marquise departs in dudgeon. Hawtree, Polly, and Gerridge are sitting down to tea and shrimps when d'Alroy enters, thoughtfully bringing in the milk. He has been miraculously preserved from death; and, after the delicate business of breaking the news to Esther, all ends happily, with the Marquise fondling her grandson, Esther and George at the piano, and

Eccles collapsed on the floor in the last stage of intoxication.

True criticism should indicate faults and virtues, and not merely praise or blame; but it is difficult even to do Robertson justice on the strength of this outline. Reading it, and recalling that *Caste* was a revelation to playgoers of the 'sixties, one recognises the condition of the contemporary theatre more readily than one admits the dramatic ability of Robertson. This sequence of sentimentally heroic situations, repeatedly burlesqued, has been worn to death since 1867. Our dramatic education has since progressed to an extent at least sufficient for us to recognise that the aristocratic Marquise, with her insufferably long quotations from Froissart's *Chronicles*, is a caricature, and that, though the comedy is not artificial, a certain conventionality is not absent. Faults which date the play leap to the modern eye, notably a tendency to sentimentality; an insistence on the popular sentiment that true hearts are more than coronets; and the stressing of the beauty, talent, and virtue of an unduly lofty heroine. There are Robertson's characteristic weaknesses, particularly a compulsion on all characters indiscriminately, even the lofty heroine, to make puns, until one is moved to exclaim with Dennis that "the man who would make such a pun would pick a pocket." A final fault is that the climax occurs half-way through the third act with the entrance of the restored d'Alroy, and the remaining half is all anti-climax.

These are all the faults. They are mainly trivial, and many become faults only when judged by modern standards. One or two characters may seem to us too highly coloured, but they were lifelike in an age of dramatic lay-figures, and the whole thing was a miracle of freshness to contemporary audiences. The comedy's virtues are conspicuous. Technically, it is the work of a dramatist intimately acquainted with the theatre's requirements, and whose "curtains" show that he had nothing to learn of dramatic dexterity. The characters are strongly contrasted, and the swift transition from mood to mood is masterly, notably in Polly, with her sudden changes from madcap irresponsibility to sincere emotion; and in Eccles, whose character, blended of cowardly ferocity, maudlin grief, and whining hypocrisy, portrays the whole range of contemptible vices. This effective contrasting is continued in transitions from humorous to pathetic situations, and in the alternate sprightly satire and genuine feeling of the dialogue. Occasionally appears that rare combination—laughable situation with truly humorous dialogue; and some of the episodes are irresistibly comical, notably one in which Gerridge reads his trade-circular addressed to "the nobility, gentry, and inhabitants of the Borough Road." The love-scenes are charming, both between d'Alroy and Esther and, in a typically Cockney vein, between Gerridge and

Polly. Indeed, "a Robertson love-scene" became a stage tradition. That economy of phrase which might be expected from a writer given to such monosyllabic titles is noticeable; and the dialogue, always pointed, is frequently happily apt:

"George: 'His name is Gerridge.'

Marquise: 'Gerridge! It breaks one's teeth.'"

Or again:

"Nobody's a mistake—he don't exist. Nobody's nobody. Everybody's somebody."

Altogether, there is a spontaneous naturalness and a sparkling movement throughout. *Caste* and its characters are alive.

The man is revealed in *Caste* no less completely than is the dramatist. Grein's definition of him, "as unaffected a playwright as ever lived," is equally true of the man. Robertson believed it possible for a man to be a gentleman, yet not a cad; worldly-wise, yet not devoid of humanity; an illiterate workman, yet "one of Nature's gentlemen." He believed that women were capable of loyalty; that a girl of the theatre could be light-hearted without being light. Yet he could have declared with Carlyle: "We *do* know what wickedness is. I *do* know wicked men." He believed, in short, that, though some men were evil, not all humanity was devoid of good; and, however reactionary to the trend of modern iconoclastic realism it may appear to say so, this belief is not necessarily unsound.

Therein lies the explanation both of his art and its success—not alone that he knew the theatre, that he drew from life, or that he created parts for individual players, but that he saw light as well as shadow. Because of this true vision, because privation could not destroy his belief, because he wrote with simplicity and sincerity, his work endures. The sneers at "the cup and saucer play of the bread and butter school" were lost in the applause of contemporary audiences. That applause was in turn lost in the acclamation which greeted the next generation's dramatic idols; but the school Robertson founded, wherein life is shown in true colours and right perspective, remained one in which the greatest of subsequent playwrights and actors have graduated.

There is little to add to Robertson's career. In these closing years he wrote six plays for houses other than the Prince of Wales's. They were unsuccessful. Fate continued ironical to the end. *War* was a first-night failure, and its hostile reception seriously affected the ailing dramatist. Heart disease had been threatening for some time, and on February 3rd, 1871, the evening on which *War* was played for the last time, he died in his chair, worn out by a life of all but uninterrupted privation and disappointment, at the age of forty-two. HARRISON DALE.

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MONGOLIA.

MONGOLIA, which until 1911 was subject to the rule of the last Chinese Manchu dynasty, has always been divided geographically and ethnographically into Outer or Northern Mongolia and Inner or Southern Mongolia. Outer Mongolia forms the north-eastern part of Central Asia, stretching between the 42nd and 52nd degrees of northern latitude and from the 88th to 116th degree of eastern longitude. After the collapse of the old Chinese Empire in 1911 the northern division of Mongolia declared its autonomy, which was followed by a declaration of independence in 1921. The southern part, however, still remains under the power of China.

The Mongolian race not only inhabits the area of Mongolia, outer as well as inner, but also extends into adjoining Russia. In Siberia there is a so-called Mongolia Buriat Republic forming part of the Union of Soviet Republics, and the existence of this part of the Soviet State creates the erroneous impression that the People's Republic of Mongolia is in fact a Soviet State. A study of the map of eastern Asia shows clearly that the People's Republic of Mongolia—namely, outer Mongolia—forms a buffer state between two giants, China on the one hand and Russia on the other. This geographical position creates the whole entanglement of Mongolia's political situation and explains its difficulties. These might be much worse, however, but for the fact that Mongolia, again, has a number of lesser buffer states lying between her and the two giants. These small states are inhabited by Mongolian tribes which are definitely disposed to be friendly towards Mongolia.

The area of the independent Mongolian State is over 1,285,000 square kilometres, or practically one-third the size of Western Europe. The population of this vast region comprises about 700,000 to 800,000 Mongolians and 100,000 foreigners, chiefly Chinese and Russians. The density of population, it will be seen, is thus extremely low. The capital of Mongolia is Urga, which since 1924 has been called Ulan Bator Hoto, meaning the "City of the Red Heroes." This city now has a population of 100,000, and it boasts of an electric power station, theatre, cinema, bank, post and telegraph office, and a printing office. It has three newspapers, one of which appears twice weekly, and the others fortnightly and monthly. Motor-buses have also been introduced, and even the telephone and wireless installed.

Adjoining the city are two big monasteries with the amazing number of 15,000 Lamas. These monasteries, called Gandan and

Dsun-Hure, are practically a part of the city, and Gandan is renowned throughout the Eastern world by reason of its superior school of Buddhism. Monasteries are to be found in all parts of the country, and the Lamas form about 15 per cent. of the whole population and over 30 per cent. of its masculine population. They play a great rôle in the life of the country; and although their importance has diminished of late, they nevertheless still exercise very considerable influence. Some of these monasteries, as in the case of individual princes, possess enormous herds of cattle. To give an idea of these possessions it may be mentioned that in 1917 one of the monasteries in Urga owned 30,000 horses, 15,000 cattle, and 100,000 sheep.

Up to the present day there are no railways in Mongolia. Transport is mostly carried on by means of horses and camels, but motor-cars are becoming more and more numerous and there is even an air-line now in operation.

The population of Mongolia comprises various tribes, of which the purest and most powerful is called Khalkha, inhabiting northern Mongolia. Apart from other reasons, the tribes are held together by their religion. Very little is known about the origin of their religious beliefs; but in the thirteenth century the Mongolians, as well as other nations of Central Asia, were professing the religion of Shaman. At the close of the sixteenth century Buddhism was introduced into Mongolia, first in its pure form and later as professed in Tibet, known under the name Lamaism or "The Yellow Wisdom." This is the religion which up to now has been embraced in Mongolia. Until recently the supreme head of all the Mongolian Lamas was the so-called Hutukta of Urga (equal to the Dalai Lama in Lhasa). He was ruler of the church, and for a time possessed also the secular power. The origin of Hutukta goes back to the Tibetan saint, Tarana Ta, whose reincarnation the Hutukta was considered to be. The last Hutukta was the eighth reincarnation of Tarana Ta, and when he died in 1924 he was not succeeded by another. The Mongolians possess quite a considerable Buddhist literature, although it is of Hindu-Tibetan origin. As monuments of the period of the introduction of Buddhism, when the monasteries were opening schools and libraries, there exist 108 volumes of Ganjin, the history and learning of Buddha printed in the Tibetan language and translated into Mongolian, together with commentaries which form 210 volumes of the famous Danjur, of which the only existing Mongolian copy is kept in the State library at Ulan Bator. This copy is quite unique, because the xylographic plates on which it was printed were burned during the Chinese disorders. The Buddha period—or more correctly the

Lama period—was, however, a check to the educational development of Mongolia, because the Lama teaching was not only indifferent but even hostile to progress, it being entirely passive. It is to this influence, lasting for some 300 years, that we have partly to attribute the backwardness of this one-time race of conquerors.

A new era began in 1911—an eventful year both for China and Mongolia—when the Manchurian dynasty was deposed by the Chinese nation and a republic proclaimed. Simultaneously, after a revolution in Urga on November 18th, 1911, the princes of Mongolia and the Hutukta of Urga declared outer Mongolia to be a sovereign state, independent of China. In this they secured the assistance of Russia, which immediately entered into a political treaty with the Mongolians and advised them not to drag inner Mongolia into their fight for independence. At the end of 1912 the Hutukta Dgebdun Damba of Urga was proclaimed Great Khan of Mongolia, with the title “Raised by Many,” and was solemnly crowned in the capital. This change brought with it the development of science, the spread of European ideas and secular knowledge, and technical and general education. At the same time there was a marked decrease in the influence of the Lamas. The Scientific Committee of Mongolia was then created, with its headquarters at Ulan Bator. Among the objects of the Committee was that of entering into educational and scientific relations with the West. A library, museum, and school were established.

In addition to the organising of education at home, the Ministry of Public Education are now sending young Mongolians to Europe at the expense of the State. These boys and girls are studying in schools for general and technical education, and at the same time they are working in establishments as volunteers at various arts and crafts. In their education and activities they are supervised and controlled by a Committee formed in Berlin. In 1926 a Mongolian Trade Delegation was set up in Berlin. Machinery of all kinds was acquired, and a number of German technical experts were engaged for work in Mongolia. This important scheme is being continued and developed. After the agreement of 1912 Mongolia succeeded in obtaining from Russia several loans for a total amount of 5,100,000 gold roubles, and this greatly assisted in the improvement of economic conditions in the country. Russia, however, did not sufficiently take advantage of the situation. From 1917, when the rouble began to go lower and lower, the diminishing of Russian influence in Mongolia became very noticeable, while at the same time the influence of China became more apparent. This eventually resulted in a treaty between the government of the

Hutukta and China in 1919, by which the autonomy of outer Mongolia was abrogated. The Chinese obtained this remarkable result by a very clever handling of the situation. They were at that time using Mongolia as a bulwark against advancing communism, and the government of Mongolia passed into the hands of Chinese military officials.

There were many Mongolians, however, who were not satisfied with the new political conditions. Already in 1919 the Mongolian People's Party was formed, which had as its aim the reintroduction of Mongolian independence. In 1920 a White Russian General Semenoff forced the Chinese to evacuate Urga, and using the slogan “Independent Mongolia,” took possession of the capital. By 1921 the whole country was in the hands of representatives of the White Russian armies. On March 13th, 1921, there was elected in Kiakhtha the first Provisional National Revolutionary Mongolian Government, which was able the same year, with the assistance of Soviet Russia, to clear Mongolia of both White Russian and Chinese armies. In 1921 the new government crowned the Hutukta of Urga for the second time, but his power was only nominal and when he died in May, 1924, the country proclaimed itself a Republic and remained so to the present time. In accordance with the decision of the Mongolian National Government a Republican Constitution was drawn up, which delegated the supreme authority in the State to the Great National Huruldan (parliament) acting jointly with the government. At the same time it declared that the year 1911 should mark the first year of the chronology of independent Mongolia.

In November 1924 took place the first meeting of the Great Huruldan, an assembly consisting of 100 members elected annually by popular vote. All citizens of the Mongolian Republic over eighteen years of age, including women, possess the active and the passive suffrage. The Great Huruldan alone has power to modify and to pass the fundamental laws of the Republic, and has to assemble not less than once a year when convoked by the Small Huruldan. This latter body consists of 30 members elected by the Great Huruldan from their own numbers, and is wholly responsible to the Great Huruldan. The Small Huruldan in turn elects from its members a permanent Presidium of five which exercises the highest authority in the State. Supreme power during recesses of the Great Huruldan rests with the Small Huruldan, and should this body also be in recess, with the Presidium of five.

The population of Mongolia may be divided into three social groups: The princes and nobility; the Lamas; and the Arats or commoners, who constitute 75 per cent. of the people. Though enormous herds of cattle are possessed by various monasteries and

individual princes, this does not give them the preponderating influence, as 80 per cent. of the cattle wealth of the country belongs to the Arats.

The raising of State revenue by taxes is now general in Mongolia, and these, together with customs duties, enable the country to show a favourable balance-sheet. The chief source of Mongolian wealth has always been cattle-breeding, sheep, goats, horses, and camels. With a country isolated from the rest of the world by high mountain chains, the Mongolian has retained, to a degree not found elsewhere, the nomadic characteristics of a by-gone age. Winters are often severe and sometimes as many as 33 per cent. of the herds may perish. So suitable, however, is the country otherwise for cattle-raising that even such adverse possibilities are not regarded as of a serious nature. According to the statistics of 1918, the number of animals raised in the country reaches the stupendous figure of nine and a half million head annually, of which horses and cattle form 10 per cent. each, whilst the remainder consist mostly of sheep and goats, with a few camels. Statistics for 1924, however, record that the country possesses not less than 17 million head of cattle.

Sheep and goat breeding forms the basis of all Mongolian household economy. Meat, fat, milk, wool (the chief articles of export), furs, hides, intestines, hair of all kinds—all these articles of domestic economy or of export the Mongolian obtains from his flocks and herds. Of the milk about half is used for home consumption, the rest being manufactured into cheese, butter and araki, or utilised as food for the cattle. The Mongolian neither feeds his cattle nor provides them with winter shelter, and consequently huge numbers perish. Perhaps it is due to this, added to the great number of cattle exported to Russia, that the total number of Mongolian cattle increases but slowly. Notwithstanding these serious losses, whilst the economy of Mongolia remains in its present form there even exists a risk of over-production of cattle, since there is an insufficiency of pasture during the winter months. If, on the other hand, the whole system were rationalised—if hay were stored for the winter, warm stables constructed, and the cattle protected from wolves and epidemic diseases—the general production would be considerably increased. Such reforms might undoubtedly place Mongolia in the forefront of the world's suppliers of cattle and products derived therefrom. The present government clearly sees the importance of cattle-breeding and the necessity for the introduction of such reforms as will improve the national industry. How important is this branch of the national economy is manifest from the statistics of exports, which are approximately as follows :

Cattle	...	...	...	...	...	100,000	head
Horses	...	...	...	...	...	100,000	„
Sheep and goats	...	...	...	...	...	1,000,000	„
Camels	...	...	...	...	...	3,000	„
Sheep's wool (out of a yearly total production of 9,600 tons), about	...	...	...	...	...	6,000	tons
Camels' wool (out of a total yearly production of 800 tons), about	...	...	...	...	...	650	„
Cow and horse hides, about	...	...	...	...	...	130,000	pieces
Sheep and lambs, about	...	...	...	...	...	1,000,000	skins
Furs	...	...	...	...	...	500,000	„

In exchange for these raw materials Mongolia receives brick-tea from China; flour, cereals, rice, silk and cotton cloths and tanned leather from Russia; whilst from Germany she imports machinery, tools, educational materials, paper, and even instructive films. In 1918 the yearly balance of the export and import trade of outer Mongolia was estimated to be about 50,000,000 Mexican dollars. This figure, however, cannot be considered as covering the whole trade of Mongolia, nor can the figures of the raw materials of export be looked upon as indicating the whole supply of the country.

Agriculture is in a very backward state, only insignificant areas being under cultivation. This comprises mostly vegetable gardens cultivated by Chinamen resident in Mongolia. The Government is taking energetic steps to ameliorate the conditions of agriculture.

So far as industry is concerned it may be said that up to the present time it is practically non-existent. There is one tannery in Altan Bulach which has just started operations, a brick factory, a saw-mill, and several repair shops. Perhaps these may be called first steps towards industrial development. Mongolia is not without considerable mineral resources, and the development of the mining industry would be of great importance to the future of the country. Domestic necessities are produced in the household itself: tanned leather (leather straps, etc.), a special kind of thin felt (which is rolled out of sheep and camel wool), and sheep and lamb skins (worked in a rather primitive way), whilst spinning is carried on.

At one time the Chinese had a firm grip on Mongolian trade, and a great number of important Chinese firms had branches in the country. In addition to the Chinese, Russian and other traders have now also obtained a footing, but Mongolian initiative comes more and more to the forefront. Individual Mongolians are seldom occupied in business, but in 1921 the Mongolian Central Co-operative Society was formed for the purposes of trade, the organisation having been created with Government and private capital. This "Moncencop" has about 100 branches spread over

the whole of Mongolia, and also has branches in China and in Moscow. The membership has now reached the figure of 10,000, against about 60 or 70 in 1921, and 3,000 in 1924. Apart from supplying its members and engaging in trade, the Moncencop participates in fairly important raw material and industrial transactions. Its activities are mostly in Mongolia, China and Russia. In 1923 a Mongolian State bank, having issuing rights, was founded under the name of the Trade and Industrial Bank. The currency of Mongolia was formerly silver, in coin and ingots, as well as Chinese Mexican dollars. Now, however, a Mongolian currency has been introduced, one *tukhrik* (about 2s.) being divided into 100 parts called *mung*. The *tukhriks* are banknotes issued by the State Bank. Silver coins are minted by the State, and now it is intended to introduce gold currency. Independent Mongolia has organised its own postal service.

At the present time it would be a very difficult matter to make any prophecy about the future of Mongolia. The State has not yet been recognised by China; and even Russia, although she has concluded two treaties with Mongolia, recognises the People's Republic of Mongolia "as a part of the Chinese Republic." In the Russian agreement with China we read: "The Government of the U.S.S.R. recognises outer Mongolia as an independent part of the Republic of China and respects there (in Mongolia) the sovereignty of China. However, Russia so widely recognises the autonomy of Mongolia that not only will she not permit any interference by China in the interior affairs of Mongolia, but even the foreign policy of Mongolia is to be independent." This is a very cryptic diplomatic formula, which is capable of different interpretations. So far as the commercial relations of Mongolia with other countries are concerned, the position is entirely different. These are international in the fullest sense of the word, because in view of trade considerations every country is prepared to give the necessary facilities. The political future of Mongolia depends greatly upon the development which Chinese politics may take in the near future, and also upon the Far East policy of Russia and that of Japan. One important factor, however, must be taken into consideration, and that is the strong determination of Mongolia to be independent. It is very possible that the China of the future, as well as other Powers, will prefer to have in Mongolia a friend instead of a conquered foe, and that they will recognise the political and moral right of Mongolia to remain independent and to continue her constructive and educational work.

SERGE M. WOLFF.

IMPRESSIONS OF SOME ROMAN REMAINS IN PROVENCE.

A BEAUTIFUL temple transported from the Realms of Imagination—which you have entered while day-dreamily recalling extracts from the Classics or reading *The Lays of Ancient Rome*, a real temple of Ancient Rome set down, as if by the whim of the Gods, in the midst of a somewhat humdrum town in Southern France, such is the "Maison Carrée" at Nîmes. Though built when the Romans were masters of Gaul, the Grecian influence is seen in the delicate fluted Corinthian columns which surround three of its sides, and form on the fourth a stately portico approached by steps. It is seen in the carving of the entablature (that runs round the building, above the columns and just below the roof) whose richness of detail, we are told, cannot be fully appreciated until one has walked all round the outside of the temple and examined it with field-glasses. It has been discovered that there are no two columns precisely the same, either in size, diameter, or in distance apart one from the other, and that the line of the cornice is not a straight one. These, and other very slight deviations from mathematical exactness, are not perceptible except by measurement, but they are enough to make its construction approach nearer to the harmonious and unmathematical beauties of Nature. An air of divine mystery surrounds the "Maison Carrée," for the date when it was built is vague, though supposed to be about the second century of our era. To what God or Goddess it was dedicated is also unknown, but a Divine Power seems to have preserved it through all the mischances of time, weather, and vandalism that have threatened it. Exquisite in craftsmanship, graceful in line, perfect in preservation, glorious in its beauty and dignity, the temple, known as the "Maison Carrée," remains an everlasting shrine to the artistic genius, and the greatness, of the Ancients.

The Amphitheatre at Nîmes is one of the best Roman remains there are. It was interesting to wander round the interior and explore the endless arches, stairways and corridors. It is truly wonderful the way in which its fine arches and stupendous vaulting have been constructed out of enormous blocks of stone, of from six to ten feet cube, cut and designed to fit and hold together, without mortar, but with perfect firmness and precision. This great arena is in an excellent state of preservation, better than the amphitheatres of Rome, Capua and Verona, although it is smaller than any one of them, or even than the one at Arles. It is elliptical in form and could accommodate 24,000 spectators. One hundred and twenty-four vomitories made egress possible for this large

crowd within a few minutes, and it was so constructed as to drain the water off, when it rained, into a large tank where it was stored until needed to flood the arena for the *naumachiæ* or naval battles. There was nothing in its construction which did not serve some purpose, nor was it elaborately ornamented, its simplicity of design making it all the more beautiful and adding to the grandeur of its vast proportions. It is in strong contrast to the rather slovenly modern buildings that surround it—a striking indication of the blow dealt to civilisation when the Roman Empire was broken up. It is this, and the thought of what the Romans, had they been able to maintain their civilisation, might have achieved to-day, that appeals to one most when one sees these remains.

The Greek influence is very strong in what survives of the theatre at Arles. Though the power of Hellas had been broken, her art lived for a while and was carried throughout the Roman world by Greek artists, sculptors and architects. Arles, in the days of the Romans, was a teeming town and a flourishing port, the rival of Marseilles and the pride of Gaul. But before the Romans came it had long been a thriving Greek settlement. The theatre was set up during the governorship of Decimus Junius Brutus, early enough for the Greek inhabitants to impress it with their characteristic art. It was on the site of this theatre that was discovered, in 1683, the famous Venus of Arles which is now in the Louvre.

All that remains from the ravages of the vandals besides many remarkable and beautiful fragments of the building, now strewn within the enclosure, are the seats forming the semi-circular auditorium, more or less well preserved, and two exquisite columns, one of Carrara, the other of African marble—all that is left of the colonnade which stood in front of the stage wall. Though this theatre has been in ruins for so many centuries, can one stand among its remains and be unconscious of the great episode that is taking place there? Those two slender marble columns standing close together on the green sward like a monument to the fame and memory of the departed actors who stirred the emotions of bygone audiences; those seats deserted by the onlookers; for when there is no excitement to arouse their curiosity and there are no popular actors to applaud, crowds quickly melt away. It is a silent and motionless scene, a tense moment in the great Drama of Destiny! All that has gone before has worked up to an impressive climax, charged with expectancy of what may happen. Will such art, grace and renown ever again come to this planet as was known when that theatre was whole, and when Tragedy and Comedy reached loftier heights than have ever been known, either before or since?

Two splendid relics of the architecture of the Ancients still stand, close together, outside the town of St. Rémy on the "Plateau des

Antiquités," where once stood the Roman town of Glanum Livii. The first is the Triumphal Arch set up by Julius Cæsar to commemorate the surrender of Vercingetorix. No earlier form of this type of building exists anywhere. The top portion is no longer there, but what remains is unique. It is a single arch, its sides ornamented with engaged fluted columns, now broken, and what is left of bas-reliefs representing chained captives. But the arch itself is superb, not only in symmetry but in decoration, the archivolt being richly carved in a garland of fruits and leaves as full of detail as could be found in the carvings of a Gothic cathedral. On looking up at the wide vault, the eyes are attracted by a charming pattern of hexagonal caissons, deeply recessed and centred with rosettes.

The other relic is the Triumphal Monument set up to commemorate the victory of Caius Marius over the Teutons and Ambrons, and of Catullus, his colleague in the consulship, when their combined forces crushed the Cimbrians upon Raudine Plain. It is composed of three distinct portions or storeys. The first storey, or the basement, is square, and its sides are decorated by four bas-reliefs the subjects of which are much disputed, but of which three appear to be incidents in battles, and the fourth a hunting scene. The next storey, supported by the basement, is pierced on each of its four sides by an archway which goes clear through to the opposite side with a three-quarter pillar of the Corinthian type at every angle. Above this again more delicate carving in the form of a frieze representing mythological marine monsters. Above that a circular colonnade of ten Corinthian columns with rich capitals that support a cupola. Within the colonnade are standing the statues of the consuls, Caius Marius and Catullus. Elisée Reclus says of it, "C'est l'édifice le mieux conservé qu'il y ait dans le monde, néanmoins il est peu connu." And it is indeed worthy of greater recognition. The noble forms of the two relics of Glanum Livii, with the peaks of La Chaine des Alpines rising behind them, stand like two sentinels guarding an outpost of the Roman Empire.

As one approaches the Pont du Gard from a distance, one would be inclined to say at first sight of it, "What a marvellous piece of modern engineering!" But the Pont du Gard, which was part of the twenty-five-mile long aqueduct that conveyed water from Uzès to Nîmes, was built by Agrippa in 19 B.C. This stupendous structure spans the deep, wooded gorge of the Gardon, and rises from its river-bed to the tops of the hills on either side in three tiers of arches; first six great arches, and then eleven, and, above those, the thirty-five smaller arches which carry the conduit of the aqueduct. The conduit is large enough for a man six feet in height to walk through, and is 160 feet above the river, and the top tier is 882 feet

in length. The arches, built of huge blocks of stone, fitted together without cement, are imposing yet pleasing to the eye. The same irregularities of proportion are to be found in the Pont du Gard as in many other Roman buildings.

No water runs through the conduit now, for the aqueduct has long been broken up, first by many successive armies of invading vandals, and again, by vandals of a later period who pilfered the stones to erect their own little buildings. Only fragments remain along the original line of the aqueduct, but the Pont du Gard still stands, magnificent and immense, symbolically auspicious of the endurance of civilisation. For even if the might and enlightenment of a great people was finally broken and extinguished through their own decadence and by barbarous hordes, and even if there are tremendous and terrible perils that threaten the greatness of our own times, there is still something strong, true, and enduring in human progress that will survive. And no matter how near it may be, at times, to falling into chaos, it will still perseveringly advance step by step till finally it reaches its destined goal—Eternity. This is the thought that occurred to one standing on the banks of the river, looking up at those vast arches with their background of blue Provençal sky. The sun brightened those old stones with its ardent light. It has imparted to them some of its own colour, for they are a light golden yellow, and as it blessed them with its last ray in setting once again, as it had blessed them thousands of times before, one knew that thousands of times again it would rise and bathe them in its brilliant glory.

RICHARD HOLLINGSWORTH.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

SOME PERSONALITIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

IT seems necessary, if one is to preserve one's faith in Czechoslovak human nature, that something should go wrong in Czechoslovakia. The case of Dr. Vojtech Tuka therefore has its higher value.

Dr. Tuka is an exception to the uniformity with which harmony, racial and international, is produced in that country. For ten years we have witnessed a pacific consolidation in a portion of Central Europe where such consolidation was difficult, and where the achievement was thrown into relief by the opposite phenomenon all round. We have seen the Czechoslovak Government make diplomatic or commercial treaties with every country in Europe, balance its budget, increase its budget surplus, for instance from a surplus of 26,000,000 crowns in 1928 to one of 35,500,000 crowns in 1929, stabilise its currency, pay off its foreign loans and substitute loans at a cheaper rate. We have seen Germans and Czechs in the West, and Slovaks and Magyars in the East, of the country giving an object lesson to every Continental country in the way to remove minority problems.

But there remains Dr. Tuka. He is a small matter, but in such a background even a small matter deserves attention. He is a Magyar, or at any rate he always called himself a Magyar. Before the Central European reformation he was a professor at the Hungarian University of Bratislava. After the reformation, when Bratislava became the capital of Slovakia, he still for some years clung to his Magyar loyalties, but in 1921 threw in his lot with the Slovak People's Party. He threw it in so well and with such effect that he rose to a position of responsibility in the party. At the last election he was returned to Parliament as the Member for Koshitse.

It has none the less been an open secret that his heart has been on the other side of the frontier, and that in his heart he has regarded the relations of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, not as a means of neighbourly understanding, but as a proper object of mischief. He has, in fact, for several years been suspected by loyal Slovaks of being in the pay of the Hungarian Government. Why the Hungarian Government should pay for mischief (if one assumes the suspicion aforesaid to be well founded) is a melancholy line of inquiry.

The suspicion itself came to a head in November last, when the judicial authorities informed the Privileges Committee of the Chamber that a *prima facie* case had been established for proceeding against Dr. Tuka on a charge of treason, that is of active

intrigue against the safety of the State. Dr. Tuka, as a member of Parliament, was immune from arrest. The Privileges Committee, having deliberated for several weeks, decided on December 18th to suspend the privilege of immunity in Dr. Tuka's case, and thus to enable the judicial authorities to proceed against him in the normal manner. He was arrested, and now is imprisoned at Bratislava pending trial. The trial is expected to begin in April.

The Slovak paper *Prudy*, of Bratislava, published last month an article about Dr. Tuka which illustrates the sort of reputation attaching to him, and gives some further information about his activities. "Spectators of public life in Slovakia (runs a passage of the article) have noticed for several years past that in the People's Party, and in fact in a prominent part of it, there is a man who is an enemy of the common life of the Czechs and Slovaks. His significance in the People's Party is best shown by the circumstance that he is the editor of the official political daily of the Party, and is thus, to all intents and purposes, responsible for the tactics of the political struggle. It has long been known that Tuka specialised in forcing the leaders of the People's Party and its electorate to adopt various measures which were not favourable to the consolidation of Slovakia. Of the mischief detrimental to the national idea which has been perpetrated by Dr. Tuka in secret behind the political scenes, we still know very little. But Tuka felt so safe in his activities that he subscribed his own name to a number of activities. Thus, under his own name in the *Slovak* he cast aspersions on the struggle abroad for a Czechoslovak State by attempting to show that a Slovak who was forced to fight under the leadership of Austrian Generals was in the same position as those who fought voluntarily in the Czechoslovak legions. There resulted a spontaneous demonstration against him and his paper, and an attack was made upon the editorial offices of the *Slovak*. Then, not under his own name, but on behalf of Hlinka and his fellow deputies, he smuggled into Austria a memorandum in which he tried to persuade the world that the Slovaks had joined the Czechs only for a period of ten years, after which they would reconsider their constitutional position. In the course of the lawsuit which resulted from that assertion, and in which Tuka figured only as a witness, he gained considerable disrepute, for it turned out that no such decision had been made at the Declaration of St. Martin. Nevertheless, he had reason to be satisfied, for he partially succeeded in fostering the idea abroad that the Czechoslovak State was not a final organism. Finally, a year ago, under his own name, he wrote an article in the *Slovak* on what is known as the 'Vacuum juris,' the idea of which was that after October 30th, 1928, the Slovaks need no longer acknowledge the

Czechoslovak State. That was the culmination of what Tuka, the former police official at Budapest, who up to 1919 still voluntarily described himself as a Magyar, was able to do publicly for the purpose of upsetting the present régime in Slovakia. But this last article of his failed in its effect, and indeed, even in his own party, it increased the number of Slovaks who suspected him of harbouring dishonourable intentions towards the Nation and the State, and of working hand in hand with the Hungarian propagandists abroad against our State. To-day, Tuka is remanded in custody at Bratislava pending further proceedings against him. But this is not for any of the public acts which I have mentioned above. Tuka did things in secret which were at variance with the law for the protection of the Republic, and which were divulged to us only by his former associates in these secret undertakings. In the course of the investigation, the incriminating evidence against him accumulated to such an extent that it looks as though he will be sentenced to several years' imprisonment, besides losing his civil rights and his university degrees. Some of those associated with the People's Party are alarmed about the prospect, and by hook or by crook are trying to get Tuka out of prison. The greatest efforts are being made by the leader of the Party himself (Hlinka), who is thereby arousing in many minds the suspicion that he himself is involved in the secret deeds of the prisoner at Bratislava. In this case, there is only one piece of advice, and that is to wait until the impartial court has given its verdict. It will then be time to consider how it was possible that a political party declaring itself to be the most Slovak of all could have at the head of its Press organisation a man who was plotting against the Republic."

Apart from Dr. Tuka, Czechoslovakia life pursues the peculiarly even tenour of its way. The resignation of the Prime Minister, Dr. Shvehla, had been expected for so long that when it took place in the first week of February, the regret it caused had already been transformed into a mellow respect for what he had done for Czechoslovakia. He had been unwell since the beginning of last year, and the post of acting Prime Minister had in the meantime been filled by Monsignor Shramek, the leader of the Czech Clericals. After the local elections had been held at the beginning of December, it became clear that the appointment of a new Prime Minister could no longer be delayed.

Those elections were of some passing interest. In the past the members of the provincial and district councils have been nominated by the Government. The Act of 1927 prescribed that only one-third of those members should henceforth be thus nominated, and that the remaining two-thirds should be elected. On Decem-

ber 2nd there took place the elections for the Provincial Councils of Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia and Slovakia, which consist of 120, 60, and 54 members respectively, for the Diet of Carpathian Ruthenia (18 members) and for the small district councils. The 1927 arrangement was then used for the first time, the elections being decided by the principle of proportionate representation, and conducted on party lines, as are the parliamentary elections. The main interest of the voting was that the Communists lost heavily, and that the Czech and German Social Democrats gained ground.

Dr. Shvehla was a "safe" Prime Minister, admirably suited by temperament to help in the process of political consolidation and economic progress that have been a feature of the Republic. He has had three periods of office as Prime Minister, amounting in aggregate length to six out of the total ten years of the Republic's course.

His popularity was increased, as often happens in human affairs, by one of the weaknesses of his mental equipment. He is quite unusually absent-minded. To be always losing one's spectacles is a commonplace misfortune that befalls absent-minded people. The greatness of Dr. Shvehla was revealed in the remedy he adopted during his office as Prime Minister. He had a relay of some dozen pairs of spectacles which were placed in a row on his writing table when he started his day's work, it being a routine duty of his servants, if and when they should find a pair of spectacles, to restore them to the row aforesaid, and to make a particular point of seeing that the row was complete every morning. Rows of things became a permanent feature of Dr. Shvehla's office. In addition to an absent mind and an impatience of resultant delay, he had a prejudice against pens and a liking for pencils. Unfortunately his hand was heavy in the execution. If a pencil point were made short for him, it quickly disappeared under the abnormal wear and tear. If it were made long, it as quickly broke. The solution of the dilemma was sought and found in the provision each morning of a long line of medium-sharpened pencils, stretching across his table from side to side, parallel to the shorter line of spectacles. There was still a third row of instruments lined across his table in readiness for each morning's work, a row namely of ten cigars. Dr. Shvehla smokes too much, and it happened that his doctor strongly advised him not to smoke more than ten cigars a day. The ten were methodically lined up, a strict ration for the day.

If Dr. Shvehla recovers his health he will no doubt again preside over the Czechoslovak Cabinet and will be as popular as ever. His successor, Mr. Udrzhal, is also a farmer, a leader of the Agrarian party, and another hard worker.

THE DICTATORS : (I) GENERAL PRIMO DE RIVERA.

The attempted revolt in Spain has attracted renewed interest to one of the dictators. The quantity of ruling dictators is a feature of our time : Mustapha Kemal Pasha in Turkey, Comrade Stalin in Russia, Marshal Pilsudski in Poland, King Alexander in Yugoslavia, Signor Mussolini in Italy, General Primo de Rivera in Spain, and until lately the Amir Amanullah in Afghanistan.

It is one of the effects of a dictatorship that the outside world hardly knows how thin is the dictator's ice until the ice has broken. The censorship of news is a common precaution adopted by every dictator, for the obvious tactful reason that a general assumption of the dictator's security may become a contributing factor in that security.

In the case of the Spanish dictatorship, the six years' experiment has lacked the dramatic elements that attracted attention, for instance, to Italy, to Russia, to Afghanistan. General Primo de Rivera is one of the quiet dictators. He has enjoyed in Spain a reputation for a certain benevolence in the use of his arbitrary power, and has never indulged in the sort of theatrical pomp of power which Signor Mussolini in the early days gave way to, no doubt for the practical purpose of impressing his subjects and discouraging opposition. It has been remarked, however, that General Primo's benevolence and his propensity for "hobnobbing" with his subjects has been curtailed each time he has discovered an incipient intrigue against himself. Unfortunately for himself he jeopardised the support of the army, especially of the artillery regiments, when he ordained that promotion should be dependent on seniority of service only.

In spite of his difficulties, however, there was ground for the belief that as the result of six years' organisation he was moulding the country into a sort of settled routine. There was evidence that he was feeling the ground firmer under his feet. At the beginning of last November he issued a decree which modified the existing constitution, revised the competence of certain existing Ministries, and created a new Ministry, namely the Ministry of National Economy. The new Ministry was to be given a general competence, with the help of technical committees specially constituted for the purpose, of developing the country economically. One of the changes made in the work of the existing Ministries was that the Ministry of Labour was given an extended scope, to include not only legislation, but insurance, the organisation of technical education and the compilation of statistics.

Having thus overhauled the machinery of his Government, he next reconstituted its personnel, himself retaining the portfolios of Presi-

dent of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs, and bringing into his Ministry a well-known and capable financier and economist, Don Francisco Moreno Zulueta, to take up the new portfolio of the Ministry of National Economy. Señor Zulueta was thus at last rewarded for the unwavering support he had given to General Primo from the moment the Dictatorship was launched.

It even looked as if General Primo towards the end of 1928 had succeeded in giving to Spain an instrument of government, the National Assembly, which had proved nearer in practice to democratic machinery than anything that Spain had enjoyed under the old oligarchies. A committee of that Assembly had prepared the recommendations on which the decree revising the constitution had been founded.

If, however, according to the available information, General Primo de Rivera was moving paradoxically on democratic lines, it was soon made clear that there was a limit to the length of his tether. How did we know what was being done in Spain? Through the Spanish newspapers. How much could we believe? To cast doubt on the reliability of a whole Press may seem somewhat cavalier: but a Press working for six years under a strict censorship becomes a travesty of itself. A rather depressing illustration both of that travesty and of the general docility into which the Spanish Press had degenerated under the autocratic régime, was given on November 28th last, when a deputation of Spanish editors bearded the dictator in his den: or, as it proved, went meekly to the dictator in his den, took fright, and stultified themselves at the outset. They had had the temerity to approach the dictator on the subject of his censorship of the Press. Editors normally admit of no censorship over their news, except their own censorship. Yet those Spanish editors, cowed by six years of suppression, started off their interview by conceding to the Dictator that they could not expect, did not expect, him to grant them the freedom of the Press! To such a depth of inferiority complex had servility reduced them that they could not screw up enough courage even to ask for something for which they were entirely entitled to ask.

They therefore tentatively and gingerly made four minor requests. The first was that the Dictator should command his censors to prolong their daily work of censorship till 8 p.m., so that they (the unhappy editors) should, at any rate, be given a chance of using news that might come in up to dinner-time. The next was that it should not be necessary for each paper to obtain separate authority to publish the same item of news, and that authority being given to one newspaper, it should be deemed to apply to all newspapers. The third request was even more pitiful than the first two. It was requested that the Dictator's henchmen

should refrain from punishing newspapers when those newspapers obediently did what they were told: for instance, if a newspaper published an item of news after submitting it to the censor, and after obtaining the censor's *fiat*, and if later the Dictator regretted the permission thus given, the innocent loyal newspaper should not be penalised. (There is even on record the case of a newspaper which asked permission to publish a certain piece of news. The permission was refused and the newspaper obediently refrained from publishing: but was then fined for having even submitted such an item of news to the censor! One has to go to "Stalky & Co." for a parallel to such artistry in bullying.)

The last request made by the bold editors—bold as they no doubt thought themselves for even daring to make requests—was that threats of force should no longer be used to induce a journalist to betray the first convention of his craft, that is to reveal the sources of his information. Lastly, it was requested that the newspapers should not be compelled to publish all official statements, whether they wanted to publish them or not, but that the publication of such statements be "optional."

The mere recital of what those editors asked for establishes the extent to which they had lost all spirit; so lacking were they in bravery that one cannot be surprised at the roundness with which the Dictator proceeded to dismiss them. He promised, it is true, to "consider" the feasibility of extending the censorship hours, in answer to request number one, but the other requests he comprehensively rejected on the ground, of all grounds, that the "public" must be protected from "false" news!

Governmental censorship is productive of probably more sublime, if unsuspected, humour than any other Governmental endeavour. A play by Jacinto Benevente, of which the plot concerned the family of the late Tsar of Russia, was banned, lest the Spanish audiences should inadvertently imagine it to refer to the King of Spain and his family. It appears that even the newspapers thereupon lashed themselves into a mild fury, and went the length of criticising the censorship. They stopped well short of fundamentals, however, and General Primo need not have resorted to sleeping draughts on their account.

On another account, however, he was for the first time given cause for apprehension. The artillery officers, whose resentment against the reform above mentioned had not abated, showed themselves ready to take any opportunity of expressing their feelings. It happened that the banning of Benevente's play, being so stupid and so apparently pointless, proved more provocative to Spanish feeling than many other, more serious impositions of arbitrary authority. The students in several cities were provoked into

demonstrating against it, and the noise they presumably made started a fashion. At Segovia the artillery officers entered with alacrity into the fray, but at that time they confined themselves to emulating the student manifestations. They made a noise, and stoned a portrait of General Primo de Rivera.

More serious manifestations, however, soon followed. News of a full military revolt came across the frontier, although it was clearly difficult, in view of the censorship, to assess the exact value of what was reported. On January 29th, however, General Primo de Rivera himself made a statement in the National Assembly which at any rate confirmed the fact that a definite attempt at an organised revolt had been made. He said that a military revolt had been planned, that the plot had been spread over the whole country, that it had been defeated at the outset, except in one place about 100 miles from Madrid, namely at Ciudad Real, where the First Regiment Light Artillery had succeeded in occupying the police barracks and in commanding the railways and the roads with their guns. General Primo added that the immediate measures taken by the Government to suppress the revolt had succeeded in their object. Presumably they did succeed, or we should have heard more about the revolt. For the moment therefore the Dictatorship was saved.

An illustration, however, of the danger of drawing conclusions was given us on the very next day (January 30th), when it became known that the attempt at rebellion had not been confined to the military and naval forces. It now became known that certain politicians had been implicated as well, and a former Conservative Prime Minister, Señor Sanchez Guerra, was arrested at Valencia. Thereafter the news became confused and even contradictory. By the last day of January, for instance, the rebels had been ejected from Ciudad Real, where the rebels, in the first instance, had gained their most pronounced success. On February 2nd the military revolt broke out also in Valencia, and the outbreak was admitted in a statement issued by the Government in Madrid on the following day. On that day a former Cabinet Minister and three Generals were arrested.

It now appeared that General Primo de Rivera was beginning to take the rebellion seriously. On February 3rd two decrees were issued over the King's signature, one of them prescribing that a special court be established to support the police in their measures that were being taken to suppress the revolt. The Court was to be composed of military judges who were to have the power of investigation into the revolt as a whole. The other decree invested the Government with power to exile, suspend the salaries of, or dismiss any civil servant who was suspected of holding views dis-

loyal to the régime. In the first week of February, when the first intimation was received abroad that the rebellion had had a political as well as a military complexion, there was a natural tendency in the outside Press to give prominence to whatever news it could get. The Spanish Government meanwhile vainly attempted to combat the effect of the foreign Press by issuing official corrections of the news that had gone abroad. Those "corrections" however were hardly given the prominence that had been given, and that continued to be given, to the reports themselves.

In spite of what Madrid had to say to the contrary, the evidence accumulated, even on the strength of what Madrid itself admitted, that all was not going well with the dictatorship. On February 5th, for instance, an official statement issued from Madrid disclosed the fact that the Captain-General of Valencia, General Castro Girona, had been committed to trial for dereliction of duty. Concurrently, however, with such admissions of the seriousness of the situation, General Primo continued his attempt to combat what he called the exaggerations of the scaremongers. He made a public offer of £1,000 to anybody who could give information leading to the identification of anybody who had been killed or wounded in any of the alleged fighting or who could prove (presumably in a Spanish court of law) that he had seen with his own eyes any fighting whatsoever.

It may be readily imagined that General Primo's £1,000 was safe enough from his own point of view. It is clear that no one could have seen any fighting or any bloodshed in Spain unless he had been in Spain. The notion that anyone in Spain would accept the Dictator's challenge (in the hope of receiving the Dictator's £1,000) and attempt in a Spanish court of law before the Dictator's own judges to prove that the Dictator was a liar—such a notion needs no exploding from the outside. It may be that no one has been killed or wounded in the Spanish fighting; one simply does not know, and the £1,000 is no evidence at all. If the Dictator had offered a financial reward to any newspaper editor who could prove that he, as a newspaper editor, had a grievance, there would have been no competition for the reward.

The farce of the situation culminated on February 9th. On that day there was published a Royal Order which announced certain measures that were to be taken as a result of the conspiracy that had now been defeated. One of the new measures empowered the police to arrest anyone who said anything disrespectful about a Minister of the Crown or about any official authority, and to close any club which engaged in "illegal" political discussions. Another measure ordained that all Government departments were to start a system of registers in which a record was to be kept of the

characteristics of every person working in the department, such characteristics as his capacity for holding his peace and his capacity for working hard and loyally in support of the régime. Still another ordinance prescribed that any act on the part of any corporation in direct touch with ministerial departments which might be judged by Madrid to be a hostile act against the Government would render that corporation liable to immediate dissolution. It was further ordered that special registers were to be compiled to embody information given by the Patriotic Union about all persons who had an inclination to criticise the Government.

Such measures seem to betray either a sense of insecurity on the part of the directors, or a contemptuous indifference to its own prestige in the country.

(2) KING ALEXANDER.

As for King Alexander, the latest recruit to the ranks of the dictators, it is impossible as yet to form any clear idea either of his own conduct of affairs or of the effect he is having on his people. The usual censorship of news was promptly imposed after the King announced his dictatorship on January 5th. During the following week, it is true, certain "impartial" foreign journalists were allowed to send home a description of what was happening in Belgrade. Certain such reports were sent from Belgrade by British correspondents, and something of what they sent duly appeared in London newspapers. It was to be noticed, however, that not one single word of criticism, expressed or implied, against the régime was contained in any of the messages, and moreover, that everything that was telegraphed, whether by design or by accident, conformed to a central idea, such as King Alexander would be the last to resent: the idea namely that up to January 5th the condition of affairs throughout Yugoslavia had been as bad as could be. The guileless reader could draw only one conclusion from the reading of those reports, to wit that King Alexander had saved his country in the nick of time from chaos.

Such messages in short are valueless. There were students of Yugoslavia, outside Yugoslavia, who formed the opinion that the imposition of the Dictatorship could not fairly be regarded as a criticism of Serbia's attitude towards Croatia, and who indeed diagnosed that the Serb reaction against King Alexander was stronger than the Croat reaction. There was no doubt also something to be said for the cynical view that Croatia, having refused to collaborate with Serbia on the constitutional basis which prevailed before January 5th, was more content than before for the simple, if destructive, reason that there was now no constitution at all. That particular argument, however, cannot be taken very

seriously. It is too early to attempt any diagnosis of public opinion in any part of Yugoslavia.

Even the facts, as is generally the case when a Dictatorship has been declared, are not easy to establish. There are, however, certain broad facts, made known as they have been on the authority of King Alexander, which must clearly be accepted, because there appears to be no reasonable motive for suspecting them. It is clear, for instance, that after abrogating the constitution on January 5th, and appointing his non-Parliamentary Cabinet, with General Zivkovich as Prime Minister and Mr. Marinkovich as Foreign Minister, King Alexander proceeded to dissolve the district councils throughout his kingdom and to substitute a system of commissioners appointed by himself. Political assembly was forbidden, except in cases where police permission had been obtained, the carrying of arms was pronounced illegal, all workmens' organisations, trade unions and the like, were dissolved, and all the normal political activity was suppressed. All that happened within a week of January 5th.

It was hardly surprising, human nature being what it is, that the Magyar propagandists began to take a lively interest in what was happening in Yugoslavia.

A Budapest newspaper on January 10th published an alleged interview with Mr. Machek, the leader of the Croat Peasant Party, in which he was reported as having expressed Croatia's extreme discontent with what had taken place. Mr. Machek was reported to have said that the Dictatorship was regarded by Croat opinion as a challenge to the whole Croat cause, and that all reports to the contrary should be rejected as lies. Two days later a statement was issued from Belgrade denying that Mr. Machek had given any such interview. Such a denial, emanating from such a source, was of course, worthless; but, on the other hand, Hungarian newspapers have in the past been known to publish matter which on inquiry has been found to originate from a wholly mysterious source and from a wholly non-existent authority. In this case one simply cannot know whether Mr. Machek gave the interview, or whether, if he did, he said what he was reported to have said.

Even before the Dictatorship had lasted a week, a police order was issued to the effect that all political parties throughout the kingdom should submit to headquarters a full statement of their political aims, their rules, their officers, and whatnot, it being at the same time proclaimed that any party which failed to obey that order was thereby automatically dissolved, and any attempt to maintain it would be a transgression of the Dictator's law. Thereafter the process of political suppression moved quickly. On January 20th an edict was issued from Zagreb, on the authority of the Dictator's

commissioner, dissolving all political parties whose names included the word "Croat." The Peasant Party thereby ceased to exist. Two days later the Government ordained the immediate dissolution of the Slovene Clerical Party and the Slovene Peasant Party, and every Zionist organisation through the country. After another interval of two days all the surviving political parties, Radical, Agrarian, Democrat, were similarly suppressed, as were also the student political clubs.

By way of comic relief in so heavy-going a process of destruction King Alexander, on January 24th, the day when the suppression of the political organisation was completed, invited the general body of foreign journalists who remained in Belgrade to go and see him. He gave them an interview. All that he said, or all that they were allowed to say that he said, was that he accepted full personal responsibility for everything he had done. Whether he meant that he was in full possession of his own mental faculties, or whatever else he meant, it was clearly a waste of time to invite a body of foreign journalists to be given such news. It could reasonably be taken for granted that when a king performs a *coup d'état*, abolishes the constitution, and proclaims that the country henceforward will be governed by his edicts alone, that king is acting on his own, and nobody else's, responsibility. By January 28th he had ruled the country for a fortnight. We know only what he allowed to be known, and the story so far was wholly destructive. On that day, however, as if pausing from the destructiveness of his handiwork, he took up his pen and signed the Kellogg Pact.

(3) SIGNOR MUSSOLINI.

Another of the dictators, Signor Mussolini, has for many months been relegated to an inconspicuous place in the Press of the world, wherein has been reflected the security of his own position at home, and the quiet nature of his policy abroad. He was frank enough, when the "Fascist Constituent Assembly," as he called the moribund Chamber, rose on December 8th, to warn the deputies that his present quietude was the prelude to something more controversial. He reviewed the work of the last four years and in the course of his speech mentioned the Kellogg Pact. It was in his treatment of that subject that he made a disturbing observation. "We do not wish," he said, "to disturb the equilibrium of Europe, but we must be ready. No one of you therefore should be surprised . . . if, when the period of our convalescence is over, I demand from the nation another effort to put our land, sea and air forces on a proper footing." The consideration which led him, as he explained, to make that observation was that in spite of the "transcendental" nature of the Kellogg Pact, the reality remained

that the nations were arming themselves. Thus does Signor Mussolini promise to make his contribution to universal mischief, on the sole ground that mischief is afoot. The politicians of the world break many windows—if one may adapt a recent saying of Sir Austen Chamberlain—which the blood of men has to mend. It is true that Washington, which could set a good example, has set a bad example. If the ratification of the Kellogg Pact in the United States Senate took place in the same session in which the Cruiser Bill was passed and the Coolidge desire that the time-limit be eliminated was ignored, who shall throw stones at cynics?

The only other incident to be noted in the recent history of Signor Mussolini is the agreement he has reached with the Holy See, whereby a controversy of sixty years' standing has been settled. It was on January 14th that the first hint was given the world, in the form of an inspired piece of news, that the Roman question had been solved, and that the "prisoner of the Vatican" was to be released and restored to sovereign power. It was even then hinted that the basis of the settlement was the abrogation of the 1871 Law of Guarantees; a small expansion of Vatican territory, to be protected by the rights of extra-territoriality; the restoration of temporal power, and a cash indemnity for the loss of that power during the past sixty years.

On February 7th the Vatican made the official announcement that an agreement had been reached between the Roman Catholic Church and the Italian State. Four days later Signor Mussolini and Cardinal Gasparri signed in Rome the various documents which constituted the agreement, namely a Political Treaty, a Concordat and a Financial Convention.

The Political Treaty created a "City of the Vatican" over which the Holy See was to exercise exclusive sovereign power; it formally recognised the Holy See's sovereign jurisdiction over the Vatican, and the right of the Holy See to enter into direct diplomatic relationship with other Powers. Theoretically, therefore; the Holy See became eligible for admission to the League of Nations, an eligibility which, however, is hardly likely to be exercised, especially as the Holy See, in the terms of the Political Treaty itself, expressed its wish, and its intention, to remain outside the temporal rivalries of other States, and to have no part in international diplomatic congresses except in so far as the parties to them should commonly appeal to the Holy See for pacific intervention.

By the Financial Convention the sum of 750,000,000 lire in cash and of 1,000,000,000 lire in Italian State bonds became payable by the Italian Government to the Holy See: for which purpose Signor Mussolini proceeded to float what he aptly called a "Conciliation" loan.

The Holy See issued an official statement to record its satisfaction over what had taken place: "The Holy See considers that with the agreement signed to-day it possesses the guarantees necessary to provide due liberty and independence to the Spiritual Government of the dioceses of Rome and of the Catholic Church in Italy and of the whole world. It declares the Roman Question definitely and irrevocably settled, and therefore eliminated, and recognises the Kingdom of Italy under the dynasty of the House of Savoy, with Rome as the Capital of the Italian State. Italy, on her side, recognises the State of the Vatican City under the sovereignty of the Supreme Pontiff."

REPARATIONS AND HIGH FINANCE.

The reparation experts have met at last. It was decided that they should meet as long ago as September 16th, 1928. They actually did meet on February 11th, 1929. The interval of nearly five months was taken up by political squabbles on the part of the diplomatists: about which squabbles much has already been written.

It is a matter for satisfaction that this important problem of removing reparation controversy from the path of international peace and commerce has itself for the moment been removed from the mischievous influences of the politicians. It is generally a matter for congratulation when anything is removed from the grip of the politicians.

In this case the views of the politicians had been repeated *ad nauseam* long before the experts met. Germany's case was simple, and her politicians could not go wrong. She wanted three things, the first reasonable and natural, the other two reasonable and abundantly justified: namely (1) that her final liability be fixed as low as possible; (2) that the Rhinelands be evacuated; (3) that the other Powers of the world should disarm to the extent that she herself had been forced to disarm. The German view regarded those three postulates as aspects of one whole. The French view, by contrast, expressed a hundred times and repeated in all its forms by M. Poincaré in his now famous Chambéry speech (September 30th), ruthlessly refused to recognise any aspect of the problem except the size of the indemnity. What France wanted, said M. Poincaré, with a total disregard of practical possibilities, was that Germany should pay to her enough reparation to cover what she (France) regarded as the damages she had suffered, and in addition a sum equal to the amount she owed both to the United States and to Great Britain. The British politicians meanwhile said nothing, except every now and then that its only interest in the settlement was that the Balfour principle be satisfied.

The reason why a new examination of the reparation problem now became necessary was that it had become increasingly expedient that a definitely fixed funding arrangement for the German debt should take the place of the indefinite Dawes Plan drawn up and put into operation in 1924. The indefiniteness of that Plan consisted in this, that although a precise scheme of annuities was fixed, a subsidiary arrangement was added whereby the annual sums were to be adjusted in accordance with an Index of German prosperity. The annuities were fixed on an ascending scale, culminating in the standard annuity of £125,000,000 now this year (September, 1928, to September, 1929) for the first time payable. The question therefore arose: was Germany prosperous enough to pay more than the standard annuity, or not prosperous enough to pay as much? It followed from the 1924 plan that the indeterminate effect of the Prosperity Index would remain as a permanent feature of the settlement. Bankers and business men have felt ever since that such vagueness constitutes a standing obstacle to the resumption of normal economic relations, both in Europe and between the European countries and the United States. It was the pressure of the banks and of industry, and perhaps the electoral value of such pressure, that induced the politicians last September to agree to a new examination of the problem. It was agreed that as a preliminary step the whole problem should be submitted to experts, on the 1924 analogy, who should then submit an agreed recommendation to the Governments.

The experts held their first meeting in Paris on February 11th. The main influence represented by the experts was that of the banks, whose influence is always pacific and progressive. One remembers the sinister rôle that is nearly always ascribed by ignorant people to "international finance" whenever wars loom on the horizon. It would be nearer the truth to say that if the peace of the world were unreservedly dependent on international finance, there would never be any war at all.

Both the British experts, Sir Josiah Stamp and Lord Revelstoke, are directors of the Bank of England, Herr Schacht is the President of the Reichsbank, M. Moreau is Governor of the Bank of France. The banks have the whip hand in all reparation settlements, as was illustrated in 1924 and again in 1926, when M. Briand discussed a certain puerile arrangement with Herr Stresemann at Thoiry, only to find that the banks of Berlin, London and New York quickly laughed the arrangement out of court.

Industry was likewise powerfully represented by the experts. Mr. Owen Young is chairman of the General Motors Corporation; Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan is a director of the United States Steel Corporation, as well as a partner in the famous J. P. Morgan &

Company, of New York, London, and Paris; Sir Josiah Stamp, in addition to being a director of the Bank of England, is President of the Executive of the L.M.S. Railway, Dr. Vögler, the second German delegate, is the President of the Ruhr Steel Trust, and a member of the board of several engineering concerns; Signor Pirelli, the chief Italian delegate, is a former President of the International Chamber of Commerce.

The full committee consisted of the following: Sir Josiah Stamp and Lord Revelstoke (Great Britain); Herr Schacht and Dr. Vögler (Germany); M. Moreau and M. Parmentier (France); Signor Pirelli and Signor Suvich (Italy); M. Francqui and M. Gutt (Belgium); Mr. Kengo Mori and Mr. Takashi Aoki (Japan); Mr. J. P. Morgan and Mr. Owen Young (United States). Their terms of reference were simple enough, restricting them to a consideration of the amount of reparation, expressed in terms of annuities, that Germany was capable of paying. That simple formula suited British ideas admirably, because in all the series of discussions about reparations, from the Bonar Law plan of January 1st, 1923, onwards, the British representatives have stipulated that discussion is useless unless reduced to terms of annuities. Capital figures are useful only as indicating the total value, at any given moment, of a series of annuities. Granted that the delegates were disposed not to waste time by talking in capital terms, the business of Sir Josiah Stamp and of Lord Revelstoke was simple. Subject to the proposed arrangement being based on Germany's reasonable capacity to pay, all that they had to do was to watch lest the solution conflicted with the Balfour postulate that British annual receipts from reparations and inter-Allied debts should tally with the annual British liability to the United States.

The result of the experts' work was not known when this paper was written. The committee started well by electing Mr. Owen Young to the Chair and sending a telegram of greetings to General Dawes. It is always a desirable achievement to hitch American prestige to a good cause.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

February 15th, 1929.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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PONTIUS PILATE.*

It is in the interest of what is called the Higher Criticism of the New Testament as well as in the more general interest of the Christian public that the trial of the Founder of Christianity at the hands of the Jews and the subsequent trial, if it was a trial, by Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator of Judæa, should be subjected to the tests that only a trained legal mind can give to that dread event. It is necessary, therefore, to welcome the earnest study of the subject that has been written by Lord Shaw of Dunfermline, the well-known Lord of Appeal. His conclusions are reached by judicial treatment.

The subject is one which even in a sketch is worthy of being treated judicially; and therefore (which is the true secret of any judicial treatment) with resolute dispassion. Such a bare and studied realism yields a rich fruit of interest. Let one, for instance, set on one side either horror at the tragedy, or the movings of compassion with the Victim. On another let him forswear antagonisms, and of these one in particular—namely, that antagonism to ancient formularies which tempts the mind to prejudice by the contrast of these with the humaner and more tolerant considerations of a modern age.

It is assumed, of course, that the record of the trial and execution is a real historical record, made by four different sacred writers who were contemporaries of Christ; and, further that the references by others to the events and their immediate and striking sequences are real and historical references.

* *The Trial of Jesus Christ.* By The Right Hon. Lord Shaw of Dunfermline. George Newnes. 2s. net.

The conclusion is arrived at by this very experienced judge

that while there may be great variety in detail, or in the forms of expression, or in the narrative of occurrences, or in the accent put upon incidents—all according to the light in which they have struck the writer's or the witnesses' memory or reflection—yet underneath all these things the substance and the weight of the narrative are true. In the case of the trial of Jesus Christ the simplicity with which events of stupendous import are told arrests and holds the mind, making an indelible impression, and leaving an abiding sense of the realism and veritable fact of the most tragical incident in all human history.

Lord Shaw deduces from these indubitable narratives that Jesus Christ underwent a double trial, one Jewish, one Roman, and he gives some space to scrutinise and survey the procedure under each of these systems. In the case of the Jewish trial he assumes that the Mishna includes those procedural traditions "which were admittedly in force as law when the Christian era began." This is probable but not, it is submitted, certain. We do not know exactly the procedure of the Sanhedrin at the time, though it is more than probable that when the procedure was committed to writing in the second century of our era it included a procedure that was then very ancient. For the purposes of considering the case, it is not unreasonable to assume that this was so, but in order to be perfectly fair to the Sanhedrin the doubt must be kept in mind. There is one other difficulty that Lord Shaw does not deal with. The narratives of the Gospels leave us in doubt as to the hour of the trial. Lord Shaw assumes that it was at the dead of night, but there is the weighty evidence of the Third Gospel that it took place at dawn which at the latest, if we take Easter at the latest possible date, must have been somewhere about half-past three in the morning. Lord Shaw has the right to accept the very early evidence of the Second Gospel, but we must face the fact that there are great difficulties in accepting that evidence as conclusive, since St. Mark (and the Gospel of St. Matthew) tells us that there was a meeting of the Sanhedrin at dawn. If the procedure of the second century was operative at the time of the trial the Sanhedrin should have the benefit of the doubt on this point, especially as according to St. Luke no judgment of death was given.

Apart from this question arises the procedure of the trial, whatever might be the hour at which it took place. Lord Shaw emphasises the point that according to Hebrew law there was no triable matter. There was the necessary concurrent testimony of two witnesses as to one point, that Christ asserted that he could "destroy the material Temple and rebuild it in three days," but such a claim (which he fulfilled in his own Person) could not lay the foundation of a capital charge. Lord Shaw is clear on the evidence

before him that there was no capital charge, and therefore "By law, the prisoner stood free; the entire proceeding suffered arrest; trial was impossible." Caiaphas in these circumstances took an amazing course. He questioned the Accused and

contrary to Hebrew Law, he founded upon the Accused's own answers, and there and then he formulated a charge himself—a charge importing death . . . the High Priest rent his clothes and ended the so-called trial by the declaration that there was no need of further witnesses. In that sentence he abandoned the humane prescriptions of Hebrew Law; and the trial plunged on, through informality and illegality, to condemnation and to death.

Lord Shaw weightily dwells upon the precipitancy of the whole proceedings. No system of procedure could tolerate that precipitancy. It was clearly a violation, of the most horrible kind, of natural justice. Even if the Court is given the credit of actually following the traditional procedure (and it is not absolutely certain that this credit, for what it is worth, is not due to the Tribunal) yet it could only have been followed in the letter and not in the spirit, and there can be no manner of doubt that (so far as, at any rate, human equity is concerned), as Lord Shaw says,

Viewed simply as a trial and an incident in human history it was, as far as the Hebrew side of the transaction was concerned, a deliberate and defiant illegality, a swift and pitiless judicial murder.

That conclusion is undoubtedly right, even if the Chairman of the Sanhedrin had managed to square the consciences of the judges in the matter of formal procedure. Indeed, the more points we give to the Court in the way of formal adhesion to the customary procedural law the more abhorrent becomes the conclusion of the Court. A judicial murder is the worst of all murders.

When we come to the question of the Roman State in the greatest tragedy of tragic Jerusalem, I am venturing, with the anxious diffidence necessary in such a case, to differ from Lord Shaw on a vital question of fact. I should not venture to differ on a question of law, but the historical question is open to all the world for consideration. I am the more diffident since Lord Shaw is on the side of the angels, so to speak; that is to say, he expresses with his wonted clarity the opinion as to Pontius Pilate which all the Western world holds. On this point I write as *Athanasius contra mundum occidentalem*. Lord Shaw has no doubt whatever, and the Western world has not and never has had any doubt whatever, that Pontius Pilate "stood free to review the whole proceedings, to decline execution of sentence, and to set the accused at liberty, declaring that he had done nothing worthy of death." Lord Shaw considers that "Pilate had a bad record . . . that he was an unpopular Governor, unscrupulous, and with no hesitation in shedding of blood." In fact, he accepts the

statements of Josephus without demur. I rather protest against the full acceptance of what Edward Gibbon calls "the popular rumours of Josephus." They were, in the case of Pilate, written many years after the alleged events to which they refer, and though there was no doubt some truth in the rumours, yet the truth is not against the character of Pilate. To introduce a necessary water supply into Jerusalem and make the Temple pay for it may have been the act of a Mussolini, but it was hardly a crime. There is really no historical proof that Pilate was a bad man. All the best evidence is the other way. There is no record of the pillaging of the people over whom he was placed, a familiar vice of Roman Governors. He was a moral man. The best evidence for that is that he had taken advantage of the recent ruling of the Senate and had brought his wife with him to Judæa and that they were on the best of terms. Pilate was on bad terms with Herod, which says much for Pilate. He was an able man well versed in the law; that is shown by his weighty dismissal of the very plausible case of treason towards Cæsar formulated against Christ. Called from his bed in the early morning to deal with the charge, he made up his mind that without doubt there was nothing in the charge. He was able decisively to make up his mind, the first quality of a good judge and a good administrator. Lord Shaw, always anxious to do full justice, pays with respect to the famous interview between Christ and Pilate a notable tribute to Pilate:

I venture the belief that in all the history of human opinion and freedom the first true gleams of the light of toleration are to be found in the hesitations of Pontius Pilate. It was a noble and thoughtful and philosophic anxiety. I reckon at the very highest such anxiety of mind.

Lord Shaw has to reconcile this "noble and thoughtful and philosophic anxiety" with his belief that Pontius Pilate "was wicked." Pilate formally declared that he was "innocent of the blood of this just person" after he had done all that in him lay to carry out his own view of the law. "Roman jurisprudence had done its task, it had acquitted Jesus Christ." Pontius Pilate had no doubt whatever that in the region of Roman jurisprudence Jesus Christ was innocent. Yet, after all his efforts, the sending to Herod, the offer to free Christ according to the custom of the Jews, Pilate handed him over to the Jews to be executed under the superintendence of his own small band of soldiers.

The whole story is inconsistent. Lord Shaw finds a solution in the belief that Pilate feared impeachment. "When the threat of personal impeachment of himself as Governor came, his courage wilted away," and a pitiable capitulation to the Jewish mob followed. But such a conclusion was not like the man whom Lord

Shaw depicts, the man who when "the mob was in command" publicly declared his own innocence. The declaration of innocence by Pilate is evidence that must be displaced, and it cannot be displaced by the late allegation of Josephus that he was of bad character. There must be some other explanation, and fortunately there is another explanation which merits the attention of Lord Shaw and of the Higher Critics. It is, in brief, this: that Pontius Pilate had not the authority, as he certainly had not the physical power, to alter the decree of the Jewish Ecclesiastical Court. If that is so, the whole story becomes clear. If he had authority he had no need to fall back on any expedients to save Christ. The Roman fiat would go forth in the cold Roman way. But the Roman State had not invested this Roman administrator with the power to reverse the decision of the Sanhedrin. Therefore he had recourse to various expedients, all of which having failed, he, in the most formal manner known to the Jewish people, declared officially his own innocence.

Why do I say that he had not the juridical power to save Christ? I submit that that is clear from the history of Roman Syria Palestina, that is to say, of Roman Judæa. It is a long story, but it may be put in a few sentences. Judæa was for the purposes of Roman administration a dependency of Roman Syria from 64 B.C., when Pompey captured Jerusalem and destroyed its walls, until A.D. 70, when Titus finally subdued the fanatical Jewish people and placed Judæa as a separate province under a Legate who had his seat at Cæsarea. The intervention of Julius Cæsar in 48 B.C. regulated the relations of the Jewish nation and the Roman people. There is, I submit, clear evidence that those relationships were regulated by treaty. The question of the treaty has been fully discussed with authorities by Dr. Rice Holmes in his great book on the Roman Republic. In the case of allied peoples subordinate to Rome the procurator in charge of an area had not the judicial powers that were vested in a Legate governing a province. After A.D. 70 the Legate of Judæa had the powers which Lord Shaw attributes to Pontius Pilate, and it was not unnatural for the author of the Gospel of St. John, writing twenty or thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, to assume, as Lord Shaw assumes, that Pilate had those powers.

Whence St. John, whom I assume to be the author of the Fourth Gospel, obtained his account of the interview between Christ and Pilate it is impossible to say, but he must ultimately have had it from Christ Himself, or from Pilate, or from some official in the Prætorium. It is an attractive theory to suggest that Pilate told his wife, and that Claudia Procula, who traditionally was very friendly with the Jews, told St. John. However that may be, it is

quite easy to understand that in the setting down of the tradition the author should credit Pilate with the powers of the Legate then ruling Judæa. It is not the type of evidence that can overrule the known practice of the Romans in the case of an allied people to allow that people to give their laws, and especially their religious laws, full play. All that the Romans insisted upon was that a capital sentence should be carried out by the dominant power.

I may illustrate this point from a curious fact in the history of divorce which I came across when I was acting as historical secretary to the Royal Commission on Divorce and embodied in my first Appendix to the Report. Among the Jews, according to the evidence given to the Commission by Mr. Abrahams, the penalty for proven adultery, not later than A.D. 30, was capital punishment. The Supreme Court, the Sanhedrin, finally dealt with such a charge. If such a case had happened (as it might have happened) when Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judæa and a capital sentence was formulated by the Sanhedrin, is it conceivable that Pilate, applying the well-known rules of the Roman law of divorce to such a case, taking into account the loose views of marriage (recorded in the *Laudatio Turiae*, written in the age of Augustus) that were at that very date permeating all Roman society, could have reversed the decision of the Sanhedrin and declared that the case would be met by a divorce with a partial loss of interest in the *dos*? It is frankly inconceivable, and Pilate would have had to carry out the death sentence of the Sanhedrin. It is submitted that Pilate's hands in all such cases were absolutely tied, and that he did all that he could do to save Christ, and having failed at every turn, sacramentally declared his own innocence.

To my mind the case for Pilate is overwhelming, and his innocence was in fact admitted in some of the great Churches of the East. No one of the three great Christian Creeds condemns him. The chief and, indeed, the only doubt in my mind, is that Lord Shaw, with his vast experience of the weight of evidence, does not take this view, but is clearly convinced that Pilate was a wicked man. That must make me pause. But Lord Shaw in fact does not enter, in his valuable little book, into the historical questions of Roman Administrative Law that I have ventured to discuss. The subject of the actual legal powers of Pilate is therefore open for discussion. The importance of the matter is obvious, since if the view that I have advanced here is sound it gives a different orientation, so to speak, to the whole Biblical narrative, and makes the character of Pilate attune to the reported interview with Christ upon which Lord Shaw lays stress with full appreciation of the open and judicial mind of the Procurator of Judæa.

J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY.

THE ORIGINS OF THE WAR.*

Professor Sidney Fay's stout volumes fulfil and indeed surpass the expectations which their long-deferred publication had aroused. Ever since his famous articles in the *American Historical Review* in 1920, which first revealed to his countrymen the complexity of the problem of war-guilt, students all over the world have been looking forward to a detailed analysis of the manifold causes of the great catastrophe by the same cool and critical brain. He has refused to be hurried, and his patience is rewarded by the accumulation of such a mass of material that there is no longer any excuse for facile simplifications. He has mastered the whole evidence, including the valuable testimony still half-hidden in the Slavonic languages, and he pronounces judgment on statesmen, parties and countries with serene impartiality. He has no thesis to prove or disprove, and is out for truth alone.

The first volume, entitled *Before Sarajevo*, opens with an introduction on "Responsibility," on the chief witnesses, and on the underlying causes of the war. A second chapter rapidly sketches the formation of a network of secret alliances between 1872 and 1890. In the third we reach the creation of the Triple Entente, as a result of the Franco-Russian alliance in the nineties and the reconciliation of Great Britain with France and Russia between 1903 and 1907. Two more weighty chapters carry us through the Agadir crisis and the Balkan wars to the Sarajevo murders in June, 1914. It is a sinister picture of international anarchy, in which the division of Europe into two armed camps is complicated by suspicions and treachery between members of the same group. The Powers which emerge from Professor Fay's searching examination with the greatest number of black marks are Russia and Italy, each of which acted on important occasions with utter disregard of the obligations of good faith and loyalty to their allies. The blunders of the Central Powers are exposed with equal vigour. A new and dangerous spirit is shown to have entered French policy with the emergence in 1912 of Poincaré, whose voluminous apologia is subjected to sharp criticism, though our author rejects the contention that he deliberately worked for war. Great Britain, alone of the European Powers, was profoundly pacific, for she alone possessed all that she desired. But in his endeavours to keep what we had got, Sir Edward Grey "entered upon that slippery path of thinking that he could encourage the French with joint military preparations, and yet keep his hands free—a fatal double policy which he pursued for eight years." Of all the performers on the crowded stage

* *The Origins of the World War*. Two vols. By Sidney B. Fay. The Macmillan Company, New York. 1928.

Izvolsky is the most dangerous and disagreeable, Grey and Bethmann the most honourable and attractive.

The second volume, entitled *After Sarajevo*, opens with three chapters on Franz Ferdinand, the assassination plot and the responsibility for the murder. English readers, who have digested all that Miss Durham has to say on one side and Professor Seton-Watson on the other, will feel grateful to the American scholar who approaches the subject with a fresh mind and lays the whole evidence before them. The verdict goes heavily against Serbia; for Professor Fay accepts the substantial accuracy of Ljuba Jovanovich's damaging confession that Pasitch was aware of the Sarajevo plot, and finds no trace of an effective warning to Vienna. When, however, the scene shifts from Belgrade to the Ballplatz he treats Berchtold with no less severity than Pasitch, and laments that the state of the world lay in such headstrong and incapable hands. That Austria was the tool of Germany is a legend, and indeed under Aehrenthal and Berchtold the policy of the Central Powers in the Near East was made at Vienna, not at Berlin.

The larger part of this fascinating volume is devoted to unraveling once again the tangled skein of the negotiations of the twelve days. Italy stood more or less outside the controversy, and did nothing to precipitate the catastrophe. The two men who worked hardest to keep the peace were Grey and Bethmann; but the former was a member of a divided Cabinet, and the latter had committed the fatal error of giving Austria a blank cheque on July 5th. France had no desire for war; but Poincaré's visit to Petrograd stiffened the back of Sazonoff, who, though not wishing to fight, preferred a world-wide conflagration to passive contemplation of the chastisement of his Serbian protégé. That Russia's general mobilisation made war inevitable is as certain as that the Austrian ultimatum rendered it almost impossible to avert. The volume ends with a chapter of conclusions, of which the first sentence categorically declares "None of the Powers wanted a European war." Germany, he adds, "did not plot a European war, did not want one, and made genuine though too belated efforts to avert one. She was the victim of her alliance with Austria and of her own folly." Professor Fay stands above the battle, and his masterly work may be recommended both to specialists and to the general reader as the best of the many treatises on the origins of the war.

G. P. G.

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THE SOUL OF SOMERSET.*

This is just the book for a quiet evening beside a wood fire that recalls pine woods and plantations whence the logs drew life. Mr.

* *Under the Spreading Chestnut Tree: A Volume of Rural Lore and Anecdote.* By Walter Raymond. Folk Press Ltd., London.

Walter Raymond knows his Somerset and its folk and its dialects, and what is more, he revels in it all. Witches or wenches, no matter which, all are grist that come to his magic mill, and his laughter is always mixed with love of the "wold voke agone." "Zumerzet" is a wonderful county, worthy of all exploration, and the author of this book has the happy gift of making it as alive to others as it is to himself. True and first-hand knowledge makes for literature, and if seasoned with imagination triumphs into poetry, and many of Mr. Raymond's impressions are poetic. He sees nature at the fount and follows her course with joy. Be the theme ever so humble, or the dialect ever so basic, it points a moral or adorns a tale.

Dialect is an interesting study, words are queer factors, and we use them often as the uninitiated use electric light, without knowledge of their ancestry, but as a necessary means of expressing wants and ways either physical or mental. Mr. Raymond points out that dialect and rural speech are not to be confounded. "Dialect is archaic, and has come down by 'word o' mouth' from our Saxon ancestors. Humble rural people read very little, many of them not at all. True dialect therefore is a direct inheritance and the rest an accretion." He gives many instances which might be multiplied not only in Somerset but wherever a true dialect is spoken. On the other hand, Mrs. Malaprop often holds her own in rural speech since some men and women are like parrots, and indulge in grandiose words which have no connection with their use, except a similarity of sound.

Mr. Raymond's own detailed observation of the habits of animals and of bird life are very interesting. The description of the plantation besieged by starlings for a roost, and the utter impossibility of ejecting them is well told and worth quoting:

"There," cried Jimmy Pilton, "Idden that a zight then? They've a-tookt thik plantation for a roost, and ther's millions o' 'em—nothen can't stop 'em—nothen can't turn 'em—nothen can't drive 'em, me an' the boy have a-stood an' shot vower barrels into the thick o' 'em an' they never knowed it. Well, they what was knocked down must sure 'nough, vor we picked up buckets-vulls—but tothers never swerved not zo much as a hair. There! Harky to 'em. Their wings do humming like high wind."

Truly the humming rose and fell like the moaning of a wind among mountains. They were long in settling, often rising again and wheeling and circling, all of one mind but with constant changes of it. It was nearly dark before all was still.

In the night we went into the plantation with lanterns, and the birds were close together on every limb and stick thicker than leaves. Some of the boughs were broken and others hanging low under the weight of strange fruit; nothing could be done, and eventually the plantation had to be destroyed.

In these wise tales nature studies are intermingled with humor-sketches such as "Miller Toop at home," and the mid-summer day dream "Haymaking by Hand," which makes one partly lament the bygone time and the advent of machinery, that almost idyllic time, when work was joy, the mowers and the maidens all aglow with "chackle chackle," song and cider—that truly ambrosial drink, fit for gods and men—which cheered their hearts and renewed their energy till the long day's work was done, and the lights coming out in cottage windows welcomed them home to the chimney corner. Alas! such things were! To-day, "neither song nor mirth, nor the 'chackle of human voices'—only the noise of a lifeless, but efficient machinery."

The character studies in this book are well drawn and not over-drawn, for we may meet them any day on Exmoor and in its villages where still witches are spoken of with bated breath lest any be within hearing. There is much pathos in the slight sketch "The Witch of Bittleton," the keen grey-eyed woman, sunburnt and weather-beaten, tending her goats by the wayside, turning with astonishment at being addressed by a stranger, perchance a wayfarer who knew nought of her reputation and thought no ill of her. Like her sister of Samaria she marvelled at his kindly questions and opened to him her "Secret Thoughts." Mr. Raymond portrays by a few deft touches the characteristics of his Somerset folk, and his picture gallery is well worth scanning. He knows his models through and through, but he sets down nought in malice; he has the seeing eye and the hearing ear, while the West Country dialect is music to his memory, since, as he says, "my heart was always in the field and with the folk." Where the treasure is there will the heart be also.

This true and simple narrative of a homely, shrewd people, and their rural lore, will give real pleasure to those who care for such noble things.

S. DE M.

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AN AMBASSADOR'S DIARY.*

An Ambassador of Peace belongs to the rare class of good books which are also good acts. Appointed special Ambassador to Berlin in 1920 and only expecting a mission of two years, Lord D'Abernon remained at his post till 1926, actively aiding to bring about the reconciliation of Great Britain and Germany. Though not a diplomat by profession he took to his work like a duck to water, and, like Lord Bryce at Washington, displayed a perfection of technique on which no professional could have improved. The immediate

* *An Ambassador of Peace. Pages from the Diary of Viscount D'Abernon.* Vol. I. Hodder & Stoughton. 21s.

cause of his selection by Mr. Lloyd George was his long experience in public finance; and his Diary, modest though it is, reveals in part the value of his counsels during the years when the problem of Reparations filled the minds of the statesmen of Western Europe. An even more important qualification for his difficult post was the determination, which he shared with the Prime Minister, to lead Europe back into the paths of peace. When the war was over and the Treaty of Versailles was signed, Germany had to be treated as friend or foe. Great Britain chose the former, France (before Locarno) the latter. "In the execution of my mission," declared Lord D'Abernon to President Ebert on presenting his credentials, "I shall constantly remember that peace has been signed." In this spirit he co-operated with German statesmen, above all with Rathenau and Wirth, in endeavouring on the one hand to fix a practicable sum for Reparations, and on the other to encourage Germany in the policy of fulfilment. He was thus fighting at the same moment against the extravagances of French Nationalism and the intransigence of men like Stinnes, who believed that bluster could save a conquered country from the economic penalties of shattering defeat. The present volume, which is to have two successors, stretches from 1920 to 1922, in other words, from Spa to Genoa. Of these and other Conferences Lord D'Abernon writes with first-hand knowledge and unfailing judgment, and his portraits of the protagonists are equally remarkable for insight and literary charm. Lord Balfour, M. Briand and Dr. Wirth receive most admiration, Lord Curzon and Rathenau most criticism, while the virtues and failings of Mr. Lloyd George are clearly set forth. But the chief picture in the gallery is that of the sorely-tried German people, "superficially unattractive but fundamentally great," whom the British Ambassador in six eventful years aided to rebuild their life on democratic foundations, and, in so doing, won their enduring gratitude.

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POETIC FORM AND STYLE.*

The Quain Professor of English in University College, London, has performed a pious, an arduous, and an almost necessary task in editing for publication a large group of lectures on form and style in poetry by his distinguished predecessor, the late Professor W. P. Ker. The task was especially difficult in respect to some 150 pages of this remarkable volume, since the text of the twenty-four London Lectures is almost entirely based on a report of a lady student, Dr. Hitchcock, of the lectures as delivered in 1914-15. The

* *Form and Style in Poetry: Lectures and Notes.* By W. P. Ker. Edited by R. W. Chambers. Macmillan. 10s. 6d. net.

lectures were many times delivered with many variations between 1897 and 1921, and they were apparently delivered without notes. The opening portion of Lecture I was written out in 1897 and is prefixed here to the reported lectures which have been collated with other notebooks and checked by a full synopsis of his lectures of 1897-98. It may be said at once that Dr. Hitchcock's report is admirable in the literary sense, and indeed is more pleasing because more free and personal—as a spoken lecture should be—than the introductory lecture of 1897. We seem to hear in the London Lectures, as framed by Miss Hitchcock, the veritable vibrations of a well-loved and familiar voice speaking at its prime of rich inspiration.

These lectures are prefixed by lectures on the History of the Ballads (A.D. 1100-1500) in which Ker quotes with amazing effect the famous *Corpus Christi* ballad (*The faucon hath stolen my make away!*), the wren-song which linked up the chivalry of the Middle Ages with the chivalry of Christ: "the frailest of all poetic creations, and no words can fully express its beauty." It shows that the Ballad "is an Idea, a Poetical Form, which can take up any matter, and does not leave the matter as it was before." Next we have the Clark Lectures delivered at Cambridge in 1912 on Chaucer and the Scottish Chaucerians and on the forms of English poetry. These are printed from Ker's own manuscripts, and they are in fact complementary to the London Lectures and occupy some hundred pages of Professor Chambers' book. They follow the London Lectures, and lastly we are given eight invaluable appendices of notes and illustrations to the lectures, and these are aptly reprinted from Ker's published work. They contain notes on analogies between English and Spanish work, a review of 1920 of Señor P. H. Urèna's volume on Castilian irregular versification, and other reviews in which Ker poured out his learning and his heart. The editing is performed in a fashion that leaves no stone unturned in the successful effort to record for future generations of students the teaching power of perhaps the most successful teacher of English in this generation.

The London Lectures deserve very special attention from students. Time and again attention is drawn to Milton, who seemed to Ker, as indeed he seems to many of the leading critics of our period, the veritable master of poetic form. It is perhaps a little hard on lovers of Matthew Arnold to be told that his definition of poetry as "criticism of life" "has some meaning." But Ker hastens to add that "the weakness of the phrase is that it makes a separation between the critic and the subject criticised." It may be doubted if Ker himself would have passed for publication the phrase, "has some meaning," since it is not everything that a

lecturer says which is intended for permanent form. Poetry is "criticism of life": that is the distinction between it and mere versification, however brilliant and clever. Beauty of sound and perfection of form are not necessarily poetry. Some of Swinburne's work which maintains perfection of sound and miraculous skill in formation is nevertheless not poetry, though it is a *tour de force* in verse. Yet we may doubt if Arnold would have quarrelled with Ker's general outlook, and Arnold combined great poetry with great criticism.

It is not possible to deal at length with or quote from these fascinating lectures, but one point may be emphasised: Ker's view that "the Alexandrian age of Greek poetry is important for students of English literature, because then modern conditions may be said to have begun." Poetry as a thing of books, rather than as a social thing for conjoint enjoyment, had in the Alexandrian age come into fashion and "many forms recognisable and important in English poetry" were elaborated in that age. This is no doubt true. The English poets have "ransacked the ages, spoiled the climes." The eclectic element is never far away from our greatest verse, and yet in the case of Chaucer and Shakespeare—our very greatest poets—it would be hard to trace, except in a curious indirect fashion, the Alexandrine influence. But the point, though not a small one, shows how thoroughly and deeply Ker analysed the nature of poetry and the relationship of essential form and style to the very soul, not only of poetry but of the poets. Form and style have spiritual meanings. They are not only the outward fashion of poetry, but exhibit, as a lovely human face may exhibit, the pure and sensitive throbbings of an immortal soul.

J. E. G. DE M.

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ALL IS BUT TOYS.*

This lordly book—no other word is possible after peering a long time upon the amazing reproductions of the dolls and dolls' houses of many periods—"is an attempt to describe in word and picture the great field occupied by children's toys in our Western civilisation, and to trace their development from ancient times up to the beginning of the modern toy industry." This work is not, indeed, exhaustive. There are some types of universal toys that are hardly mentioned. There is a passing reference to Egyptian "little wooden toys" but in fact the top, of many and complex kinds, has been long a specially English toy and the same may be said of the hoop in its many variations, the hoop for wheeling

* *Children's Toys of Bygone Days: A History of Playthings of all Peoples from Prehistoric Times to the Nineteenth Century.* By Karl Gröber. English Version by Philip Hereford. B. T. Batsford. 32s. net.

and the hoop for striking, the wooden hoop and the metal hoop. Nor indeed have the possibilities of toy-history in tribes that have been for centuries *in situ* and have persisted in their palæolithic ways into our own time been explored, while the toy-efforts of the Latin races in countries like Portugal have not been considered.

Portugal is especially interesting since the churches and towns and villages, and especially seaside villages, are crowded with votive offerings, tiny sheep and cattle and horses and other things, that are in toy form and must have some significance in the life of the children. These are very different from the funeral offerings found in Egypt. The ball, too, our favourite English toy which persists from babyhood until it becomes the instrument of the games of grown men and women, is quite neglected. In an English history of toys it would perhaps take the first place and England is indeed rather neglected in this sumptuous work which, of course, was originally written for Continental use and almost specialises in German and French toys. But a word might have been said of the wonderful doll's furniture by Sheraton and Chippendale themselves and the amazing porcelain toy dinner-services by great masters to which Mr. and Mrs. Quennell refer in their *History of Every-Day Things in England*. Nor indeed do we read anything of pictorial alphabets, battledore and shuttlecock, marbles and other material for games, but this is perhaps rather out of the scope of Dr. Gröber's fascinating book. It is well to be done with kindly criticism but it may be of use in a future edition of this work.

The introduction is a delightful translation of a learned discourse on toys. The subjective significance of toys to a child is indeed a fit subject for a philosopher. Dr. Gröber says that :

Once in a way there gleams up, phantomlike and elusive, a flash of memory in the soul of the grown-up, when he takes in his hand some poor scrap of a toy which had been his when he was little. Through a chink in the dense curtain which shrouds the past, he catches a glimpse of the long-vanished magic land of his childhood; for a moment only, and all this splendour is again swallowed up in a grey mist, and a feeling half sweet, half melancholy, enwraps his heart. The paradise of the days gone by is shut to him, and it is only the dumb witness to a happier time that his hand grasps. And yet he can trace all the threads which are dragging him back into the past, and a smile, whose home is in his childhood, lights up even the hardest of faces. But the pulsing life which the child feels in the poorest doll, this the grown-up can no longer breathe into it, not even the mother who yet can sense the faintest emotion of her child. We can therefore only let the playthings pass in pageant before our eyes, and show how in the course of thousands of years a germ idea, ever ancient, ever new, re-clothes itself in varying dress. "Play" is, and remains, the child's alone.

There is a great deal of truth in this, as almost anyone can attest, and in some cases the toy, the wool-doll, of childhood becomes a strange and wonderful fetiche with the power of calling up the ancient gods of the nursery.

Dr. Gröber's pageant takes us from prehistoric days through Egypt and Persia and Greece and Rome, through the days of European barbarism to the riper Middle Ages into the Renaissance and so to modern times, and all the while the reader and the critic of the wonderful reproductions must be thinking of the little hands through which these toys, some simple, some complex, some wonderful exhibitions of art, some crude but lovable things, have passed in the passage of centuries. Dr. Gröber thinks that there is a "lust of destruction" in childhood, but that, if we may say so, is not a philosophic thought. The lust is to take to pieces, to understand, and it was therefore that Montaigne declared that the importance of toys in the development of a child must be rated very high. He or she is struggling to understand and the child thinks with its hands.

The fact that a child thinks with its hands and thereby makes its brain and personality grow, is one reason why this book is really important not only from the sense of the infinitely pathetic, not only from the sense of exquisite craftsmanship, but from the sense of educational principles. The educationists can learn much from the popularity of this or that toy; the doll that appeals to the eye with its colours, to the heart with its fancied likeness to someone that is lovable and loves, to the toy that means motion as well as emotion. Though the commoner English toys cannot vie with the multiform and numerous toys that come from Nuremburg or from South Germany, England can claim a definite step in the history of dolls. In mediæval days an English queen imported her modish doll from France, but even France could not make the invention that meant so much to little children and in a sense revolutionised all Doll-dom (to use Lord Brabourne's fairy tale phrase).

The invention came in the midst of the terrible days of the French Revolution. It was a doll that had to be dressed by the child. The *Journal der Moden* of 1791 describes this glad invention from London. With the doll were six complete sets of dresses. It was an invention of the first order and Weimar at once put "English" dolls on the market. Germany has always been kind to English ideas and indeed they have been profitable to Germany. But perhaps not even the English inventor knew that his idea of a dressable doll was a new beginning of things and meant an intellectual advance that the educationist needed greatly at that time. The child thinks with his hands, in much the same way that a

spider takes hold with her hands and is even in king's palaces. The London doll gave the little hands a new chance to enter the Palace of Life and gave the world therefore a new hope and a new joy.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Professor James T. Shotwell's *War as an Instrument of National Policy and its Renunciation in the Pact of Paris** records and discusses the making of what is generally known as the Kellogg Pact. By profession a teacher of history at Columbia University, the author has also for many years devoted himself to the great task of building up a new international order. As a member of the American delegation at Paris in 1919 he studied at close quarters the diseased mentality of Europe, and as director of the vast *Economic and Social History of the World War* he was fully aware of the world-wide ravages of the great catastrophe. His labours during the first decade of peace have been known to a few European statesmen and publicists, but the British public will learn, for the first time, from these pages what an influential part he has played. After some preliminary chapters on war in the past and present, Professor Shotwell reaches his main theme—the diplomatic history and significance of the Pact of Paris. Beginning with the Briand offer in 1927 of an agreement with the United States for the renunciation of war, we pass on to the unofficial draft treaty drawn up by the author and a colleague embodying the French proposal, but extending its benefits to other countries. How the idea of the outlawry of war, popularised by Mr. Levinson and Dr. Morrison, was taken up and developed into a national demand by Dr. Murray Butler, Senator Borah, the author and a few other men, is a fascinating story. Two conversions were needed before the Kellogg Pact became a possibility, that of the American people (which carried with it the American Government), and that of the French, who disliked the idea of enlarging their limited scheme into a world-wide obligation. The difficulties were grave, and even the British Government, which the British people hoped would respond to the American invitation with joyful alacrity, issued a somewhat grudging acceptance after a regrettable delay. The closing chapters discuss the nature and limits of the Pact of Paris, analyse the reservations of the so-called British Monroe Doctrine set forth in the British reply, trace the growth of British opinion in favour of the Freedom of the Seas, and record the author's lively satisfaction with the loyal sincerity of Japan. Though the first step was taken in France, the Pact of Paris is the child of American idealism. Professor Shotwell's authoritative work is a symbol of the passing of the era of American provincialism, and should inspire us to fresh efforts in the best of all causes.

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In this excellent book entitled *The British in Tropical Africa: An Historical Outline*† Mr. Ifor L. Evans gives the first recent survey of the history of the tropical African

* Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York.

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

dominions of the British Empire. Mr. Evans tells us that "fifty years ago our possessions in tropical Africa were limited to a few trading settlements on the West Coast. To-day the British dependencies have an area of two and three quarter million square miles, and are thus more than fifty times the size of England. This Empire is inhabited by some forty million natives, but its white population is no greater than that of Cambridge." The book is in four parts, the first of which gives an "outline of African History" (which points out that Islam had made considerable inroads into the African Continent before the Portuguese captured Ceuta from the Moslems in 1415, the first beginning, five centuries ago, of the Portuguese African Empire); the second deals with West Africa (European settlements on the Gold Coast began in 1482), the third traces the British history of East Africa, that is to say Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Zanzibar, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika Territory, and British Somaliland, while the fourth part relates to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In the early days the Portuguese monopolised the West African trade. "The first English expedition to the West Coast appears to have been that of Captain Thomas Windham who set out in 1553 in company with an exiled Portuguese gentleman named Antonio Pinteado." The Dutch appeared in 1595 and in half a century became supreme though they were followed by Swedes and Danes and the Brandenburgers. The first English African Company, "the Company of Adventurers of London trading into Africa," received its charter in 1618. The Royal African Company shouldered the burden in 1672. It was not until Captain George Maclean became governor in 1830 that the native question was satisfactorily dealt with and justice was placed on a sure footing. The Gold Coast is a salient instance of slow British methods. Almost at the same time that Maclean was carrying out his beneficent work on the Gold Coast the hinterland of the Niger river became the object of trading and humanitarian curiosity. It is almost a century since Nigeria began to come within the influence of Great Britain, but it was not until 1877 that Goldie conceived the idea of a new dominion and it was not until 1886 that the Royal Niger Company won its well-earned charter. Lagos and a coastal strip had been acquired in 1861 and this was the beginning of the formation of Southern Nigeria. The two provinces, with their great eastward extensions, were united as from January 1st, 1914, and since 1918 Nigeria has been self-supporting and full of promise. The story of East Africa and of the Sudan is better known to the general public, but it is most useful to have a detailed account of these provinces or dominions of the Empire, as well as of the more ancient West. Mr. Evans has produced an admirable book which should be in every reference library.

* * *

Miss Rhoda Power and Miss Eileen Power in their delightful volume *More Boys and Girls of History*,* a continuation of the widely-welcomed *Boys and Girls of History*, give accounts of children who saw something of the upbuilding and unifying of the British Empire. If the stories (the writers tell us) "can claim any originality, it lies in the fact that we have tried to see the events described

* Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d. net.

not only through the eyes of the adventuring or conquering English, but through those of the little Irish girl, the Red Indian princess, or the Chief's Son of Kandy, the Burmese, the Maori and the Australian 'Blackfellow,' and have attempted to describe their daily lives." The book opens with a brilliantly written account of Bristol as seen by a boy who had tried to be stowaway on the good ship *Matthew*, where his brother was sailing with John Cabot. The mercantile almost mediæval atmosphere is wonderfully given and we see the Bristol apprentice in a triumphant moment measuring Cabot on his return for a pair of shoes. It is a good opening to a book that is going to show young people the growth of the Empire through the eyes of young people. "The childhood of Mary Queen of Scots" is in the picture since she symbolises the union of the two crowns under her son. It is a stately piece of writing and vivid enough which contrasts with the ship boy's tale of the voyage of Richard Chancellor in 1553, to Muscovie, whence he brought back trading rights: the beginning of chartered companies. From that cold region we turn to Burma just visited by an Englishman, Ralph Fitch, in 1586. The story is told by the native boy servant of the traveller. Then comes the Irish story of Red Hugh, the Eagle of the North, and this is followed by the vivid account of the Mataoka of Virginia, called Pocahontas, "the little tomboy" who, in the days of James I, played heroic adventures and ended (or began) by marrying John Rolfe, the Englishman who gave tobacco to Virginia. We see the Bermudas (the "still vex'd Bermoothes" of Shakespeare) in company with young Martin and Sir George Somers; we attend the last voyage of Hudson, who was cast adrift by mutineers. The tragedy of the dread story is told in a fashion that brings tears to the eyes since Jack who tells the story unwittingly deserts his friend, the son of the great explorer, and remains in the accursed ship: "I couldn't help it . . . oh Jack, I couldn't help it." Let boy-readers mark this wonderful tale, the best in a book that is full of good and noble things.

* * *

The Professor of French in the University of Toronto, Dr. F. C. Green, in his volume entitled *French Novelists' Manners and Ideas from the Renaissance to the Revolution*,* discusses numerous types of novels—the idealistic, realistic, romantic, biographical, tragic and moral—to which he adds the novel of manners, of good company, of propaganda. He finds the source of the novel in the imaginative literature of the Middle Ages—"the novelist and the poet were begotten by the same muse"—while we see the romantic novel appears in the sixteenth century. The influence of Boccaccio was notable in France and "the passion of love, its cruelty and its misery, were new ideas which fertilised the French novel." But surely the earlier French poets had already annexed this field and prepared the ground for the dramatists and novelists. The history of these earlier periods is, of course, all important, but it is sketched here with too light a hand; while Dr. Green rather horrifies the reader by such phrases as "that small but powerful group of fashionable intelligentsia, the *arbiters elegantiarum*." The better phrase is *arbiter elegantiae*, but, if the other form is used, to put an English

* J. M. Dent. 7s. 6d. net.

plural on to the word *arbiter* is an outrage. However, Dr. Green deals with a classification of French novels up to the Revolution and the work is useful in summarising popular tendencies. The author declares that neither Voltaire or Montesquieu realised that "the novel was developing into a powerful and independent genre" though Voltaire used *contes* for purposes of propaganda. But has the novel ever really become "a powerful and independent genre"? It is true that the novel or story is largely read in some form or another by the half-educated as a substitute for the ancient spoken fireside tale, and it is also true that now and again a great book appears that is called a novel but is really a great comedy or tragedy. But it is possible to think that the novel is not really an independent species of literature. It is a form of that pre-historic tale-telling which attains its true literary force in the poem or the play. Thus the novel is also a survival of the most ancient form of literature and is neither new nor independent: the ancient story that amuses or consoles or excites. The real forces in literature are the poem and the play and, though in some great instances, such as the novels of Scott, the poem and the play are disguised under the name of the novel, yet this cannot be said of the mass of literature that is born and perishes every day under the name of fiction.

* * *

This collection of *Great French Short Stories*,* edited by Mr. Lewis Melville and Mr. Reginald Hargreaves, is the very successful result of a difficult project; for added to the task of selecting from a wide field was the question of suitability of translation. The dates of the authors of the stories cover a long period of time, from the last years of the fifteenth century down to present times; while the themes of many of the tales have probably an even earlier origin. It is interesting to note the differences between certain tales and their English equivalents; for instance, Charles Perrault's *Little Red Riding Hood* and *The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood* both differ in their endings from the English versions; and another interesting point comes in the story of Cinderella. For, whereas in England we have one Cinderella story only, France appears to have two; *Cinderella*, and the *little glass slipper* by Charles Perrault (1628-1703) and *Finette the Cinderella* by Marie Catherine, Comtesse d'Aubrey (?1650-1720), have the same basic theme, but they are in no way the same tale. In an anthology it might be thought possible to differentiate between the good work, the fairly good, and the bad, but in this collection of French stories it is not possible, for every tale is the work of a master-craftsman, and whatever the theme, the construction and poise of the story make perfect balance, maintaining interest in the reader's mind sometimes in spite of himself. For example, De Maupassant's *Saved* is not a pleasant story in any sense of the word, and yet its theme is so finely treated, is so living, that it is worth reading for the vividness of the dialogue alone. There are, of course, people who object to translations, however excellent, but it is surely a good thing for non-linguists to know a few of the greatest short stories in the world and their writers. The one criticism is on a minor point: it would have been more comfortable for the reader if the names of authors had been put at the top of the pages.

* Benn. 8s. 6d. net.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

It is pleasant to draw attention to the publication of Dr. Scott Lidgett's "Reminiscences" * which are, of course, of special interest to the Wesleyan World, though this attractively written book contains a simple record of some of his other activities of nearly sixty years of almost continuous work in the religious and social spheres of English life, and of more than half a century of ministry in the Wesleyan Methodist Church. In his preface Dr. Lidgett says: "I had had no thought of leaving any record behind, though I had prepared a careful memorandum on the origin and history of the Bermondsey Settlement for the use of my successor. Yet, after reflection, I felt that some of my memories of men and movements might be worthy of a permanent record and might be of service to those who come after." Readers will readily confirm this and especially from one who, after vast experience of men and things, finds that his strength for work had come from his conception of the triune wholeness of Life, Society and the Church.

* * *

Mr. John Buchan's "The Runagates Club" † is in the best style of his work: logical, dramatic, mystic and alive with vivid descriptions both of scenery and character. It adds some good short stories to that rare form of English literature. The stories are told by successive members of a select and various dining club and bring out the character of the story-tellers and their friends with remarkable skill. The story of Jim Hallward is a brilliant psychological study as, indeed, is the tale of George Souldern (whom various curious persons will strive to identify though he is clearly a combination of perhaps three persons). Skule Skerry is an amazing and apparently first-hand account of the Northern Hebrides, and involves a description of a dying walrus that makes the mind reel. The most skilful story is "Full Circle," a delicate piece of work to be commended to Sir Oliver Lodge.

* * *

Dr. Robert Sandek in his volume "Experiments with Handwriting" ‡ offers to experts "the results of all strictly scientific researches into the nature and production of handwriting—uniting them into an organic whole (which has never been done before) and supplements these results with those which the author has obtained in twenty-six years of research work." He believes that in this book he offers the basis of a new exact science, and points the way to a fundamental reform of forensic graphology. The subject is of importance as such knowledge is necessary for inquiries into alleged forgeries and disputed handwritings. Whether and to what extent handwriting can be made a test of character has been often discussed, and Dr. Sandek deals with the subject in an interesting fashion and with attractive examples.

* The Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. net.

† Hodder & Stoughton.

‡ George Allen & Unwin. 18s. net.

THE ROMAN QUESTION.

I.

THE temporal dominion of the Roman see has behind it a history of more than a thousand years, and the associations of a theory of sovereignty older than the English language. Even before the breakdown of Roman civilisation—a sinister failure of creative power as yet unexplained by historians—the bishops of Rome had begun to enjoy a pre-eminence among the faithful of western Christendom. This prestige was carried over into the turbulent Europe of the barbarian invasions. Catholic thinkers have a right to consider this early pre-eminence and its astonishing survival as divinely ordained for the peace and well-being of mankind; the secular view has been expressed once and for all in the fantastical language of Thomas Hobbes: "If a man consider the original of this ecclesiastical dominion, he will easily perceive that the Papacy is no other than the 'ghost' of the deceased 'Roman Empire' sitting crowned upon the grave thereof. For so did the Papacy start up on a sudden out of the ruins of that heathen power." Whatever the interpretation, the primacy of the Roman see was unquestioned during the dark ages. These years of European history were years of brute force, when the whole foundations of civilised society had been shaken, and the descendants of men who had read Juvenal and Ovid, admired the works of Praxiteles, and understood the proud scepticism of Lucretius shared with unkempt barbarians the hard task of safeguarding the rudiments of law and government, technical skill and inherited knowledge. In such a time the practical exercise of unmediated authority was bound to be connected with the holding of land. Without possession of the land in the neighbourhood of Rome the splendid titles of the Roman bishops would not have saved them from the covetousness of local robbers and invading chieftains. Nor could the popes fail to see in the control of Italy by one secular ruler a danger to their independence. This is the justification of the temporal possessions in the centuries before capital had begun to take the place of land as the mainspring of power.

Historically the lands of the Roman see were obtained for the most part by gift from princes whose right of bestowal was no right at all but the result of conquest. It matters little that clerkly skill forged documents to prove that this temporal power went back to the days of the great Constantine, and was a gift in full legal authority when the seat of Roman government was transferred from Rome to Constantinople. The forgeries were themselves a witness to a general belief in the necessity of some temporal dominion fixed and embodied in land according to the fashion of the

time. Yet from the beginning the possessions of the Holy See were of little value as a security without other temporal allies. On the other hand, in their long and honourable struggle against secular ambition and iniquity in high places the popes were forced not merely to defend their Italian lands but to go beyond mere territorial ambitions and to claim rights of suzerainty, defined loosely or firmly, waived or enforced according to circumstances, over the western Christian world.

These feudal claims of the papacy only held good in a feudal age; the Italian lands could never produce wealth or men enough to meet the armies of a "nation state." In any case churchmen themselves had seen danger in fighting for spiritual freedom with material weapons. Their anxiety was well founded. Before the end of the middle ages the popes were reduced to scheming for the control of Italian territory for its own sake. There was even a time when Rome and the patrimony of St. Peter might have become a small secular principality favoured by geography, golden in art and memories, but politically as unimportant as Athens in the days of the later Roman empire.

The rediscovery of ancient style and ancient grace of living, the exploration of the round world, the rejection of the catholic view of life and priestly power by half the thinking men of Europe, the rise of great national states north of the Alps, deprived the territorial possessions of the papacy of their mediæval importance. Neither of the two international sovereignties of the middle ages had ever obtained complete recognition. After the fifteenth century one of these two powers had fallen from heaven, and the other's rule had lost its universal application. These changes in fact and idea may not have been for the peace and good life of men. There is more than magnificence of phrase in Dante's conception: *duos igitur fines Providentia illa enarrabilis homini proposuit intendendos; beatitudinem scilicet huius vitæ . . . et beatitudinem vitæ æternæ*. But the dark ages had been enough to show that history is no carnival of flowers. For a time strength seemed to return to the Roman church; its abuses were cut down; its doctrines reviewed; it found in the Society of Jesus an auxiliary as powerful as the earlier monastic orders. Italy was divided by the covetousness of the great Powers and the evil traditions of Italian jealousies. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the States of the Church maintained a precarious independence; yet from the war of the Spanish Succession to the outbreak of the French Revolution the tide of dominion was moving away from the catholic rulers in Europe. England, Prussia, and Russia took little account of the interests of the church, while the catholic princes themselves limited the exercise of papal authority within

their dominions and enforced the dissolution of the Society of Jesus (1773). These things foreshadowed the end of the temporal power. During the storm of the revolutionary wars the whole authority of the pope seemed broken. French armies overran the papal states, and proclaimed a Roman republic. Pope Pius VI was taken to die in Dauphiné, and his successor was elected at Venice. Changes as sudden came when Napoleon decided to make his peace with the church for reasons of policy, but for reasons of policy again wished to transfer the whole machinery of ecclesiastical government to Paris. Eight years after the signature of the Concordat Napoleon annexed Rome to his empire. Napoleon went the way of conquerors. The Congress of Vienna restored Italy to its princes; the papacy was established once more within the States of the Church, and left to meet the Europe of the nineteenth century—the Europe of Mazzini and Garibaldi, Darwin and Karl Marx.

II.

Once the Italians had awakened to the idea of a united Italy, the temporal power was not merely an anachronism but a positive danger to the church. In spite of the effort of clerical publicists like Gioberti to square the circle, papal sovereignty over wide lands in the centre of Italy was incompatible with a strong Italian state; papal rule in Rome was a sign of Italian degradation. Neither in theory nor in practice could papal authority over the States of the Church rest upon the consent of the governed. The Roman administration was backward, corrupt, inefficient, cruel and indolent by turns, disliked by all who had no share in the spoils. Metternich, who was no friend of reform or constitutional government, described the Roman court as a magnificent stage with poor actors. Gramont, a generation later, compared it to the government of the Sultan at Constantinople: "sauf la croix au lieu de croissant, c'est la même chose." Yet the popes of the nineteenth century fought for their temporal power with all the weapons at their disposal. It is unnecessary to describe the shifts to which Gregory XVI (1831-1846) and Pius IX (1846-1878) were put to maintain their foredoomed kingdom. Pius and his minister Antonelli, a type common enough in Levantine or Asiatic history, but rarely found west of Constantinople, staved off the final calamity until 1870.

The price paid for these last forty years of dominion over rebellious subjects was a surrender to the conservative powers in Europe; connivance at the suppression of nationality and political liberty by Romanoff and Habsburg; rejection of any liberal movement in thought or action among catholics north of the Alps.

Gregory XVI described liberty of conscience as a pestilential error; Pius IX catalogued as one of the false opinions of his age the view that the Roman pope "*potest ac debet cum progressu, cum liberalismo et cum recenti civilitate sese reconciliare et componere.*" Finally, Pius thought that the definition and proclamation of his own infallibility—under conditions difficult of interpretation—would be the best means of convincing the world that truth lay hidden in the scholastic formulæ of catholic doctrine.

Why did the popes defend with such stubbornness a temporal authority which had ceased to be of practical use, and entailed not freedom from secular control, but complete dependence upon those Powers who put down revolution within the papal states and garrisoned Rome against its own citizens and the people of Italy? Ignorance of European conditions was partly responsible. The popes were elected by men who knew as little as themselves about the intellectual and political life of modern states. The Curia was isolated in Europe. "*Tout dépend des impressions que ressentent le pape et ses prélats à l'intérieur de ce cercle où ils vivent enfermés.*" The popes were old men; Gregory XVI had been a monk before the outbreak of the French revolution; Pius IX was nearly fifty-eight when he came back to Rome after the revolution had frightened him out of his early liberal ideas. These men were not likely to attack vested interests or to break through a long tradition which they had sworn to uphold. The temporal power was no part of the eternal gospel of the church; but its maintenance, its recovery, or its increase had been for centuries the duty of the popes. A policy as old as Charlemagne can hardly be discarded in one or two generations by a society which exists to conserve unchanged the deposit of revealed truth. The charges of misgovernment were beside the point. Misgovernment might be remedied; in any case conditions were as bad in the neighbouring kingdom of the two Sicilies. Papal rule did not rest upon the consent of those who happened to live in the papal states but upon the conviction of catholics throughout the world that the pope could not be free if he ceased to be a secular ruler. Moreover, in whose favour would the pope abdicate his power? The revolution would be his heir. The revolution was the declared enemy of catholic doctrine; revolutionaries had despoiled the church of her goods, sapped the recruitment of her priesthood, promulgated a theory of popular sovereignty incompatible with the divine revelation, attacked the bases of Christian morality. Never could the temporal power have seemed more necessary. "The Roman hyena is in his death agony," proclaimed the rebels of 1831. Two years of concession between 1846 and 1848 convinced Pius IX that his duty lay in resistance, and his hope in a miracle from heaven.

In May, 1871, the Italian government published a law of Guarantees which secured to the Pope the use of the Vatican and Lateran palaces and Gardens, together with a yearly contribution of L.3,225,000 towards the upkeep of ecclesiastical buildings and museums. The law safeguarded the independence of church assemblies and the publication of pontifical announcements; recognised the status of all ecclesiastics—whatever their nationality—and diplomats attached to the Curia. The settlement was denounced by the Pope. Pius refused the "pension," and proclaimed himself a prisoner of the Italian state.

Leo XIII (1878-1903) knew more of European politics, and was less impulsive, though probably less Italian at heart than Pius IX. He worked none the less for the restoration of the temporal power, and declared in 1895—the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Italian capture of Rome—that the constitution of the kingdom of Italy was incompatible with the independence of the Holy See. At first he looked for help from Bismarck; his earlier encyclicals contained denunciations of the principle of popular sovereignty with which Bismarck was ready enough to agree. When he found that Bismarck had no thought of risking his Pomeranian grenadiers in the papal interest, Leo XIII (following the advice of Cardinal Rampolla) turned to France, disavowed the French monarchists, and found a new mode of attack upon liberalism. He encouraged the development of a Christian democratic party which should solve the social question in the interest of the church. Thereby Leo hoped to regain through the proletariat the prestige and dominion from which the liberal bourgeoisie had revolted. But the French government was not disposed to undertake adventures on behalf of the church; the leaders of the catholic social movement went beyond Leo's intentions, and involved the church in political alliances incompatible with the catholic view of society. Under Pius X (1903-1914) the Napoleonic concordat was denounced in France, and the Latin church was in official conflict with the governments of the two greatest Latin nations.

Yet the position was not hopeless. It was now clear that no European Power would help the popes to regain their lost temporal authority. Whatever the solution of the Roman question, there would be no large pontifical state. Moreover a whole generation had passed since the fall of Rome. The leaders on both sides were dead, and their successors might well ask whether the action of the papacy was in fact hampered by the loss of the territorial possessions and whether the Italian kingdom had anything to fear from a most generous settlement of the Roman question. The Pope might well think that an extension of his temporal authority would give him no more and no less influence, for the measure of

papal authority depended upon the numbers, the cohesion, and the steadfastness of catholics in the different nations, of whom to-day Italy was one.

The character of Pius X played no small part in breaking down the tradition of the nineteenth century. The Austrian veto which excluded Cardinal Rampolla from the papacy was the indirect means of giving to the church a pope who cared less than any of his modern predecessors for the things of this world. Pius repeated the words of Leo XIII, and extended the condemnation of liberalism from politics to theology with a thoroughness which would have satisfied Gregory XVI and Pius IX. But he was not interested in the question of the temporal power. His own relations with the Italian government had always been friendly; he was simple and disarming as any saint, full of the humility of a far-off mystical Italy. He made one public sign of reconciliation by allowing catholics to take an active part in the political life of the Italian state. At the end of his pontificate the Roman question was in Italy an irritating anachronism; in Europe it was almost forgotten, while to the catholics of the new world it appeared as a picturesque survival.*

III.

The radical anti-clericalism of the late nineteenth century could hardly survive the troubled years of the European war. During these years the papacy chose the part of the Delphic oracle in the Persian wars, and the catholics obeyed their governments. In the first years of his pontificate Benedict XV (1915-1922) allowed Cardinal Gasparri, his secretary of state, to make a declaration which brought the Roman question within sight of solution. Cardinal Gasparri announced that the Pope looked for the settlement of the Roman question not by foreign arms but through the victory of a sense of right among the Italian people. A second step was taken in 1920 when Benedict XV in the encyclical *Pacem Dei Mundus* withdrew the veto upon official visits of catholic sovereigns to the Quirinal. The Pope took care to point out that this concession was not a surrender of the rights of the Holy See, but an act demanded by the seriousness of the times. The times had indeed changed. The Habsburgs were gone from their high place in Europe, and the papacy was isolated among victors and vanquished; behind the solemn Latin periods of this appeal to Christendom the historian might detect something of the sadness which had told the emperor Julian of the fall of an older world;

* It is said that the election of a Dutch pope was considered at the conclave which met after the death of Pius X.

Εἶπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ χαμαὶ πέσε δαίδαλος αὐλά
Οὐκέτι Φθίβος ἔχει καλύβαν, οὐ μάντιδα δαφνην.

Under these conditions the French Government in 1921 decided for reasons of State to renew diplomatic relations with the Vatican. To Italians the implication was obvious enough. "Italy's place at the Vatican is now doubly empty." Benedict XV died in January, 1922. During the papal interregnum Signor Orlando made a speech in South America which was in remarkable contrast with his earlier panegyric of the Law of Guarantees. Orlando insisted that no sensible Italian wanted to perpetuate a state of difference which was no less damaging because it was for the most part formal. Once the Roman question was recognised as Italian by the papacy, once Italian politicians recognised that there was a Roman question, the remaining difficulties were, in Orlando's words, purely "objective." Henceforward the Italian Press was full of rumours of an impending settlement. Rumour and counter-rumour are not worth tracing in detail. It is more important to notice the attitude of mind of the two parties.

On the very day of his election Pius XI appeared at the loggia of the Vatican overlooking the place of St. Peter's and gave his blessing in the old fashion *Urbi et Orbi*. His first reference to Italy (in the Encyclical *Ubi Arcano Dei*) was friendly; he claimed the right of the papacy to exercise its authority in complete liberty, and insisted that the freedom of the Holy See offered no danger to Italians. Yet the essential condition of papal freedom was lacking, and the position of the Pope was unendurable. No definite reply was made by the Italian government; but the flood of rumour rose to an unusual height in the spring of 1924 when it was announced that the Pope would appear on territory outside the area marked off by the Law of Guarantees. The circumstances were peculiar. The Pope had given a piece of land marching with the boundaries of St. Peter's to the American Knights of Columbus. It was said that he would take part in the dedication of a building on this site. The *Osservatore Romano* (the official paper of the Vatican) announced that on the very day of the dedication the Pope had caused inquiries to be made, and had found that the land in question was outside the area recognised by the Law of Guarantees; therefore he could not appear at the ceremony. A diplomat might call this incident a "*ballon d'essai*." It was accompanied by comments upon the narrowness of the space within which the Pope was confined! At the end of the Holy Year of 1925 the hints were repeated. The Pope thanked the civil authorities of Italy for their collaboration in the work of marshalling and housing the pilgrims to Rome, and pointed out that never before had so many catholics been able

to see for themselves the unsuitable position of the Head of the Catholic Church.

None of these pronouncements made any reference to Fascism. The papacy had known governments enough in Italy, and was unlikely either to commit itself prematurely to any one party or to refuse recognition to any well-established rule. The attitude of the church towards socialism and towards the political liberalism which Fascism had overthrown was known to the world. As late as 1921 Benedict XV spoke of the diversity of classes as part of the Divine plan for human society. If Fascism delivered Italy from the class war, if it reconciled, or appeared to reconcile, the different elements in Italian politics, if it showed a way of escape from the sterile anti-clericalism of parliamentary liberalism, if it paid homage even to the externalities of religion, it was bound to find sympathy in the Vatican. So far the position of the Holy See was clear. Yet if there were to be any real improvement of the relations between church and state, the "objective questions" must be settled. In other words the anti-clerical legislation of the liberal period must be revised, and Italy must become a state in which the position of the catholic church was recognised by the government. The Holy See insisted upon its political impartiality; though certain unofficial remarks of Cardinal Gasparri described the Fascist movement as a necessity. Signor Mussolini on his side spoke of catholicism in terms which no liberal politician would have dared to use. Catholicism was universal; Italy was bound to be catholic; the reform of Italy was political, not religious. For many months the Fascist axe was double-edged. On the one hand the official connection with freemasonry was broken off, though masonic influence remained powerful in certain sections of Fascism. The crucifix was set up again in the schools and support was given to Italian missions even by colonial officials who had been notoriously anti-clerical. Religious instruction was restored in primary schools; Fascist leaders pronounced against divorce. On the other hand Fascism gave no quarter to political opponents. Among these opponents were the leaders and members of the Catholic Popular Party (*Partito Popolare*). This party was founded in 1919. Its leader was a priest, Don Sturzo; its aim was to continue the tradition of Leo XIII's pontificate, and associate the church with a forward social policy. To the catholic democrats the Fascists applied the principles of "sacred egoism" and the violence which Mussolini described as "deeply moral." The leaders were maltreated; the buildings of the party were destroyed. The Pope had never allowed the Catholic Popular Party to claim the direct support of the Vatican; but it had been regarded as a first line of defence against socialist attack. If it were to attack

Fascism with any hope of success it must ally itself with the socialists. How could the Vatican tolerate a political bargain which might well mean a victory of anti-Christian socialism or, if the socialists were beaten, might leave the church on the worst of terms with victorious Fascism? Nearly every pope in the nineteenth century had been faced with this dilemma, and had come to the same decision; the abandonment of a liberal minority, the recognition of success. Pius XI protested against the acts of violence, but broke the strength of the popular party by forbidding Don Sturzo to take part in political action. From the moment when catholic political opposition was no more to be feared, Signor Mussolini could ignore the anti-clerical elements in his own party. In 1925 his government set up a commission to review the whole ecclesiastical legislation of the Italian state. Three members of the commission of six (under an official president) were churchmen. The work of the Committee was concerned mainly with the questions of church property and the position of the religious orders. Its work was not brought to fruition, because the papacy suddenly declared that the ecclesiastical members were "unofficial" and had no mandate or plenipotentiary powers. In other words all the "objective questions" were to be settled together. For a time the Fascist attack upon catholic associations of workpeople or young men appeared to endanger the good relations between Signor Mussolini and the Vatican. The Pope was careful to protest against the view of the state as an end in itself; the *Osservatore Romano* described the relations between the Fascist state and religion as an improvement upon an earlier state of things; nevertheless Fascist Italy could not become a Christian state until after the Roman question had been settled.

It was at this time that Signor Mussolini approached the Vatican with the definite suggestion of a settlement. The Pope was ready to deliberate, if the Italian government would agree to a Concordat. The solution of the Roman question and the settlement of the relations between church and state in Italy were bound to go together. The Holy See could not recognise a government which refused to allow to the church "liberties" enjoyed elsewhere. Two years were spent in negotiation. On February 11th, 1929, a threefold agreement was signed; a Treaty, a Concordat, and a Financial Convention. The Italian government has agreed to pay to the Pope 750 million lire in cash, and a thousand million in 5 per cent. state bonds. The Treaty creates a new Vatican city. The amount of territory covered by this city is small, though slightly larger than the area delimited by the Law of Guarantees. The Pope has full sovereignty over this territory, though a convention with the Italian state regulates the apprehension of criminals. The

Treaty defines the status of residents within the Vatican city, and other ecclesiastical members of the papal administration and diplomats accredited to the Holy See. The Concordat settles the "objective questions" affecting the position of the church in the Italian state, accepts in general the catholic view of marriage, and makes religious instruction compulsory in secondary as well as primary schools. Bishops are to swear an oath of fealty to the Italian state. The Pope has announced his entire satisfaction. The Roman question is closed; the Holy See recognises the kingdom of Italy under the house of Savoy with Rome as its capital.

IV.

The solution of the Roman question was "inevitable" ten years ago; it has become an accomplished fact sooner than public opinion thought possible. What has each side gained? Signor Mussolini and his government have the prestige of a settlement which needed freedom from liberal commitments (or, in the Pope's words, "the preoccupations of the liberal school"). Fascism will continue to have the support of the hierarchy. Catholic political action outside the Fascist party had already ceased to exist; but Signor Mussolini is now on the side of the angels. The Pope has spoken of him as a man sent by Providence. The parallel with the Napoleonic Concordat leaps to the eye. The Duce is not the First Consul; but the lesson is the same. Moral respectability is worth buying; nor is the price heavy. Even the terms of the Concordat mean no deviation from Fascist principles. Catholicism and Fascism use almost the same language about political liberty; even the talk about the moral value of violence is less uncanonical than it might appear. Outside Italy the effect will be lessened by the return of the French to the view that anti-clericalism as a policy does not apply beyond the borders of France. It would be idle to ask whether the settlement will postpone indefinitely the chance of a non-Italian pope.

What has the Pope gained? He has obtained a solution of the Roman question while the "Question" was still in existence. After another generation the spectacle of the "imprisonment" in the Vatican might have become a little absurd. The solution has left intact the theory of which the temporal sovereignty was a symbol. In any case the Pope could not have refused a settlement which gave him all that he asked. Gregory VII found to his cost at Canossa that no anxiety about the future can justify the withholding of absolution. Anxiety there must be. No one outside Italy would care to forecast the political future of the Italian people. Even so, the settlement of the Roman question will have removed one of the difficulties of the church if there should be an

ebb in the tide of Fascism. The Concordat may not be lasting; but its problems are those of the whole catholic world.

There is no more danger than before that the church will become the political servant of Italian imperialism. The papacy has long been Italian as well as international: Italy has no interest in destroying the balance. French opinion, remembering the sacrifices of the French people in the cause of the papacy during the nineteenth century, may feel that the prodigal is returning to the fold with a consciousness of merit hardly suitable to the occasion. But the excited nationalism of the Fascist Press cannot be taken more seriously than the outcry of French anti-clericalists that freedom of thought is in danger north of the Alps. The French government has every means of protecting itself against Italian claims to a religious vocation of a world-wide character. The Pope has been at pains to show that he has maintained his independence, and that no temporal guarantee is needed for the affirmation of his liberty because the general acceptance of the Lateran Treaty is a moral guarantee of a universal nature. It is too early to speak of the effect of the Lateran Treaty upon the relation of the papacy to the League of Nations. The Pope has stipulated that he shall remain outside all questions of temporal competition between states, and shall not be a member of congresses convened to deal with questions of this kind. It is difficult to see how the papacy could find representation upon the League. The church is an international society; the Vicar of Christ on earth is the only infallible judge—under certain conditions—of questions of faith or morals. Whatever the juridical position of the new papal state, there is something incongruous in the inclusion of papal delegates in an assembly where the Pope with his peculiar attributes could only appear as president. Practically, inclusion might bring the Pope into difficulties no less serious than the dilemma with which Pius IX was faced when his subjects wanted to fight the soldiers of catholic Austria. Theoretically the position of the papal delegates would be a far cry from the mediæval doctrine of the two swords or the two great lights in the firmament. Yet this is neither the first nor the last thought of many minds in Europe. In theory and in practice there seems an even wider gulf which no pontifical power can bridge; the gulf between the Lateran Treaty—the slightest and most guarded claim to temporal sovereignty—and the words of the Vulgate: *regnum meum non est de hoc mundo*.

E. L. WOODWARD.

THE LEAGUE AND MINORITIES.

THE public discussions of the minority problem at the League of Nations Council meeting in March have done a good deal to clarify a singularly complex question. To put it at the lowest, they have dispelled any danger that the League may simply let minority difficulties drift and take in every case the line of least resistance and the shortest way of escape from all embarrassments. Whatever its practice in the past—on that not only interested but quite objective critics differ widely in their judgments—the full-dress debate on the rights and duties of minorities, with Chamberlain, Briand and Stresemann as chief participants, has lifted the minority problem sharply out of obscurity into limelight. Lovers of sensation were disappointed that the hostilities of Lugano between Dr. Stresemann and his Polish colleague M. Zaleski gave place to unruffled harmony at Geneva. The only speaker indeed to take exception to anything in the German Foreign Minister's restrained and competent survey of the situation was Sir Austen Chamberlain, who challenged Stresemann's oblique reference to Article XIX of the League Covenant (regarding the possible revision of treaties) with its implied prediction of a day when exiled minorities might be reunited with the country of their origin.

The Geneva proceedings mark only a necessary interim stage. A committee has been appointed to make proposals to a subsequent meeting, and it is only then that definitive decisions will be taken. But the public discussion is more instructive than the detailed arguments in committee promise to be, for it has crystallised the whole minority difficulty into its broad elements. Two entirely separate questions are involved—the proper relation of minorities to the organic life of the country in which they live, and the handling by the League of Nations of such complaints as it receives regarding violations of a State's obligations to its minority citizens.

On both those aspects of the problem last month's discussions threw fresh light, or rather, furthered a general agreement on certain principles. There is an inevitable opposition in the natural tendencies of, let us say, Dr. Stresemann, solicitous primarily for German minorities in Poland, and M. Zaleski or M. Titulesco, his Roumanian colleague, for whom minorities are too often merely factious agitators. The one threw the balance of emphasis on minorities' rights, the others, with just a little too much support from Sir Austen Chamberlain, on minorities' obligations. Sir Austen was so concerned that minorities should come to judgment "with clean hands" that he underlined that stipulation twice. No doubt they should, but there are Governments in Europe that stand in quite as urgent need of soap and water as any minority within their borders. It is impossible not to be conscious of the temptation to

the ordinary member of the League of Nations Council to view the whole minority problem from the governmental standpoint. Foreign Ministers are Foreign Ministers. They look on the life of their own country from the Cabinet-room and their natural sympathy is with the constituted powers. Sir Austen Chamberlain is honest beyond possibility of reproach, but his best friends would hardly rate his imaginative qualities high, and nothing but sympathetic imagination (not developed to quite the strength in which it exists in, for example, Mr. Lloyd George's breast) can give a member of a ruling order a right appreciation of this particular problem. Among League Council members Dr. Stresemann leans towards the minorities for obvious reasons. The Canadian, Senator Dandurand, himself a member of a completely contented minority, tends a little the same way. The others, despite gallant and earnest efforts to remain meticulously perpendicular, incline inevitably a fractional degree (one or two of them more than a fractional degree) in the other direction.

Nevertheless, certain common principles have visibly emerged, and that is so much to the good. Dr. Stresemann concedes that minorities must accept and discharge the obligations of loyal citizenship. Sir Austen and M. Briand and M. Zaleski agree that minorities are entitled to the full protection the treaties guarantee them. Dr. Stresemann protests vigorously against any suggestion that the system established by the Minority Treaties represents only a transitional régime, a stage on the road to the complete absorption of the minorities in the majority population. Sir Austen, conceding that his reference on one occasion to the "merging" of minorities had not been altogether happy, explains that all he had in mind was full political loyalty combined with full cultural individuality. And with that the German delegate is quite content. Finally, M. Briand, with his nice adjustment of national sovereignty in one scale against minorities' rights in the other, and his warning against persons "with a detestable taste for politics" who use minorities as pawns to serve their ulterior purposes, leaves the atmosphere as harmonious as he found it.

As far, then, as basic principles are concerned, the League of Nations Council, after the fullest discussion of the minority problem it has ever staged, is agreed, first, that the discussion itself has been all to the good; second, that it must reconcile itself to regarding the protection of minorities as a permanent, not a temporary, obligation, though one which it is permissible to hope may in time become a sinecure; third, that any attempt on the part of governments to extinguish the culture and traditions of minorities is inadmissible; fourth, that any tendency on the part of minorities to foment hostility to their government or regard themselves as a permanently alien element is equally inadmissible; fifth, that the procedure of

the League in dealing with minority questions is capable of improvement. This last conclusion opens up the field in which the committee just appointed (consisting of the British, Spanish and Japanese members of the Council) will be called on to exercise its ingenuity in the next few months. But even here certain principles which cannot be reduced to the level of mere detail have emerged. The League's actual constitutional powers in this matter are severely limited. The treaties which it administers prescribe no procedure at all, and though the League itself can act as it likes in matters that concern it only, it can impose no duties on governments, in such matters, for example, as furnishing comments on minority petitions, except such as they voluntarily accept. That particular obligation they have accepted, but they evince no enthusiasm for accepting others, and a committee of jurists has just advised the Council that any change in procedure requiring action by governments needs the consent of the latter.

At present minority grievances are only brought to light by means of minority petitions addressed to the League. Dr. Stresemann would like to see more continuous information acquired regarding the lot of minorities, but it is difficult to see how that can be achieved short of the appointment of resident League agents, an expedient proposed by Professor Gilbert Murray in 1922 but rejected by the Council. After all, newspaper publicity goes half-way to meet the difficulty, though unfortunately it often has the effect of inflaming feelings when it is most desirable for them to be assuaged.

But regarding greater publicity at Geneva there is general agreement. Dr. Stresemann pressed for it. Sir Austen Chamberlain seconded his demand. It is as necessary in the interest of governments as in that of the minorities themselves, and will be as beneficial to the League as to either. The idea that minorities can get no redress and that their petitions are suppressed wholesale at Geneva produces general distrust and brings the name of the League itself into disodour. So far the idea rests on rumour rather than on facts and figures. Petitions from minorities are addressed to the League Secretariat, and after being examined to see whether they conform to certain quite reasonable conditions laid down by the Council in 1923, are forwarded to the governments concerned for their observations and then laid before a committee of three Council members for decision as to whether they shall be brought before the Council as a whole. Statistics regarding these petitions are badly needed, but M. Briand supplied one valuable figure when he stated during last month's discussion that twenty-three petitions were dealt with by the Committee of Three during the year 1928 and most of them settled satisfactorily. This reduces the problem to compassable proportions, unless it is contended either that the League Secretariat improperly smothers petitions on an extensive

scale instead of sending them forward to the Committee of Three, or that minorities are so disillusioned with Geneva that they have given up petitioning at all.

The former charge is much too serious to direct against a body of public servants with so high a reputation for integrity and ability as the Secretariat of the League, unless it can be substantiated by incontrovertible facts and figures, which it has not been, and under existing circumstances cannot be. The second is a generalisation incapable of proof or disproof, though there may well be some truth in the suggestion. In any case, if the changes accepted by all members of the Council as desirable are in fact adopted we shall in future know how many petitions are received at Geneva and what treatment the different categories of them receive. That in itself will be of immense advantage, for it will either bring to light abuses which public opinion will insist on seeing remedied, or satisfy public opinion that abuses do not in fact exist on any alarming scale.

Other proposals, such as the constitution of a Permanent Minorities Commission, or the supersession of the Committee of Three by a standing committee of all the fourteen States represented on the Council (two suggestions which are not in fact so very different), raise questions of detail rather than of principle, and the judgment of the special committee on them can be awaited without impatience. But if that committee's findings when they are forthcoming are to be fairly judged, and the League's perpetual difficulties in this field are to be justly appraised, two fundamental facts must be borne in mind throughout. The States bound by minority obligations are not in treaty with their minorities; they are in treaty with the Allied Powers regarding the treatment of their minorities. The minorities are not legal entities; the members of them enjoy their rights as individuals, and there is nothing in the treaties which requires the League to act as a tribunal before which minorities and governments plead against one another. It might be better otherwise, but that is how it is.

The treaties in fact provide a very exiguous basis for League action. Along the lines of pure legality little will be achieved. It is only if somehow harmony and confidence can be established, with the aid when necessary of Geneva, that any solution of a difficulty that has existed in much acuter forms throughout all the ages can be found. In reality this is only one aspect of the far larger security problem created by the fear-complex still dominating Europe. If a country ceases to dread attack by a neighbour it will be less disposed to see conspiracy in every just or unjust complaint by a minority racially akin to that neighbour. For that problem the Kellogg Pact may be one solvent. Publicity may, in certain respects, be another. But time unfortunately must be a third.

H. WILSON HARRIS.

MENDING THE GERMAN CONSTITUTION.

THE constitution of the German Republic, if not already in the crucible, is soon going to be. Never accepted by any political party as a completely satisfactory working arrangement, it is now actively challenged simultaneously from two sides. On the one hand, the present Government is anxious to obtain a modification of the conditions under which the popular Chamber, still known by the old name Reichstag, shall be entitled to vote Ministers out of office and to make additions to a budget already sanctioned. These proposals, however, are negligible when compared with the radical overhauling of the constitution which an influential section of public opinion, representing practically all political parties, is prepared to approve, with a view to remedying evils of a more serious kind.

The worst of these evils is the administrative dualism resulting from the fact that, side by side with the Central Executive and Legislature, there exist corresponding powerful organs of government in Prussia, a State which contains about two-thirds of the area and population of the entire realm, and in virtue of that fact still continues to exercise a real, if impalpable, hegemony in its political no less than its economic life, in spite of the curtailment of its direct voice in the Reichsrat and Diet since 1919.

Under the Empire the Imperial and Prussian Governments were interdependent, since the Emperor was King of Prussia and the leading Ministers were likewise normally identical. The powers of the two Diets being then so limited, the consequence of this relationship was that it was a matter of little moment whether these bodies were dominated by the same or by different political groups. The democratic constitutions of the Reich and Prussia created an entirely new situation. Prussia still wields a powerful influence in the Reich, yet the Government of the Reich has no right to interfere in specifically Prussian affairs, and between the two Executives no direct tie exists; though it is possible at any time for the Prussian Government and Parliament to sprinkle sand in the legislative mechanism of the Reich and throw it out of order. This was the situation that actually existed during 1927 and the early part of 1928, when the two Legislatures had majorities of different political complexion. The present position of the Reich has been well compared to that of a large industrial undertaking with one general manager and board of directors for the enterprise as a whole and another similar set of officials for a part of it, yet without any organic relationship between the two.

A further source of grave inconvenience is the existing conflict of "competence" as between the Reich and the eighteen federated

territories generally, with the large amount of overlapping by rival administrative organs due to division of authority, this leading in turn to constant disputes and consequent waste of time and energy. Not long ago a Prussian Minister estimated that not less than one-third of the work of the Ministries of the Reich and of Prussia is taken up by departmental disputes between the two Governments, and this calculation took no account of the same waste caused in the higher branches of local government.

Although the Weimar constitution gave to the Reich far wider powers and functions than were possessed by the Empire, there still remain important spheres in relation to which the Reich and the States divide jurisdiction, and even some in which the practice of one State flatly contradicts that of its neighbours. Thus the Reich has a Ministry for economic policy generally and another which deals specially with the nation's food resources and supply, though agriculture is not one of its "competences"; while Prussia and Bavaria have their own Ministries for Commerce and Industry and also for Agriculture. Even in regard to matters in which uniformity of action is particularly desirable, like social welfare policy and the administration of justice, the same overlapping exists; while in the matter of taxation every State follows its own devices within the curtailed jurisdiction now assigned to it, with the result of bewildering contradictions as between one State and another. The consequence of this conflict is that on questions of such importance for Germany at the present time as the development of agriculture, which notoriously lags behind, commercial and industrial expansion, social welfare, and finance, the basis for action of a comprehensive and uniform kind on large lines is lacking. So far has the evil here spoken of gone that the existing system of administration has been called an organised system of disorder.

To make administration still more difficult, scattered all over Western Prussia and Central Germany, and on a less scale in the South, are a multitude of "enclaves" and "exclaves"—districts of various extent sandwiched in territories to which they do not, politically, belong, the "enclave" of one State being thus the "exclave" of another. In less irksome form we used to have the same sort of thing in this country, in the shape of administrative districts running into two counties. Let the reader imagine a part of Middlesex to have been magically dumped down in the middle of Kent, yet still continuing to be Middlesex, or a part of the North Riding of York as translated across Durham into Northumberland, and he will the better appreciate the inconvenience of these areas for all the States concerned. Altogether there are still some two hundred of them, the worst being those of Brunswick, which con-

sists of little else than "exclaves," to the number of 28, situated for the most part in Prussia.

A third and more readily appreciated justification for the call for constitutional reform is the excessive cost and diminished efficiency of public administration as divided and sub-divided to so irrational a degree and carried on subject to the drawbacks just named. It is necessary to add, however, that by common account the bureaucracies never grew so rapidly as during the war and post-war years, when every party in turn has had a share in the bestowal of patronage. We are supposed to have had experience of the same sort in this country.

This question of constitutional reform has unquestionably been forced to the front by the frank references made to it by Mr. Parker Gilbert, the Agent-General for Reparations, in his Memorandum of October, 1927 (lately renewed in his Report for 1928), but it would be a mistake to suppose that Mr. Gilbert discovered either the extravagance of German public administration, or its causes and possible cure. The Germans themselves had long been conscious of the growing need for remedial measures, and the large literature on the subject goes back to 1920. Nevertheless, the special position of the Administrator of Reparations gave urgency to his warnings, and in making them he performed a service as useful to Germany as to his clients, the Allied Governments, since it has had the effect of focussing public opinion upon the problem and compelling the Governments to face the need for resolute action.

Viewed from the broadest standpoint the natural remedy for the evils indicated might seem to be the summary abolition of the particularism which has for centuries kept Germany a country of so many independent political territories, sovereignties, and jurisdictions. This is Mr. Parker's standpoint, and indeed the controversy now raging in Germany turns more and more upon the question, Shall Germany retain the federal system or be converted into a unitary State? Just eighty years ago the national movement narrowly missed settlement on the unitary basis. It was during the revolutionary convulsion of 1848, when for a time the life of German monarchy did not seem worth a week's purchase, and Prussia's futile King, Frederick William IV, momentarily awed by the menacing gestures of Demos, declared that his country would "henceforth be merged in Germany," a prediction which he took good care to falsify. The authors of the Weimar constitution of 1919 would have liked to see the republic begin its career as a single political unit; but recognising the hopelessness of so sudden a change they wisely contented themselves with a redistribution of the respective powers and functions of the Central Government and the Governments of the federated States.

For the last ten years German publicists, practical and theoretical, have been busily discussing and writing on this subject, but the most important contribution to the controversy came when early in last year the ex-Chancellor Dr. Luther launched his League for the Renewal of the Reich. A little later he convened a conference of the Governments of the Reich and the States at which Committees were formed for exploring the subject in all its essential aspects. From that time to this there has been constant discussion and negotiation by these committees and their sub-committees, and many memoranda and reports on different phases of the problem have been produced by the leading Governments. In the meantime also the League published an elaborate project of reform, backed by many influential members of different political parties, as well as leading representatives of industry, finance, and economic science. As a piece of constructive statesmanship this scheme is bold and ingenious, though it calls for a somewhat ruthless measure of destruction by way of clearing the ground.

Briefly stated, the idea of the Leaguers is to transfer to the Realm the legislative powers and the central administration of Prussia by allowing the President, Government, and Diet of the Realm to function henceforth simultaneously for the Government and Diet of the old monarchy. In order to carry out this arrangement it is proposed that Prussia, together with all the minor contiguous territories, shall be transformed into a Reichsland—a term of unhappy memory—of which they would form provinces; while Saxony and the Southern States, viz., Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden, would be free to join at discretion. On the question of "competence" the League lays down the principle that the Reich should be empowered to exercise all jurisdictions and functions which are deemed to be in the common interest of the nation, the others to be assigned, according to their nature, to the States, provinces, municipalities, and other organs of local government. The Southern States have already refused to accept this principle, Bavaria claiming, with her habitual modesty, that she shall be allowed to retain all the powers which she may regard as vital to her interests, the Reich receiving whatever may remain.

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that political considerations have determined the authors of the League project equally with concern for sounder finance or even for more efficient administration. They seek the latter undoubtedly, but they also want the unitary State which was beyond reach ten years ago. The Government now in power, recognising the need for reform, has not been slow to make known the lines upon which it is prepared to approach the problem. In October last the Müller Cabinet adopted as guiding principles several theses setting forth, *inter alia*, that the reform

of the Reich must proceed from the recognition of the necessity of a strong Central Authority, the importance of paying regard to the multiformity of German national life, and the need for the greatest possible economy in public expenditure; that while a measure of territorial reorganisation is essential, it should not be restricted to those territories in which administration is made specially difficult and costly in consequence of divided areas, i.e., enclaves and exclaves; that all efficient territories should remain components of the Reich; that the solution of the problem should involve the abolition of the dualism between the Reich and Prussia; and that arrangements should be made whereby the Reich might transfer to the Governments of the States the execution of certain of the affairs now subject to its direction, but with responsibility to the Reichstag and not to the State Diets. The Government accordingly recommended that these questions should be submitted to experts for investigation and report, and the inquiries so instigated are progressing at the time of writing.

Although the question of reform is thus still *sub judice*, there can be little uncertainty as to how the main issues are regarded by political parties. It may be said with confidence that all are agreed in recognising that the dualism due to Prussia's overshadowing position in the Reich calls for important readjustments, that the present conflict of jurisdiction as between the Reich and all the federated territories should somehow be abolished, that the Reich may reasonably expect an extension of its powers at the expense of the States, and that drastic measures should be taken to reduce inflated bureaucracies and to check extravagance and waste in public administration wherever it can be shown to exist.

How these objects can best be attained will continue to the last to provoke acute controversy. What is certain is that relief will not be sought in the destruction of federalism, nor yet in the Luther League's scheme as it stands. The idea of Prussia's conversion into a nondescript Reichsland belongs to the region of Utopian speculation. Not only would the great majority of Prussians refuse to agree to this transformation of their country's political status, which they would view as a totally uncalled-for species of *hara-kiri*, to be made in the interest of economy and efficiency; but the other federated peoples would likewise oppose it as being designed to serve as a stepping-stone to the unitary State.

Apart from the powerful objections to this method of abolishing dualism which are grounded on sentiment and prejudice, there is a further argument against it in the fact that substantially the same result might be achieved as part of an arrangement under which the President and the principal Ministers of the Reich acted in the same capacity in Prussia. That was the arrangement which existed

under the dissolved Empire, and it worked for nearly half a century. It would be possible at any time, without any radical replanning of the present State structure, to unify important departments of administration which affect the national life most intimately, and in relation to which, therefore, the German peoples have most interests in common. Such, for example, are the spheres of justice, industry, labour, social welfare, finance, and perhaps education. It might be rash to contend that such an arrangement would altogether eliminate conflict, but at least it would introduce into the relations of the Reich and Prussia a relationship making for conciliation and accommodation which does not exist at present. For the rest, the separate States might of themselves do much individually to abate existing administrative abuses and extravagance if they were only set on the right way; but because a strong lead has hitherto been lacking all have remained more or less inactive, so aggravating further an intolerable situation.

The truth is that the more the League scheme as published is examined, the less workable does it appear. Like most doctrinaire projects it is far too much in the air, and abounds in difficulties which are for the most part evaded or slurred over. It is not likely that sceptics will be convinced because they are told that on questions capable of being judged differently from the standpoints of the Reich and the contemplated Reichsland "a compromise would be found because it must be found," when the only reason for this assumption is that the parliamentary deputies of Prussia and the other territories to be roped into the Reichsland "must" feel themselves to be representatives of the entire Reich. Where political and racial sentiment is strong, people seldom act as they are expected and perhaps ought to do. Nor can it be helpful to be reminded that since Prussia has already, by the Weimar constitution, renounced important political prerogatives, further renunciations of the same kind would only continue a process already begun. Of course, they would; but it does not follow that because a man has lost one leg in an unavoidable accident, he should be willing to be lopped into a torso by another accident that might be prevented. At the same time, it would seem inevitable that there must be a discriminating reduction of the small and administratively inefficient and uneconomic units. These organisms enjoy what is at best an artificial existence, and in some cases only survive by leaning upon their stronger neighbours, and allowing these to perform for them functions which they are unable to discharge satisfactorily alone. The congeries of Central German States known since 1919 as Thuringia settled this difficulty by the heroic method of political amalgamation; but there is no reason why affiliation to the larger adjacent territories for purely administrative purposes should not

suffice, which is the arrangement that has subsisted between Prussia and Waldeck since 1867. The only permanent solution of the enclave problem would be a double process of amalgamation and exchange of territory, but so drastic a remedy may be impossible just now.

To say all this is not to suggest that German particularism is a perfect political system, for it is not. The fact which has to be reckoned with is that it is a time-honoured tradition, a historic institution which has been productive of incalculable advantage to the culture and intellectual life of the German nation. Mr. Parker Gilbert's indictment of the financial wastefulness of this growth of long centuries may be perfectly justified, but if he and other foreign critics should be entertaining the view that Germany will consent to revolutionise her national life in the interest of larger reparations they are deceiving themselves. Such a claim would be just as arrogant as to expect Great Britain to abolish her ancient and revered monarchy in order that the savings on the Royal Civil List might be used to expedite the payment of our own war debt.

To my mind the great danger for Germany at the present time is too much tinkering at the constitutional changes made in 1919. Her people have accepted parliamentary government of a very real kind, on principles in part far more democratic than our own. So far they have made steady headway on the new course, in spite of the folly of the Allied Governments in withholding from the Republic, in circumstances of formidable difficulty and often of critical danger, the slightest help or encouragement. Far from that, France for a long time thought it decent to incite and subsidise seditious separatist movements both in the Palatinate and the Rhineland, just as she is doing to-day in the Saar region; while our Government looked on in silence, jealous for the integrity of the precious *entente*.

In view of all that has happened, the wonder is that the position and outlook of the new Reich are as hopeful as they appear to be. Nevertheless, although the question of monarchy *versus* republic remains for the present in abeyance, it is conceivable that conditions might suddenly arise which would bring it again into prominence, for, thanks to Allied policy, the monarchical spirit is far stronger to-day than when the Weimar constitution was enacted. What is perhaps even more important than the choice between monarchy and republic, therefore, is the question whether monarchy, if revived by the will of a decisive majority of the nation—and it is not likely to come otherwise—should return in the form which made the discarded parliamentary system a delusion and a fraud, or on Weimar principles, implying an elective head of the State, as in the ancient Empire, and a genuinely democratic legislature. Perhaps

the best way of making safety on this point doubly sure is for the German democracy to put its political house in order while in full control of it. To talk of a unitary State at the present time is dangerous, but to contemplate even the Luther half-way house is to play with risks. It is significant that the Prussian Conservatives see in the Luther project a subtle conspiracy to destroy the work of Bismarck, and that for the South Germans the reform problem has resolved itself into the question whether the Reich shall continue to be truly German or be more Prussianised than was the Empire. Any constitutional changes, however, which seemed to undo the federal compromise reached in 1871, and confirmed in modified form in 1919, would infallibly rekindle the old antagonism between North and South, reintroduce the Main line of division, and perhaps compel the German nation to wage a new struggle for unity.

Discouraging some of the impatient theorists who have at all times been the bane of German political life, Bismarck once said, "We cannot make history; we can only wait until it happens. We cannot hasten the ripening of fruit by putting a lamp under it: and to pluck it unripe is to hinder its growth and spoil it." The first of these dicta may be disputable, but the second is sound and true. It is conceivable that a unitary State may come at some distant day, but it will never be practicable until the German nation has put away its insensate party divisions and learned that in the absence of a spirit of toleration and accommodation no State system can cohere or even function efficiently. After all the vicissitudes and warnings of their painful history it is surely time that the Germans took that simple truth to heart.

WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON.

THE NEXT STEP IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION.

IT is now more than four years since the Geneva Protocol of 1924 was approved by the Assembly of the League of Nations. That approval, it is hardly necessary to say, has remained without political effect; the Protocol has never come into force nor even been within measurable distance of coming into force. Is there then no other direction in which we can turn our steps? May not the desire for a better organisation of peace be given some satisfaction? Ultimately can Europe remain half-armed and half-disarmed, any more than the United States could remain half-slave and half-free?

We are met by an objection. We are told that it is better to wait for a psychological change before we alter our institutions. Existing arrangements must not be altered until it is "safe" to do so. The reply is simple. The institutional and the psychological changes must come together. The one sort of change promotes the other sort. In the absence of the appropriate institutions the mentality of peace is starved; but it is developed with institutional development. Opinion in all countries contains elements prepared to welcome and aid a forward move, but liable to extinction if no scope is given for their activities; the organism as it develops the new limb develops also the will and the capacity to use it, but if the organism is so imprisoned that the limb cannot be developed, the will and the capacity wither away.

Why did the Geneva Protocol fail? One reason at any rate was that it did not deal separately with, and provide distinctive machinery for, on the one hand disputes which can be settled by the application of legal principles, and on the other hand disputes which essentially are the result of a demand for what we may call international legislation—for a change, that is, in the law. The Protocol made the lawyer supreme; nations had to go before a judge even when what they wanted was a modification of their legal rights or duties.

In the establishment of a new constitution for the world—for this is what the Protocol when incorporated, as was intended, in the Covenant would have been—it was a grave mistake not so much not to make provision for the possibility of change, as not even to recognise that a demand for change needs a different treatment from a demand for legal rights. The Covenant of the League did not make this mistake. The Covenant drew a distinction between legal proceedings for the settlement of legal disputes on the one hand and conciliation by the Council for the settlement of political disputes on the other. The distinction was perhaps not

expressed with logical precision and the rules for its application were not hard and fast rules. But the Covenant did not propose to send all disputes, if the Council failed to reach a unanimous conclusion, to be decided by legal principles, and by Article 19 it left a door ajar for the possible reconsideration of "treaties which have become inapplicable."

Back, then, to the Covenant. Let our next move be inspired by the Covenant rather than by the Protocol. Let us recognise that the first, and most important step, is to delimit the sphere of law and to do what is politically possible for the establishment of law as the ultimate monarch within but not outside its proper boundaries. It is neither possible nor desirable to seek the solution of all international difficulties by a resort to an international court of law. We do not in our domestic and national affairs seek to settle all our conflicts in the law courts. When we want the law changed, as we often do, when we think that our present arrangements press too hardly on some section of the population, we appeal not to the judges but to Parliament. On the other hand, when we are not challenging the existing law but merely seeking our legal "rights," our appeal is to the judge. The sphere of law is the sphere of "rights"; within those limits the judge is supreme, outside them he has no power. For such a delimitation of the sphere of law in the spirit of the Covenant we have already the precedent of the Locarno Treaties. These Treaties provide for the settlement by legal tribunals of all disputes where nations are claiming only their "rights." Their formula should be proposed for general acceptance by the Members of the League and by any other State that is willing thus to advance the cause of peace. This is in effect to advance on the lines of a portion of the Model Treaties approved last year by the Assembly at Geneva, though the treaties as a whole may be thought unsuitable to the circumstances of the British Commonwealth. We can detach from the general mass of those draft treaties, and clothe in appropriate language, the essential principle that disputes as to rights, including disputes as to facts, are matters for a court of law and must, failing diplomatic settlement, be referred in the last resort to such a court accordingly.

This is in effect to adopt, but in a wider form, the much-discussed "Optional Clause" of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. That clause is admirable in its intention but its definition of the sphere of law was tentative only, and falls short of the formula of the Locarno Treaties. As a matter of diplomatic machinery, the simpler course is perhaps to adopt the Optional Clause as it stands, but with the addition of an intimation that the British Commonwealth of Nations would prefer and is

ready to accept the wider formula of Locarno. The precedent of Locarno should not, however, be followed slavishly. The Locarno Treaties give a choice of legal tribunals; it would be better to make the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague the one tribunal for the decision of disputes as to rights. The option which the Locarno Agreements reserve, of resort to what is called "an arbitral tribunal" as an alternative to the Hague, should disappear. It is of the highest importance that the development of international law should be in the hands of one tribunal, otherwise we have no security against the establishment of conflicting doctrines.

If a doubt should arise as to whether a dispute relates to "rights," i.e., whether it is a legal dispute or not, the Court should have jurisdiction to decide the question. The solution of this particular point should indeed not be difficult: a litigant State would have to declare whether it was merely seeking its rights under international law or was proposing that some change be made in the existing situation irrespective of whether international law as it stands admitted that change as legal. It should, of course, be clear that any questions that might arise between different members of the British Commonwealth of Nations will continue in the future, as now, to be within the jurisdiction of the Privy Council. This extension and confirmation of the Optional Clause might well ultimately take effect, as was projected for the Geneva Protocol, by way of amendment of the Covenant of the League. But this is a matter for the future.

Such an establishment of international law is not merely the natural result of our engagements at Geneva and Locarno; it is also the step which is indicated by the acceptance of the Briand-Kellogg Pact. By the more important Article of that instrument we have bound ourselves not to seek a solution of international disputes or conflicts "except by pacific means." What other pacific means can be suggested for the ultimate solution of conflicts as to legal rights except an appeal to law? The Briand-Kellogg Pact cannot be interpreted as an obligation simply to leave international disputes undecided, to allow them to simmer indefinitely, in cases where civilisation already provides a means of settlement. The full consequences of that Pact are still to be developed, but this at any rate is plain: an obligation to use pacific means for settling international disputes is an obligation to use the appropriate pacific means, the appropriate pacific means in disputes as to legal rights and duties is international law.

Let it not be thought that this establishment of law in its proper boundaries only is a little thing to accomplish. It is often said—and there is much truth in the saying—that in present conditions

wars result from clashes of national interests, real or supposed, rather than from conflicts about rights. But this is not the whole truth. In a society which is, in fact, partially law-abiding and wishes to be thought wholly so, claims inspired by interest tend to clothe themselves in the disguise of claims of right. Law should take advantage of this psychological condition, even if it has in it an element of hypocrisy. If you have machinery for determining claims of right, civilised and even semi-civilised mankind will find it more difficult to avoid submitting an international dispute to the test of law. If an appeal for a change in the law has to appear from the beginning in its true guise, it will tend to be reserved for rare and very serious occasions. And the obligation to refer all legal disputes to a permanent tribunal may often result in a reasonably rapid dispersal of clouds which may otherwise accumulate during decades, and poison the relations between two or more States. Further, it is not an unknown phenomenon that a nation may become hypnotised by what is at bottom a legal claim of not primary material importance and be actually prepared to resort to war—and to delude itself into thinking that the war is one of "self-defence"—for what may be described as a kind of legal point of honour. To keep such questions on the level of cool and unimpassioned legal discussion and to insist on their receiving settlement from a Court—if settlement is insisted on—would be no insignificant service to the cause of peace.

If we believe that international society will evolve on the same general lines as national society, it is important to remember that in primitive societies in an early state of organisation, such as our international society of to-day, the establishment of law is a more usual and a more important pre-occupation than is legislation. In our mediæval parliaments legislation was a rare occurrence; their main business was elsewhere. The greater part of international disputes at the present time, at any rate in their origin, present themselves as disputes as to rights (interpretation of treaties or other international agreements, questions of boundaries, and questions mainly of fact) such as that of the responsibility of the Serbian Government for the murders at Serajevo, or the right, on the true construction of the Treaty of Versailles, to proceed to the occupation of the Ruhr: it is only rarely and in extreme cases that a State deliberately challenges the existing order and asks for a modification.

Now to consider the possible objections: the idea is perhaps not dead that such an unqualified acceptance of international law is specially dangerous to British interests, though when an objector

is cross-examined it is usually found that what he fears is the hampering of the use in time of war of the British Navy. A Court of international law might, it is feared, not accept the British view of belligerent rights at sea. This objection, when we look at the whole field of law, will seem rather narrow in scope, and even within its own limited field it may be doubted whether it is well founded. If we look at the field of law as a whole, it is surely to the advantage of British interests considered from the most narrow point of view to establish law, which at any given time involves the protection of things as they are, as, in its proper sphere, the actual rule of international conduct. We are a "satisfied Power"; we seek nothing at anyone else's expense, we seek only to keep and develop in accordance with our own principles and experience, what we hold already. If, on the other hand, we confine ourselves to the objection as to sea law, it is to be observed in the first place that it relates only to a point of the law of war and therefore will not arise if, and so long as, the nations which are bound by the Briand-Kellogg Pact observe its terms and keep the peace. It would be criminal to put aside that Pact as if it were still-born.

Next, the anxiety of the objector appears to be based on an inadequate realisation of the effect of the provisions of the Covenant. If we are prepared to assume, as we must assume unless we dishonour our country in our thought, that in the absence of a general collapse of human society into another world war Great Britain and the British Commonwealth of Nations will never engage in any war of a character to call for the exercise of sea-power on a great scale otherwise than in defence of the Covenant of the League, Article 16 of the Covenant, with its obligations of economic boycott and enforcement of isolation, authorises the use of sea-power to the fullest, and further than the fullest, extent of any British claim recorded in history. Nations bound by the Covenant have thus accepted the British doctrine for the purpose of the Covenant; this indeed was realised at the date of the Geneva Protocol and recorded—perhaps unnecessarily—by an express declaration, which, if thought desirable, could be repeated. The United States, it is true, is not bound by the Covenant, and it is not likely that for some time it will go beyond the Briand-Kellogg Pact. But that Pact itself will make it difficult for the United States to support even diplomatically a State which violates the Covenant,* if only because such a State will hardly be able to clear itself of the charge of violating the obligation imposed by the Pact not to seek a solution of a dispute or conflict otherwise than by pacific measures. And even if the effect of the Briand-Kellogg Pact did not thus settle the question, does any sane

* See Mr. D. H. Miller's *The Peace Pact of Paris*. Putnam, 1928. p. 133.

Englishman think that it is a British interest—or a British possibility—to insist, in the changed conditions of the world, on a particular view of a portion of the law of war to the point of hostilities with the United States?

Lastly, if and in so far as the question of the exercise of sea-power might arise in another general catastrophe such as that of 1914-18, it is not cynical to suggest that if the United States and the British Empire are on the same side nothing will be heard of this particular point, while, if they were on opposite sides, the worst would already have happened and any dispute as to the use of sea-power will have been merged in far greater issues.

The true line of British policy—and this is the second great step which a British Government ought to take—is to settle this matter by agreement with the United States without waiting for another war, on the basis of the renunciation of war contained in the Briand-Kellogg Pact and with due regard to the fact that in the changed strategical conditions of the world it may well be a British interest to minimise rather than to defend the rights of a belligerent to interfere with food supplies. Rightly considered, the historical difference of opinion between the United States and ourselves constitutes no objection to a general recognition of the authority of law for the settlement of those international disputes which relate to legal rights, and which in the vast majority of cases are concerned with the normal international law which prevails in peace and not with the abnormal law of war.

An objection of a wider scope is that the Permanent Court or a majority of its members including the "national judge" may go wrong—may reach a decision which the general common sense of educated mankind would disapprove. This, however, is an objection to all legal process; civilised mankind has long since reached the conclusion in domestic matters that the occasional possibility of judicial error is not comparable with the certain evils of a resort to violence.

It will not be too easy a matter to take this step forward and procure, not only the adoption by all nations of the necessary provisions in word, but the actual execution of those provisions in deed and in the troubles of international life—witness the Rumano-Hungarian dispute about the expropriation of the "op-tants"; it is therefore important for its practical success that an attempt should not be made to combine this reform with other and more difficult proposals.

It is tempting to those who base themselves on the analogy of national with international legal development to ask for an efficient machinery for the enforcement of the judgments of the Court; the judge is thought to be no true judge if he has not a

sheriff by his side. The Covenant, however, already goes as far in this direction as our existing state of civilisation permits us to go and perhaps further than is generally recognised. Judgments of international tribunals have not in the past been disobeyed and disobedience is less rather than more likely in the future. At any rate the general opinion of mankind will not yet accept a direct automatic national obligation to enforce in the last resort by war any and every judgment of an international tribunal declaring the law between third parties.

Another temptation, less strong to British statesmen, must be avoided. We can admit no further extension of obligations such as those undertaken by us at Locarno. We must not undertake to play the policeman for all present frontiers in Europe or elsewhere. Such undertakings make for armaments, not for disarmament, and except in cases such as that of Locarno, where all the possible disputants are parties to the agreement, may easily be perverted into alliances. A serious defect of the Geneva Protocol was the hesitating and half-ashamed recognition which it gave to special "undertakings" to supply military forces and to "agreements . . . previously concluded" to bring force "to the assistance of a particular State which is the victim of aggression." Agreements for mutual defence and assistance are in the minds of their authors readily understood to be agreements for defence and assistance against some third Power and as necessitating a maintenance of armaments accordingly. In private life householders may agree to help one another in the event of a burglary by any unspecified member of the criminal classes, but an agreement of defence against the aggression of some particular individual is not compatible with the maintenance of an even mind in the event of a dispute between that individual and one of your partners in the anti-burglary pact.

Nor has the time yet come for seeking to create further machinery additional to the Covenant for the compulsory settlement of the political and dynamic dispute. We must build first the structure of law; the construction of the machinery for its compulsory amendment, when good sense fails, is a later and a separate task. For the present in political disputes a loyal adhesion to the provisions of the Covenant which attribute the functions of conciliator and perhaps something more to the Council or eventually to the Assembly, is all that can be asked of British statesmen. Many States have adopted for their mutual relations interesting provisions for boards of conciliation for proposing solutions for their political differences. It is, however, too early yet to judge of the success of such provisions or of their applicability to political differences of world-wide importance. Time may see

the development of some new tribunal* of "Elder Statesmen" of different nationalities to which nations may resort, at first voluntarily, for the consideration of political differences; such a tribunal might work as part of the machinery of the League, reporting to Council or Assembly. The report might be followed by a debate, ending possibly in a "Voeu"—for which a majority only and not unanimity is required. Financial compensations might sometimes be recommended as a balm for the wounds which international change might involve. But although men will not succeed ultimately in abolishing war unless they provide some machinery for peaceful change, and although, therefore, the renunciation of war does not by itself solve the ultimate difficulties, still these great difficulties are comparatively rare in occurrence; for the moment the essential matter is to make law supreme where it ought to be supreme—over the whole of its proper kingdom but not, by aggression, over the realm of legislation and of political development.

One word on another point. The Geneva Protocol was made contingent on disarmament—a provision which, in fact, as we now can see, would have deprived it of all practical effect even had it been ratified. This was a mistake—unless it was a prudent insurance against the too sudden introduction of a far-reaching change. The rule of law in the sphere of law can be established without disarmament. Nations will be more ready to disarm when they have seen what law and a steady observance of the obligations of the Briand-Kellogg Pact can do. Law and peace will create the psychological conditions in which disarmament will be possible. Only a short time ago M. Briand spoke to the people of the United States of "the truth that the condition immediately to be obtained is not disarmament but the practice of peace." At present it looks as if the nations were not ready, Article 8 of the Covenant notwithstanding. It may be wiser to recognise the fact, but only on the condition that it be realised that a temporary abandonment of disarmament will produce one very definite set of consequences. If we cannot succeed in limiting armaments by voluntary agreement, and to the extent to which we do not succeed, free liberty will have to be given to nations to do as they please in the matter. If we agree with the French that reservists are not to count as part of the armed forces of a country, we cannot at the same time insist that a disarmed country is to have no reservists; we cannot indefinitely be parties to depriving Germany, Hungary, and Austria of a part of their independence. When that independence is

* This tribunal should be completely distinct from the Permanent Court of International Justice. Proposals to allow lawyers to decide political questions "*ex æquo et bono*" are misconceived. They are even more impossible internationally than they would be for domestic affairs.

recovered, it may be that common sense may come by its own and the urgent claims of the peoples of the world for a better and more educated life may obtain satisfaction by the diversion of energy and wealth to more fruitful channels than the pursuit of "security" by methods that will lead us back to insecurity and war.

For the present let a British Government (1) agree, and propose to all other nations, and specially those who are Members of the League, to agree to refer all disputes as to legal rights which diplomacy fails to settle, to the decision of the Permanent Court; (2) use every effort to reach an understanding with the United States as to the use in warfare of sea-power, especially in any warlike operations undertaken in accordance with the Covenant of the League of Nations and without any violation of the Briand-Kellogg Pact. The British Government which does these two things will have deserved well of the British Commonwealth.

"O."

WANTED: AN UNEMPLOYMENT POLICY.

OVER eight years ago the Register of the Unemployed rose above the million. Except for six weeks it has been over the million ever since. At the end of January it was 1,394,000, or 225,159 more than a year previously. Pre-war, in the worst cycle of trade depression, the figure was never, I think, much more than half that. In no case, happily, did the depression of pre-war days last, comparatively speaking, very long. Cycles of bad trade were always fairly soon followed by cycles of good trade. Accordingly the problem that now faces this country is differentiated from earlier depressions in its gravity and in its stubborn persistence. It is also differentiated in the very large number of young men now registered as unemployed.

After the Armistice we might fairly have assumed that when things were cleared up, straightened out, and put on the rails again, the thing would steadily cure itself, as it so often had done in pre-war days. But that was more than ten years ago. Can we go on hoping that in time blue will appear in the sky, and the great bulk of those who now fill the ranks of the forlorn *queue* be absorbed in the increased industrial activity of trade improvement? Or hadn't we better realise that post-war world trading conditions are not reproducing pre-war experiences in several pretty important directions: realise that this thing will not cure itself without treatment: and that the treatment needed is such an overhaul and adaptation of our national activities as shall definitely provide new and stable opportunities on a considerable scale for the permanent employment of our people? That, in my judgment, is the most important question that confronts the British people to-day.

A year ago, three distinguished civil servants were constituted a Transference Board to consider how far it might be possible to transfer labour from the depressed industries to others more favourably situated. Apparently their efforts have so far secured the transference of round about 20,000 men. Their report, marked by all the caution of the civil servants, flatly told us that 200,000 miners had little or no hope of getting back to the mines. Further, they cautiously but plainly hinted that in ship-building, iron and steel, heavy engineering, and the textiles, there is a probable excess of workpeople beyond the needs of these industries as at present operating. *My own view is that, in these industries alone, for from 300,000 to 400,000 of our workers we have got to find new jobs. And the sooner we face up to that fact and initiate a real employment policy the better.* Because, little by little—and no blame whatever lies against the unfortunate persons concerned—the word "Unemployed" drifts into another spelling: "Unemployable." I am sorry

to say I see no evidence that either the country or its counsellors are alive to the gravity of the situation. Of course, at every General Election that has taken place since the present depression came upon us political leaders have been deeply solicitous about it all. At the 1923 election Mr. Baldwin told the country that the only thing he cared about was to fight this problem and, if possible, conquer it. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald told us that he would take office, if he had the chance, because he believed that he and his party, in dealing with unemployment, had a programme and a power that no other party possessed. He was not going to allow the unemployed to be fooled any longer. In its election manifesto the Labour Party insisted that it alone had a positive remedy for unemployment. The unemployment register was then 1,237,505. It is, as I write, 1,394,100. All that these explicit assurances has achieved is to leave the workless five years further down the road to complete failure and demoralisation, their numbers increased by over 150,000.

The failure of the Labour Government of 1924 to produce and apply to this open sore the "positive remedy" it alone possessed was pretty bad, as its more thoughtfully-minded members know very well. The failure of the present Government is worse. It has had a longer opportunity and an overwhelming Parliamentary majority. In his 1924 election manifesto Mr. Baldwin was again greatly concerned about the matter. "Our party," said he, "would be unfaithful to its principles and to its duty if it did not treat the task of grappling with the unemployment of our people and with the serious condition of industry as a primary obligation." And, very properly, Labour's failure to make good its specific undertaking was the subject of much vehemently expressed indignation from Tory platforms at the Election of 1924. The present Government's contribution is less than Labour's, for it has diverted to other purposes large sums which would have found urgent and timely productive work for the workers. The £26,000,000 taken from the Road Fund would have found a year's work for 130,000 men.

This diversion calls for a further comment. When the slump came upon us in the fall of 1920 we rapidly got to work on a two-fold policy: (1) work-finding and making; (2) the provision of money relief for those for whom work could not be made or found. In pursuit of the former part of our plan we devised export credit and trade facilities schemes; offered grants to municipalities that would put in hand emergency work; and hastened the placing of Government contracts. Long ago the policy of work-finding and making should have been widely extended and put upon a more permanent basis. Because long ago it became quite clearly established that what might at the outset have been viewed as a tem-

porary sequel to the smash-up of 1914-18 was more than that. It meant that post-war conditions were, as I have said, working out in certain directions along different lines from that to which we had long been accustomed. So far from extending this work-finding policy the present Government has simply used money which should have been applied to this purpose in order to balance its accounts. The result is that to-day we have little or nothing left of a definite employment policy; our main and, indeed, almost our only policy is that of finding money-relief for those for whom work cannot be found or made. And, incidentally, most of that money either comes from industry itself through the benefit provided by the Unemployment Insurance Fund, or from the local rates in the form of out-door relief.

On looking at the unemployment situation to-day it is impossible to absolve the Government of grave miscarriage of duty in the way it mishandled the coal situation of 1926. It was warned in specific terms four months before it took office that we were drifting into a "head-on" collision in the mining industry. That this catastrophe might be averted a number of highly skilled economists and experts proposed a series of detailed proposals for the reorganisation of the industry, the result of infinite patience and care. That was in July, 1924. Early in 1926 the plan of these investigators was endorsed in all its main outlines by the report of a Royal Commission appointed on the recommendation of Mr. Baldwin himself. With its duty thus clearly indicated, the Government allowed the country to drift into that "head-on" collision, a collision which I am profoundly convinced statesmanship and foresight could have avoided. Seven months of 1926 were given over to a lamentable struggle which inflicted great suffering upon the men, their wives, and children: which utterly impoverished the mining areas: which lost markets right and left: which cost the country one way and another round about £500,000,000 of money, and which has left in train no assurance of peace and prosperity for the industry. It is true to say that the men themselves were very badly advised and led. But what is statesmanship for? Is it not to show the better way, and by the sincerity and thoroughness of its remedial policy win men to wiser and more reasonable counsel?

Anyhow, by its failure to develop the work-making and finding policy, and its failure to handle the coal situation properly, this Government will go out of office with the problem of unemployment appreciably worse than when it assumed responsibility in the winter of 1924. Of course, Toryism will tell us to-day that it quite agrees as to the necessity for an employment policy. As usual, its remedy for bad times is to keep the foreigner out. Always in times of depression that has been its only remedy. "British work for

British Hands," "Work for all." "Instead of two men running after one job, one man with a choice of two jobs!" I suppose all the old catch-phrases will be pressed into service again. Only this time instead of being styled Protection, or Reciprocity, or Fair Trade, or Tariff Reform, it is to be called Safeguarding. But the more it changes its name the more it remains the same. Keep out the foreigner.

Curiously enough, though official Toryism insists that it means no general attack on the system of free imports so inseparably interwoven with our national life, insists that all it asks is an extension of the Safeguarding of Industries Act, Mr. Baldwin was of opinion in 1923 that "*no partial measure such as the extension of the Safeguarding of Industries Act can meet the situation.*" And that situation, let it be observed, was by no means so serious as that which now confronts us. But though Mr. Baldwin may now disavow anything more than the policy which in 1923 couldn't meet the situation, most of his friends think in 1929 precisely what he thought in 1923. They ask for "Safeguarding" of iron and steel. Given that, and the linch-pin is out of our free-trade fiscal system; and Mr. Churchill can no longer go about declaring "I am a Free-Trader!" You pass from dolls' eyes, gas mantles, and brown paper, to a basic industry, the products of which enter into most other industries, often as raw material. Of course, that is Protection, whatever other name you give it. And those who think that protection—which, whatever else it may be, is certainly restriction—is the way to improve employment, will be well advised to read some very sound and not particularly ancient views on the matter by a distinguished leader of the Party at present in power, and by a no less distinguished recent recruit to its rank and file, the one Mr. Winston Churchill, the other Lord Melchett.

The Socialists' employment policy is Nationalisation. Unemployment, to the Socialist, is the evil fruit of private ownership and private enterprise. Away with that, and everything in the garden will soon begin to look lovely. For myself, I have no doubt whatever that Nationalisation

- would seriously raise the cost of production;
- would, consequently, prevent any recovery in the foreign market;
- would, by removing the incentive to initiative and enterprise, undermine the stimulus to commercial activity and expansion;
- and would, in the long run, mean stagnation and impoverishment.

Indeed, I should be hard put to it to decide which would be worse for the country at this moment: an endeavour to establish a system

of protective tariffs or an endeavour to start "nationalising" one or other of our great national industries. If this country gives either the Protectionists or the Nationalisers a clear majority at the coming General Election it will pay a long price for its folly.

But if I am against either protection or nationalisation as an employment policy what do I propose? Here the answer is to be found in the striking report on "Britain's Industrial Future" issued a year ago by a group of Liberal investigators.

After a most skilful diagnosis of our post-war situation these investigators point the way to regenerative reconstruction in the following general observation:

"The nineteenth century has passed away; and we have to adapt ourselves to the conditions of the twentieth. We acquired a long start in the application of steam to manufacture. During the nineteenth century we derived immense advantage from the momentum of that long start. The momentum is now nearly spent, and we are beginning to feel its disadvantages. In many of our leading, old-established industries the organisation is too deeply embedded in nineteenth-century grooves. The essential weakness is not national, it does not lie in obsolete plant or in antiquated lay-out of coal mines. It is, rather, psychological. It lies in a stubborn adherence to out-worn methods, ideas, traditions, resulting in a general organisation of industry which fails to pass the test of twentieth-century conditions. Nor is it only business organisation in the narrow sense that is at fault. Our industrial efficiency is gravely impaired by unsatisfactory relations between employers and employed, bursting out every now and then into wasteful conflict.

"But we have not only to adapt to new conditions the structure of some of our industries, we must be ready also to re-adapt the whole structure of our economic life. We must not continue to wait passively for something to happen which shall restore the peculiar balance of our pre-war industrial life. Rather should we extract compensation for the troubles of our export industries by turning our attention to what we have too long neglected—the development of our home resources. We should seize the opportunity to press on with housing, road construction, electricity, and the regeneration of agricultural and rural life. These are the broad conclusions to which our survey leads us."

This general observation is accompanied by a complete set of practicable common-sense proposals designed to put into actual operation the employment policy I am here recommending. And upon these the annual meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Yarmouth last October passed the following resolution:

"The most perturbing feature of our national life is the continuance of unemployment at a cruelly high level. This level has risen in an alarming way during the last year. The number of unemployed has grown from 1,089,000 in July, 1924, to

1,305,000 in July, 1928, an increase of nearly 20 per cent. That such a result should have followed after four years of protectionist experiments is in itself evidence of the futility of protection as a means of dealing with unemployment. Neither the Government nor the Labour Party has any coherent and thought-out policy for reducing the volume of unemployment, or for facilitating the transfer of surplus labour in the distressed industries to other occupations, or for dealing in a humane and scientific way with those who are unemployed. We believe that the unemployment problem can be solved.

"A wise policy would systematically use the surplus labour now available for increasing our national resources by a well-planned programme of national development. The Liberal Party has laid before the Nation detailed proposals for carrying on this work under the direction of a committee of National Development, financed by a Treasury Board of National Investment. There are great works waiting to be carried out; a sufficiency of capital is available if it is organised; and the utilisation of unemployed men upon this work, instead of paying them to live in involuntary idleness, would give an immediate stimulus to all the industries of the country. . . ."

Let me, so that he who runs may read, set down in my own way a Six Point Policy calculated to give us what we need :

1. Stick to Free Trade; and bring your industrial methods, machinery, and marketing up to date.
2. Adapt your activities to post-war conditions.
3. Stick to Private Enterprise and initiative, for these are the main springs of human activity.
4. Put the relationships between employers and employed on a more harmonious and durable basis. *Especially make the prosperity and expansion of your industrial undertakings as much a matter of direct and material interest and advantage to the workman as to the employer, each according to his contribution to the joint effort.*
5. Improve and develop your own resources. Get ahead with the adaptation of roads and bridges to automobile traffic. Develop electrical power. Improve your inland Waterways, Docks, and Harbours. Set about Afforestation, Land drainage, Improvement, and Reclamation, on a big and thorough scale.
6. And, above all, turn your attention to your own agrarian resources, second to none in Europe: and, by the full and thorough development of your own soil, find increased and more constant opportunities of employment for your people.

As regards the policy of Home Development, I can hear someone ask: Where is the money to come from? My answer is that the Road Fund, properly re-established, would go a long way to cover the Road and Bridge situation. The laying of a Betterment Rate on the enhanced value of the new frontages created by arterial roads would, let me add, probably pay for these roads twice over. Other features of this National Development policy can be financed by applying, as may be necessary, the National Savings,

round about £500,000,000 a year. As to the method of so doing, let me again refer the reader to "Britain's Industrial Future."

Looking at things all round, and endeavouring to assess relative values and urgencies, *I have no doubt whatever that this problem of an employment policy for this country ought to be the big question everywhere for electors at the coming General Election.* Further, the present unemployed register, after some experience of "Safeguarding," clearly dismisses that policy as a cure for unemployment. Simple common sense, and an examination of results of every endeavour so far made in several parts of the world to apply the Socialist theory, no less emphatically dismisses Nationalisation. And to those who recommend either Safeguarding or Nationalisation as the cure for Unemployment let me say this: even if either could give us all its advocates claim—which I most certainly deny—*neither could be applied except after prolonged political controversy.* Meantime, what about the Unemployed? We have just passed through the *ninth consecutive winter* of this lamentable affliction. Surely we want something done now. *Or are we to go through the tenth winter fighting out the application of Protection on the one hand or of Nationalisation on the other?*

It is with the liveliest satisfaction I call attention to the striking statement made by Mr. Lloyd George at the Connaught Rooms, London, on March 1st. That statement puts a *practicable Employment Policy promptly applied right into the forefront of the public issues of the times.* And that is most emphatically where it should be. Said Mr. Lloyd George :

"After going into the matter very carefully with colleagues who, like myself, have spent years in working out these problems with experts, I am prepared to make this statement :

"If the nation entrusts the Liberal Party at the next General Election with the responsibilities of Government, we are ready with schemes of work which we can put immediately into operation—work of a kind which is not merely useful in itself, but essential to the well-being of the nation.

"The work put in hand will reduce the terrible figures of the workless in the course of a single year to normal proportions and will, when completed, enrich the nation and equip it for successfully competing with all its rivals in the business of the world.

"These plans will not add one penny to the national or local taxation.

"It will require a great and sustained effort to redeem this pledge, but some of us sitting at this table have succeeded in putting through even greater and more difficult tasks in the interests of the nation."

T. J. MACNAMARA.

HUNGARY AFTER TEN YEARS.

AMONG the several countries which took part in the war on the losing side, and which had, therefore, to pay the penalty, Hungary has been and is one of the heaviest if not the heaviest sufferer. Excluding Croatia and Slavonia, and with perhaps the sole advantage of having become entirely separate from and independent of Austria, her area and population have been reduced from 109,000 square miles and 18,000,000 souls to 35,800 square miles and to about 8,500,000 inhabitants. At present only a little larger than Ireland, she has thus forfeited approximately two-thirds of her territory and considerably more than half her population.

But the disadvantages of the new position amount to far more than this. After an existence of ten centuries within what were more or less natural economic and geographical frontiers, Hungary is now encompassed by boundaries which are almost entirely artificial. Still possessed of large sections of her rich agricultural plains, she is cut off from the sea and has lost the best part of her coal, salt, iron and other minerals. Equally and perhaps more important is the sacrifice of the major portion of her forests, which were such a valuable asset in pre-war days. Lastly, whereas certain regulations have been made for the Danube, the Government of Budapest no longer controls the upper reaches of rivers and waterways, many of which are of vital significance to Hungary. The general results of these changes and of the break-up of the Dual Monarchy are that whilst foodstuffs, now relatively depressed in value, are available for export, manufactured goods, the prices of which have risen much more, have for the most part to be imported. Furthermore, and as we know from the example of Canada, a largely agricultural area requires casual or foreign labour in summer. Before the war, and with advantages to both sides, this labour came down to the Hungarian plain principally from what are now Slovakia and the Slovak Mountains. To-day this migration across the new frontiers is either forbidden or accompanied by such formalities as to make its working almost out of the question.

The Treaty of Trianon has been accompanied and followed by complications which should be realised by every student of the present situation. The reduced area has entailed the incorporation of large numbers of Hungarians in the new Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia, and as was to be expected, especially considering the policy adopted by Budapest before the war, none of these three countries has fulfilled its obligations towards the Magyar Minorities. Moreover, whether one approves or disapproves, it remains an accepted fact that Hungary, now officially

disarmed, has existed for ten years and is still compelled to exist under the biased and highly critical scrutiny of the Little Entente. In other words, with the Greater Allies themselves rightly and obviously opposed to any breach of the peace terms, Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia have been, and are, on the continuous and perhaps natural look-out to see whether there is anything possible of complaint in a country which they almost surround.

On the internal side, too, Hungary has had her political difficulties—difficulties particularly marked during the first three years of her modern existence. Proclaimed a Republic by the Karolyi Government in November, 1918, things went from bad to worse until the following March, when the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Bela Kun, secured control. The Red Terror lasted for some months, and the Roumanians occupied Budapest and the greater part of the country from August until November, 1919, their régime and activities being almost if not quite as unpleasant to the people and disastrous to the country as was the Soviet Administration. In the last-mentioned month Admiral de Horthy entered the capital at the head of a small national army, there were elections in the early weeks of 1920, and the Admiral became the official Regent, with clearly defined powers, on March 1st of that year. The new Parliament restored the Constitution, destroyed by the various revolutions. It decided that the preceding period of ever-recurring changes was to be considered a *de jure* blank, and it established a monarchy without arriving at a decision concerning the personality of the occupant of the throne.

After these dangers had been overcome, the stability and the very existence of Hungary were twice threatened by the unjustifiable and ill-advised attempts of King Charles to re-establish his authority. In March, 1921, that personage arrived in the country and motored to Budapest, where his stay was cut short by the strong policy of the Regent and by the attitudes of the Great Powers and the Czechoslovak and the Yugoslav Governments. Not content with this first enterprise, which was largely responsible for bringing the Little Entente into formal being, the late King's foolish second visit to Hungary in the following October was even more disturbing and disastrous. In spite of the wisdom of Admiral de Horthy and now of Count Bethlen, it unavoidably provoked the most severe and far-reaching protests from the Little Entente, particularly from Czechoslovakia; it led to the definite, even if temporary, exclusion of the Hapsburg dynasty from the throne, and it resulted in the conveyance of the King, who had thus broken a recent promise to the Swiss Government and who was accompanied by the Queen, down the Danube in a British destroyer.

The short remainder of His Majesty's life was spent in Madeira, where he died on April 1st, 1922.

The above remarks are intended neither to throw unjustifiable blame upon the Western Powers and the members of the Little Entente, nor to create undue sympathy for Hungary. Indeed their purpose is merely to enable the reader to understand the recent and present position of that country and to form an opinion as to what extent she has or has not made good in her post-war circumstances. Prior to Count Bethlen's advent to power in April, 1921, Hungary had smarted under the Red and much less White Terror, and she had suffered from the Roumanian occupation, when she was robbed of grain, cattle, locomotives, railway carriages and motors, besides many other things of vital necessity. In the course of the same period, too, there were ever-repeated political changes and, between August, 1919, and April, 1921, the Government was in the hands of four Prime Ministers. It is hardly surprising, therefore, if one happened to be a visitor to Budapest at this time, that the country seemed to be in a state of widespread confusion and that the future appeared black in the extreme. The value of the crown fell in such a way as to make life extraordinarily cheap on the gold basis and impossibly dear in local money. The power, prestige and force of Admiral de Horthy were the only things which prevented renewed disorder, and it was difficult to think that further untoward and disastrous events were not in store. In mind and spirit the sword had not been sheathed, many believed in an attempt to alter the frontiers by war if necessary, and the whole population spoke of an early solution of the dynastic question. In short, in December, 1920, it was impossible to forecast what might be the outcome of the then critical situation.

Last November, after an absence of almost exactly eight years, I found the whole position materially modified. The bitter experiences of the earlier days, King Charles' miserable attempts to return, and the firm way in which they were treated by the Little Entente and by Europe in general, have no doubt taught their lessons. Moreover, time alone has swept away a certain amount of bitterness, and, though it is not openly admitted, this applies particularly to the rivalry between the various political sections of the community and to the public attitude towards international affairs. And then, whereas the fullest sympathy is still felt for the Magyars under alien rule, the fact that many of those who came back from the war or who were forced to immigrate into Hungary from the neighbouring countries have now found employment or been absorbed into the everyday structure, has poured a good deal of oil upon troubled waters. Again, whilst for a time both

the State and its inhabitants were in a condition of economic ruin, to-day the National Exchequer and to some extent the public have acquired financial assets the safety of which they cannot afford to risk. Furthermore, even if the population has not the full and unhindered right of expressing its voice at the elections, and even if peasant proprietorship has not been pushed to the extent approved in the neighbouring countries, the partial extension of the franchise, the limited use of the ballot and a certain degree of agrarian reform must have done something to remove political discontent and to reduce the amount of inflammable material. Lastly, although the number of Jewish students in the universities is fixed by law, and although there is still a good deal of ill-feeling between that race and the remainder of the population, the personality, the strength and the system of Count Stephen Bethlen, of whom more will be said below, are factors of predominating importance.

Hungary is a monarchy with a Regency for an unknown person and an undefined time. Admiral de Horthy possesses all the powers enjoyed by a King except that he is not allowed to confer titles, he cannot exercise more than a temporary veto, and he has not the special rights of a Hungarian Sovereign in regard to the Church. The Regent performs his duties efficiently and well, and, particularly since the advent to power and the increase in the strength of Count Bethlen, he has been much less in the foreground and he now contents himself by playing a constitutional and official rôle. For these reasons all impartial foreign observers and far-seeing Hungarians consider that the longer the present situation lasts the better, and that nothing should be done to try to modify it until the nation can expect to be allowed to express a free and unhindered opinion without any foreign pressure or fear of international complications.

So far, so good. But to leave the matter without saying more would be only half to suggest the existing sentiments. The remaining half, if it may be so said, is that the entire population, except, of course, the extremists, desires to see the throne once more occupied by a permanent representative, and that the country is divided into the so-called "Legitimists" and "Electionists." But considering the personalities of the men most favoured by each of these parties, their programmes are beset by certain difficulties, since Hungary has entered into certain definite internal and external obligations. When he renounced all share in the government of Austria and Hungary in November, 1918, King Charles refrained from any act of formal abdication, and it was only after his second attempt to return to Budapest that the matter was settled from the legal standpoint. In the following month, under pressure from the Little Entente and under the influence of the

Conference of Ambassadors, a law was passed by the Hungarian Chamber abrogating the rights of the late King. Almost concurrently, the Government bound itself to abide by decisions, already taken by the Conference of Ambassadors and forbidding the restoration of the Hapsburgs, and it undertook to make no election to the vacant throne without first coming to an agreement with that international body. For these reasons, should the occasion arise, the Little Entente and probably the Western Powers would inevitably claim that neither the "Legitimists" nor the "Electionists" are free to choose a member of the former reigning House. On the other hand, it is contended in Hungary that a people, a parliament and a government cannot be tied either in equity or law by legislation and obligations wrung from them under threats of an intervention which must have been disastrous.

In spite of certain difficulties which might arise from the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction, the "Legitimists," of whose case the venerable and much-respected Count Albert Apponyi is the best exponent, consider that Prince Otho, the son of King Charles, is the rightful claimant to, if not the actual occupant of, the throne. Whilst for reasons already given they do not suggest his immediate return, rightly or wrongly this Party contends that the Prince's ultimate rulership over Hungary would not in any way raise the question of reunion with Austria. Further, seeing that, unlike an already crowned Sovereign, he is not yet compromised by any oath, he would be bound by the existing obligations of the State, the wording of the coronation undertakings being capable of alteration to meet the new conditions. The boy is now just over sixteen, there is little question of his coming of age until November, 1930, and he has been and is being educated under the supervision of the ex-Empress largely at her residence at Lequaitio in Spain, but partly at Luxemburg, where his uncle is the Prince Consort. The family is extremely poor and its regular income is almost entirely derived from a relatively small Hungarian estate. There are many, therefore, who regret that, whatever may be his future, the prince is not being brought up upon more modern and up-to-date lines and that he is surrounded largely by admirers and courtiers apparently desirous of the maintenance of royal state and etiquette in circumstances where such are hardly possible and certainly highly undesirable.

So far as the present writer was able to ascertain, the "Electionists" take no particular exception to Prince Otho, but they claim that, when the time comes, the future Sovereign should be chosen by the free will of the people or more suitably by their elected parliamentary representatives. I believe there are other candidates, but those most often mentioned are the Archduke

Joseph, his son Joseph, and Prince Albrecht. The Archduke Joseph, now about fifty-seven years of age, belongs to the so-described Hungarian branch of the House of Hapsburg and is well known and distinctly popular in Budapest where he lives and where he and his wife, a Bavarian Princess, are treated as personages of first rank. He held important commands and fought with distinction in the war, and, after the failure of the Bolshevik régime, was Regent or Governor of Hungary until forced to retire by the Allied Powers, who are unwilling to countenance a Hapsburg in such a position. Among other children he has a son Joseph, a former Captain in the army, now just thirty-four and also a resident of Budapest. Albrecht is described in the Almanac de Gotha as the seventh child and only son of the Archduke Frederick, who was the nominal Austro-Hungarian Commander-in-Chief for the first part of the world war. Born in 1897, Prince Albrecht is also a Hapsburg and an ex-officer, and, with his mother, a Princess de Croy, he lives largely in the Hungarian capital.

The improvements noticeable during the last eight years are largely due to the work of Count Stephen Bethlen, who has been in continuous office, I believe, for longer than any other European Premier of to-day. He is by far the most important man in Hungary and in many ways he is the biggest personage of Central Europe. About fifty-five, the Prime Minister is a spare man of medium height and with pointed features, brown deep-set eyes, and a full moustache. Speaking English fluently, he has a magnetic personality; he gives the impression of mildness coupled with an ability to enforce his will and he has a remarkable clearness of thought and an obvious driving power. Indeed, one sees at once that the Count invariably ignores details and devotes his attention entirely to the essentials of life and politics. At the same time the Premier is exclusive and elusive, he has few, if any, really intimate friends and confidants, and those in the closest contact with him are for the most part entirely unaware of his real attitude towards many subjects of preponderating significance.

Bethlen, who is a Calvinist, belongs to the aristocracy of Transylvania and he is one of the Optants from that area. These surroundings and the upbringing in them are most important because, generally speaking, the great families of Transylvania were not so rich as those of Hungary proper, because they have always had to contend with difficulties owing to a mixture in the population, and because they have usually been in relatively close touch with their own employees and social inferiors. For these reasons, whilst the Prime Minister is a nobleman to the backbone, he knows how to be democratic, understands all classes of the population, and is able to look at things through the eyes of those

who do not belong to his station of life. He is capable of running a farm of which he has a lease in Hungary, and is not too proud to spend his holidays in a small house upon it. In short, Bethlen is a real Hungarian who can afford to be nice to everybody and who has complete confidence in himself and in the nation at large.

The Government is an autocracy almost by common consent, and the Premier, working hand in hand with the Regent, is undoubtedly a dictator. Nobody claims that the elections (particularly those in the country, where voting is open) are free, but once returned to power, as has been the case in 1922 and 1926, Count Bethlen governs in the interests of the country rather than for the special benefit of his particular class. In politics he is a tactician and not a strategist; he knows the party game to a nicety and he makes his plans almost from day to day. Thus on more than one occasion, when others would probably have failed, the Prime Minister has managed to reduce the strength of a powerful opponent and then to secure his support for the Party of National Unity, of which he is the leader. In short, the silence, astuteness and personality of Count Bethlen have enabled him to retain the confidence of three by no means homogeneous Chambers and to establish a position perhaps unequalled and certainly not surpassed elsewhere in Europe.

For a considerable period after the armistice the national finances were in a chaotic condition and the budget showed a deficit. About two years after his advent to power, however, Count Bethlen appealed to the Reparations Committee to suspend the reparations payments and placed Hungary in the hands of the League of Nations. The result of this policy was the provision of a loan of about ten and a half million pounds, less than half of which was required for the purposes of the stabilisation actually accomplished during the following year. Indeed the whole operation, carried out by means of the most careful collection of the taxes, of the strictest economy and of a wholesale cutting down in the number of State employees, was such a far-reaching and immediate success that the stability of the country was assured much earlier than anticipated. Put in a very general way, the results of this success were and are that the Government has been permitted to spend the balance of the loan upon remunerative objects, such as the improvement of the roads and railways, and that it now has an annual surplus in the budget. For several years, when this surplus was material, it was employed for practical purposes and it thus avoided further borrowing.

This is one side of the picture. On the other, the balance of imports over exports, particularly its increasing amount, is causing anxiety. This is due largely to the facts that Hungary is now

compelled to import most of her manufactured goods and that she has enormous difficulty in exporting her surplus agricultural produce. Moreover, the improvement of the State finances, highly advantageous from the national point of view, inflicts considerable hardship upon the individual, and naturally reacts against commercial and industrial development. The taxation per head is very high, the tariffs are strongly protective, and a turnover tax produces about one-third of the entire revenue. Furthermore, there are now too many people in business, Budapest, with its population of about one million, is the capital of a much-reduced country, and interest on borrowed money often runs up to 12 per cent. And then the cost of living is about 36 per cent. above the pre-war rate for workers and 50 per cent. for those requiring luxuries, wages are low, and a good deal of short time, rather than widespread unemployment, prevails. There are many who claim that an earlier cutting down of the budget surplus would have brought about an amelioration in the position. But the real cure for the difficulty appears to lie in the better organisation and the more effective grading of the products of the land, in the reduction of the tariffs upon essential imports (especially upon machinery and other things required by farmers) and upon a consequent ability to produce foodstuffs more cheaply and therefore to compete in the world market. Denmark has solved the problem. Count Bethlen has it in mind and in hand, and, given time and fair play, he is likely to improve upon the situation as it exists to-day.

There is very little to add from the international point of view. As already explained, serious mutual suspicion and distrust prevail between Hungary and the Little Entente, and this is important both economically and politically. The Governments of Budapest and of Vienna are on more or less cordial terms, but, even if the matter has now been officially regularised, the loss of the so-called Burgenland by Hungary to Austria is still widely resented in the former country. The British Empire is admired and respected, France is considered as the sponsor of the Little Entente, and Italy is probably the Great Power with which Hungary is in the closest relations. Here there are ties of religion; here there is sympathy between the two governmental régimes; and here there is a Pact of Amity signed in April, 1927. To conclude, therefore, I would repeat that great improvements have taken place in Hungary during the last ten years, that wisdom and foresight appear now to prevail in the counsels of that country, and that, given wisdom on all sides, a means may yet be found to overcome difficulties which at one time seemed insurmountable.

H. CHARLES WOODS.

FRANCE AND PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT.

THE Parliamentary *malaise* from which France is suffering deserves to be examined with a more sympathetic attention than it ordinarily receives. It is by no means easy to take a measured view of it. In such times of difficulty as the present, Frenchmen themselves too readily speak as if their whole system of government were breaking down. Men at one extreme of politics perceive a Fascist menace. At the other extreme destructive criticism of all existing authority rises to a paroxysm. On the whole, it is the critics who get most profit out of the situation. Anti-democratic newspapers respond to the inducement and redouble their campaigning energy. Parliament is ridiculed. Trial by jury is ridiculed. Liberal institutions generally are assailed with a levity which might well startle a casual British observer. All these manifestations are exaggerated and misleading. The diatribes of M. Coty and his like need not be taken too seriously.

Leaving extremists out of account, however, it is clear that Parliament is not working well. Responsible politicians themselves show signs of concern. Last summer we had the spectacle of M. Poincaré so uncertain of the temper of a newly-elected Chamber of Deputies that he discouraged it from sitting. His dearest aim seemed to be to reach the Recess as soon as he could with decency. Yet M. Poincaré apparently held a position of supreme authority. He was the unquestioned victor at the election. Two-thirds of the successful candidates had nominally stood as his supporters. His inability to establish prompt and confident contact with the new Chamber was a clear proof of the dislocation of the machinery of representative government.

The phenomenon is by no means unparalleled in history. In France a general election does not necessarily and immediately produce a Government clearly designated to carry out the expressed will of the people. The contrast between French and British practice is here illuminating and vital. The British electorate does not merely choose a House of Commons; it sends—or has done so in the past—a Party and a Government into power. The French electorate chooses a Chamber of Deputies, but, in effect, leaves it to the parties to constitute among themselves a Parliamentary majority after the election. A British party leader has his majority ready-made. A French leader has his to make. Even after the decisive victory of 1924 M. Herriot, the Radical leader, had to negotiate with the Socialists and with other groups before he could form a Government. In the end he had to fall back on the precarious expedient of choosing his Ministers entirely from the Radical group,

the others merely promising support from outside. Yet the conditions in the last Parliament were relatively favourable to the formation of a reliable majority. In some other legislatures the groups have been much more fluid. An old Parliamentarian—was it M. Barthou?—once said that every Chamber spends half its four years of life in trying to determine the majority resulting from the last election and the other half in preparing for the next.

For the exceptionally uncertain composition of the present Chamber M. Poincaré has largely himself to blame. He, more than anyone else, decided that the last election should be fought in conditions quite inconsistent with the genius of Parliamentary institutions. He appealed to the country as the head of a Cabinet of National Union whose most important members were opposed to each other in spirit and policy on every question except that of finance. No clear or extended programme was, or could be, put before the electors by a Government whose supporting groups were in tooth-and-nail conflict. All that M. Poincaré asked the country to do was to return men, whether Radicals or Nationalists, who would support him. The result is a Chamber in which Nationalists are ready to work with M. Poincaré and many Radicals are ready to work with M. Poincaré, but neither party wants to act with the other. Worse still for the working of Parliament, there is a large floating mass of members in the Centre who are of no particular complexion, but who are admirably situated to play the frivolous game of setting up and pulling down Ministerial combinations. Experienced politicians discern in the present Chamber the possibility of three different majorities, and it is quite conceivable that we shall see all three in turn. One change has already taken place. The defection of the Radicals a few months after the election showed the hollowness of M. Poincaré's hope of maintaining a majority containing both them and the Nationalists. Rarely has an apparent success at the polls been followed so rapidly by a real check in Parliament.

Whatever respect may be due to the saviour of the franc, M. Poincaré's conception of government is unquestionably harmful to the working of representative institutions. A cross-bench mind of singular obstinacy, a Nationalist in foreign policy, and a Republican in domestic affairs, he is for ever attempting to reconcile incompatibles. The Right claims one half of him and the Left the other, each clutching the hope that its half will prove the dominant one. M. Poincaré can see no other career for himself than the illusory one of "standing above parties," which means in practice playing off one party against the other and reducing each to temporary impotence. His Administrations in the last two Parliaments have lived, not by assembling and employing political forces, but by

paralysing them. As long as he could plead that the danger to the franc created a national issue demanding the concentration of all energies, however diverse, a party truce, barren of programme though it must be, was feasible. Now that that compelling problem has lost its terrors the parties are resuming their natural and distinctive attitudes towards the questions of the day, and M. Poincaré is in danger of being a general without an army. That fate must inevitably befall a statesman who refuses to attach himself definitely to any regular body of representative opinion.

It is a healthy sign that the reaction against "Poincarism" is taking the form of a demand for a Government and a majority with a definite programme. The call comes mainly from the Radical group, which is, on the whole, the one most suitably placed to serve as the nucleus of a constructive majority. But the problem before the parties, difficult in any French Parliament, is more difficult than ever in the confusion of the present Chamber. "Poincarism" has weakened political allegiances and blurred party boundaries. A good many Deputies would find it hard to say whether the fortuitously assembled votes to which they owe their election came chiefly from the Right or from the Left. The Independent Radicals of the Loucheur group, whose tendency is to lean towards the Socialist Radicals, are more detached from that connection than they were in the last Parliament. When the personality of M. Poincaré is withdrawn there will, however, be a searching of hearts and a salutary clarification. The proper conclusion of that process would be a new Ministry constituted after, and not before, its programme. The programme is the first essential.

Efficient representative government will not, however, be revived in a day. Everything depends on the parties. For the vice of French politics, so strikingly illustrated by the present situation, is that the party system is out of harmony with the Parliamentary system. The parties are fairly organised to express and concentrate opinion. They are not sufficiently organised for government. Here, again, it is necessary to speak with measure. A good deal of the contemptuous criticism flung at the French parties is unjust. It is too much the fashion to ridicule them as if they were oligarchical clubs manœuvring a half-disgusted electorate. The answer to this summary condemnation is to be found in the behaviour of the electorate itself. In spite of its impatience with the chopping and changing which gave it a caricature of proportional representation in 1924 and single-member constituencies in 1928, the country takes its elections seriously. Nobody who saw from close at hand the election of 1924 could fail to recognise its character as a genuine consultation of the people. Eighty-three per cent. of the voters went to the polls, and the result was clear and decisive. On the whole, the country

falls readily enough into the different divisions of opinion represented by the parties. This was shown, for example, in the "straight" voting for candidates in whose support allied parties joined forces in the second ballot at the last election. In many constituencies the pooling of the Radical and Socialist votes almost gave the result of a mathematical addition.

It is in the Chamber that the parties fail. And, unfortunately, the Chamber itself is treated by many critics as responsible for the failure. In the level of ability of its members, in its representative character, the French Chamber is neither better nor worse than many other legislative assemblies. So many of its members are also mayors and municipal councillors that live contacts with every part of the country are assured; there are singularly few "carpet-baggers." Debates not infrequently reach the height of great argument. Reports of "violent scenes," which form so large a proportion of such news as London papers publish of its proceedings, convey a false impression. Apart from the undue space given to such incidents, it is a mistake to judge Parliamentarians of one race and temperament by the standards applicable to another. In France; a man who loses his temper is not regarded as necessarily losing his dignity. It is a little snobbish to take a slighting view of French Deputies because they do not behave like English gentlemen. The ordinary French Deputy would be horrified at the idea of behaving like an English gentleman. The deplorable conduct of the Chamber during the monetary crisis of 1925 and 1926 was, indeed, beyond the limit of any sort of justification. But its ultimate cause was the disarray of the regular political forces of the Chamber. Discipline collapsed with the failure of the parties to organise themselves for Government and deal with the financial situation in good time. Individual Deputies were left to act on the instinct of self-preservation and run away from responsibilities. The price which had to be paid for this moral abandon was the suspension of free Parliamentary life involved in the formation of the Government of National Union, an expedient to which it should not have been necessary to resort.

A curious theory is current in certain sections of opinion that party government in France necessarily means instability of government. It is too easily forgotten that France once enjoyed a period of stable Governments, and that most of them were, to all intents and purposes, party Governments. From 1895 to 1909 majorities were generally reliable and Ministries had a reasonable assurance of remaining long enough in power to accomplish something. Méline was in office for two years. Waldeck-Rousseau, Combes and M. Clemenceau each held power for about three years. The cases of Waldeck-Rousseau and Combes are particularly inter-

esting because they led successive Administrations in successive Parliaments and were supported by the same coalition of the Radical and Socialist groups. Unfortunately, this time of fruitful action was followed by the confusion of the years immediately preceding the war. Party alliances became capricious. Majorities fluctuated. Ministries were less stable. There arose and flourished a species of political brokers, men with few or lax party attachments who were dexterous in promoting Ministerial combinations and improvising policies. Among the Parliamentarians of to-day M. Barthou, perhaps, conforms most closely to the type, but M. Briand, with his nine or ten Ministries, must be accounted the champion performer. At the height of the crisis of 1926 M. Briand accomplished the feat of negotiating with M. Poincaré to form a Government on one monetary policy, and a few days afterwards constituting a Government with M. Caillaux on a totally different monetary policy.

Without putting undue blame on the political brokers, it may fairly be said of them that they would play a much less important part in any Parliamentary system working healthily. Even M. Poincaré, like the late Duke of Devonshire or Leonard Courtney in England, would be compelled to associate himself with some organised political force or be doomed to comparative impotence. The responsibility for the present conditions lies with the parties, and the remedy is equally in their hands. As long as they shirk their obvious function of working in a normal way the machinery of representative government France will continue to be ruled by *ministères de passage*. Let there be Governments of real power, backed by coherent majorities agreed on an active policy, and stability will come of itself. Such a stability would, moreover, be of the right sort. Some of the more stable Ministries of recent years have, as a matter of fact, been singularly unfruitful, because they depended, not on the hearty co-operation, but on the reciprocal abnegations of the groups composing their majorities. Nothing could better illustrate the recent poverty of legislative energy than the history of the National Insurance Act, which was passed by the Chamber for the first time five years ago, but only became law last year, and is still waiting for the necessary authorisation to come into actual operation.

It remains to be seen whether the present Chamber can rise out of its quagmire and produce a strong Government. Obviously, the necessary majority can only be formed by coalition. But if there must be coalition, it should be a coalition of similar elements and not a haphazard combination of opposites. The cry of "Back to Waldeck-Rousseau" which has been recently raised, indicates the true way. M. Poincaré's present majority, which herds incongru-

ously together the hundred Nationalists of M. Marin and the forty Independent Radicals, is the wrong kind of coalition. The real question is whether either the 150 (or more) Nationalists and Moderates on one side, or the 220 Radicals and Socialists on the other, can rally sufficient force to form a well-defined and reasonably homogeneous majority. Thanks to the "lone-hand" politics of M. Poincaré the answer to the question is the secret of the unorganised and unorganisable mass in the Centre, some of whose members are ready to drift to the Left and some to the Right, while others are invertebrate beyond hope. It is open to anyone to gamble on the chance of something clear coming out of such a confusion. Possibly France will have to wait for the next election to restore reality and definition to politics.

In any case, the most hopeful characteristic of the present situation is the increasing recognition of the natural line of demarcation in spirit and policy between Right and Left, which is traceable even among the delicate shades of the spectrum of political groups. The regular organisation of governing power is not beyond the ingenuity of the parties. No one expects, or even seems to desire, the establishment of a two-party system. But it is not impossible for like to associate with like for the purpose of fighting elections or carrying out programmes of policy. As a matter of fact, a suitable piece of co-ordinating machinery has already been used frequently and efficiently in French politics, though not on a permanent basis. The *délégation des gauches*, a committee representing allied groups, was employed at the beginning of the century, and on occasion in the last two Parliaments. It may very well be that, in the conditions of modern politics, a more regular organisation of the kind may become necessary in other Parliaments besides the French. If it were brought effectively into existence in France there would be more concern about measures and less about men, and election speeches would be something more than perorations.

Whatever the method adopted, party organisation for government is the only real specific for the malady of the French Parliament. Doctors of various schools, indeed, have prescribed other remedies. M. Poincaré, as we have seen, produces stability of government by producing colourlessness. M. Millerand wished to produce stability of policy by extending the powers of the President of the Republic—an extraordinary system which would, in effect, have created two Prime Ministers, one responsible and the other irresponsible. If it may be said without disrespect for such eminent persons, both these remedies are designed to cure the superficial symptom of instability without promoting healthy representative government. Another remedy, for which there is, on the face of it, a good deal to be said, is the bringing into real exercise of the power of dissolution of the

Chamber which is theoretically enjoyed by the President of the Republic. Not enough attention has been paid, either by British or French writers on constitutional questions, to the capital fact that the French Chamber is elected for a fixed term of four years, and that it is impossible for a Government to "appeal to the country" after a Parliamentary defeat. If a vote in the Chamber on an important point of policy involved the possibility of a general election as an immediate consequence there would be fewer crises. A Deputy who knows that his seat is safe for four years need not fear to give a free rein to irresponsibility. Dissolution, however, is outside practical politics, if only for the reason that on the single occasion on which the operation was tried it was used by MacMahon to thwart Gambetta and the leaders of the young Republic. That precedent is a fatal bar.

W. L. MIDDLETON.

THE HOOVER WAR LIBRARY.

ONE might suppose that any international archive whose works have to do with the World War would be centred somewhere in Europe, among those countries whose statesmen, propagandists and soldiers give up valuable documents and private papers that the world may know in future generations some of the basic truths and impelling motives of the period in which the armistice marked the turning point. Men do not gather libraries and write histories from imagination alone, however, and something more than fertility of mental resources enters into the collection of materials to fill an historical workshop. I should not suggest that there is no library on the war to be found in Europe. Certainly the Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre at the Château de Vincennes near Paris (where the beautiful Mati Hari was shot as a spy) presents a very valuable collection. Other than that, there is no library dealing with the recent war period as complete as the Hoover War Library at Stanford University. The facilities it offers for historical research on the period of the World War and Reconstruction are paralleled only in the Musée de la Guerre, now the property of the French Republic.

The idea of collecting historic war materials and storing them at Stanford University for later study was conceived by Herbert Hoover in 1914. The library was instituted in 1919 when Mr. Hoover wired President R. L. Wilbur of Stanford that a propitious time for such an undertaking had arrived. The extent to which the library has grown, from purely physical aspects, may be noted in these figures. There are at present on the shelves of the library :

Original letters and documents	1,000,000
Manuscripts	21,000
Pamphlets	130,500
Printed volumes	56,000
Newspapers and periodicals :	
(Titles)	5,257
(Individual issues)	179,000

In the book and pamphlet collection may be noted the following totals :

Works in the French language	10,000
Works in the English language	9,000
Works in the German language	7,000
Works in the Russian language	12,000
Works in the Hungarian language	1,500
Works in the Italian language	1,500
Works in other languages	4,500

From Mr. Hoover's plan of 1914 to preserve the records of the commission for relief in Belgium this library has grown. Later, as American food administrator in Europe, he was able to gather

a vast amount of material from governments, representing a considerable collection at the time of the armistice.

In February, 1915, Professor E. D. Adams wrote to Mr. Hoover, then in occupied territory of Belgium and France feeding the starving civil population. He suggested that "at least the private and confidential letters in regard to the work might well be sealed up and kept at Stanford University." To this Mr. Hoover replied that he considered "the suggestion of extreme value, and I will see to it that every atom of material is preserved, which it has been from the beginning," and shortly after the armistice Mr. Hoover wired President Wilbur that in his opinion a suitable commission should be sent to Paris immediately to undertake the work of starting the war collection. Professor Adams, who was sent to Paris to commence the great work of building up the Hoover War Library, realised that the gathering of historical documents is a very much more complex undertaking than the collecting of such things as postage stamps or souvenirs. The record of the war period is practically unlimited in extent. It consists not only of printed books, but of letters, pictures, newspapers, telegrams of the time—everything from a sermon to a bill of lading. From this infinite mass of record it was recognised that there must be gathered and presented the significant documents which historians will need in order to study the problems the world wants them to solve. The Hoover War Library continues to seek out these necessary materials, bringing them together from all parts of the world and organising them for use. It is more definitely an historical workshop and not a museum.

Through the various delegations to the Paris Peace Conference and afterward by contact with their respective foreign offices, Professor Adams was able to secure excellent collections of government documents for the period of 1914-1919 from forty-seven European, American and Asiatic governments. The principal Allied Powers, the lesser States of the Entente, as well as the neutral Powers, were quick to respond to the request for historical documents. However, it was not until November, 1922, that the representatives of the Italian Government informed us that over half a ton of documents had been shipped from Rome to Stanford University. Even this long-delayed collection was destroyed at sea by fire, but was generously duplicated by Italy. In many instances duplication would have been impossible, particularly in other classes of material; and it always is difficult, even in governmental documents, for obvious reasons.

Important collections also have been received from the enemy States of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. These German materials include documents bearing upon enemy

propaganda as well as intelligence reports of the Central Empires. In the group of notable collections presented to Mr. Hoover by the new States of Europe is one from Poland. All of these collections of government documents contain diplomatic publications, military publications, legislative debates, food administration regulations, and materials bearing on the everyday life of the people of a State during the Great War.

The collecting of government documents began during the sessions of the Peace Conference from Professor Adams' office on Avenue Montaigne. Delegations from every nation were then in the city; for months they had devoted themselves assiduously to drawing up memoranda for the conference and preparing propaganda for the public; here was a harvest ready for reaping. Professor Adams called upon all the delegations, obtained copies of everything they were using at the conference, and enlisted their aid in securing further gifts of government publications from the States they represented. There were many delegations, moreover, which did not represent States. They had come from the backwoods and borderlands of eastern Europe and Asia to present impossible claims on behalf of unknown and impotent peoples; for instance, a delegation from "Pontus on the Euzine Sea"—the old kingdom of Mithradates the Great, which Julius Cæsar crushed in 47 B.C.—was asking the peace conference to re-establish this State after a lapse of two thousand years. The documents from these delegations were also collected with great care, although the delegates themselves were often hard to find. Some of them kept flitting from address to address; others settled far out in the poorer districts of Paris; many of them were hardly ever at their headquarters, even during that ridiculously small portion of the day which diplomats set aside for office hours. But whenever they were found, they proved anxious to talk of their problems, their claims and their hopes, and to lay before the historian a case to which statesmen would pay no attention.

The story is told of the Egyptian delegation, which had its room at the top of a long dark flight of stairs in an hotel off the Boulevard San Michel. Repeated calls showed that the room was always empty during the day. Finally, the representative of the Hoover War Library visited the premises at night. He heard a confused babel of voices through the door, and knocked. Instant silence. Then the door was opened by a frightened and fussy little man who asked in wretched French what was wanted. After hearing a brief explanation he slammed the door, and again the babel of voices arose from within. In a few moments he opened the door again and invited the historian to enter. Within the room, blue with tobacco smoke, a dozen eager Egyptians were gathered round a table. They

listened attentively while the man who had opened the door interpreted to them the wishes of their visitor. The group seemed well pleased, and immediately offered to send all their publications to the office in Avenue Montaigne. "You must know, Monsieur," explained the interpreter as he ushered his guest to the door, "that we in Egypt know how to value historians. We have saved documents for six thousand years." Most of the nations of the world have since shown that they share the Egyptians' respect for the historical craft. Their gifts have added to the original collection of Delegation Propaganda a massive number of public documents covering the years 1914 to 1928, and constitute an indispensable source of information as to the activities of governments during and since the war.

A great many society publications were secured by Professor Adams while he was in Paris and London as a result of personal requests; many more have been received in answer to requests made by correspondence, and not a few have come in unsolicited. It once happened that while Professor Adams was walking near Piccadilly Circus a stranger slipped a package into his hand and hurried away. The package contained prohibited literature published by a certain well-known pacifist organisation which had fought against conscription till suppressed by the police. Although over a thousand societies from a score of countries have contributed their documents to the Hoover War Library, the work of gathering society publications is hardly more than half accomplished. Some countries are represented in the library chiefly by militant nationalist organisations, others by socialist and internationalist societies alone. It is obviously necessary that historians should have in hand documents from all important groups within each nation.

It happens among historians, no less than among editors and antiquarians, that writings which have never been put into print are held in peculiar esteem. In spite of the enormous output of the printing press, however, not all facts are recorded in print; an inevitable selection takes place. The historian therefore hesitates to trust to the printing press the important business of separating out the facts which are to be preserved in the record of the race. He must depend upon manuscripts and items which the writers of manuscripts dared not print or allow to be printed, for bits of information which the Press ignored or dared not to print. The manuscript collection of the Library has as its nucleus 65,000 reports and communications bearing on conditions in Europe during the war and reconstruction period. This great file of reports is supplemented by copies of the private papers of men who have been in a position to feel the pulse of things—so-called "personal memorabilia." Much of the material of the latter type which has

been received or promised cannot now be described, but is to be locked away for a term of years in compliance with the donors' restrictions, faithfully kept whatever they may be. Nevertheless, it is permissible—since announcement has been made by the donors themselves—to mention by way of illustration some of the contributions of value to students of the World War.

Under the heading the Baltic States, the library contains a number of memoranda concerning the state of the former Baltic provinces from 1914 to 1918. A journal entitled, "Report of my Journey in the Former Russian Baltic Provinces, April, 1920," explains cultural and political conditions. A confidential document of an A.R.C. officer on Colonel Edward W. Ryan's staff is entitled "Notes on Experiences getting to and in the Baltic States about the Middle of September, 1919." Each of the separate Baltic States is represented by a group of MSS. Dr. George Schauman, librarian of the University of Helsingfors and a member of the Parliament of Finland, has presented to the collection a memoir upon the social and economic state of the country and the conflict of nationalities. The history of the young Esthonian Republic is analysed in a group of manuscripts. The first is an account by Colonel Poopu of the organisation of the Esthonian army and its fight against the Soviet forces, as well as a narrative of the activities of General von der Goltz, the German commander in the Baltic region after the armistice. The second is an account of the confiscation of the estate and loss of fortune by a Baltic baron. The third manuscript is a report of the Bolshevik invasion of Esthonia.

The history of the republic of Latvia is illustrated by ten memoirs which illuminate the principal internal and foreign problems. A Russian manuscript is entitled "Short Biographies of Latvian Statesmen." The confiscation of the estates of the Baltic nobles produced a number of memoirs advocating the creation of a mandatory over all the Baltic States until Russian re-organisation. One excellent protest is that of the national minorities whose home is in the Baltic country. However, the greatest collection of Latvian manuscripts is that made by Alexander von Tobien. It covers the history of the Baltic provinces, Lavonia, Esthonia and Courland, from their union with Russia until the proclamations of their independence. It also treats fully the Latvian revolution. One manuscript is concerned with the offer on March 8th, 1918, of the ducal crown of Courland to the German Kaiser and the reception of the delegation of Courland by Chancellor von Hertling, on March 15th, 1918.

The Hoover War Library possesses a complete set of copies of the famous Bermont documents captured by the Latvian Government and now in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of

Latvia. These documents are invaluable for an understanding of the Russian policy of the German Republic, and explain many of the policies of the Germans as well as the Allied and Associated Powers of the Baltic regions. Prince Avaloff Bermont, Colonel Commander-in-Chief of the Volunteer Army of the West, was one of the most picturesque characters in the Baltic provinces after the armistice. On September 21st, 1919, he signed an agreement with General von der Goltz at Mitau which placed under his nominal command a small German army. As a result of his pro-German activities he received a wireless from Judenitch: "Vous êtes déclaré le neuf Octobre comme traître de Russie." A confidential order of the Iron Division captured on June 26th, 1919, states that the German Government and the general headquarters permitted the transfer of this division to Lettish service in order to avoid the objection of the Entente to German troops north of the Dvina.

The number of Russian manuscripts in the library indicates the richness of this almost unexploited field. Most of them are confidential. The Russian collection is the result of three years of field work by Dr. Frank A. Golder. During 1920 Dr. Golder, unable to cross the frontier into Russia, travelled up and down Europe, and got into touch with all groups of Russians living in exile. Then in 1921 he was able to enter Russia itself. Just at that time the New Economic Policy went into effect, so that the buying and selling of books became lawful for the first time in several years. The rouble was then almost worthless, but the price of books had not yet risen, consequently Dr. Golder was able to purchase books at prices which, in Western money, were a mere fraction of their value. The story is told of a Communist who was living in a house which once had belonged to a lawyer, and using the lawyer's library for fuel. Dr. Golder heard of these books and sent word that he would buy them. "Perhaps the professor will give me a box of food for them?" the Communist suggested, and the bargain was closed. The books were immediately removed to a place of safety. Next day the Communist appeared and asked for Professor Golder.

"I have made a mistake," he said. "I must have two boxes of food."

"Very well," the professor answered, "but this thing stops right here."

The set of books thus saved from the fire is worth several thousand dollars.

I recall in my collection of Western European books an interesting episode. Immediately after the fall of the Soviet Government in Hungary, a large packing-case full of Bolshevik literature—pamphlets, posters, records of Soviet meetings and copies of lec-

tures delivered at the "Communist School for Agitators"—was gathered for the Hoover War Library. The White police, in their eagerness to destroy all traces of the Red régime, demanded that these documents be burnt; and the intervention of all the American officers in Budapest and the protection of an armed guard was required to save them. In consequence of the hasty action of the Budapest police, the Hungarian National Archives lack certain State records which can only be found at Stanford University.

A manuscript of Theodore K. Shipkoff, the Bulgarian statesman, reveals the private negotiations between Professor Herron and Professor Lammasch for the purpose of inducing Austria to make a separate peace, and states that Hugh R. Wilson, American Chargé d'Affaires in Berne, urged him to use his influence with King Ferdinand to back the young Austrian Emperor in his attempt to make a separate peace. Shipkoff had sixteen meetings with Herron and reached an agreement on April 2nd, 1918, which was never carried out.

A number of manuscripts written by Americans engaged in relief work in Asiatic Turkey are of vital importance to a study of the recent history of the Near East. Aintab, Adana, Kars and Cilicia are centres whence these reports came. Two MSS. deal with the war between the Turkish Nationalists and France, and one explains the capture of the great Armenian fortress of Kars on October 30th, 1920.

Outside the manuscript groups, we have classified as ordinary book material the important war books which have appeared in all States during the war and since the armistice. From Brussels has been secured practically all the literature about Belgium and the war. The French collection gathered at Paris contains the principal war works published in France since 1914. A shipment of over five thousand titles was organised under the direction of the celebrated French historian, Gabriel Hanotaux. This collection is rich in materials bearing upon the internal problems of France during the period of the war. The German collection of books and pamphlets is even more extensive than the French. It includes three made by private collectors during the war. It is especially rich in materials concerning the collapse of the German Empire and the outbreak of the revolution of 1918-1919. The Austrian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian book and pamphlet collections represent almost all the important works of the war of the enemy publicists in those countries during and since the war. We have an important list of materials in the society publications, which includes the principal publications for the war period of over 600 leading societies in the belligerent and neutral States. Since these organisations influence public opinion and do the pamphleteering of the

present day, their pamphlets and periodicals are especially valuable for a study of the effects of the war upon national life. In the Hoover War Library are also the secret publications of organisations which were suppressed by the war governments of Germany, Austria, France and Great Britain.

There are also the files of the principal newspapers and periodicals published during the war in the belligerent States as well as in the neutral capitals. Of great importance in this newspaper and periodical collection are the extensive German, French, British and American Press reviews, which are governmental digests of the leading newspapers of the world. Especially valuable is the collection of Belgian newspapers and government-issued trench papers of all belligerents. Of the army newspapers perhaps the most famous one is the *Liller Kriegszeitung*. In this group of rare collections of war material are the files of the *Gazette des Ardennes*, an official organ of German propaganda in the occupied French territory which was edited by three renegade Frenchmen. The famous *Libre Belgique* is a secret Belgian newspaper published during the entire period of the German occupation. Important magazines and other periodicals are also represented in this collection.

The importance of the Hoover War Library to university and historical research cannot be over-estimated. In the field of research it stands as a great contribution to the scholars of America. It has already widened the opportunities for graduate students and other research workers. In the library the student may study the political, social and economic phases of the war for all nations, but especially for France, Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, Austria and Russia. Here may be analysed the psychology of the Peace Conference. The broad field covered by the library may be noted from the following list of material on its shelves: manuscripts and archives of Russians prominent during the Imperial régime and in the anti-Bolshevist activities since 1917; certain documents of the American Relief Administration; financial records of the German Red Cross operations in Europe; Fried peace library and David Starr Jordan's peace materials. Mr. Hoover has stated concerning the collection of material: "It must go on for the next twenty-five years." To-day he continues with the greatest foresight his valuable aid in collecting, and otherwise gives of his time to the end that rare documents may find their way here. Many years will elapse before the goal of the directors will be in sight. Manifestly we are interested in the "post-war world." For the period of reconstruction invaluable additions have been made since 1920 by Professor Golder. This work will continue, since it is becoming more and more apparent that the years since the signing of the armistice are but a prolongation of a world calamity. RALPH H. LUTZ.

THE ROADS OF COMPOSTELLA.

"Diego Gelmirez, Archbishop of the See of Compostella, ordered this book to be made and placed in the Treasury of Blessed James, and if anyone wishes to read therein let him read, and know what honours and what heritages, and adornments, and dignities this Archbishop has won for his Church, and what persecutions and perils he has undergone from tyrannous powers in the defence of his Church. And when he has read and knows all, let him put it back in its place, and let it remain there always, and let no one steal it or by fraud or envy carry it away. Which were he to do, or to steal it in ignorance, or by any deceit to destroy it, by the authority of Almighty God, and of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and of Most Blessed James, and of all the Saints of God, and by our authority, may he be accursed and excommunicated, and with Judas the betrayer of the Lord, and Dathan and Abiron whom the earth swallowed up alive, may he be damned for ever in Hell. Amen. Amen."*

THE prelate who felt thus strongly in regard to unscrupulous book-borrowers was the first and greatest Archbishop of Compostella, which was raised to the status of an archbishopric in 1120 by Pope Calixtus II as the direct result of his labours. The small, granite hill-bound city was then glorious as the sepulchre of St. James the son of Zebedee. "It is to the Christians," said El Makkari, writing in 997 of the exploits of Almanzor, "what the Kaaba is to us." Of this, of Archbishop Diego's untiring striving for its greatness, of his unending wars against his deposed predecessor, Diego Pelaez, against Alphonse VI of Aragon on behalf of his wife, Queen Urraca of Castille, against Queen Urraca herself, against his own revolted people who besieged him and the Queen in the Cathedral and drove them thence by a fire that melted the bells, of the church and hostels he built, of his zeal for the building of the great Cathedral which was drawing near completion, of the fleet he brought into being to defend the coast and pillage the Moors of Southern and Central Spain, the History he safeguarded by such imprecations remains as a proof and record.

The belief that James the son of Zebedee found a burial place in Spain was not, as Mgr. Duchesne has pointed out, a very ancient one. Fortunatus, Orosius, Gregory of Tours, Isidore of Seville, and other early writers, show no knowledge of it. Only in the seventh century, in a Latin version of the Byzantine *Apostolic Chronicles*, and in an inscription for an altarpiece by Aldhelm of Malmesbury, inspired from the same source, is there mention of a visit of St. James to Spain to preach the Gospel, and till the ninth century this tradition seems to receive no confirmation. Early in the ninth century when the Saracen tide was ebbing slowly before the assaults of Charlemagne and the Visi-

* *Historia Compostellana*, Florez, Espana Sagrada, T.xx.

gothic Kings of Northern Spain, the tale spread that in redeemed Galicia, near Ira Flavia, a hermit had seen night after night a star low burning over the hills of Libredon, and there the Bishop Theodemir had found a marble tomb hidden in the rock, and in it a body with a parchment saying that this was James the son of Zebedee and Salome, brother of St. John, whom Herod slew. In 860 the *Martyrology* of Adon says definitely that "*hujus beatissimi apostoli sacra ossa ad Hispanias translata et in ultimis earum finibus, videlicet contra mare Britannicum condita, celeberrima illarum gentium veneratione excolitur.*"

Thenceforward Compostella—the field of the star—was to become one of the magnetic poles of Christendom, the peer of Jerusalem and Rome, so holy even in Moorish eyes that when Almanzor sacked the city he dared not touch the tomb itself, but set a guard about it and a solitary monk who had remained there praying. Many legends blossomed round it. The body of the Apostle had been brought miraculously from the Holy Land by seven of his disciples, to Ira Flavia, now El Padron. Wild bulls had bent their necks to the yoke to draw it to its appointed place. Many and marvellous works had followed its coming.

These and other tales assumed definite form in Diego Gelmirez's History, and in an even more interesting book, likewise written in the first half of the twelfth century—the Book of St. James. The Book of St. James attributes itself brazenly to Pope Calixtinus. It was probably written by one Aymeri Picaud, the poet to whom the pilgrims owed their most famous songs. Book I is an anthology of liturgical and patristic extracts, genuine and apocryphal in honour of St. James. Book II gives an account of the twenty-two most famous miracles of St. James on behalf of pilgrims. Book III claims no less an author than Archbishop Turpin, who died with Roland. Book IV, the most interesting of all, is a guide-book for the four great roads that lead to Compostella, telling the pilgrims what shrines to visit, in what hostels they might lodge, of what rivers they could drink, of the regions through which they passed, and gives even a vocabulary for use in the Basque country.

The first road was the road to Provence, from Italy, through Arles with its ancient cemetery, where whatever pilgrim has a Mass said will have all the holy dead as his advocates on the Day of Judgment, through St. Gilles where "that fair star of Greece" lay in a sarcophagus of pure gold, through St. Gilhelm-du-Desert, where Charlemagne's standard-bearer died a holy man, through Toulouse where a great church of rose-red brick still shelters the shrine of St. Sernin, and over the Pyrenees by Burgos, Leon, Astorgo, to Compostella.

The second road was the road from the North East, starting from

Notre Dame du Puy, itself a famous sanctuary, where the doorway of the old Hospice still shows the figure of Charity giving bread to two pilgrims, a perilous road through the Cevennes, where mounted monks from the monastery of St. Aubrac scoured the mountains for lost travellers, and the monastery bell rang all night through to guide them.

The third was the road from the North, from Germany, running from Vezelay and St. Mary Magdalene's tall church to Bourges, and on through the Limousin, where the church of St. Leonard was garlanded with ex-voto chains of delivered captives. Among them were the chains of Bohemond and of Richard Cœur de Lion.

And the fourth road was the road of Orleans, from Paris and Normandy and the Isles of Britain, passing through Tours, oldest and most precious of sanctuaries, sacred to St. Martin, the Apostle of the Gauls, through Blaye, where in St. Romain was shown the tomb of Roland the Paladin, through Bordeaux, where the treasury St. Seurin held the horn of Roncesvaux. After Bordeaux the country is wild and desolate, perilous by reason of the moving sands, at Belin there are more relics of the Paladins—a great tomb holds the bodies of Ogier the Dane and Gondebaud and Oliver and others of the peers of France, till at the Port du Cize the three roads meet, and cross the Pyrenees by the dolorous pass of Roncesvaux.

Tributary to this road is the Rue St. Jacques that pierces Paris straight as a spear—so long and straight that from the hill of Ste. Geneviève below the Pantheon the fretted stone of the Tour St. Jacques at its beginning gleams hazily, and its end is swallowed up in distance; at night the double row of tawny lights seems to run to meet the stars, to reflect that road of stars which shares its name. Chemin Saint Jacques—Cammino di San Giacomo—Cammin de Santiago—in the Romance tongues even to-day the shifting circle of the Milky Way leads to Galicia. Night after night, says the Book of St. James, speaking in the name of Turpin, Charlemagne looked forth on a road of stars stretching over Frisia and Gascony to Galicia, and wondered what it might mean, till one night a man of fair presence stood before him, saying, "I am James the Apostle, Christ's servant, Zebedee's son, John Evangelist's brother, chosen by God's grace to preach His law, whom Herod slew. Look you, my body is in Galicia, but no man knoweth where, and the Saracens oppress the land. Therefore, God sends you to retake the road that leads to my tomb and the land wherein I rest. The starry road that you saw in the sky signifies that you shall go into Galicia at the head of a great host, and after you all peoples shall come in pilgrimage even to the end of time. Go, I will be your helper, and as guerdon of your labours I will get

you celestial glory from God and your name shall abide in the memory of man till the world shall end."

Thus, according to Book III, Charlemagne was the first pilgrim, the builder of the church of Compostella, which at the end of his life a "Galician without a head," St. James, would place in the scales of judgment to balance the weight of the sins of the great Emperor. The windows of Chartres, the tomb of Aachen, the frescoes of the Arena in Padua, remain to witness how widespread was this interwoven legend. It was the twelfth century that made of Charlemagne and the Peers of France pilgrims to Compostella, but now almost all scholars follow M. Bedier in tracing the much-discussed origin of even the older Epics to the great roads of pilgrimage. We have seen how all along these roads traces and relics of the Paladins received the veneration accorded to those of the Saints. The road from Italy is strewn with records of the hero of "Guillaume-au-Court Nez," the other three roads cross the Pyrenees by the Port de Cize, that sombre pass where "*Halt sunt li pui e tenebrus e grant*," to Roncesvaux, with its "grassy vale." In Spain the way runs past a lake where legend places a buried city. Charlemagne cursed it, says the pseudo-Turpin. On the banks of the Ceo there is a forest of larches. Charlemagne encamped there, and each man slept, his lance planted beside him. And when dawn came they saw that the lances of all those to die that day had put forth leaves. These and such tales, says Bedier, were no man's invention but sprang from the hearts of the people. "In the beginning was the road," and for the country folk the great roads are traced by gods or heroes. And these traditions, fostered in the abbeys and hospices along the way, aroused to life in the eleventh century by renewed warfare against the Moor, gave stuff for song to the *jongleurs* who rode with the pilgrims, till the poet Turolodus came to fuse them into unity by his genius, and the literature of a new age was born.

To Dante in the Empyrean Heaven St. James himself appears as "Il barone per cui là giù si visita Galizia," speaking of God and the Saints as "Lo nostro Imperadore . . . co' suoi conti." The fisherman had become himself fellow to the Paladins. It was told that at the Battle of Clavijo, in 834, and in many battles thereafter, he had appeared to lead the Christian host, mounted on a white horse, with oriflamme and brandished sword. St. James the Moor-slayer—Matamoro—became the symbol of the fight against the infidel, a champion of Christendom, the patron of chivalry. The reason for this lies deeper than popular fantasy. Galicia was held precariously, the Moors were solidly established in Southern and Eastern Spain. Pilgrimage to Compostella assumed a semi-military character, and those who went to pray often remained to fight.

Under this aspect it was fostered and developed by a great and widespread organisation—Cluny.

Cluny has been called "the capital of the vastest monastic empire that Christendom has ever known." The seven great Abbots who held sway during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries might yield to the Pope in status but nothing in power. During that period Cluny was the centre of a two-fold struggle—for the liberation of the Church from feudal bondage, and for the defence of the West against an ever-menacing East. The first reached its culmination in the victory of Gregory VII, himself a monk of Cluny, over a humiliated Emperor at Canossa, the second entered upon a new and grandiose phase with the Council of Clermont, when amid the cries of "*Diex lo vot*," Pope Urban II, a sometime monk of Cluny, proclaimed the First Crusade.

The Crusades meant an offensive in the East itself, but all through the eleventh century the Abbots of Cluny had striven to direct a stream of warrior pilgrims into Galicia. Crusade and pilgrimage were near akin, and the battle-cries of the Crusaders, *Suseja! Ultreja!* and *Dex Aie!* rang in the refrains to pilgrim songs long after the road was sure, and defence against the infidel had devolved on the Order of St. James, founded in 1161, with "*Rubet ensis sanguine arabum*" as its device. Compostella owed much to Cluny. It was through Abbot St. Hugh that Diego Gelmirez received the pallium of Archbishop from Calixtus II, another Cluniac Pope, whom tradition presents as himself a pilgrim of St. James. Cluniac houses marked the stages of the four great roads and welcomed the pilgrim in perilous passes, and Aymeri Picaud's Book shows itself by its choice of sanctuaries to be wholly inspired by the monks of Cluny. Fittingly, the Abbot of Cluny bore on his coat of arms the scallop shells of St. James.

"The Romanesque style of Cluny and her daughter churches on the roads to Spain," says Miss Evans in her *Mediæval France*, "show the lobes, the framing to the arches, and the parti-coloured stone of the Moorish style which is reflected in the eleventh-century architecture of the church of St. James at Compostella." For, as Emile Mâle has shown, down these great roads travelled the art of the Middle Ages, the main stream running southward from France, the home and heart of creation in stone. The Cathedral of St. James, with the severity of its towering nave, broad transept, and apsidal chapels, as it was designed by Master Bernard the Marvellous, himself a Frenchman, in 1078, has the same plan as St. Sernin of Toulouse, as Ste. Foy of Conques, as St. Martial of Limoges, and many other churches strewn along the pilgrim ways, and all were inspired by one great prototype—the old church of St. Martin of Tours, which the French Revolution swept away,

and of which the lingering "Tower of Charlemagne" was left to fall in 1928. It was on the roads to Compostella that Romanesque art reached its highest and fullest perfection, and the rudiments of Gothic dynamics, carried from Spain to St. Denis, returned full-blown in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to make of Leon and Burgos sister churches to Notre Dame de Paris, and Rheims, and Chartres.

An early figuration of St. James, repeated along the way, shows him with a bird beneath his feet, as though to signify that the same impulse moved the migratory birds to flight and the peoples to pilgrimage. They came from every land, in such numbers that they encumbered the roads—*vix patebat callis* was the report of an Arab ambassador to Queen Urraca. Some came from the North, from Norway, Sweden, Moscovy, Slavonia, Poland. In Germany the pilgrimage to Compostella was so popular that a Guide to St. James was reprinted by Gutenberg five times between 1495 and 1520, and the pilgrim songs survived the Reformation. From the East in the thirteenth century came the Bishop of Armenia and the Archbishop of Nineveh, and in Tartary St. Louis's envoy found an intending pilgrim in a Nestorian monk. From Italy came St. William of Vercelli and St. Francis of Assisi, who founded at Compostella the first house of his Order in Spain. Dante, a century later, wrote that "in the narrow sense, none is called a pilgrim save him who is journeying to or from the sanctuary of St. James." (Of such were Brunetto Latini, his master, and Guido Cavalcanti, his "first friend.")

From France came the earliest foreign pilgrim, in 951—Gottescalc, the ill-fated Bishop of Le Puy, and after him a stream of crusading Barons, so that the road through Spain came to be known as the *Camin frances*. King Louis VI made the pilgrimage in 1147. Jean de Brienne, King of Jerusalem and Emperor of Constantinople, went to Compostella in 1224, and St. Louis IX had, says Joinville, "almost as great a devotion to Monseigneur St. Jacques" as to "Madame Ste. Geneviève," so that his last words as he lay dying at Tunis were an invocation to St. James.

But nowhere, save in Burgundy, was the pilgrimage to Compostella of greater moment than in England. The Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I, brought back a hand of the Apostle in 1125. Two centuries later there were more royal pilgrims—Edward II and his wife, and in 1386 John of Gaunt, on his way to claim the crown of Castille, who was received in Compostella with great splendour. And all the while came a stream of pilgrims of lesser rank (Chaucer's Wife of Bath among them) from England, Ireland, and Scotland. Shipowners' contracts of the time show that each year they sailed in hundreds. Purchas among his

Pilgrimes has a metrical "Way from the lond of Engeland to Sent Jamiz in Spain," full of quaint and practical comments. The Compostelle or certificate of pilgrimage came to be a necessary adjunct to the title-deeds of many estates, and the Galician scallop-shell—which the pilgrims bought at the church door in Compostella, or picked up from the sands of El Padron, the old Ira Flavia—has remained in innumerable coats of arms to this day.

It was natural that with time to the hosts of pilgrims St. James himself should appear as fellow to themselves. From the thirteenth century onward it is as a pilgrim that St. James is carved on the portals of the cathedrals and churches, with a pilgrim's high-crowned hat and cloak and wallet, and the staff that legend said was given him by Christ Himself. Sometimes, touchingly, he has a pilgrim's swollen and bandaged feet.

* * *

The day that Catherine of Aragon heard Mass in the Cathedral of Compostella, before leaving for her marriage with the Prince of Wales, the great thurible, to this day one of the glories of the city, broke and fell—as though in augury of the ending of the age of pilgrimage. The great pilgrimages fostered and presupposed a unified Christendom, when men could journey freely from land to land. Even in time of war the scallop-shell of St. James meant immunity. With the Reformation, the twilight of the age of faith, and the disintegration of Europe into ego-centric States, they dwindled and ceased.

Compostella still stands in its own granite austerity, among the heather-crimsoned hills over which the *Camin frances* dips and rises and disappears. The silver-armoured St. James seated on the High Altar was placed there in 1211 when Pedro Munzo, the Archbishop magician who came from Rome in a night, consecrated the Cathedral. And from Master Matteo's Portico of Glory—the old West front—prophets and apostles see their eternal Vision. Daniel, young, jocund, laughs for joy, and Isaiah looks from the evils of the present time, and Moses, with weary ineffable face, holds the tables of stone dreaming of the new law which shall take their place. St. Peter, with upraised hand, hears a call to action, St. Paul to thought, St. John to contemplation and dream. And in the centre St. James, serene, majestic, awaits his pilgrims. Never before nor since has stone been so wholly impregnate with spirit; in its imperishable beauty it remains a witness to the glory that has been.

BARBARA BARCLAY CARTER.

GHOSTS IN THE ISLE OF COLL.

WHEN Johnson and Boswell made their famous journey in the Hebrides in 1773 they were storm-stayed in the Isle of Coll for a week and four days. They had sailed from Skye with the object of getting to Tobermory in Mull, but had been driven from their course by a tempest and had to take refuge in the Isle of Coll. They were accompanied by the son of the laird of Coll, Donald Maclean, whom they had met in Skye, and whom they always speak of as Young Col, as the name of the island was spelt in those days. They stayed on the island as his guests till the weather permitted them to get away. Both travellers described their experiences in Coll in their respective accounts of their tour in the Hebrides. Johnson tells his story in classical Johnsonese, Boswell in a gossipy, human strain that makes his account the more attractive of the two.

The voyage from Skye to Coll had been a very rough one. Boswell was mortally afraid and frankly confesses his terror. There was heavy and incessant rain, and the vessel lay so much to one side as to be sometimes within an inch of the water. Boswell saw what he had never seen before, a prodigious sea, with immense billows. "There was something grandly horrible in the sight," he states. Trembling and terrified, he asked Young Col if there was anything he could do. Col put in his hand a rope which was fixed to the top of one of the masts, and told him to hold it till he was bidden to pull. Boswell stood firm to his post while the wind and rain beat upon him, but he writes in his journal that if he had considered the matter he would have seen that his action was not of the least use. Col had merely desired to keep him out of the way and to divert his fear by occupying his attention.

Johnson meanwhile lay below on one of the beds quiet and unconcerned. He had been seasick but had recovered and was thankful. Boswell found him "in philosophic tranquillity" with a greyhound of Col's at his back keeping him warm. In his letters to Mrs. Thrale Johnson made light of the tempest, but, as Sir Walter Scott points out, the expedition was in reality highly perilous considering the season of the year and the number of islands and rocks that abound in those stormy seas. Johnson and Boswell, having reached the bay of Arinagour in Coll, did not go ashore till the following day, Monday, October 4th. Johnson was not favourably impressed by the island. "Col," he said, "is but a barren place. Description has here few opportunities of spreading her colours. The difference of day and night is the only vicissitude." He applies to the island the words of Horace,

Nullis campis

Arbor aestiva recreatur aura.

Never Summer breeze

Unbinds the glebe, or warms the trees.

Coll was, he said, not often visited, as there was not much to amuse curiosity or to attract avarice.

Young Col having accompanied the travellers to the island, he was their host during their stay there. He was the son of Hugh, thirteenth Maclean of Coll, whose family had owned the estate since the fifteenth century. The father lived in Aberdeen for the sake of its society and educational advantages, while the son represented the absent laird and governed his dominions, which, according to Johnson, amounted to perhaps two hundred square miles of land. Young Col seems to have been a man of attractive personality. He was intelligent, active, very obliging and universally popular. He had first studied at Aberdeen and afterwards, being anxious to improve his ancestral island, he had gone to Hertfordshire to study agriculture. He was also a skilful mariner. He exerted himself in every way to make Johnson and Boswell comfortable, and to render their stay in Coll pleasant and interesting. His kindness and activity, said Johnson, supplied all defects.

It was my fortune recently to spend a holiday in Coll, and I made it interesting and memorable by tracing the footsteps of the two travellers. To me it was an island of ghosts. As I walked over the disused roads they had trodden and visited the houses they had visited, I could see, with the mind's eye, the three companions so strangely brought together; the big burly form of Johnson, mounted on his little sheltie or Highland pony and peering about him with short-sighted eyes; the prim, fussy, self-important Boswell, proud of his famous companion; Young Col, modest and kindly, a great man to his retainers but wearing as his only distinction a feather in his bonnet.

As I wandered among the rugged scenes and desolate places, the weedy rocks and sandy dunes which Johnson looked upon, I felt what a strange setting it was for that exotic figure of books and clubs and Fleet Street Courts. How strange would sound the distant wailing of the curlew and the melancholy cry of the sea bird to one accustomed to the crowds and smoke and noise of London. No one was more conscious of the strangeness of Johnson's position in the remote Hebrides than he was himself. Writing to Mrs. Thrale from Skye a few days before coming to Coll, he says, "You remember the Doge of Genoa who, being asked what struck him most at the French Court, answers 'Myself.' I cannot think many things here more likely to affect the fancy than to see Johnson ending his sixty-fourth year in the wilderness of the Hebrides."

When the travellers landed on the island they were first taken to the house of Captain Lachlan Maclean, who had made money in India and had taken a farm on Coll. "There was," says Boswell, "a little miserable public house" close to the shore, but they did not stay in it. It may be said in parenthesis that the public house is now represented by a comfortable little hotel, where every effort is made to secure the satisfaction and approval of the visitors. Johnson made the journey on a little Highland sheltie, and had such a disproportionate appearance that he says that if there had been many spectators he would have been somewhat ashamed of his figure. Boswell relates that the abode of Captain Maclean was but a poor temporary house or rather hut, but it was a haven to the travellers. There was a blazing peat fire, and the daughter of the parish minister made tea. The thatched hut, which was known as Achamore, is still standing close to the road. It is now used as a store by the tenant of the modern farmhouse of Achamore close by. The chimneys of the hut have been removed and the windows have been built up, but the traveller may still see the walls which sheltered Johnson as he drank tea in front of a blazing peat fire.

Having spent the night with Captain Maclean, the two travellers next visited the minister of the parish, the Reverend Hector Maclean. Johnson says he lived in a hut, a house of only one floor, but with windows and chimneys and not inelegantly furnished. I had considerable difficulty in finding out where the minister dwelt, but an old inhabitant of the isle at last put me on the right track. Hector Maclean lived near the ruins of the Church of St. Senaich at Killunaig in the north part of the island. A few yards to the north of the ruins is a stream which goes under the road. By following that stream to the east I found the house, which is now a sheepfold in the centre of a group of sheepfolds. The scene round the ruined church when I visited it was one of great peace and beauty. The ruins stand in a little churchyard which lies in the centre of a "machair," or expanse of grass-covered sand, and which still contains several tombstones of the Macleans of Coll with their mouldering coat-of-arms and illegible inscriptions. So beautiful and peaceful was the spot under the blue sky that I thought of the lines of Shelley:

Thus solemnised and softened, death is mild
And terrorless;
Here could I hope, like some inquiring child
Sporting on graves, that death did hide from human sight
Sweet secrets, or beside its breathless sleep
That loveliest dreams perpetual watch did keep.

The minister, Hector Maclean, was seventy-seven years old, and had the reputation of great learning. Boswell describes him as "a

decent ecclesiastic." Johnson says he had a look of venerable dignity, "excelling," he adds, "what I remember in any other man." Johnson and the minister fell to disputing and, as both were deaf, each continued to maintain his own argument without hearing exactly what the other said. Johnson, however, speaks good-naturedly of the old man. "I honoured his orthodoxy," he says, "and did not much censure his asperity." Johnson notes that there was no church on the island, and that the minister had to officiate in the room of a hut. He comments with high church irony on this discreditable state of affairs. "Two chapels," says he, "were erected by their ancestors of which I saw the skeletons which now stand faithful witnesses of the triumph of reformation."

After leaving the minister, the travellers were taken by Young Col to Grishipol, the house of a farmer named MacSweyn. Mrs. MacSweyn is one of the most vivid characters in the story of the tour. She was clad completely in tartan, could speak nothing but Gaelic, and had never been on the mainland. Boswell describes her as "a decent old gentlewoman." Johnson related that she was "hospitable and good humoured and spread her table with sufficient liberality." At Grishipol Johnson says he saw more of the ancient life of the Highlander than he had yet found. Whisky was served in a shell according to the ancient Highland custom. Johnson would not drink whisky, but, desirous to do honour to the ancient modes, he drank some water out of the shell. Mrs. MacSweyn told the travellers that she had taught Gaelic to the Chief of the Macdonalds and that she would soon teach Boswell. Boswell says he could already sing a verse of a Gaelic song which was composed in honour of Allan of Muidart, the Chief of Clanranald, who fell at Sheriffmuir. A former Marchioness of Northampton, who was heiress of the Macleans of Torloisk, composed a translation, which begins,

Come, here's a pledge to young and old,
We quaff the blood-red wine;
A health to Allan Muidart bold,
The dearest love of mine.
Along, along, then haste along,
For here no more I'll stay;
I'll braid and bind my tresses long,
And o'er the hills away.

The house of the MacSweyns is now a roofless ruin and is known to the islanders as "An tigh bhan a' Grishipol"—the white house of Grishipol. It may have been white once, but now it is as grey as the rocks beside it. It stands on the seashore, empty, eyeless, like a deer's skull, at the edge of a machair. There had been two flats and attics, and on the ground floor three rooms, a small one in the centre and a larger one on each side. The stones of the

south-west corner have been pulled out near the base, causing a crack in two of the walls. This was done many years ago by a man named Calum Nicholson, who believed that there was treasure hidden there. The house, in its silent loneliness and desolation, makes a singular appeal. As I entered the ruins, some sheep scuttled out in alarm at my intrusion. A sheep's skull lay in the centre of one of the larger rooms, and a thistle grew in the middle of the other. There was no sound but the noise of the waves and the cry of the seabirds and the scattered lamenting of the sheep. There were no signs of habitation. Everything has returned to its primitive state. Johnson wrote of the stream beside the house as "a brook very clear and quick, which is, I suppose," he adds, "one of the most copious streams in the island." It still runs clear and quick and copious.

From Grishipol the travellers set out for Breacacha, at the south end of the island, where the house of the laird was situated. Johnson was greatly impressed by the extended sand hills which he traversed. He said that he had never seen anything like it before. "It was horrible," he said, "if barrenness and danger could be so." Boswell heard him repeating to himself in the house of Breacacha the line from Addison's play, *Cato*, "And smother'd in the dusty whirlwind, dies." At Breacacha the travellers found what Johnson calls "a neat new house," where they lived very commodiously. It stood close by the old castle of the family, a massive keep of mediæval date which had been disused in 1750. The modern house was in a great degree unfurnished, but the kindness and activity of Young Col made up for all defects. "We lived plentifully here and had a true welcome," says Boswell. Johnson's first request on arriving was, "Now, Col, if you could get us a dish of tea." Both the travellers had excellent bedchambers and even condescended to a dispute as to who had the best curtains. Although Johnson liked the house at first, however, he soon remarked, "There was nothing becoming a chief about it; it was a mere tradesman's box." There was one Highland custom followed at Breacacha which Johnson seemed to have liked. The hereditary piper of the Macleans of Coll played the pipes when dinner was served.

I visited the house of Breacacha and, by the kindness of the laird, saw over the interior. The room occupied by Johnson is adorned with an oil portrait of him, and looks out on the sea. In spite of Johnson's querulous criticism the house is commodious and well built, and was a remarkable one to erect on a Hebridean island in the middle of the eighteenth century. The Jacobite rising under Prince Charles Edward was just over when the house was built, and its erection shows how rapidly the Highland lairds

were already abandoning mediæval modes of life and progressing in the direction of civilisation or what is called so.

On Wednesday the travellers visited the old castle and its surroundings, and Boswell and Col rode out and viewed a part of the island. Maclean of Corneck, a kinsman of Young Col, came to visit them. On Thursday there was a dreadful storm of wind and rain which lasted all day and night. Johnson read a good deal of Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, while Boswell read Ovid's *Epistles*, which he had bought at Inverness and which he says helped to solace many a weary hour. On Friday, Johnson was very bored and exclaimed, "I want to be on the mainland and go on with existence. This is a waste of life." Johnson complained of the lack of books, upon which Boswell observed that it was strange that he should complain of the want of books when he could at any time make such good ones. Boswell amused himself by examining a collection of old papers belonging to the Coll family, and found two letters in the handwriting of the Great Montrose.

On Sunday there was the most terrible storm of wind and rain which made the inmates of the house silent and depressed, and made a kind of dismal quietness within doors. On Monday, the morning was fine and the travellers set out for the harbour, in the hope of getting away. Again, however, a violent storm came on and they were compelled to continue their stay on the island. They spent the night at Achamore with Captain Maclean. Next day, Tuesday, the storm still made departure impossible and they spent the night with MacSweyn at Grishipol. On Wednesday, the thirteenth, the travellers were told that they might sail, and they got ready with all dispatch. Boswell annoyed Johnson by his bustling and walking quickly up and down. "It does not hasten us a bit," Johnson exclaimed. When they got on board the wind again arose and they had to spend another night in the harbour of Arinagour.

On Thursday, the fourteenth, they were at last able to get away and they arrived in an hour or two at Tobermory in Mull. At Tobermory they found twelve or fourteen vessels and numerous people engaged in various pursuits. The stir and life of the place, after the long confinement in Coll, raised their spirits and made them cheerful. Boswell in particular was gay and lively. "Boswell is now all alive," said Johnson. "He is like Antæus; he gets new vigour whenever he touches the ground." Johnson, who had been sulky and out of temper during the voyage, was restored to good humour by a dish of tea and some good bread and butter. Greatness and genius are human after all.

Young Col did not leave the travellers when they got to Tobermory, but continued his attentions in the Isle of Mull, where his

father owned considerable territory. He made every Maclear open his house when the travellers came, and supply them with horses when they departed. He took them to the island of Inch-kenneth where they saw Sir Allan, chief of the Macleans, inhabiting a thatched hut. Johnson relates that Sir Allan received them in his humble dwelling "with the soldier's frankness and the gentleman's elegance," and introduced them to his two daughters "who, in their cottage, neither forgot their dignity nor affected to remember it." From Inchkeneth they went to Iona. As they sailed along by moonlight on a rough sea, and shadowed often by black and gloomy rocks, Johnson, using an expression he had often used before, exclaimed, "If this be not *roving among the Hebrides*, nothing is." When the travellers got to Iona they were deeply impressed by what they saw, and Johnson gave utterance to what Boswell calls "that sublime passage," the production of which alone, he says, would have made the world acknowledge that the tour had not been made in vain. The utterance of Johnson on this occasion is so well known that it need not be quoted. "That man is little to be envied," it concludes, "whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona." From the sacred island the two travellers went to Oban, then to Inveraray, and finally southwards.

Johnson and Boswell both gave accounts of Coll in their respective works. Save that thatch has almost disappeared, the island can be little changed in outward aspect since the visit of the travellers. It is an island of low hills clad with heather and diversified by rocks and bogland. Low cliffs plunging into deep water and long ridges of rock pointing seaward are varied, particularly on the west side, with great sand dunes covered in places with coarse pasturage for sheep. When one gets away from the one little village of Arinagour at the harbour one rarely meets a soul. So undisturbed are the solitudes that a wary bird like the wild duck will be found nesting on the moor among the heather. Wild swans may be seen on the locks and, when I bathed, I always had some seals as companions. When Johnson visited Coll the population was twelve hundred. It is now under four hundred.

Johnson records that there was one shop on the island, where Boswell was able to buy writing paper. There is still only one shop. He states that every hut in the village had a little garden adjoining. The huts are for the most part still there, but their walls have been heightened and ugly metal and tarpaulin roofs have replaced the thatch. When Johnson visited the island the people could tan, and make brogues. They could make candles and oil. They could dye and make broadcloth and tartan and

linen as well as stockings. Whisky was produced in such abundance that the people could not consume it. Young Col was improving the island in a leisurely way. He had begun a road capable of bearing a wheel carriage and had carried it about a mile. The road which he began has only been completed within living memory. He told his guests that he purposed some time to have an orchard. He had introduced turnips and planted a field of them entirely by his own hand—an innovation which MacSweyn regarded as "the idle project of a young head heated with English fancies." When Johnson made his tour the people were emigrating from Coll, as from the other Hebridean islands, in considerable numbers. Johnson deplored this tendency. "All that go," he says, "may be considered as subjects lost to the British Crown; for a nation scattered in the boundless regions of America resembles rays diverging from a focus. All the rays remain but the heat is gone."

It is melancholy to relate that the life of Young Col, so full of promise and hopeful endeavour, was abruptly terminated a year after he parted with Johnson. On September 25th, 1774, he was drowned with eight others while crossing a ferry in the Isle of Mull, and within a gunshot of both Mull and Ulva. Four men who were in the barge were saved by the ferry boat of Ulva, but Young Col was one of those who perished. Johnson and Boswell always retained affectionate memories of their young companion. In December, 1775, Boswell, then in Edinburgh, is found giving Alexander, laird of Coll, younger brother of their friend, a letter of introduction to Johnson. "You have so much of the true Highland cordiality," he says, "that I am sure you would have thought me to blame if I had neglected to recommend to you this Hebridean prince." Not long after Johnson wrote to his friend, Mrs. Montagu, saying that the brother of Young Col had just been to visit him and had engaged to dine with him a day or two after.

J. A. LOVAT-FRASER.

TIM HEALY.

IN the history of the last fifty years the name of Timothy Michael Healy holds a conspicuous place, for the reason that he so vitally affected the relations of Great Britain and Ireland that it was in the nature of things that when Dominion status was attained by the Irish Free State he should become its first Governor-General. That is a judgment to which I venture to think all candid students of the history of the period must needs come. Abundant justification for it is afforded by Mr. Healy himself in his recently published work *Letters and Leaders of My Day*.* Here we have a story, at once luminous and entertaining, in which the events of the time are graphically depicted, while the parts played by the "Leaders" are delineated in the author's characteristic style. A limited number of the "leaders" command his admiration, here and there insinuatingly qualified, while for the rest there is every variety of appreciation, from benignant approval to withering scorn. Through all the one dominant figure is the author himself. On every page he is perfectly portrayed, "pimples and all." It is a very faithful presentation and a thoroughly adequate explanation of a personality that has played such an exceptionally effective part in the drama of the author's "Day."

To begin with, Tim came of good stock—of a "family that had been despoiled under the penal laws by a relative who, to obtain their property, turned Protestant." His grandfather was a teacher of Greek and Latin. His father married an O'Sullivan ("Sprung from Murty Og, whose slaughter is bewailed in Callanan's Dirge, and is noted by Froude") who died when Tim was but four years old. Her children "had a Spartan upbringing," and the grandmother kindled her grandchildren's minds "with stories of her forebears," while their father taught them "a little Latin, played the violin with taste, recited Homer, and declaimed the sonorous cadences of St. John's Gospel so often in the original" that they "knew its opening words—all the Greek they ever learned." After some schooling with the Christian Brothers, Tim, a boy of thirteen, went to Dublin to live with his aunt, the wife of T. D. Sullivan, "the song writer of the Nation." T. D.'s brother, A. M., owned both *The Nation* and the *Weekly News*. At this point consciousness dawns. The politician is born. Tim comes in contact with John Martin (of '48 fame) whose election for Meath in 1871, he says, "was the first milestone in the history of the latter-day Nationalist Movement." He makes Isaac Butt's acquaintance. That gentleman takes refuge from his creditors at T. D. Sullivan's, and, there borrowing his railway fare, is returned unopposed for Limerick.

* Thornton Butterworth. 2 vols. 42s.

Thus began "the Home Rule Movement." Here a fine tribute to the genius of Butt forms one of the many digressions that illumine the Healy narrative.

In 1872, at the age of seventeen, Tim leaves Dublin for Manchester, to stay with Mr. John Barry, "the ablest man of Irish blood in Britain," whose "conception and achievement" were "the organisation of the Irish vote there." Of the "festering discontent" that everywhere prevailed at the time Mr. Healy vividly tells, and the effect upon the young man's mind is obvious. It is clear to him that he must "do his bit" for Ireland. To that end he works hard at the cultivation of his intellectual powers, and especially at the development of the power to work, with such results as we all know. From Manchester he went to Newcastle-on-Tyne as a shorthand writer on the N.E. Railway. Incidentally, he was such an expert at shorthand that when he was twenty-two he revised Pitman's *Shorthand Teacher*, and most of his proposals were embodied in a new edition. It may be added that his brother Maurice was also an adept, and that their correspondence was carried on in shorthand. Maurice was a hard worker, too. The brothers spent some time together at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Tim's acknowledgment of their indebtedness to Newcastle is good reading:

My brother and I owed much to Newcastle-on-Tyne. Physical science was taught at night in Armstrong's works, Elswick, by Professor Rowden (a man of genius) and we got certificates in some branches. For small fees we were also able to acquire, at the Mechanics' Institute, French and a little German. To correct a stoop I joined the 3rd Northumberland Artillery Volunteers. The drill sergeant, a giant Irishman dubbed "Mac," often said to me, "You'd throw the whole British Army out of step."

But this was not all. It was here that Tim served his apprenticeship to political "engineering." The atmosphere was congenial, strongly impregnated with the Cowen personality—the Cowen who "helped every forlorn hope" and befriended every refugee, "whether Pole, Russian, Hungarian or Irishman."

On June 30th, 1874, when he was nineteen years of age, the budding Irish statesman takes a run up to town to see the House of Commons for the first time, and to hear "Butt's Motion for an inquiry into the demand for Home Rule." Very vivid is Mr. Healy's picture of the Parliament of that time, adorned as it is with glimpses of notable personalities, such as John Mitchel, John Martin, Joe Biggar, the O'Gorman Mahon, and particularly of Gladstone and Hartington. Of the latter two we have a delightful story illustrative of what may and often does go on "behind the scenes." Gladstone was resigning the Premiership. Hartington, as Irish Secretary, wished Pales, Irish Attorney-General, to be

made Chief Baron of the Irish Court of Exchequer. Gladstone objected, saying he would leave the appointment to his successor, but

On the day Gladstone left Paddington Station for Windsor to resign the seals after Disraeli's victory, Hartington appeared on the railway platform. "Sir," said he to Gladstone, "I beg you to sign Palles' 'appointment.'" Moved by this persistency, Gladstone replied with a smile, "Well, so I should in deference to yourself, but I have neither pen nor ink." Hartington answered, "I thought of that, and here they are." So Gladstone laughingly yielded and signed the appointment on Paddington platform.

Mr. Healy adds, "Palles was the greatest legal light in Ireland for forty years."

It was on this visit to London that young Healy was taken by John Barry to a meeting of Butt's party, and so came into more intimate association with the Cause. He returns to Newcastle to throw himself with redoubled energy into its promotion. He becomes responsible for the appearance of Parnell, Biggar, O'Donnell and O'Connor Power at a great meeting in Newcastle. Later, also at Tim's instigation, Michael Davitt goes thither. But by this time it had become clear that the young man must "come to Town," and in 1878 he begins his association with Parliament by engaging to write a Parliamentary letter for T. D. Sullivan's paper, *The Nation*. Now began his intimacy with Parnell, who arranged for his admission to the Strangers' Gallery. It soon became plain to Parnell's followers that there was a "chiel amang 'em takin' notes." This was the real beginning of what proved to be one of the most remarkable Parliamentary careers of our time. "The looker-on sees most of the game" we are told, and Tim Healy saw it so effectively that Parnell and Biggar found him an invaluable confidant. He insists on "getting men returned with the necessary capacity for obstruction." His admiration for Parnell grows, but in 1879 he tells Maurice that Parnell "probably will ultimately go mad if no relief comes to him from Ireland," and adds, "it is a pity he has no head for organisation work outside the House of Commons. He is a child in some respects." In a later letter Tim's admiration is further qualified. He suspects "feet of clay."

It was in this year, 1879, that the Land League was founded. In January of the following year Parnell and Dillon are in the United States seeking support for the movement, but Parnell is at a loss without Tim, and cables for him, and in February he goes. Three weeks later, Parliament being dissolved, Parnell and Healy return to Ireland. On their arrival in Dublin Parnell left the work of the General Election in Healy's hands, with the result that forty

Nationalists were returned, amongst them Tim himself. Gladstone comes into power and sends Forster to Ireland as Chief Secretary. The Land League penetrates Ulster, and there Healy and I come in contact, for I was in charge of the movement in that province. He impressed me as a young man whose heart was big with sympathy for the poor and whose whole mind was resolutely set on redressing the wrongs of Ireland. For that extraordinarily difficult task he was exceptionally well fitted by high working power and keen mentality. Gifted as some of his colleagues were, Healy excelled, I think, in his intelligent appreciation of the real nature of the enterprise. This is indicated in a few sentences suggested by Lord Spencer's Viceroyalty. "Peers of his school illustrate British tradition. They came to Ireland wotting nothing of its history, and left as unwise. . . . *Grands seigneurs*, fox-hunters, fishermen, dancers, they moved through a land in the grip of officialdom, while every step they took was eyed by the natives with distrust."

The quality of the man is revealed quickly in the House of Commons, where he leaves his mark on all the legislation affecting Ireland; and the farmers of Ireland, and of Ulster particularly, are greatly indebted to him, for to Gladstone's great Land Act of 1881 he secured the addition of the "Healy clause" which prevented tenants' improvements from being taken into account in the fixing of rents. The credit of this, however, Tim generously assigns to his brother Maurice, and certainly with some justice. But the two were hand-and-glove all the time, taking counsel together on amendments to Irish Bills as they came forward. The fashion in which some of these amendments were "engineered" is prettily illustrated. "A Child of Genius," George Wyndham, as Irish Secretary, had charge of Land Purchase. In an interview at Wyndham's house, Tim suggested certain amendments. When he was leaving, Wyndham's mother asked him if he had got what he wanted. Healy sadly said, "Your Saxon son has rejected the only amendment I set store on." "He's not a Saxon," said Mrs. Wyndham, "and he shall accept your amendment. George, take Mr. Healy's amendment." "I looked at her bewitched," Mr. Healy tells us, "for she knew nothing of the point at issue. George, however, turned lovingly to his mother, colouring, and answered, 'Very well, mother, I will.'"

Tim's working power was phenomenal. Journalism, study for the Bar, vigilance in the House of Commons, active participation in the agitation in Ireland (with four months' imprisonment), frequent appearances as counsel in the law courts, found him never at a loss. The story of the birth-pangs of the Irish Free State, as he tells it, is a rare study in psychology.

Mr. Healy's own part therein finds him frequently at odds with

his Irish colleagues, but constantly consulted by English statesmen, from Gladstone onwards. When the Uncrowned King "sells the pass," Mr. Healy's wrath is as though he had said, "Down, down to hell and say I sent thee thither." He seems to forget that "the quality of mercy is not strained," or that "if we all got our deserts none of us would escape whipping." But when the story of the tragic years that consequently followed is told as he tells it one is disposed to condone his wrath. He becomes himself again—the strong man resolute, sagacious in counsel—in the peace negotiations that issued in the establishment of the Irish Free State. With its creation and his appointment as first Governor-General the work concludes, but leaves us hopeful that the record of his administration may yet be told and, indeed, be followed ere long by a happy unification of Ireland. However that may be, we have in the present work a story so richly illuminative of the men and matters of the period covered as to be invaluable to the student and the historian.

But Mr. Healy had a notable part in a greater work. The Irish National Land League movement, initiated and inspired by Michael Davitt, produced a group of men of high character and powerful personality who gained eminence in political and professional life in Ireland and in England, and, unconsciously perhaps but certainly, compelled a truer and finer appreciation of Irishmen by Englishmen, so bringing England and Ireland into more harmonious relations. In that group Timothy Michael Healy stands conspicuous. It is not a little significant that on his seventy-third birthday, May 17th, 1928, he was the honoured guest of "The Pilgrims," and that the President of that association of distinguished men, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, should have written of him, on that occasion: "We honour him for his great public career, and especially for his service to peace and goodwill throughout the English-speaking world." Nor less significant is it that he should have been further honoured by the legal profession by his recent unanimous election as Treasurer of Gray's Inn.

HAROLD RYLETT.

MIGRATION: AN AUSTRALIAN VIEW.

A GOOD deal of British irritation on the subject of migration has recently been cabled to Australia. Some of it deserves a more rational reply than it has received. To most Britons mass migration seems such an obvious solution of the Empire's social and economic problems. From British dinner-tables and railway-carriages the cry is going up in one form or another, "We have so many surplus people, they have so much vacant space. Surely it can only be crass Australian selfishness that is holding up the healing tide that would relieve us and strengthen them?" And here in Australia they are saying, "How on earth can people go on existing round derelict mines in Durham when there are food, sunshine and freedom here? Why don't they come?" It is perfectly true that these complementary sentiments contain the elemental facts and reasonable hopes of the problem of Empire migration. But between them intervene certain hills of difficulty and valleys of doubtfulness, which must be properly surveyed if a road sufficient to carry heavy traffic is to be built across them. One of the most important reasons for telling the truth is that it saves so much time, another, that people staking all on a venture of faith are entitled to it.

The first point to be realised is that the prosperity of newcomers entering any country depends on their being absorbed without dislocation or delay into the economic life of the community to which they are adding themselves. An undeveloped country's capacity for absorbing migrants depends not only on the amount of virgin resources that await development. It depends on the size of the existing population. The stranger, especially the stranger without capital, is not in a position to open up new spheres of production. His labour must be absorbed into already existing activities such as they are, working for certain existing markets such as they are. Both are capable of being gradually expanded. But it requires to be understood that the capacity of a community to receive additions to its numbers bears a definite relation to its size. A population of six millions cannot "digest" migrants by the hundred thousand, especially migrants with little or no capital, and therefore with little or no power for waiting opportunities or opening up independent fields of self-sufficient activity for themselves. A new and undeveloped country requires a certain power of initiative in its migrants—a power resident both in the character and skill of the individual and in the capital owned by him or lent him by government. That Australia will one day support from six to ten times her present population is estimated by economists, but her rate of absorbing newcomers can only increase more or less in proportion to the

increase of her wealth and population. Meanwhile, Australia's population is increasing by about 2 per cent. annually—faster than that of any country in the world except New Zealand.

One learns that there have been floods of letters of complaint from immigrants who have returned from failure. It is inevitable that there should always be a certain proportion of migrants who fail to make good. Nor in many cases is it possible either to blame them or the country. In Australia, as in almost every country, there is a surplus of labour for unskilled work of routine character. Again, conditions are so entirely different from those of Great Britain that a great effort of adaptation is necessary. To many newcomers—especially perhaps to the Scottish—these new conditions are experienced as a blessed release of their powers and personalities. Here is less rigid social stratification. Though class distinctions are by no means absent, the transition from one class to another offers no "caste" barriers to the forceful personality. The work is far less highly specialised, and therefore offers more variety, and requires more resourcefulness. Everywhere, but only for those who have eyes to see, there are openings for doing something new. But where the power of social adaptability or working initiative is low, there are the elements of failure, and Australia, though she does not let them starve, is harder on the ineffective than is the old country, where it is so possible for an individual to become organic to an environment of routine. In Australia he should be able to see over the top of his job.

The absurdity of any attempt to pour crowds of people into an empty map does not seem to be as generally realised in the old country as it might be. Most of Australia's vast empty spaces will remain comparatively empty until some artificial means of distributing rainfall has been discovered. The rainfall map is almost the whole truth about the problem of Australian settlement, though possibly the geophysical survey recently begun may add some important footnotes concerning mineral wealth, hitherto undiscovered. But the fact that requires to be understood, as Professor Griffith Taylor and others have pointed out, is that the population is now where the population will always be. Follow the curve of the ten-inch rainfall and you have reliable wheat country, and within the area between the ten-inch and the eight-inch curve you have country where, given large farms, skilful farming, sufficient capital and good machinery, wheat may profitably be risked. For the purposes of close settlement Australia thus appears, to put it crudely, a strip of grass round a desert. Australians are rather "touchy" about this word "desert." Indeed, it is a relative term. About a third of the continent appears to be under Nature's final curse—the want of rain. Vast areas still unsettled may, with

the necessary expenditure, be made, not to blossom like the rose, but at any rate capable of supporting many more sheep and cattle than they are carrying at present. This process means large sums spent on immensely long lines of railway, water-bores, fences, pest extermination, and scientific research. Under present conditions sheep will pay for a good deal of this work, cattle will not. Cattle for export must compete with the much cheaper conditions prevailing in the Argentine, and arrive in England bearing the stigma of the freezing chamber. Moreover, cattle and sheep country supports very few people.

The area at present under cultivation could be more intensively farmed and carry a much larger population than it now does. An even more important fact is that Nature permits the area under cultivation to be trebled, according to the estimate of Mr. A. C. Benham in his recent very able book, *The Prosperity of Australia* (King). But this expansion of the cultivated area can only be achieved through the supplanting of sheep by agriculture. This process is expensive, as wool prices are high and sheep are paying very well where they are. The high-grade wools, which pay Australia best, cannot be raised in harsh conditions. The problem of extending closer settlement is a problem to be worked out in three terms—markets, capital, and skill. Of skill there is abundance in Australia. There are literally thousands of experienced, land-trained, land-hardened sons of Australian farmers who cannot get land because they lack capital. For many years land settlement in this country has been starved for lack of capital, and to some extent for lack of labour. The high protective tariff has diverted into manufacturing most of Australia's reserves of capital, and up till quite recently the returns from industry have been better than the returns on capital put into the land. For the years 1920-5 Mr. Benham awards to a corps of 18,000 manufacturers an average salary of £400 a year plus an average yield on their money as interest and profits of 15½ per cent. To the farmer he gives as interest on his money an average of 6 per cent., and considerably less than an average of £400 for his toil. The protective tariff, moreover, has made farming operations much more costly than they would have been under a free-trade system. The cost of living and of machinery has been increased, and, more important still, the high wages and high standard of living gained by the workers in industry has increased the wages of land workers.

To make a living the farmer must have land of a certain quality and quantity, and he cannot pay Australian wages for labour that is not fairly efficient. Either tractors or the large horse-teams common in Australia are expensive, and require highly intelligent care. Thus there is a high downward limit in land and labour below

which the farmer cannot go. As for markets, wheat would appear safe for many years to come, though the present threat of lower prices will curtail schemes for opening up lower-grade land. It will, however, be long before Russia again begins to export, and rice-eating countries are beginning to exchange their staff of life for that of the West. Fresh fruit is "tricky" and uncertain, dried fruits must contend with the competition of very low wage countries, and are dangerous. For this reason, the Development and Migration Commission, the newly-established national economic intelligence department, have put a stop to the large water conservation schemes on the Murray, where thousands of returned soldiers have been settled. The Commission does not feel confident enough about the future of the market to increase production of raisins, etc. Wool, Australia's best paying product, needs a great deal of capital, and employs very few people. Though sheep are replacing cattle everywhere where conditions permit, wool scarcely counts at all in the migration question.

Australian industries have for the most part flourished under the protective system, and a high standard of wages and living conditions for the workers has been built up slowly and is guarded with jealous anxiety. For this anxiety it is nonsense to blame the Australian worker. The difference between his wages and those of the British worker may not be as great as he thinks, but it is appreciable and is widening in his favour. The rapidly falling world prices of manufactured goods have breached the tariff wall badly, and caused a good deal of unemployment, and at the moment Australia is sharing in what appears to be a world financial depression. The falling coal prices, combined with chronic industrial trouble, have hit the Newcastle coalfield in New South Wales hard, and it is estimated that about 8,000 men will have to find other employment.

The attractive wages of Australian industry, even in normal times, draw to the cities a supply of labour that is usually a little greater than the demand, and men seem to prefer occasional spells of unemployment in town to the steadier and lower remuneration of the land. The opposition of labour to the importation of industrial labour from abroad is therefore not unreasonable, the more so as the Australian employer—here one treads delicately on dangerous ground—tends to prefer a new arrival with a sound training in a large English "shop" to a worker with more limited experience in smaller Australian concerns. The charge of slackness often made against the Australian worker is not well founded. He has to earn his high wages. Neither Australia's rural nor her manufacturing industries have much mercy on that low-powered, low-grade labour so tragically plentiful in England. Such people are

better off at home. The high physical standard insisted on at Australia House is a merciful precaution, and a necessary part of what is fundamentally an honest deal. The element of luck must always enter into the migrant's start in a new country, but this danger must be eliminated from a scheme of assisted migration. Australia lets no one starve—her social compassion is abnormally sensitive, and her charities are magnificent—but she cannot be expected to spend money on migrants when there is any reason to suppose that they cannot "pull their weight."

The purport of this brief discussion of Australian problems is to make the point, not that there is no more room for newcomers in Australia; for there is a very great deal, and Australia has everything to gain by the increase of her population. Her communications and public utilities will become more complete and more remunerative, her home markets strengthened—an all-important matter for a country which is attempting what is surely the most praiseworthy of all material tasks that a country can attempt, the maintenance of a high, common standard of living. Migrants make work as well as do it, but they must be such as are capable of prosperity if they are not to lower standards. Greater population will also increase the strength of Australia's grip on the country. The point that should be stressed is that there is no room in the country which is not room that is made by energy and intelligence. The newcomer who succeeds is the one who takes his place in the community's experimental work—the man suited to the front line. There is always an over-supply of labour in any country for unskilled, routine jobs. The flow of migrants must be accompanied by some capital, whether this is supplied by individuals or the State. Those who favour migration, therefore, should not complain of steady Australian borrowing for purposes of development, and unquestionably the bulk of the money asked for, with the exception of war expenditure, has been so used. £35,000,000 of cheap money is offered for loan by the British Government, on condition that at least half the land so opened up goes to migrants from Britain. All newcomers on the land need rather costly "nursing," so that from Australia's point of view it is very important that the new arrivals should be of calibre sufficient to repay the money spent on them. The only hope of recovering it lies in the character and capacity of those on whom it is spent.

For individuals saving is possible when one starts from "scratch," and a very large proportion of successful men in this country have so started. But to begin without money is more of a handicap now than it was a generation ago. Some States make more generous provision for financing the farmer than others—Western Australia is particularly generous—but in most the State

assists the beginner on easy terms. Yet it is true of migration that "to him that hath shall be given." From his residence in England the writer would give his opinion that the class of Briton to whom Australia offers most is the middle-class lad of good physique and sound education with two or three hundred pounds in his pocket. For such youngsters who are drawn to an open-air life Australia is indeed the land of opportunity. Their mental and moral capital is even more important than the money. The land becomes every year more and more a business of science and machinery. Flocks, herds and crops are improved by the intelligent use of applied science. Moreover, in a land where all work is largely experiment, the greatest of all assets is adaptability to changing conditions and the quick discernment of opening opportunities. However bad the times or seasons are in this country at any given moment, the field of opportunity is far more open than in Great Britain. The money that gives the power to hold on or strike in on some opening opportunity is very important. For secondary school youths with characters in which their parents can invest two or three hundred pounds of their savings, Australia should be a safe and profitable investment.

But many succeed without capital. The writer returned to Australia from a sojourn of two years at the University of Oxford in 1925, during which time he acted as hon. secretary to a small University migration scheme assisted by the Rhodes Trust. He brought out with him nine working-class lads from the region of St. Ebbes. They have not been good correspondents, but he met in Melbourne, a year after they had arrived in Sydney with £2, two of the lads who were on their way to a brother of one of them in South Australia, a journey of nearly two thousand miles from the north of New South Wales. They were naïvely but rightly proud of their roll of notes. He believes eight of the nine have made good. A young Scot from Glasgow on the same ship (of which he was welfare officer) he met three years afterwards in Perth. The ex-Glasgow man was down from the country to welcome his wife and children. He had landed with £50 three years before, had worked for others for two years, and was then buying a farm of 1,200 acres on which he ran two tractors. He was childishly proud of the two tractors, but they were a solid and creditable reason for pride. Of course, luck counts, but if there is the character to stand a spell of bad luck, and capacity to take advantage of the good, there are the elements of success that can be relied on.

Migration is a social problem, but its social trials are exaggerated. The Australian is just the Briton with some of his inhibitions melted by the sun. The youth who is not troubled at being chaffed for a Lancashire accent in an Australian one has nothing to worry

about. The new arrival may be received with a little ferocious leg-pulling from our rather "red" dock-labourers, but once ashore he will be taken on his merits, and the Australian, whatever his faults, is hospitable and good-natured, and of very kindly nature. Middle-aged wives are the most serious problem. The men make friends in their work, but the wife whose whole social life has been bound up with those neighbours who share the same outlook often finds readjustment harder, and I have met more than one man in England whom his wife, after he had secured a good foothold in Australia, had brought home again by the collar. Middle-class Englishwomen find the scarcity and expense of servants trying. For many of them the change is a sacrifice for husband and children. They need not fear for the children's education. Australian schools and universities are governed by British values.

The statement that Australia does not want British migrants is simply not true. There is an almost fanatical preference for such. In every kind of labour which involves close social intercourse with the community, the Briton is vehemently and naturally preferred. But there are two types of work which the Southern European does better. He is naturally more climatically fitted for the Queensland sugar plantations, and he is better at the work of clearing new country, either than the native-born Australian, whom this work bores exceedingly, or the British migrant, who is not inured to the open-air life and does not feel that the sun and stars are roof enough. Australian labour is not personally hostile to the British migrant, though he demands the slackening of migration whenever there is industrial depression. The Australian worker is jealous of the Southern European, though that fact does not prevent the Italian and the Jugo-Slav from prospering. Those Empire-shattering words "Colonial" and "Pommy"—they mean much the same—are used on their respective sides of the world to signify scorn for the unfamiliar type, superiority to the man whose changed environment shows him at a disadvantage. The use of both words is declining, I believe. They certainly are not used against individuals as once they were.

This then is the root of the matter. Economic checks on the rate and quantity of migration must be respected for the sake of the new arrival as for the country of his destination. These checks can only be overcome by costly, comprehensive, and wisely-directed policies. And success in the individual is ultimately a matter of personal qualities, among which mental alertness is supremely important.

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THE POETRY OF BISHOPS.

IT is curious to note how many bishops have written poetry, and often good poetry, which grips the imagination and lingers in the memory. The modern bishop, with his ceaseless toil and manifold committees and boards, is likely to have all poetry and every delicate fancy torn from him in the ruthless rush of twentieth-century life. But the mediæval bishop, dwelling in kingly state in his old palace, and the Hanoverian bishop of vast leisure and ample means, often had time and scope to put their thoughts into seasoned and mellow rhyme. In those days it was true

Only the Bishop walked serene
Pleased with his church, pleased with his house,
Pleased with the sound of the hammered bell
Beating his doom.

That last line is cynical, for the hammered bell beat many other things to such men as Ken, Atterbury, Berkeley, Heber, Alexander and Trench, who all rank more or less amongst the poets of their day; and some of whom were also saints and heroes in their fight for the things which are real and abiding.

It may be well to examine the work of Bishop Ken to begin with, for his hymns are to be found in every modern hymnology, and still have much influence over the thought and phraseology of devout and religious people. More than that can be claimed for them. They survive in our memories as influences of our childhood, and lines from the hymns have passed into our consciousness. Thomas Ken is rightly described in an old encyclopædia as a "bishop of Saintly memory." He was fearless in a time-serving and Erastian age, and withstood both Charles II and William III over matters of conscience. Although Ken refused to give up his house to Nell Gwynne in 1683, Charles II honoured him, and when Bath and Wells fell vacant in 1684 exclaimed: "Where is the little man who wouldn't give poor Nelly a lodging? Give it to him." He attended Charles shortly afterwards upon his death-bed; and was one of the Seven Bishops committed to the Tower in 1688. Finally, as a non-juror in 1691, he had to leave his beautiful palace and go into quiet retirement. Such a man has a right to influence the lives of many, and his morning and evening hymns have entered into our phraseology and our hearts. They have a sober beauty of their own combined with the quaintness of George Herbert and Richard Crashaw. There is something in them both adamant and abiding, and they are very austere. What can be better in phraseology and diction than:

Direct, control, suggest this day
All I design, or do, or say;

or

Let all thy converse be sincere,
Thy conscience as the noon-day clear;

and the couplets "dull sloth," "almighty wings," "mis-spent time," "noon-day clear" are worthy of Milton. Indeed, Ken's hymn to Our Lady is very Miltonesque, though it is not so well known as the morning and evening hymns. Its first line has the startling clear abruptness of the Elizabethans who always burst joyfully into their subjects.

Her Virgin eyes saw God Incarnate born.

What could be more condensed?

Richard Chevenix Trench, who died in 1886, and is buried amongst poets and bishops at Westminster Abbey, is one of the four archbishop-poets we possess, for he was Archbishop of Dublin for twenty years. The same old encyclopædia which delivered itself so glibly about Bishop Ken declares that Trench's poetry is "marked by sensibility and refinement, but not by genius." But many of the poems have flashes of genius. They are inspired by their motto: "Love that hath its deep foundations set under the grave of things." They have a certain academic flavour and delicate austerity. In his own words, Trench's poetry is like "the pure splendours of some clear large star"; though when he wrote most of his elegiac poems he did not intend them for public use.

Nor meant that many eyes
Should see unfolded thus without disguise
These mysteries of grief in mournful song.

For, like Tennyson, he was stirred into song by sorrow and wrote his best lyrics after the death of a dearly-loved child for the sake of

Hearts that are bleeding now, or once have bled.

Here and there in this little volume the author rises to great heights—as in the following very beautiful verse:

O life. O death. O world. O time,
O grave, where all things flow,
'Tis yours to make our lot sublime,
With your great weight of woe.

—and this, nearly as beautiful, written after a dream that his child was still alive:

For never from thine ivory gate
O Sleep, a falsè dream was sent
Than unto me brief gladness lent
To leave me sorrow's trustier mate;

and yet he does not mourn without hope "the days that never, never shall return," for he holds

So time no less has gentle skill to heal
Nor time alone—a better hand is here—
Where it has wounded, watching to upbind
Which when it takes away in love severe
Doth some austerer blessing leave behind.

These elegiac poems are like Ken's hymns, full of beautiful lines and couplets. Duty is "life's true star." After rain "every flower appears bedropt with tears." The "strong hours" of Time conquer man. At Christmas

A Heavenly Child
Came to a world not clad in bright
Spring blossoms, nor in gay leaves dight,
But to its winter bleak and wild.

This is reminiscent of Milton, but Trench is really more like Henry Vaughan than any other of the seventeenth-century poets in a certain cold clear-cut grace of diction and expression.

Another Archbishop-poet hailed also from an Irish see. Bishop Alexander (who only died as recently as 1911) wrote one little poem of real grace and beauty which is included in most sacred anthologies. It begins:

Yet love I something better than I know
A certain light on a more golden road.

That is a swift and sincere opening to a poem which never drops from this high cadence through its eight lines of grace.

Eternal, timeless, placeless without gyve,
Fair, fadeless, undiminished, ever dim;

and the last line is worthy of Alice Meynell or Francis Thompson:

This, this is what I love in loving Him;

—a very perfect little gem which alone places its author among the poets.

From Trench and Alexander to Reginald Heber is a far cry, for Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta, was a most popular hymn writer; and many of his hymns are still sung in our churches and chapels. Some of them have a lurid and garish quality which has its great uses in gripping popular taste and inspiring the simple and young. He was a great missionary bishop presiding over Calcutta from 1823 to 1826, and no mean poet in spite of his love of what seems banal. Most of us who knew his work when we were young felt gripped. No other words meant so much to our childish minds as the message "From Greenland's Icy Mountains." How

we loved "Sunny fountains," "golden sand," "palmy plains," and the climax when it was "waft, waft, ye winds, his story." They have undoubtedly inspired many a call to missionary service, and still grip and hold multitudes of people who prefer this phraseology to more sober hymns. "The Son of God goes Forth to War" has the same sterling quality. It fascinates and holds even the literary and fastidious who feel doubtful about "blood-red banners" and "the lion's gory mane," though these garish words have a wonderful attraction. The same lurid language makes "Brightest and Best of the Sons of the Morning" a most satisfactory hymn from the picturesque and appealing point of view, though again we may be uncertain what we mean by "odours of Edom" and "gems of the mountains."

Bishop Heber certainly is a great hymn-writer. He has hit the taste of the people, like Florence Barclay and Ethel Dell, and he is also markedly free from self-centred sentimentalism and unreality. His hymns abide, though few people are conversant with the poem which won him the Newdigate. Yet it is a great talent to be able to satisfy popular taste and the need of the average man, who is somewhat wrongly named "the man in the street." Oddly enough, Bishop Heber also wrote a childish play called "Bluebeard," where many wives are swiftly and expeditiously disposed of.

Robert Lowth, another eighteenth-century bishop, was a famous enough poet to be made Professor of Poetry in 1741. No man could have held more offices in the Church. He was Bishop of Winchester, Bishop of St. David's, Bishop of Oxford, and finally Bishop of London. His was the curious conscience of the Erastian Hanoverian who could combine infinite learning with great neglect of office. He was one of the very first scholars to treat the Bible poetry as real literature and to subject it to the tests of ordinary poetry. His work, *De sacra Poesi Hebræorum*, poured a flood of light upon the poetry of the Bible, and he translated the prophet Isaiah afresh, revealing much beauty and explaining the meaning and poetical standpoint of these poet-prophets who had the divine afflatus. In fact, he modernised Hebrew poetry.

Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster (1713), was of very different calibre: "How shines his soul, unconquered in the Tower!" exclaimed Pope as he watched him patiently enduring undeserved punishment for conscience' sake. For he was a passionate adherent of the Stuarts, and made no secret of his leanings, though the evidence is clear that he was not concerned in the succession of plots which brought against him the charge of treason. He was a delightful character, but it was written of him that "under the softest and politest appearance was concealed a most turbulent ambition." He was a friend of Pope, Swift and

Bolingbroke, who did their best in his favour; but in spite of a spirited defence he was for ever banished from his native land and deprived of every office in 1723. Atterbury took up his abode in Paris, whence he wrote to a friend :

Thus on the banks of the Seine
Far from my native home I pass my hours,
Broken with years and pain; yet my firm heart
Regards my friends and country e'en in death.

The savage and undeserved sentence which was passed upon poor Atterbury in advanced age and feeble health ended in the words : " and he shall be utterly incapable of any pardon." It was quaintly written of this delightful man that though he was learned he had " nothing of that savage rudeness which characterises the learned." Atterbury was no professed poet, but the verses that he left show that he might have shone if he had developed his faculty. Amongst his short poems there is a quaint conceit about the reason the horse has been tamed by man :

The horse and stag in common pasture bred
Disputed for the spot on which they fed.

.

As might be expected, the horse could not cope with horns,

So worsted in the fray the horse began
To quit the field and crave the aid of man,
Who mounted on his back, and was for ever after rode
and reined.

Atterbury loved his native land to his death, though he doubted the justice of his sentence.

Britain beware the tale is told to thee,
Free as thou art so still continue free.

he cried in despair as he watched the plots and machinations marking the beginning of the Hanover dynasty. In spite of the way in which he had been treated, he died according to his Will—" a sound and unshaken son of that church of which he had been so many years a most unworthy bishop "—a truly notable character.

Johnson has a word to say in favour of the work of Sprat of Rochester in his lives of the poets, though he was no great admirer of his character. Sprat also lived in times of trouble and insurrection and was hampered by the fact that he with Dryden and Waller had all written in praise of Oliver Cromwell when Charles II came back to his own. Sprat's poem upon Oliver is still well known, and contains several fine passages :

'Tis true thou wast not born unto a crown;
Thy sceptre's not thy father's but thy own,
Thy purple was not made at once in haste,
But after many other colours past
It took the deepest princely die at last,

and also

Those hands which were ordained by fates
To change the world and alter states
Practis'd at first that vast design
On meaner things with equal mien.

Johnson remarks : " there is in his few productions no want of such conceits as he thought excellent," especially " in his praise of Cromwell where he says that Cromwell's fame, like man, will grow white as it grows old." It is evident Sprat took Cowley as his model. The two lines on a drowned lady are very like Cowley in his best vein :

Then go and tell the sea that all its brine
Is fresh compared to mine.

Sprat did not even take Orders until after the Restoration and then, being a bit of a Trimmer and a time-server, he became chaplain to the king, and ecclesiastical benefices were showered upon him. He had not the courage of either Ken or Atterbury, but as Johnson quaintly puts it : " when King James was frightened away . . . he spoke up manfully in favour of his old master." In those days there were many fervent Royalists who hoped that their past opinions would not provoke comment.

Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down and Connor, " the glory of the English pulpit," also lived in that troublous time of revolution which produced so many heroes and poets. He was always a sturdy Royalist in spite of persecution and imprisonment. " Most eloquent of Divines," exclaimed Coleridge, " had I said of men, Cicero would forgive me and Demosthenes nod assent." He had tenderness, passion, colour, force, and his portrait hanging in All Souls' College, Oxford, proclaims a beauty of person which corresponds to his beauty of character. Much of his prose is pure poetry, and he had the most exquisite feeling for nature. Yet it is doubtful whether his few poems would rank him among bishop-poets, though there are fire and majesty in the following lines written in dark times of confusion and doubt :

Nay let me know
All dark, yet trust the dawn, remembering

.

We have sinned ! but never yet went out
The flame upon the Altar, day or night.
And it shall save thee, O Jerusalem, Jerusalem.

The Irish soil seems to have been propitious to bishops for the making of poetry, for Berkeley, Bishop of Moynes, was yet another bishop who occasionally broke out into poetry in spite of his metaphysical genius and philosophical speculation. Two more bishop poets of latter days may be mentioned whose works are in every modern hymnology—Archbishop Maclagan and Bishop Walsham How. The writing of hymns, indeed, does not necessarily mean a man is a poet, and yet the finest hymns are generally the best poetry, and bishops have certainly contributed in no mean measure to this all-important branch of English poesy. For hymns, like the ballads of the past, enter into the consciousness of a nation and do much to form character and stir enthusiasm.

CONSTANCE SPENDER.

THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE INDIAN STATES' SUBJECTS.

IN a very interesting article contributed to this REVIEW* the Maharaja of Patiala ably discusses the position of the Indian Princes, and points out the need for the creation of an authority independent of the Government of India, which, according to him, is so much devoted to the cause of British India that it has become incapable of managing the relations with the Indian States on behalf of the Crown. He thinks that the relative backwardness of the States has been in the past mainly due to the traditional policy of keeping them in isolation, combined with their want of those facilities for raising foreign capital and getting efficient European advice and help such as characterise the administration of British India. But the article is mainly concerned with the personal position of the Princes and the safeguarding of their rights, dignities and privileges, and is surprisingly silent as to the position of the people of the States. As the ruling Chiefs of India, including His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, are, like the Stuarts, firm believers in personal rule and the divine right of kings, the interests of the States are apparently treated as identical with the interests of the rulers themselves. And while what all the Maharaja says on behalf of the Princes may be taken as substantially a correct view of the situation, so far as the rulers of the States are concerned, the absence of any reference to the position and rights of the States' subjects or to their good administration constitutes a half-truth which is capable of creating a wrong impression in the minds of the British public, unless the other side of the situation from the standpoint of the States' subjects is also presented.

For a proper appreciation of the matter it is necessary to remember that in India there are not less than 561 native States of varying size and importance recognised by the Political Department of the Government of India, and the relations between them and the Paramount Power are regulated by a variety of treaties, engagements and *sanads*. The general position is thus summed up by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report :

The States are guaranteed security from without; the Paramount Power acts for them in relation to Foreign Powers and other States and it intervenes when the internal peace of their territories is seriously threatened. On the other hand the States' relations to foreign powers are those of the Paramount Power; they share the obligation for the common defence; and *they are under a general responsibility for the good government and welfare of their territories.*

* November, 1928.

To the same effect and in more legal language Lord Reading, when the Nizam of Hyderabad wanted to assert rights of equality with the British Crown, enunciated the position thus :

The Sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon Treaties and Engagements but exists independently of them and, quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to Foreign Powers and policies, it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all Treaties and Engagements with the Indian States, to preserve peace and good order throughout India. . . . The right of the British Government to intervene in the internal affairs of Indian States is another instance of the consequences necessarily involved in the supremacy of the British Crown. The British Government have indeed shown again and again that they have no desire to exercise this right without grave reason. But the internal no less than the external security which the Ruling Princes enjoy is due ultimately to the protecting power of the British Government, and—where Imperial interests are concerned or the general welfare of the people of a State is seriously and grievously affected by the action of its Government—it is with the Paramount Power that the ultimate responsibility of taking remedial action, if necessary, must lie. The varying degrees of internal sovereignty which the Rulers enjoy are all subject to the due exercise by the Paramount Power of this responsibility.

It will be seen from this that there is a general responsibility on the part of the British Crown for the good government and welfare of the people of the States. In spite of all the legal ingenuity of Sir Leslie Scott who, as Counsel for the Princes before the Indian States Enquiry Committee, endeavours to make out a case for their independence in matters of internal administration, the supremacy of the British Crown in all matters (whether internal or external) is indisputable. Viewed from the standpoint of the standard of administration maintained in British India, it cannot be denied even by the Princes themselves that the government of their territories (saving a few honourable exceptions) is far from satisfactory, and falls far short of the requirements of "good government" in its modern sense. It is now well recognised throughout the world that apart from the question as to the nature and form of the political institutions that a people may have (about which there may be difference of opinion) the essential requirements of a civilised administration are :

(1) The separation of the private purse of the ruler from the general revenues of the State, and the fixing of a Civil List.

(2) A sound system of finance, in which the revenues are assessed and collected not arbitrarily but in accordance with fixed rules and regulations.

(3) A regular system of annual budget and audit by an officer of independent authority.

(4) An absolutely independent Judiciary and the introduction and maintenance of the reign of law, and elimination of all arbitrary personal intervention with law and justice on the part of the ruler.

(5) The securing for all people in the State the ordinary rights of citizenship, such as freedom of movement, freedom of speech, freedom of association for lawful purposes, freedom of religious worship, rights of property, freedom of the Press, etc.

(6) The training of the people in some sort of responsible Government by the introduction of a system of representative institutions for purposes of legislation and interpellation in all matters of general administration, so that they may feel themselves to be not "subjects" but "citizens" of the State.

Judged by this standard of good Government, out of the 561 States in India not half-a-dozen can be said to come within it. The Princes have long been under the impression that the States were their own personal property in respect of which the maintenance of dynastic rights and privileges were a matter of far greater consequence than the material and moral progress of the people committed to their charge. Though several of them have travelled widely and frequently in the countries of the west and have had opportunities of enlarging their political outlook, yet when their personal rights stand to be affected they feel that their own autocratic power must in any event be maintained and safeguarded. They fear that the progress of British India towards responsible Government must inevitably work to their prejudice, and hence their hostile attitude towards the political progress of the British Indian people. If they stand on their right of personal rule and plead for the non-intervention of the Paramount Power with their autocratic administration, the consequence will be to jeopardise their own position. As an Indian writer of authority has stated,

the tide of democracy which has swept the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns and the Czars and the Sultans has spared the constitutional monarchs of Europe. Our Princes must certainly be aware of each other's imperfections and failings, and if they are wise in their generation they will by mutual *counsel* and example address themselves to the task of setting their houses in order. It is foolish for us to imagine that the rulers of States in such varying stages of development will be able to start immediately on the same level as British India, but they have to set before their eyes the same goal as was announced by Parliament in the famous declaration of August, 1917. They must guide the steps of their people along the path of political evolution more or less on the lines on which we have been guided. They will then find that the strongest support of a ruler is that of his own subjects based not upon the antiquated ideas of divine right but

upon a rational conviction of the important part played by Sovereigns in any constitutional polity, and upon gratitude for their self-denying labours for the welfare of the people.

Whether the Indian Princes will or no, the progress of British India must inevitably react on the position of the people in the States. In the words of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, "the processes at work in British India cannot leave the States untouched and must in time affect even those whose ideas and institutions are of the most conservative and feudal character." In the event of disaffection among the people of any State, the Government of India will be in a dilemma. Are they, while supporting and maintaining responsible Government in British India, to help the continuance of autocratic rule in the States? The Indian States (Protection against Disaffection) Act which provides for the punishment of persons in British India instigating disaffection in the States, will not be of much help to the Princes when the forces of social and political contact are operating. Unless the Princes recognise and adapt themselves to the political progress of the world, and particularly of British India in their neighbourhood, and pledge themselves to some form of constitutional Government, their position must necessarily become insecure, and the Paramount Power, from the very nature of the situation and in view of its own declared policy, cannot be in sympathy with them.

Without taking a broad view of the problem, if the Princes confine themselves to asking for a mere re-statement of the relation between themselves and the Paramount Power, as they seem to do before the Butler Committee, they will not only be complicating the political relationship between British India and the States, but seriously prejudicing their position in relation to their own subjects. Though until last year the people of the States had been taking no part in the Indian National Congress, since December, 1927 an attempt has been made to bring home to the minds of the people of both British India and the States that their interests and aspirations are identical, and unless they unite there is no hope of realising *Swaraj* for India as a whole. However much the Princes may resent this new development, it must at any rate in course of time affect their position as the rulers of their respective States; and unless they accede to the establishment of some sort of responsible Government and assure at least as full rights of citizenship to their subjects as the people of British India enjoy, serious political disturbances may occur which may even shake the very foundations of their position as rulers; in which event it will be a delicate matter for the Paramount Power to interfere on behalf of the Princes, who would not move with the times and introduce constitutional government in their States even to the limited extent to which it has been introduced in British India.

A. RAMAIA.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE EVACUATION OF KABUL.

THE removal of the European diplomatists from Kabul was a pitiless epitaph to the ex-Amir Amanullah's adventure in Westernisation. Not only had the adventure itself miscarried, but the failure extended its effect, as it were, retrospectively and brought down a pre-existing monument of Amanullah's work. It was Amanullah who made the 1921 treaty with Sir Henry Dobbs and who thereby substituted diplomacy for war as the means of Anglo-Afghan relations. The institution of an Afghan Legation in London and a British in Kabul resulted in the following year from that innovation; and during the next six years good use was made of the diplomatic channel. When in the last week of February, 1929, Sir Francis Humphrys, British Minister in Kabul, left Kabul by air for Peshawar, the clock in Afghanistan was put back to 1920.

News reached London from Peshawar on February 23rd that an immediate beginning was to be attempted in the diplomatic evacuation of Kabul. The plan had been kept secret for the reason that the passage over the Khyber Pass might have been made more dangerous than it anyhow was if restless tribesmen below had known in advance that they were to be given an opportunity for practising their marksmanship. When, however, the R.A.F. planes left Peshawar for Kabul on the morning of February 23rd the secret could no longer be kept. The first attempt failed, owing to the bad weather conditions, but in two days the evacuation was complete.

The operation resulted from the deliberate policy of the British Government, whose record during the Afghan crises has been remarkably uncontroversial. First, the British authorities concentrated on removing civilians of all nationalities from Kabul. Between December 23rd, 1928, and February 11th, 1929, as Sir Austen Chamberlain announced in the House of Commons on February 13th, the number of men, women and children that were rescued from Kabul by the R.A.F. was as follows: British subjects, 216; Afghans, 32; French, 11; Germans, 34; Italians, 4; Persians, 19; Roumanian, 1; Swiss, 1; Syrians, 5; Turks, 42; United States citizen, 1; total 366, of whom 280 were women or children.

Having removed the civilian population to safety, it was the policy of the British Government to maintain the diplomatic corps in Kabul as long as they might serve a useful diplomatic purpose, but it was a major ideal of the Government to repeat in Afghanistan the policy that had been pursued with marked success in China, the policy namely of steering clear of factional sympathy and of

holding aloof until a representative national organism again emerged. Sir Austen Chamberlain made a statement to that effect on February 20th, when in the House of Commons he said: "When the Afghan Minister, Shuja-ud-Dowleh Khan, informed me on January 14th of King Amanullah's abdication, he added that His Majesty had nominated Sardar Inayatullah Khan to take his place. On January 28th, some days after King Inayatullah's departure from Kabul, I received a further communication from Shuja-ud-Dowleh Khan stating that King Amanullah had cancelled his abdication. . . . His Majesty's Government do not support or recognise any party or Government in Afghanistan at the present time; and . . . His Majesty's Minister at Kabul and His Majesty's Consul at Kandahar are in unofficial touch with the administrations of Habibullah Khan and King Amanullah respectively in regard to local matters." In answer to a further question he added: "I understand that King Amanullah has expressed his willingness to receive the foreign diplomatic representatives at Kandahar but, so far as I am aware, no members of the Diplomatic Body at Kabul have accepted this invitation. His Majesty's Government do not propose to remove their mission to Kandahar."

By the beginning of February it had been decided by the British Government that no further diplomatic purpose could now be served, and on the other hand that considerable personal danger might be courted, by the retention of the various Ministers in Kabul. An approach was therefore made to the various European Governments represented at Kabul and the suggestion made that a plan of evacuation be concerted. There was now no recognised Government in Afghanistan, the country was divided among dormant pretenders, each waiting for better weather to start military operations. The European Governments except the German agreed to the British suggestion, the German exception affording an interesting illustration of the grim devotion to duty which characterises German conduct. The Wilhelmstrasse decided that for the moment the German Minister should stay in Kabul, danger or no danger, to watch over whatever German interests might need watching. The other European Governments however fell in with the plan, and February 13th was decided on as the date for the beginning of the enterprise, the British aeroplanes facing, as before, the heroic rôle. Virtue being its own drawback, it followed that the British Minister, Sir Francis Humphrys (who himself, interestingly enough, had served as an air pilot in the World War) should be evacuated last. As, unfortunately, it appeared from the first unlikely that the R.A.F. machines could make enough journeys between Peshawar and

Kabul to finish the work in one day, and as the last journey, for the reason suggested above, must necessarily be more risky than the first, Sir Francis's rôle of boy on the burning deck, dramatic and attractive as it was from every other point of view, could hardly have been agreeable from his own point of view. It was not without danger. The risk, however, had to be faced.

Sir Francis and the last remaining members of the British Legation were successfully evacuated on February 25th. Lord Winterton, Under-Secretary for India, stated in the House of Commons on February 27th that: "In the early stages of the operations the aircraft which first established touch with the Legation were repeatedly under fire, and one machine was shot down over Kabul, though its pilot was, fortunately, unhurt, and has since rendered Sir Francis Humphrys invaluable assistance. The Royal Air Force *personnel* engaged have throughout flown over this wild border country unarmed. Recently, owing to the extreme severity of the weather conditions, with very low temperatures prevailing, accompanied by heavy snowfalls, the task of all concerned has been rendered exceptionally difficult and dangerous, alike in the air and on the ground. One machine had a forced landing through the engine actually freezing up whilst in flight, and its two occupants were for some days in the hands of tribesmen, though subsequently successfully evacuated by air." On reaching Peshawar Sir Francis Humphrys sent a telegram to London in these terms: "The Royal Air Force have performed a historic achievement. They have conveyed 586 persons in 82 aeroplanes without a single mishap to passengers since December 23rd, over mountainous country in the depths of winter at an average height of 10,000 feet. Conditions have always been difficult, and for the last two days almost insuperable on account of the heavy fall of snow."

ANGLO-AMERICAN NAVAL RELATIONS.

There appears now to be some ground for the belief that the mischief created by the so-called Anglo-French "compromise" proposal of last summer has spent itself. Feelers are being put out from both sides of the Atlantic about the feasibility of a new naval conference.

Since the summer of 1927 diplomatic nerves about naval competition have worn steadily worse. The nervous crisis was probably reached on February 5th of this year when the United States Senate passed the Cruiser Bill by 68 votes to 12, and thereby authorised, without the loophole of the "Coolidge" elimination of the time limit, the building of fifteen new cruisers. The cruisers are to be of the fatal size of 10,000 tons, capable therefore of carrying the eight-inch guns whose sole function, according to British

naval experts, is offensive. It is stipulated in the Bill that five cruisers be laid down each year during the period 1929, 1930, and 1931. The cruisers are to cost \$16,000,000 each, and the new aircraft carrier provided for in the Bill is to cost \$19,000,000.

The cost of these things, it is true, is of little consequence to the United States, as was illustrated on February 8th, when the House of Representatives listened to, and passed, naval estimates of nearly twice the amount of the British naval estimates introduced by Mr. Bridgeman to the House of Commons on March 14th.

While the Cruiser Bill was before Congress the diplomatic gossip in the chief capitals of the world was concerned more with building-programmes than with disarmament. The idea of restrictive agreements appeared to be out of court. The wealth of the United States, among its other effects, gives to the United States a certain tactical initiative. When that initiative is used for the purpose of increasing the size of the American navy and swelling America's naval estimates, the rest of the world watches silently, and thinks the more. The humour of the Kellogg Pact for the Renunciation of War appearing in the rôle of bedfellow to the Cruiser Bill in the same session of Congress was too grim to be appreciated outside the United States, and too big to be noticed in the United States. One single Senator in Washington saw it, and alone he voted against the Kellogg Pact. Perhaps the twelve who voted against the Cruiser Bill were also, but in a lesser degree, affected by a sense of humour.

Humour and politics seldom mix. M. Briand and Mr. Churchill both mix them: and significantly enough they are neither of them very serious in their politics. Seriousness in politics adds much to the sum of human misery. The leading United States politicians are probably more serious than even the leading English politicians, and they do correspondingly more harm. The March number of the *American Review of Reviews* quite fairly interpreted the type of thought, unilluminated by vision, which characterises America's present-day type of administration. Its editor, Mr. Albert Shaw, wrote these words in his editorial notes: "To maintain our navy is essential to the dignity and self-respect of the United States. But far beyond its necessity as a defence measure, the navy is requisite for the support of world peace." Thought of such a kind is a form of disease.

Fortunately there are those on both sides of the Atlantic whose thought takes a more lively form. The mere mention of the word "treaty" in an amendment passed by Congress on February 5th, when it passed the Cruiser Bill, was enough to start the healthy minds exploring their opportunity. Senator Reed's amendment, which was passed by 81 votes to one, read: "Congress favours a

treaty or treaties with all principal maritime nations regulating the conduct of belligerents and neutrals in war, at sea, including the inviolability of private property thereon. Such treaties shall be negotiated if practically possible prior to the meeting of the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments in 1931."

On the following day, February 6th, questions were put to Sir Austen Chamberlain about Senator Reed's amendment and about the general question of Anglo-American naval relations. Sir Austen Chamberlain on that occasion revealed the fact that "all questions concerning our relations with America and the naval conditions of the two countries are under consideration by His Majesty's Government. When I am in a position to make a statement on the subject, I will do so, but I cannot make a statement until the inquiry is concluded."

A week passed. Sir Esmé Howard on February 15th made a statement in Washington which immediately gave form to the hope that something definite was impending. He stated that the Cruiser Bill being now passed, the British attempt to reach a naval agreement with the United States would be resumed. He explained that while the Bill was delayed in its passage through Congress it had been the deliberate policy of the British Government not to raise the question of naval restriction, lest such a step should be regarded as an attempt to influence Congress in its attitude to the Bill. Now, however, he said, the ground was clear, although the actual renewal of discussion might possibly be delayed by the General Election in Great Britain.

Sir Esmé's attempt to do his bit towards reviving dying hopes produced an awkward reaction in Whitehall. Why Sir Austen Chamberlain should have been alarmed lest Sir Esmé Howard had contributed too much to the revival aforesaid is a conundrum to which there may be more than one answer. The fact however is that within twenty-four hours of Sir Esmé's statement the Foreign Office issued a statement in these words: "There has been no change in the situation since Sir Austen Chamberlain informed the House of Commons on February 6th that His Majesty's Government were engaged in the careful examination of 'all questions concerning our relations with America and the naval conditions of the two countries.' This examination is being diligently prosecuted. As soon as it is concluded, the first step will be to communicate its results to the Governments of the Dominions and to receive and consider their views. It is unlikely, therefore, that His Majesty's Government will be in a position to make any further communication for some time."

The effect of that statement was frigid, and the statement wore the complexion of studied frigidity. The content in no way

differed from what Sir Esmé Howard had said, but Sir Esmé, feeling as most people felt, that he had been publicly submitted to somewhat cavalier reproof by official London, explained later that his statement of February 15th had been an expression of his personal view only. Ambassadors are perhaps naturally sensitive to the attitude of their Foreign Secretary at home. There was a certain charm in the way in which Sir Esmé Howard, having on February 16th been, as it were, scolded by Sir Austen Chamberlain, proceeded with unruffled technique to cultivate a better attitude on Sir Austen's part, it being an Ambassador's instinctive concern to foster good will. Speaking in Washington on the anniversary of Washington's birth (February 22nd), Sir Esmé referred to America's sympathy during the illness of King George, and taking the occasion to extend the scope of his moral, he proceeded to quote at some length certain passages of a speech made by Sir Austen Chamberlain, at Birmingham, on January 26th. Few men can turn the other cheek as gracefully as an Ambassador.

The Foreign Office statement of February 16th inevitably led to the asking of further questions in the House of Commons. The questions led to one good, and to one controversial result. The good result was that on February 20th Sir Austen denied that there was any contradiction between Sir Esmé Howard's statement of February 15th and his own official communiqué of February 16th. "The statement issued here," he added, "was a correction of a mistaken inference drawn from the Ambassador's correct statement at Washington." The controversial result was that Sir Austen again displayed his peculiar capacity for not being enthusiastic whenever he is questioned about the United States. He said: "His Majesty's Government have no intention of issuing invitations to a conference on these subjects" (i.e., naval armaments and maritime law), but omitted to say anything of a positive nature which might have helped to improve Anglo-American relations. What was still more marked was that he bluntly called a spade a spade in referring to a certain American suggestion thrown out last September. The American Note delivered at the Foreign Office on September 28th, of which the object was to reject the Anglo-French naval proposals, ended with a hint conveyed in the following terms: "A proposal along these lines [i.e., on the lines of the global criterion advocated by Mr. Hugh Gibson in 1927] made by Great Britain and discussed by the American and British representatives would be sympathetically considered by the United States."

Now it was perfectly obvious to all except American commentators that the American suggestion for a renewed attempt at an understanding, to be made by the device of Great Britain's spon-

taneously proposing, as a British proposal, everything that the United States wanted, was a too simple-minded suggestion. It might even with some fairness be described as puerile. But it had been an equally puerile device on the part of France and Great Britain to suggest to the United States that an agreement be reached on the exclusive basis of the British thesis which had already been rejected by the United States. The situation was something like this: the United States and Great Britain had flatly disagreed on a cardinal principle in the summer of 1927. In the summer of 1928 Great Britain, through the mouth of Sir Austen Chamberlain, said in effect to the United States: "Let us not quarrel; let us try again to make it up; I therefore propose that you accept all my ideas and abandon all your own; then we shall be perfect friends." The answer of the United States was in this sense: "No, I cannot accept your ideas; but do let us make it up: suppose you make a new proposal, your proposal embodying all my ideas, and none of your own, I will then gladly discuss it with you." And now, on February 20th, 1929, Sir Austen Chamberlain, when questioned about the American Note of last September, simply reiterated: "That Note objected to proposals which had been made by His Majesty's Government on the ground that the United States Government had already expressed its objection to them. The same Note ended by the suggestion that the United States Government would be prepared to proceed with negotiations on a basis to which His Majesty's Government had previously expressed their objection."

Are London and Washington to go on for ever in this strain? There is no doubt much to be said for calling a spade a spade; but there would be more to say for a little pleasant elasticity designed to put an end to an unprofitable argument.

It is clear that there are two schools of thought in Whitehall about America. One school holds that, America being the richest nation on earth, the sensible thing for Great Britain would be to give America her head: for in any event America can outbuild the world if and whenever she wants to do so. The other school, to which Sir Austen Chamberlain appears to belong and to which Mr. Churchill and Mr. Bridgeman have proved themselves to belong, is not much impressed by the "almighty dollar," and believes that in the long run the best result will be achieved by a frank resistance to American arrogance, if any. The conflict of opinion is more interesting than important: because in any event no one believes that the United States would engage in an expensive war either with Great Britain or with anyone else. America has too much sense to indulge in such extravagance, as she showed between the summer of 1914 and the spring of 1918.

Mr. Hoover moreover took the occasion of his inaugural address (March 4th) to emphasise the pacific nature of his intentions. He devoted a short but striking passage to that subject. "It is impossible," he said, "for my countrymen to speak of peace without profound emotion. In thousands of homes in America, in millions of homes around the world, there are vacant chairs. It would be a shameful confession of our unworthiness if it should develop that we have abandoned the hope for which all these men died. Surely civilisation is old enough, surely mankind is mature enough so that we ought in our own lifetime to find a way to permanent peace. Abroad, to west and east, are nations whose sons mingled their blood with the blood of our sons on the battlefields. Most of these nations have contributed to our race, to our culture, to our knowledge and our progress. From one of them we derive our very language, and from many of them much of the genius of our institutions. Their desire for peace is as deep and sincere as our own. Peace can be contributed to by respect for our ability in defence. Peace can be promoted by the limitation of arms and by the creation of the instrumentalities for the peaceful settlement of controversies. But it will become a reality only through self-restraint and active effort in friendliness and helpfulness. I covet for this administration a record of having further contributed to the advance of the cause of peace."

Mr. Bridgeman in his turn, when introducing the naval estimates in the House of Commons (March 14th) quoted with approval one or two of Mr. Hoover's sentences and proceeded to add to them some excellent observations of his own: "The two Powers," he said, "were both lovers of peace, both by interest and tradition. They had both renounced recourse to war as an instrument of national policy. Therefore it was quite unreasonable to suppose that either one or the other would be engaged in a war of aggression against any other Power, and still less reasonable to imagine that there was any danger of their fighting each other. Whatever ship-building either country was doing was for the purpose of defence and insurance against risk. The peace of the world was not endangered by the fact that one or two or more peace-loving nations had strong navies so long as those Powers were not animated by the ambition for territory or the lust of conquest, and nobody could say that either of us were."

GREAT BRITAIN AND DISARMAMENT.

It is perhaps worth while to examine the actual post-war record of the British Government in the amount of money it has devoted to armaments. The statement is often made in Whitehall and at Westminster that Great Britain has set an example in the practice

of reducing armaments. Mr. Bridgeman on March 14th went to the length of saying that "we have done more than any other country in actual reduction of armaments." Such broad statements are apt to be discounted by opinion abroad. I have therefore extracted the actual figures from the annual financial statements issued from the Treasury, and collate them below in tabular form. The table is impressive in more than one way.

As a starting-point, and to give a contrast, I first give the estimates that were drawn up in the last budget before the Great War began, and before the war had loomed on the horizon as a practical probability: the estimates, namely, that were presented to Parliament in the spring of 1914. Those estimates were for normal expenditure in the year April 1st, 1914, to March 31st, 1915. The war broke out in the middle of the period and the estimates became a scrap of paper, but that fact is beside the argument.

Estimates for March, 1914, to March 1915.

<i>Army.</i>	<i>Navy.</i>	<i>Air.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
£25,113,000	£48,697,000	Nil	£73,810,000

As the war did not end till the middle of the financial year 1918-1919, the first post-war year in which the whole military, naval and air expenditure was of a non-belligerent character was the year April, 1919, to March, 1920. In the table below I give the figures of the actual expenditure on armaments during each of the nine completed post-war years, that is, from April, 1919, to March, 1928. The distinction should be carefully noticed that the figures are of expenditure, not of the estimates with which the year started. The figures given for the year 1928-1929, however, are the estimated figures for that year, as contained in the 1928 budget; for the year was not complete when this paper was written. In each case the army figure includes expenditure on ordnance factories:

<i>Year ending March 31st.</i>	<i>Army.</i>	<i>Navy.</i>	<i>Air.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
1920	395,000,000	156,528,000	52,500,000	604,028,000
1921	181,500,000	88,428,000	22,300,000	292,228,000
1922	95,110,000	80,770,000	13,560,000	189,440,000
1923	45,400,000	56,200,000	9,400,000	111,000,000
1924	43,600,000	52,600,000	9,600,000	105,800,000
1925	44,765,000	55,625,000	14,310,000	114,700,000
1926	44,250,000	59,657,000	15,470,000	119,377,000
1927	43,600,000	57,600,000	15,530,000	116,730,000
1928	44,150,000	58,140,000	15,150,000	117,440,000
1929 <i>(estimated)</i>	41,050,000	57,300,000	16,250,000	114,600,000

It is to be noticed that the figure of £105,800,000, falling in the year ending March 31st, 1924, is the lowest of the whole series. The Labour Government was in power for only the last three months of that year, but it would be a difficult inquiry to assess how far in those months that government had succeeded in cutting down expenditure.

There is no doubt about the reduction, the drastic reduction, effected in expenditure on armaments in the post-war years. In relation to the value of money the 1929 figure is hardly more than the pre-war figure; and there are those who derive some satisfaction from that reflection. Such satisfaction, however, seems to miss the point that a Great War and a resultant League of Nations might reasonably argue a case for a smaller expenditure on armaments after than before the war.

When one has fully granted the fact that Great Britain has progressively reduced her expenditure on armaments since the war, one is left with the monstrous remaining fact that an eighth of the entire national revenue is spent on preparation for future war. A budget of over £800,000,000 cripples the people of this country, but most of the people of this country probably do not grasp its real meaning. The pre-war standard rate of income tax was 1s. 2d. in the pound, contrasting with the present 4s. in the pound. Of that 4s. no less a proportion than 6d. goes to providing armaments. Every time the clock ticks out a second we spend £4 on armaments. We spend more than £300,000 a day in that way. Government is indeed an expensive as well as dangerous disease of humankind.

To make the matter more gloomy, it is to be remarked that we spend a vastly different sum on the League of Nations, an organisation of which the purpose is to prevent war. Every second we spend, not £4, but less than ½d., on the League. For every £1 we spend to maintain an institution for the prevention of war we spend £2,000 on armaments which make war inevitable. The world is mad.

In tabular form I give the total annual expenditure of the British Government (exclusive of the Dominions) on the League of Nations. The figures are comprehensive and include His Majesty's Government's contribution to the League of Nations' budget, its contribution to the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the expenses involved in attendance at Geneva and in other work incidental to membership:

<i>Year ending March 31st.</i>	<i>Expenditure on League of Nations.</i>
1920	£22,471
1921	£38,371
1922	£66,766
1923	£62,231
1924	£80,599
1925	£72,503
1926	£72,189
1927	£75,230
1928	£64,232
1929	£76,300 (<i>estimated</i>)

THE EUROPEAN MINORITIES.

The problem of the European Minorities is in one respect like the problem of Anglo-American relations: they have both been given more importance than they deserve. In neither case would there be involved any inherent danger to the peace of the world if the agitators would only stop agitating. There are calm-minded people who take the view, in the one case, that the only practical effect of America's new 10,000-ton cruisers will be to add to the expenditure side of the American budget, and thus to diminish a little the prosperity which has proved so bad a thing for the American national character (as is mostly the effect of prosperity elsewhere); and in the other case that it is not always the "victims" of minority injustice in Europe who feel aggrieved, but the political propagandists who habitually make vicarious songs about it. Sir Austen Chamberlain said a wise thing at Geneva during the March discussions when he submitted to the Council that the minorities have duties to their Governments just as the Governments have duties to their minorities, and when he regretted that Article 19 of the Covenant had ever been quoted in argument about the position of minorities.

No serious person, however, denies that minority grievances do exist in Europe, that some of them are serious, that the machinery for dealing with them is defective. The League Council which met at Geneva on March 4th was forced to review the whole problem. Herr Stresemann had given formal notice to the Council, when it met at Lugano in December, that he would raise the question at the March meeting; and Senator Dandurand, the representative of Canada, in advance of the March meeting, circulated a memorandum, dated February 19th, in which he reviewed the problem in the light of the past ten years' experience, and submitted a definite proposal for the reform of the League's procedure.

The German and the Canadian proposals, which proved to be

alike in character, were submitted to the Council on March 6th. The rapporteur, Mr. Adatchi, the Japanese delegate, himself proposed that they should be referred to a committee of inquiry, whose report should be available to the Council at its June meeting. The Japanese proposal being unanimously adopted, a committee of three was thereupon constituted, with Mr. Adatchi himself at its head, and with Sir Austen Chamberlain and Signor Quinones de Laon, the Spanish representative, as the other two delegates. That committee of inquiry will between now and June collect information, invite statements from minorities and from the Governments to whom racially those minorities formerly belonged, counter-statements of defence from the Governments now ruling the minorities and any other material that may be thought proper.

The cynics may be content to note that the Council has again postponed action, and to argue that if in the past ten years enough material has not accumulated on which to take immediate action, the further collection of material during the next three months is likely to make little difference.

The countries chiefly concerned are Poland, whose obligations to her minorities are stipulated in a Minorities Treaty dated June 28th, 1919, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece (Minorities Treaties all signed on September 10th, 1919), Austria (Treaty of S. Germain, Articles 64-69, signed September 20th, 1919), Rumania (Minorities Treaty, November 27th, 1919), Bulgaria (Treaty of Neuilly, November 27th, 1919), Hungary (Treaty of Trianon, Articles 54-60, June 4th, 1920), and Turkey (Treaty of Lausanne, July 24th, 1923). Each of those States in the instruments indicated, guaranteed to respect the rights of their minorities as prescribed by the principal Allied Powers.

The minority rights conform to a common pattern; they include the right of the minorities to personal security, the security of their property, freedom of religious practice, that is, freedom to participate in religious services according to their own choice of creed, of language and of ritual, civil and political equality with the national subjects of the States to which they now belong. Civil equality implies, as most impartial people think, the privilege of using one's own language when one is being tried in a court of law. All such principles of equality, which were solemnly subscribed by the signatory States, appear on the face of them to be straightforward, simple, uncontroversial and easy to work, even though in practice they have led in some cases to unexpected complications. It would probably be sound to state that the working of such principles is easy only when both parties (not merely the dominant party) are actuated by good will. There have been cases, for instance, when a minority subject, accused in a court of law of some transgression of

the law, has found that he could give himself something more than a sporting chance by pretending complete ignorance of the language of the country in which his trial has had to take place. The choice of counsel and of witnesses on the other side has sometimes been restricted, by the implication of the treaty, to such persons as could speak the language of the defendant: a restriction which has not necessarily served the objective course of justice. There have been cases in which a defendant known to be a complete master of the local language, has claimed complete ignorance of that language in order to force the prosecution to give up the counsel of its choice and to seek counsel whose only qualification for that particular purpose was a knowledge of the defendant's language.

During the last ten years European propaganda has resounded with controversy about minorities. It is the nature of generous people to assume that the under-dog is right every time. It is admirable that that is so: but it has led in some cases to ignorant condemnation of dominant governments who have tried honestly and with reasonable success to treat their minorities fairly. Few pictures are wholly black or wholly white.

The provisions of the various treaties for the protection of minorities, although dictated by the principal Allied Powers, were assigned for safe-keeping to the League of Nations. The League was given the responsibility, not for seeing that the treaties were observed, but for seeing that they were not violated: a distinction of some practical consequence. An immediate and unforeseen difficulty emerged from that arrangement, for all matters of international law must function within the juridical framework of that law. Juridically the League's business was concerned only with the treaties and with the dominant Governments' execution of the treaties. The defects of the treaties themselves were no concern of the League. The League had no competence to consider minority grievances except in so far as such grievances arose from a violation of a treaty provision. The minorities have no technical right to appeal to the League. The only parties who can bring a given grievance to the notice of the Council are the signatories of the treaties, that is, either the principal Allied Powers or the dominant Governments, and the members of the Council. The League is a conglomerate of Governments, and therefore technically a Government member of the League is the representative of its minorities so far as the League is concerned.

These juridical distinctions have had the undoubted effect at Geneva of obstructing the League in its moral duty of ensuring that the treaties be carried out, for they have necessitated a somewhat roundabout method of bringing grievances to the notice of the Council. The method has been that a parent State or a minority is

allowed to report "information" to the Secretariat of the League. There is a certain amount of red-tape put in the way of such submissions, but there is no reason why the complainants should not take the trouble to satisfy the conditions laid down, the conditions themselves being harmless, such as that violent language be avoided, the facts reported be correlated with the treaty provisions, and that the petitioner must not raise the fundamental and irrelevant question of secession from the dominant State. The conditions being fulfilled, the Secretariat thereupon sends the dossier to the dominant government for comment, the dominant government being allowed three weeks in which to answer and a maximum allowance of two months in which to draft detailed memoranda if it expresses its wish to do so. When such comments are received by the Secretariat, the complete dossier, including the original complaint and the comment on it, is sent to a Committee of the Council, consisting of three persons (the President and two other members) who examine it and, if they think fit, pass it on, with their own observations, to the whole Council. That Committee is known as the Committee of Three, it being a condition of its constitution that none of the three shall be nationals either of the State concerned or of any bordering State.

Such a method of bringing grievances to the notice of the Council is clumsy and wastes time, being principally due to the juridical incompetence of a minority to approach the Council direct. The red tape, however, is not even then disposed of. So far, the Council has only been given information. The question of juridical action cannot be raised except by a member of the Council. According to the common formula of the treaties, the Council on being advised of an infraction "may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances," but before such a stage is reached, it is necessary for a member of the Council to raise an issue. Unless, therefore, a member of the Council is willing to do such a thing, nothing happens. That result has been a frequent result, for in many cases the States represented on the Council have had some motive for not wanting to be associated with a particular minority controversy, and until September, 1926, when Germany was given a seat on the Council, none of the States which as a result of the war lost large numbers of their nationals, were represented on the Council.

In the case of a genuine complaint, the complainants have had cause for dissatisfaction over the League's method of dealing with it. It has often happened that the Committee of Three has decided not even to submit its dossier to the Council. In such cases nothing further has been heard of the matter by the complaining minority, and, although that minority may have known that its dominant

government had submitted a memorandum on the subject, no information could be obtained about the nature of that memorandum.

Moreover, the otherwise excellent stipulation that the members of the Committee of Three be disinterested parties has in many instances had the incidental effect of producing a committee disinterested to the point of boredom. Three bored men meeting for several days every three months (they sit concurrently with the Council) and finding before them a prodigious accumulation of documents submitted by minorities are not likely to be excited into defensive enthusiasm about those minorities, especially as such documents tend to conform to a type, and to contain drearily similar matter. It is difficult for the freshest idealist to sustain his interest in stereotyped, reiterated details about school children not being allowed to speak their parents' language, or about churchgoers being forced to say their prayers in a foreign language. The first time one hears such things, they are provocative, but it is in human nature, even if unfortunately so, to become surfeited of hearing the same sorry tale every day of one's life. Even the constant necessity of changing the personnel of the Committee of Three, either because of the geographical incidence of a particular complaint, or for reasons of private convenience on the part of the three, has not been found in practice to whet the jaded appetite of the committee, for no one in any way interested in European politics ever escapes the constant deluge of minority propaganda.

What, therefore, can be done to improve matters? It is the experience of the last ten years, with few exceptions, that minority grievances, real or imaginary, have been ignored. After discounting the propagandist element in them, we are faced with a potential source of danger, a minor danger it is true, in several parts of Europe.

Herr Stresemann and Senator Dandurand have now formally raised the general question of the League's method of dealing with the problem. Herr Stresemann's exchanges with Mr. Zaleski at Lugano had prepared the Council for something lively, but when he spoke on March 6th Herr Stresemann wisely avoided any emotional appeal. He made the point that minorities often received the impression, erroneous as it sometimes was, that their appeal had not even been heard, and he suggested that a report of the Committee of Three's work should be submitted annually to the Assembly and published in the official Journal. He agreed with Senator Dandurand that the Committee of Three be merged in a committee of the whole Council. "I appeal," he added, "to the Council, first, to take into careful consideration the possibilities of improving the procedure in dealing with petitions; secondly, I beg

to propose that instead of the nations interested being excluded from the discussions, that they may be present; thirdly, it would be desirable to examine in what manner the League of Nations can exercise its responsibility of guarantee outside the mere question of petitions. Finally, I attach great importance to affirming clearly the fundamental principles underlying the guarantee of the League of Nations."

The main points of the resolution moved by Senator Dandurand were (1) that minority petitions must be addressed to the dominant government; (2) that the government must either satisfy the petition or forward the documents to Geneva; (3) that if the government fails in that duty, the minority shall have the right to appeal to Geneva direct; (4) that a committee of the whole Council be set up to deal with complaints.

In the debate which took place on March 6th it was found that the European dominant States had formed themselves into a bloc to resist any attempt to add to their existing obligations towards their minorities. Sir Austen Chamberlain tried to calm passions by claiming that the League had at any rate been "scrupulously fair" in whatever it had done. He then conceded that the two defects stressed by Herr Stresemann and by Senator Dandurand, lack of publicity and delay in procedure, ought to be remedied, although he surmised that the lack of publicity sometimes helped an erring Government to do the right thing without loss of prestige. M. Briand wound up the debate by agreeing with Sir Austen—the two on that occasion finding themselves harmlessly in each other's pockets—and by saying a good word for the Committee of Three. M. Briand's chivalry has a tenderness for poor causes. He stated that during 1928 the Committee met forty-four times (an average of eleven a session), and considered twenty-three petitions from eight different countries, most of which the Committee was instrumental in settling.

It seems likely that in June the Council will adopt some part at least of Senator Dandurand's scheme.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

March 15th, 1929.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY.*

The fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes of this remarkable series of studies of the evolution of the great ancient empires of Asia, the Mediterranean, and of Egypt, and of the slow linking up by trade, humanism, and war of these civilisations with the classical world of Greece and Rome are specially important. Scholarship and history are in a more definitive state in dealing with Greece and Rome than is the case with the earlier empires, fresh material for which is added by the spade of the archaeologist almost day by day to the written history. Volume V had as its focus Athens, Volume VI, under the title "Macedon," dealt with that union of East and West which resulted from the mighty adventure of Alexander. The present volume deals, first, with the Hellenistic monarchies that were the result of that union and the new age of philosophy, literature and science, which was destined to play so great a part in the humanism and the scientific thought of the modern world. The second part of the volume deals with a limitless theme, the upgrowth of Rome, the Power that was destined to bestow, by right of conquest, political insight and the Rule of Law, a new religion and new vistas of thought, fashioned in Asia Minor and Greece, to the virile and unsophisticated tribal peoples of the western world.

* *The Cambridge Ancient History: Volume VII. The Hellenistic Monarchies and the Rise of Rome.* Edited by S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, and M. P. Charlesworth. Cambridge: at the University Press. 37s. 6d. net.

It is necessary to recognise not only the actual significance of Rome as the master of the Mediterranean lands as well as of a large part of the field that the Aryan dispersion fertilised, but also its importance as a missionary force whose mission comprised law, order, religion, humanism, and the seeds of all modern thought in one eclectic civilising gesture of empire.

The preface to the sixth volume signed by the late Professor Bury as well as Dr. S. A. Cook and Mr. Adcock, referring to the fact that the Roman Republic entered the Mediterranean world as a late-comer, adds:

The story of its rise, which demands a continuous treatment, has therefore been reserved to that [the seventh] volume, in which will be described the growth of Rome, until, with the defeat of Hannibal, she takes her place as the most powerful State in the ancient world. Until this moment comes, the political instincts of Roman statecraft had not assumed significance outside the city and the circle of her immediate neighbours.

This is undoubtedly true, but it is somewhat inconsistent with the opening statement in the preface to the seventh volume that "the conquests of Alexander shifted the centre of gravity eastwards and left room for the emergence of a new great power, the Republic of Rome." Alexander died on June 13th, 323 B.C. At that date the Carthaginians were the dominant force in the Mediterranean, and the Romans, though in 348 B.C. they had made a treaty with Carthage and opened a Mediterranean policy on a small scale, were in the thick of the Samnite War, and two years after Alexander's death suffered the famous defeat at Caudium with a terrible loss of military prestige. It was exactly a century later than this that Hannibal challenged Rome, and it was not until the end of the Punic Wars that Rome became in fact the dominant Mediterranean power. The emergence of that power was not a case of room left by the eastward progress of the centre of gravity. Rome made room for herself and became the centre of political and social gravity.

The editors of the new volume, looking upon the emergence of Rome from the relative point of view, point out that "in the early decades of the third century Rome was still occupied in making good her hold upon the Italian peninsula, and no observer of the time would have compared her progress with the brilliant expansion of the Greeks eastward," and the formation of the monarchies of Macedon, Egypt and the Seleucid Empire. That, of course, is true, but (with certain early exceptions from Sparta and later from Epirus) the lack of political foresight that was the weakness of Greek statesmen prevented them from foreseeing that a powerful

unitary state in Italy must, as the world then was, control the Mediterranean.

Yet the very slowness of the Roman development might have deceived wiser statesmen. Rome wholly ignored Athens and Corinth until 228 B.C. Tormented by the Illyrian pirates the Republic made war on the Illyrian State on the northern frontier of Greece, and a successful war not only cleared by 229 B.C. the seas but gave the Republic a taste for empire and a key to the Adriatic at the very time when they had made the Tyrrhenian Sea a Roman lake. Professor Holleaux, of the University of Paris, who writes the chapter on the Romans in Illyria, emphasises the fact that the first rapid progress of Hellenism after the Punic wars remained without influence on the external conduct of the Republic. It may be thought that this indifference of the Roman rulers was due to the fact that Rome distrusted Greek politicians. Moreover, Pyrrhus, the King of Epirus, may have given a permanent political distaste for Greek adventurers. Roman Hellenism dealt with the real Greece of earlier centuries. Rome could afford politically to wait her time and absorb Macedon, Greece, Egypt and Syria, to inherit their wealth and their humanism. It was sufficient to have annexed Sardinia and Corsica, to have wiped out the Carthaginian power, to have routed the Gallic invaders and to have cleared the seas. Rome could afford to wait and consolidate her powers towards the end of the third century before Christ.

It was her springtime. But it was the golden autumn of the orientalised Greeks. The chapters by Mr. J. M. de Navarro on the Coming of the Celts, of Mr. H. Stuart Jones and Mr. Hugh Last on the material for the reconstruction of the earliest Roman history, of the regal period, on the primitive institutions of Rome, and on the early Republic, form a body of information of the most instructive type, a classification of material of the very highest value. No doubt here and there (for the subject of the beginnings of Rome is one of deep complexity) critics will differ as to results, and sometimes it seems a pity that the speculations of E. C. Clark, a difficult, irritating, but immensely learned writer, who gave more than half a century to the study of sources and their analysis by comparative methods, have not been formally considered. In fact, his books are not mentioned in the bibliographies. Or again, it seems a loss that the *Ancient Britain* of Dr. Rice Holmes is not specially noted. Students must use this book, which not only supplements his *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul* but is a model of learning and common sense. Then again it is strange to read Mr. Stuart Jones' dictum to the effect that "it is impossible to hope that fresh discoveries will make any important addition to our knowledge of the early history of Rome, so far as that depends on contemporary documents of which

the original text is preserved." Such a prophecy is dangerous. Comte prophesied that the end of astronomical knowledge had been reached, and yet immediately after his death the spectroscope gave scientists new worlds to conquer. It may very well be that the text of the XII Tables, familiar as household words in the time of Cicero, will be found in Herculaneum or elsewhere, while it is not wholly impossible that a library may be found in that buried city. It is not an unreasonably hopeful view that much news of early Rome lies hidden under ground. As to all this early material, brought together with a skill and an abundance of learning that lesser scholars can only admire and bask in, there is a critical point that is one of method rather than scholarship. The comparative method that plays so great a part in the earlier volumes is sparsely used. The customs that are associated with a tribal city, the four quarters based on tribal divisions associated with kinship for instance, might throw light on the modern antiquarian invention of the City of the Four Regions. The elements in common of the tribes of the Aryan dispersal from the Carpathian plains might have illustrated the judicial marshalling of Mr. Hugh Last's very excellent chapter on the Founding of Rome. Athens itself might throw much light on Rome. This is too vast a field to enter upon in the briefest of notices, but it is a theme that deserves examination. It is interesting to notice that Mr. Last regards the non-Indo-European element in Etruria as indigenous in the sense that it is probably derived from the Neolithic inhabitants of central Italy. It seems a sounder view than that set forth in volume IV, that the Etruscan tongue was introduced by pirates from Asia Minor, or the view sometimes held that the invaders were a backwash from Asia Minor of Aryan stock. These chapters on early Rome in any event are a remarkable piece of work, and must be estimated in detail by those who are seeking to do further research into parts of this fascinating theme.

The springtime of Rome was the fruitful autumn, in the intellectual and humanistic sense, of the Grecian world. The chapter on Alexandrian literature by Mr. E. A. Barber is a delightful piece of work, and the reader will only complain of its brevity. What a wonderful autumn it was, that Golden Age of fifty years in the middle of the third century before our era, the age of scholar-poets, sad enough from almost every modern point of view, but incomparable in the delicate beauty of its sadness: a last vespertine song in the orchard of literature at sunset, the last sunset of an exquisite world. Very different is the story of Greek science and mathematics brought before us by Dr. W. H. S. Jones, the classical scholar, and Sir Thomas Heath. It is a long and fascinating theme, and perhaps human thought never soared more ethereally than in the conceptions

of the great Alexandrian group of mathematicians: Euclid, Aristarchus, Archimedes and Apollonius of Perga. "With Apollonius pure geometry had practically reached the limit of what it could accomplish unaided." He pointed the way to co-ordinate geometry, and Archimedes actually anticipated the calculus. It is strange to compare a literature of infinite sadness with a science of infinite hope. But both characteristics were and are essentially Aryan and underlie all Aryan humanism and progress. J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

SPINOZA AND LEIBNIZ.*

Messrs. Ernest Benn Limited are issuing a series of Monographs on the Philosophers who have mainly influenced Western thought. The first volumes to appear are one on Leibniz, by Professor H. Wildon Carr, and an account of Spinoza by Professor Leon Roth, of the University of Jerusalem. From the point of view of an ordered exposition it is perhaps to be regretted that these volumes precede the promised publication of Monographs on Plato and Aristotle, and still more that there is no announcement, let alone the appearance, of a volume on Des Cartes, for a knowledge of Des Cartes is indispensable to a complete understanding of Spinoza and is important for the appreciation of Leibniz. Subject, however, to this criticism, it is well that accounts of Spinoza and Leibniz should appear together, alike for their connection in the history of modern thought and by reason of the contrasts in which both the men and their systems (if the word may be applied to the philosophical writings of Leibniz) stand to one another. A knowledge of both is essential to the study of all subsequent philosophy.

Both the connection and the contrast between the two philosophers are equally real. The former because Leibniz, as a young man, had a slight personal acquaintance with Spinoza and was familiar with his philosophy, which in some important respects supplied material to his own. Yet the contrast between the two thinkers is still more striking. Spinoza, the recluse, rejected by his own people and abhorred by the prejudiced thinkers of his age, made the philosophical interpretation of religion, as he understood it, the dominating concern of his strenuous and severely disciplined life. For Leibniz, man of affairs and familiar with the life of Courts, philosophy, while a serious concern, was only incidental to his brilliant and many-sided career. The rigid geometrical form in which Spinoza expounded and demonstrated his metaphysical doctrine was as repellent as the style of Leibniz was attractive. For Spinoza the unity of the eternal Substance, to which he gave the

* "Leaders of Philosophy" Series. *Leibniz*, by Herbert Wildon Carr; *Spinoza*, by Leon Roth. (Ernest Benn Limited. 12s. 6d. net each volume.)

name of God, made the differentiation of the particulars within the universal the outstanding problem. For Leibniz, on the other hand, the Pluralism from which he started made the ultimate Unity and the relations between the countless monads that constitute Reality which are needful to the order and energetic interaction of the Cosmos the most vital concern of thought. Hence the importance of studying the two philosophies in conjunction with one another.

It is impossible, within the limits of this notice, to comment in detail upon these two volumes. Both, however, may be highly commended as lucid and thoroughly competent accounts of these great thinkers and their thought. Perhaps the enthusiasm of Professor Wildon Carr for Leibniz causes him unduly to modernise the thought he expounds, particularly in respect of the doctrine of God as the *Monas Monadum*. This is, however, a detail. Both volumes have to stand comparison with previous English literature upon their respective subjects. And both can stand this comparison.

J. S. L.

* * *

A SLUMLESS LAND.*

Lord Salisbury said in the House of Lords on June 20th, 1928, "it appears to me to stand absolutely to reason, whatever the reports of medical officers of health may say, that the provision of a million houses must have beneficially affected overcrowding in this country." On the same day and in the same place Lord Melchett, while declaring that "the slum problem still leaves a great blot on our whole social system," said that his experience as Minister of Health was that the problem was relatively small. Both these statements on examination are really misleading. The vast house building programme since the war has made the housing of the clerk-citizen class tolerable but it has not touched the slums; while the slums cannot be limited, as Lord Melchett limits them, to notorious slum areas. Quite respectable neighbourhoods are in effect slum areas because of the horrible overcrowding. In a wide and respectable street in Manchester's best residential suburb thirty-four houses were visited in the course of a housing investigation and in nearly 30 per cent. of the cases the bedroom accommodation was insufficient to allow the separation of adolescents and young adults of different sexes. This point is made by Mr. E. D. Simon, a former Lord Mayor of Manchester, in his recent and important book on the slum problem and the way to solve it.

He points out that "the Registrar-General's standard" for overcrowding (namely two or more persons per room, a child under

* *How to Abolish the Slums*. By E. D. Simon. With illustrations. Longmans. 4s. 6d. net.

ten being counted as equal to half an adult) may be entirely misleading, and suggests that the better test is "the Manchester Standard," "more than two and a half persons per bedroom or if there is not adequate sleeping accommodation to separate the sexes." On this scale Manchester is still very seriously overcrowded while "in London overcrowding is so much worse as to be on an entirely different scale." Thus, cases occur of nine persons in one room: a man, his wife, sons aged fifteen, thirteen, six and three, and daughters, eighteen, four and one. This occurred in an investigation in Somers Town of twenty-six sublet-houses where, on the Registrar-General's Standard, 46.5 per cent. of the families in this group were overcrowded. In this London case the Manchester Standard would only give 31.8 per cent., but this is due to the fact that in London nearly all the rooms are used as bedrooms. The Registrar-General's Standard is really a London standard, but in Manchester where living rooms are not used as bedrooms it is necessary to have a special standard. On this London standard the percentage of overcrowding is 7.9 in Manchester, 9.6 for the whole of England and Wales, 16.1 for the County of London, 23.2 for Bermondsey and 32 for Shoreditch. These frightful London figures are far exceeded in the central division of Glasgow, where 41 per cent. of the houses were found to contain more than three persons per room. But the Registrar-General's figures do not reveal the extent of the evil. "The separation of the sexes in bedrooms, so as to preserve elementary decency, is one of the fundamental problems of overcrowding which is entirely ignored by the Registrar-General's Standard." The form of the census should be amended to show the number of rooms in each house and the number of bedrooms.

The problem therefore cannot be measured by notorious slums. For instance these do not exist in Manchester, and yet the medical officer of health declares that there are in Manchester 26,000 houses below a reasonable standard of fitness for human habitation. Here reconditioning of houses has been carried to its limit. In many great towns reconditioning is still possible, but this is, as Mr. Simon says, "only a temporary and partial remedy. There is only one way of dealing effectively with our slum areas: to demolish them. And this can only be done when suitable and adequate alternative accommodation has been provided." This is the essence of the problem of slums: alternative accommodation.

What rents can be paid? More can be spent on rent by many workers. The man with three children and 40s. income a week can afford to pay 4s. 7d. a week for rent, a man with 50s., 14s. 7d., and so on, but the amount actually spent is what the worker is compelled to spend, and when he could afford to spend more he will

not sacrifice personal comforts for family comforts. The English worker is prepared to spend more than the Scottish worker. But unless a man with three children earns 60s. a week he cannot pay the 13s. a week that will give him a standard minimum house, and in fact to-day there are about half a million families with three or more children and a further 350,000 with two or more children "who cannot possibly afford the rent of a standard minimum house." There are, indeed, probably in England and Wales a million families to-day who cannot provide their children with the barest physical necessities and also pay the rent of a standard minimum house. If, then, slum houses are gradually to be replaced by new houses half the new houses must be rented at under 10s. gross and a quarter between 10s. and 15s. weekly. That is Mr. Simon's general conclusion and he adds that at present, ten years after the war, overcrowding is practically as bad as ever and the conditions of the houses are worse. Nothing can be done until suitable alternative accommodation is provided.

Mr. Simon says that the task before us is to have a building programme of 200,000 houses a year until 1951, slowing gradually from that date to 100,000 houses in 1961, and then remaining constant. He argues that by this date the population will also be constant, an assumption that is wholly unlikely to be true since the check on the birth-rate in the clerk-citizen class has been largely due to the lack of housing accommodation, a lack that has now been ended, with the result of an increasing birth-rate. But the figures may be accepted as provisional and we may accept the conclusion that in 1961 the housing problem could be solved provisionally in this way. In Mr. Simon's view the filtering process from bad to better houses will begin on a large scale if a large number of family houses can be built to let at 10s. gross weekly, but this will mean that the old houses will be occupied by a still poorer class and he thinks that "there is no remedy for the remaining problem except lower rents by means of increased subsidies," at an annual cost of about £5,000,000. "Adding this subsidy to the present Wheatley Subsidy, it should be possible for every family in the country to pay for a standard minimum house, and it is suggested that in this way the result would be obtained on the cheapest possible lines."

This may be so, but the whole financial question requires the consideration of a Committee of Experts. The bare facts are what the country has to face and to insist upon the elimination, by economic and educational means, of a disgrace to civilisation, a disgrace that apparently did not slur the earlier civilisations of the world in Babylon, Athens, or Rome. In all these questions there is the matter of the slum-mind that has to be considered. If we

do not by education eliminate that horrible manifestation of social degradation all Mr. Simon's plans and all other social plans will go awry. There is a type of mind which would make a slum of paradise itself.

* * *

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.*

John Bunyan was born in November, 1628. He began publication in 1658 at the age of thirty with his terrific sermon on Heaven and Hell. In 1663 *Christian Behaviour* appeared, and this was followed by *The Holy City* in 1665, and by those great books *Grace Abounding* and *The Holy War*. It was not until 1676 that he began *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the first edition appearing in 1678, when Bunyan was fifty years of age. Mr. James Blanton Wharey in this notable volume has edited a definitive text based on the third edition issued in 1679. "Every departure from this basic text, except a few corrections in punctuation, has been carefully indicated by means of angular brackets, the original reading being given in the footnotes." The reason of this choice from the eleven editions published in John Bunyan's lifetime makes a singularly interesting story.

Bunyan died on August 31st, 1688. The eleventh edition (excluding duplicated editions and pirated editions) appeared in the same year. It is reasonable to found a final text of this famous book on the texts printed in the author's lifetime, since he may have, even if there is no evidence of the fact, played a part in the variations that occur. Copies of editions published in the decade during which Bunyan knew of the amazing popularity of this work are curiously rare. In 1847 only one copy of the first edition, and in 1862 only two copies were known, but the assiduity of twentieth-century book-collectors has recorded no less than thirteen copies in all, and it may be that one or perhaps three of these (the copy with the portrait of the Dreamer, to wit, Bunyan, the Davenport-Wheeler copy, and the Warner copy) are second issues of the first edition, since in the latter there is a list of *errata*, and in the first an inserted portrait. But the portrait (which really belongs to the third edition) may have been inserted in the re-binding of the first edition, while the insertion of *errata* may only mean a late pulling of the last sheet into which the author managed to insert a few corrections. There may be eight copies of the second edition also published in 1678. Of the third edition of 1679 there are five certain copies. It is the first complete edition of *Pilgrim's Progress*. "It was the first to insert the long

* *The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That which is to Come*. By John Bunyan. Edited by James Blanton Wharey. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 21s. net.

discourse between Mr. By-ends and his companions and their subsequent talk with Christian and Hopeful—the last addition of any consequence Bunyan made to the text. After the third edition the additions consist of a few phrases inserted in the text, of marginal notes, and scripture references.”

The fourth edition of 1680 is represented by five not doubtful copies. This edition contains the warning by Nathaniel Ponder—the bookseller or publisher of all the early editions—against spurious copies issued by Braddyl, the printer, and his confederates, who were charged in the Court of Chancery in 1697 for having issued 10,000 unauthorised copies. In 1680 came the fifth edition of which six certain copies survive. A further “fifth” edition of the year 1682 was issued to admit of the insertion of plates. Of this curious edition four copies are known. In the meantime came the sixth edition of 1681, of which four copies of the first variety are known, while one copy of the second variety is extant, though the second variety has some features of the fifth edition of 1682. The seventh edition, also issued in 1681, is the rarest of all the editions issued in Bunyan’s lifetime. There are known only the Lenox copy and the British Museum copy, and these differ, the latter containing a bust portrait of Bunyan as a frontispiece. The eighth edition, issued in 1682, is represented by only four copies, the Sion College copy having apparently disappeared. Of the ninth edition, published in 1683, five copies survive, and a sixth copy was known in 1911. The edition was re-issued in 1684, and three copies are known. Of the tenth edition of 1685 five copies are extant, and at least two others are perhaps traceable, since they were sold at Sotheby’s in this century, while of the eleventh edition of 1688 three copies are known, and one other was sold in this century. Thus about seventy copies only of some fourteen apparently large editions of *Pilgrim’s Progress* issued between 1678 and 1688 are at present known to survive. That there must be many other copies in private libraries is almost certain, but the disappearance of the vast majority of these little books is probable evidence that they were used until they dissolved in pieces. The extraordinary popularity of the book must account for the rarity of the early editions.

Mr. Wharey writes as to these editions :

1. The genuine editions of *Pilgrim’s Progress*, published between 1678 and 1688, fall into two groups. The first group, representing the better-appearing editions, comprises the first, second, third, fourth, and seventh editions; the second group, representing the cheaper editions, comprises the fifth, sixth, eighth, ninth, 1683, ninth, 1684, tenth, and eleventh editions.
2. Both the fourth and seventh editions were reprinted from the third.

3. The fifth was reprinted from the fourth.
4. The sixth, eighth, ninth, 1683, and the ninth, 1684, are very closely related. The sixth was reprinted from the fifth, the eighth from the sixth, the ninth, 1683, from the eighth, the ninth, 1684, from the earlier ninth.
5. The tenth and eleventh are also closely affiliated. The eleventh was reprinted from the tenth, the tenth from the ninth, 1684.

Mr. Wharey gives reasons for supporting the view put forward by Mr. George Offor, the famous mid-nineteenth-century editor of Bunyan, that the seventh “is very probably the last edition corrected by the pen of the Author,” and Mr. Wharey further declares, with Mr. Offor, that “there is not a scintilla of evidence—apart from the additional marginal notes in the ninth, 1684—that any of the editions of the second group ever ‘passed through the author’s hands.’”

The Second Part of *Pilgrim’s Progress* (and, indeed, an imaginary Third Part) were anticipated by various ingenious authors, but the authentic Second Part only appeared in 1684 and went through two editions in the lifetime of John Bunyan. Five copies are known of the 1682, but according to Mr. Wharey no copy is in the British Museum. “Of the Second Edition of the Second Part there were apparently two issues. The British Museum copy, which claims to be the Second Edition, bears the date 1686. The Lenox copy, which does not name the edition, is dated 1687,” and there are two other copies of the latter date.

In the course of the eighteenth century the text became considerably corrupted by compositors and correctors following the language of the day. Robert Southey, in his edition of 1830, refers to the gradual corruption of the standard edition of 1728, and Sir Walter Scott praises Southey’s restoration of “Bunyan’s masculine and idiomatic English.” But Southey had not access to any edition earlier than the eighth. Lewis Pocock in 1844 published a better text, but even he had not access to the third edition. Many handsome and competent editions, of which Offor’s in 1848 is not the least important, have appeared, but despite the labours of various textual critics Mr. Wharey certainly justifies this critical edition based on the earliest editions or photographic reproductions of them. His aim was “to write the history of the editions of the *Pilgrim’s Progress* that were issued in England from 1678 to 1688 and to discover as far as may be possible their relative textual value,” and well has this work been done. Presumably there was no American edition in John Bunyan’s life, though such an edition would not be wholly surprising. The definitive text is exquisitely printed, while the notes, facsimile title pages, and bibliography are

of great value. Every public library and indeed all private libraries of any pretensions should possess this noble edition of one of the noblest books in the world.

* * *

LONDON EDUCATIONAL HISTORY.*

This laborious and attractive book dealing with an educational trust of South-East London which gives to-day a first-class secondary education to about a thousand boys and girls, is a substantial footnote to the history of education in London, a work that, alas! still remains to be written. Indeed, it cannot be written in any adequate form until the histories of all the more important schools of London have been written on the scale and with the rigid and almost frigid accuracy that Mr. Kirby, now and for many years an assistant master at the Roan School, has given to this meritorious work. Of this work something must be said directly, but the larger subject must be visualised first.

It is a strange story, this question of the history of education in London. Almost a University City early in the Middle Ages it, probably by a political combination of events that affected Canterbury as well as London, failed to become the home of a University until the year 1827. It was nevertheless a seat of learning before Oxford and Cambridge were thought of, and in the very age when Oxford and Cambridge suffered their first decline, in the mid-fifteenth century, it became almost in form and certainly in substance a law university that might have ranked with the greatest of all law schools, the University of Bologna.

London City had in the twelfth century three remarkable grammar schools, those of St. Paul's, St. Mary-le-Bow, and St. Martin-le-Grand, great schools, any one of which would have made the ground plan of a mediæval university. William Fitz-Stephen's contemporary account of these schools makes it plain enough that politics only could have checked the rise of a university beside the Thames. The example of Paris frightened the Angevin kings with respect to both London and Canterbury, and the English universities were built up in places where they could not affect the polity of the State at Westminster or the polity of the Church at Canterbury. On the outskirts of the City were various other grammar schools, such as the Cathedral School at Westminster, but a severe check was kept by Church and State on the multiplication of schools. The apprentices of the City of London and the young gentlemen of the Temple were quite as much as the City cared for in the way of educational high spirits. But in fact education was

* *The History of the Roan School (the Greycoat School) and its Founder.* By J. W. Kirby. The Blackheath Press, S.E. Price 7s. 6d. net.

in a bad way in London from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards till the days of the activities of pious donors and of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge two centuries later. John Strype, writing before 1720, tells us that that Society did good work in "the erecting of schools in many parishes of London and Westminster (especially the great parishes in the suburbs) called Charity Schools, for the free education of poor boys and girls, and also for their maintenance in apparel; and afterwards disposing them abroad in honest callings." This and the good work of seventeenth-century founders were the beginning of the great movement which—successively reinforced by the Monitorial Schools at the very beginning of the nineteenth century, by many private schools of which some (and especially those for girls) were excellent, by the educational movement for secondary education that followed the passing of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, by the development of the Science and Art Department, and lastly by the measures and beneficent educational activities of the London County Council working beside the reformed University of London that had by the year 1900 become a notable force in the Metropolis—to-day has wiped out the reproach of the Middle Ages and the educational disgrace of the period of the Industrial Revolution. Mr. Kirby's book illustrates many of these activities from the year 1677 when the lands and funds associated with the benevolence of John Roan began their educational activity.

It is good for educational foundations to have some flavour of romance. There is some romance associated with the origins of nearly all the Oxford and Cambridge colleges. In the case of the Roan Foundation the romance is contained in the fact, accurately documented for the first time by Mr. Kirby, that one of a family of Royal Servants at the Palace of Placentia in Greenwich chose to give his estate to education rather than to his own kith and kin because his brother, presumably a Parliamentarian (the Civil Wars split most families in the realm), refused him help when Essex had him by the heels in a London prison. John Roan, armiger and Elizabethan, born in 1602, the son of John the Sergeant of the Scullery, and first cousin of the Sergeant of the Poultry, led the life of a private gentleman in Greenwich, married Elizabeth Bradley about 1622, had one son John who died as a babe, and in 1640 found the brief romance of his life. In that year he became in fact a Servant of the King, the Yeoman of His Majesty's Harriers, the Controller of His Majesty's game north of the Trent. He was to hunt in earnest. King Charles visited Greenwich for the last time in February, 1642, talked to Edward Hyde and passed north beyond the Trent. John Roan made his will in favour of his brother and also passed beyond the

Trent to hunt Parliament-men with Rupert's Harriers. In the same year he was captured by Essex and brought to London. Richard Wakeman, a King's man, brother to the physician of Catharine of Braganza, brought the relief and release that his brother had denied him. On March 19th, 1644, John made another will giving his wife and the daughters of Richard Wakeman life interests in his estates and subject thereto bequeathing the estates to educational uses for "the poor town-born children" of East Greenwich. Then he disappears from the microscope of history, but there can be little doubt that he joined the King, now at Oxford, and it may be suggested that he fell in some skirmish (possibly the disastrous attack on Abingdon on January 10th, 1645), for his will was proved by his widow on March 4th, 1645. Mr. Kirby is so stern a realist that he ventures no suggestion as to place or date of the death of the Yeoman of the King's Harriers, though he feels that John may have rejoined the Royalist forces. There is a mystery that someone should solve, and a mystery is a romance in this case. The last of the life interests ended in 1677, and the school was started at the hands of a Statutory Commission. Mr. Kirby tells us a good deal of the early school days and of the first schoolmaster, Mr. John Lodge, who apparently was also the *scriptor* at the neighbouring Colfe's School which was founded in 1652, after the date of the will of John Roan.

The details given of the early history of the school are invaluable. The headmastership was in one old Greenwich family (the Herringham family) for almost the whole of the eighteenth century. The period is obscure and any information of real value. The school was not a grammar school but, as it took boys up to fifteen, it was something more than an elementary school, and it therefore throws light on an unfamiliar side of education in the eighteenth century. The Charity Schools were all this time in London developing the same sort of intermediate education. Another interesting point is that the Court of Chancery in 1814 decided that John Roan—he was an Elizabethan born—had intended to benefit girls as well as boys, and from the year 1817 his trust has done so, and from 1878 has maintained one of the best endowed secondary schools for girls south of the Thames. In 1877 the Charity Commissioners in pursuance of the Act of 1869 gave schemes to both schools, and those schemes have played and are playing their part—and their ever-increasing part—in the noble system of secondary education that one day will be the rival in distinction of the great grammar schools that flourished in London when Richard the Lion Heart was king. Mr. Kirby's book brings one phase of that development vividly before us in his careful history of the two centuries and a half that have elapsed since John Lodge ruled over the boys of the royal borough of Greenwich.

J. E. G. DE M.

PROHIBITION.*

To those English people who are anxious to understand the inwardness of the Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States and of the consequent Federal Volstead Act should read Professor Howard Lee McBain's wholly admirable and admirably brief book on the legal aspect of Prohibition. The Eighteenth Amendment, like the Fifteenth Amendment bestowing the suffrage on the negro, was a war measure. Both are absolute prohibitions, both invaded rights of the constituent States of the Federal Union, "both involved social questions of enormous importance," both were opposed by enormous minorities. Professor McBain, after making these points, adds that there are vital differences:

The yearning of the Republican party for the Negro vote of the South has cooled with the passing of the years. The fervour of the prohibitionist has not cooled. Congress indeed made some effort to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment but early gave up the job. But Congress immediately exercised its power under the prohibition amendment by enacting a comprehensive and stringent enforcement law. Nor is there much evidence that Congress is likely soon to relax that law. The Fifteenth Amendment, however generally worded, aimed primarily at the States; for the States were the only authorities that could effectively deny the right to vote. The Eighteenth Amendment is aimed at individuals and the only way that individual conduct can be controlled is by prescribing punishments, detecting violations, and instituting prosecutions. This has been the method of enforcement pursued, however inadequate to the gigantic problem have been the police and prosecuting force and the number of courts.

Moreover, Professor McBain points out that the State method of nullifying the Fifteenth Amendment was dignified, deliberate, and open, and this is impossible in the case of the Eighteenth Amendment. What is to be done? Nullification is impossible. National prohibition is quite independent of State prohibition, and the Supreme Court has held that the States have no power to enforce national prohibition. The Federal Government must do their own work, and as yet "Congress has not attempted to provide for adequate enforcement." Modification seems to be not illegal but impracticable. Meantime the processes of enforcement have raised questions of searches and seizures that seem to go to the heart of the old Common Law and may give rise to great constitutional difficulties as well as an ever-increasing volume of corruption of official life. Since Professor McBain's book was written the new President has announced that he is determined to enforce the law. This can only be done by an army of federal officials penetrating into every State directed by a huge department at Washington. Mr. Hoover is a

* *Prohibition, Legal and Illegal.* By Howard Lee McBain. The Macmillan Company. 8s. 6d. net.

strong man, but the task that he is attempting would test the strength of Hercules. All over the world constitutional lawyers will watch the struggle with interest and perhaps dismay.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

The Transit of Egypt,* by Lieut.-Col. P. G. Elgood, is an interesting and able study of the British Occupation up to the present time. The first chapter, indeed, consists of a very rapid survey of the history of Egypt since 525 B.C., its occupation by the Persians, Greeks, Romans, the Arab Conquest and succeeding dynasties, the Mameluke Period, Turkish Conquest and French Occupation, a bewildering and depressing story. But from the opening of the nineteenth century western contact slowly begins to take effect, and Colonel Elgood's account, condensed as it is, expands freely on all the questioning and misgivings, the alternating opinion as to the British Occupation, its value and its justification, which are still in the living memory of many readers. A valuable chapter on the Sudan affords a guide to the present position such as all desiring to form a political judgment should read.

In the long and painful effort to introduce democratic government and stimulate the sense of political responsibility in an oriental people, the perusal of this book might easily cause one to despair, were it not for the author's own judgment, time and again, on the results achieved. Speaking of the progress of ideas, Colonel Elgood says :

In the dark days, when the State nearly drifted into insolvency through the Khedive's extravagance, the duty of requiring Ismail to distinguish between private and public revenue was left to Evelyn Baring and de Blignières, the British and French controllers of finance. Fifty years later a parliament wholly Egyptian was begging the sovereign to set an example of thrift to his subjects. It was a remarkable development.

And again :

Many harsh things have been said upon Egypt's experiment with democratic government, but broadly speaking it may be said that parliament has been inspired with honest, if sometimes mistaken, ideals of public duty. . . . Yet some of the prophecies made in 1922 have not come to pass. There is little sign of the administrative chaos so confidently predicted. . . . Finance has survived the ordeal. . . . The administration has behaved also impartially in disputes between sections and classes of society. It has not discriminated between foreigners and Egyptians, nor between the followers of Christ and Mohammed. Moslem society may still speak of the Copts as "our new brothers," but the fact that the Cabinet includes two Copts and that the Chamber of Deputies recently elected a third as the president is a sufficient answer to the irony.

Colonel Elgood, whilst distributing praise and blame very carefully and quite impartially, shows a great deal of human sympathy with the Egyptians, especially during the particularly trying period of the War, which can only have come from close contact and imaginative insight. In discussing the over-prolonged governance by martial law which was still in force in 1920, he says :

It is possible that Englishmen in Egypt had forgotten how dearly mankind prizes the privileges of liberty. It was as precious to the Egyptian as to others : for it is in his nature also to come and go, to talk and write, to trade and live, as fancy leads him.

* Arnold. 18s.

It has to be remembered also that the Egyptians had the example of Ireland closely in front of them in these latter years. But the relationship between Great Britain and Egypt has been described as a marriage decreed by Providence. Whatever the independence granted, it is closely restricted by the reservations. In summing up the progress made Colonel Elgood's final verdict is clear :

If the future is still uncertain, both countries can look back upon their past association with humble satisfaction. Especially may Great Britain, who has substituted in Egypt prosperity for poverty and ordered government for misrule, do so. Her achievement cannot be undone. The superstructure may shake, but the foundations will not move.

* * *

It is a pleasure to recommend Mr. Arnold Lunn's book on *John Wesley** to the general reader as a brilliant account of the great evangelist who so "changed the hearts of men" in the eighteenth century as permanently to transform the spiritual and social outlook of England. The story of perhaps the greatest personality in the religious history of England is told in a series of chapters in which every aspect of his life is touched upon. The volume gains impressiveness by the fact that it is written by one whose standpoint is at once sympathetic and detached. The greatness of John Wesley appears in all the higher relief because the book is entirely free from hero-worship on the one hand, or carping criticism on the other. The book is skilfully arranged in order to bring out in due succession the biographical details of Wesley's life, as well as to bring within compass the manifold aspects and interests involved in it. Of course, the author's treatment is not profound, but in our judgment there is no book upon the subject which could better be used by the average reader to get an adequate impression of the great personality with which it deals.

J. S. L.

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Mr. J. E. Woolacott, formerly correspondent of *The Times* at Delhi and Simla, has written a study of present conditions in India entitled *India on Trial*.† He declares that as the result of ignorant political views at home, "in India itself, especially among the rising generation, the most grotesque fallacies are avidly accepted" as a result of the doctrines of anti-British propagandists. "Soviet Russia watches this development with malicious satisfaction." The British Empire is necessary to secure India from its own separatists. Without it at the present "the dream of a strong united India, a nation among the nations of the world, as we may speak of the British or American nation, would vanish and be destroyed." These words of Lord Irwin, the very able Viceroy of India, quoted by Mr. Woolacott on his title page, are really the text of the whole book, which discusses the causes of such present discontents as poverty, points out the miraculous record of progress, including the conquest of famine, makes clear the evil forces which the British Raj has to contend with and the terrible problem presented by the disunity of the Moslem and the Hindu world. Lord Irwin is specially working at this problem of racial integration. Mr. Woolacott's book should be widely read since it is essential for English people to be acquainted with the main Indian problems of to-day, many of which are the result of ignorance and political malice.

* *John Wesley*. By Arnold Lunn. Cassell & Co. 7s. 6d. net.

† Macmillan. 10s. net.

Mr. R. Brimley Johnson has edited, with an introduction, *Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley** selected from the edition published by Mary Shelley in 1840, the life of the poet by Thomas Jefferson Hogg, published in 1858, and Lady Shelley's *Shelley Memorials* of 1859. Many further letters have been published—"four of the earliest as recently as August 1920, printed in *The Times*,"—and in many cases it has been possible to restore the original text, incomplete in the case of Mary Shelley and stupidly altered by the monstrous Hogg. Mr. Johnson tells us that the complete edition of Mr. Roger Ingpen has been available for this selection, which ranges from 1810 to 1822, the year of the poet's death. Mr. Johnson considers that in the light of this complete life Shelley, "genius, visionary and reformer, reveals to us an unexpectedly good measure of practical achievement and reasoned common sense." To students of the poet's complete work, including his prose writings, this, however, is not unexpected. Politically and as a reformer Shelley was no more utopian than Bentham who was, however, compared rather to Byron than to Shelley, a fact which shows the misapprehensions of Shelley that, not unnaturally, existed in his time. The utter foolishness of his conduct, the immorality which was not immorality in his boyish eyes, must always make him open to the sternest reproach. He defied society but it was not the defiance of lust. It was the defiance of boyish genius who fancied that he could set up new standards of subjective conduct in objective relations: an absurd and a boyish idea but one wholly intolerable and the result inevitable in the clash between the wife Harriet, that female Iago her sister Eliza Westbrook and the fatal third, Mary Godwin. Shelley was really happy with Harriet but his theories and his youth and his absurd outlook on social life ruined all. The whole story of Shelley's relations with women was ridiculous as well as tragic, so monstrous in fact that his right of guardianship of his children properly was taken from him by Court of Chancery. The thinking Shelley was another creature altogether: one of the very finest brains with the noblest ideals that England has produced. We are far enough away from the horrid tragedy of his life to be able to take advantage not only of his poetry but of his social thought. His letters Mr. Johnson considers "among the finest in the English language." In that respect they are very different from the wholly artificial letters of Robert Burns. They should be read not only for the light that they throw on the problems of the times but for the significance that they give to the tragedy of the life of an almost-boy who has a permanent place in English letters and who, if he had lived another ten years, would have had a permanent place in the records of English philosophic thinking.

* * *

Emily Hobhouse, A Memoir compiled by Ruth Fry,† tells the story of a noble woman, the value of whose work was not always realised by her contemporaries. The greatest achievement of her life was her courageous intervention on behalf of the Boer children who were dying by thousands in the concentration camps, and its significance is best described in the Foreword contributed by her old and valued friend General Smuts. "Emily Hobhouse's hand it was that first was extended to us in our darkest hour, and helped us to climb out of the pit. A stormy petrel to her own people, she was a great healing

* John Lane. 6s. net

† Jonathan Cape. 10s. 6d.

influence in South Africa. Amid the suffering of war, she represented the eternal human, the eternal woman, the simple feelings of pity and sympathy and comforting which the war-spirit could not kill, and which in the end have led to the rebirth of the larger South Africa." It is one of the many ironies of history that Campbell-Bannerman and Emily Hobhouse, who were so bitterly attacked at the time as lacking in patriotism, were in reality forging the bonds that in after years were to attach the Boers to the British Empire in times not only of sunshine but of storm. Of this remarkable woman Miss Fry has given us a skilful and life-like portrait, utilising a manuscript autobiography and other sources to unfold the tale of the daughter of a Devonshire rector who felt the call of service in different countries and continents, and who wore herself out in bringing succour to those in need. Though the main thread of the book is biographical, there is a good deal of political interest as well, which will appeal to a wider circle than that of her personal friends.

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Professor Lehmann-Haupt, formerly of Liverpool University, was especially qualified for this enterprise described in the work entitled *Armenien einst und jetzt** by his universally recognised knowledge of the chief languages concerned, and his ingenuity in deciphering the local inscriptions. He has given us an account of the remarkable people who inhabit the high country around Mount Ararat, the source of the Euphrates and Tigris, and also of their predecessors the Chalds. He describes his travels in 1898-1899, at first with Dr. Belek, and afterwards alone, amid the mountains, plains, deserts, lakes and forests through which Xenophon passed with his 10,000 Greeks on their way to the Black Sea. Readers of Greek will be interested to know how carefully he observed and recorded all the features of the landscape so minutely described by Xenophon as to leave scarcely any doubt as to the localities through which he passed. These hill-fastnesses not only excite our curiosity and fascinate our imagination by their natural beauty and as the home of a free and intelligent people, but perhaps more by the ancient sculptures, inscriptions and cave-architecture, ranking amongst the very early documents of history, described in this book. The Chalds, not to be confused with the Chaldeans, who inhabited the south of Asia Minor, withstood the raids of the Assyrians, and survived the fall of Nineveh and the kingdom of Assyria itself. They only succumbed to the Medes about 585 B.C. They have left us examples of engineering in their water-works, which still serve the purpose for which they were constructed to this day, though the canals of Mesopotamia have long since turned into stagnant morasses. The author gives us photographs of the so-called Canal of Semiramis, an aqueduct, actually built by her opponent in arms, Mennas I, about 800 B.C., that still carries the water-supply to what was once his residential city, Van, from springs about fifty miles distant, piercing through rocks, traversing tunnels and bridging rivers. This great work is adorned with inscriptions to commemorate his achievement. Throughout the course of this lengthy journey Professor Lehmann-Haupt's party made a scientific survey of the country, and in this respect also the book will be invaluable to later investigators and map makers.

* *Reisen und Forschungen von C. F. Lehmann-Haupt*, Belers Verlag, Berlin und Leipzig. 1926.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mr. T. S. Foster, the Reader in Education in the University of Bristol, in his volume "Travels and Settlements of Early Man: A Study of the Origins of Human Progress,"* has traced usefully the emergence of man from an earlier stage of physical life and gives us successive pictures of earliest man in Europe and the Near East, tracing his pathway until we are brought to the Aryan dispersion. Next Mr. Foster deals with America and, passing to the South Seas, develops various theories as to the Melanesian and Polynesian inhabitants. The word Nordic is used for the Aryan tribal agglomeration which formed a new stock in the plains of Hungary perhaps five thousand years before our era. The term is misleading and should be abandoned. The volume is a patient compilation of material, but is too ambitious in its scope since the work of the specialists has not yet arrived in many fields at any definite conclusions and the nigritic mystery is far from solution.

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"The Book of Common Prayer with the Additions and Durations proposed in 1928 incorporated with the Text" has been issued by the Oxford University Press, the Cambridge University and Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode at three net prices, 1s. 6d., 5s., and 7s. 6d., while editions are also issued in superior bindings at higher prices. In a prefatory note it is stated in each edition that by a resolution in the House of Commons on December 15th, 1927, the Prayer-Book Measure of that year was defeated and that the Prayer-Book Measure of 1928 was also defeated by Resolution of the House of Commons on June 14th, 1928. In fact the majority against the 1928 Measure was larger than against the 1927 Measure. The Introductory Note states that "The publication of the Book does not directly or indirectly imply that it can be regarded as authorised for use in churches." Such use, indeed, is entirely illegal, as was made manifest by the successive Resolutions of the House of Commons.

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"The Tragedy of Trianon"† is the title of a book by the well-known publicist Sir Robert Donald. As the title suggests, it is a work written from the Hungarian viewpoint. It is an effort to solicit support for the view that Hungary has suffered injustice from the Treaty of Trianon. Lord Rothermere has contributed a preface to the volume.

* * *

Washington Irving is better known in this country as a novelist than as a pure short-story writer; yet there is a charm in his latter work which deserves greater notice than it often receives. He is a cunning craftsman of high degree, and carries his reader with him along no jolting road. This edition in "The World's Classics"‡ Series selected and edited by Mr. Carl van Doren will make a good holiday companion.

* Ernest Benn. 21s. net.

† Thornton Butterworth. 7s. 6d. net.

‡ Oxford University Press. 2s. net.

CONTEMPORARY, 1929.

I AM not presuming in any way to forecast the result of the General Election. With the addition of six million youthful and inexperienced voters to the electoral roll must come uncertainty in every constituency. More than one Cabinet Minister is already feeling the draught, and leaving his present quarters for others which presumably the local and central organisers tell him will prove drier and safer in the storm. I can but repeat the general, in fact the universal, feeling that the Government will lose many seats, particularly in the North, that they will gain none, and that they will even at the best, if unexpectedly and undeservedly lucky, have the largest party in a House of three nearly equal parties. At the not improbable worst there will be a Conservative landslide comparable to 1906. Neither N. Lanark nor the Holland Division elections show any other conclusion to be drawn as to the temper of the electorate. I have never myself believed in the assured efficacy, by themselves, of a programme and a policy. They are beyond question useful adjuncts to a sound, active, and effective organisation, and to persuasive and adroit leadership. The vital thing is the atmosphere at the moment of election. It arrives like the monsoon with refreshing violence, not wholly unforeseen, and preceded by a drop in the barometer which is of grave import to the ship, passengers, and cargo which are caught in the centre of the disturbance. But the very force which destroys one adventure, fertilises and restores some compensating enterprise. The ship sinks, the crop comes to life. So with political parties. Toryism goes into the whirlwind of the General Election officially well manned. But the public, who are expert judges of many similar departures, are in grave doubt whether the ship is so well found as the paint and varnish of publicity and advertisement would lead them to believe. The compass has often swung untruly, and the officers seem divided in opinion as to which chart to steer by. I have none but the ordinary means of following their councils, of knowing their expectations, or of anticipating their conclusions. I can only observe and rejoice.

Of the Labour prospects it is no less difficult to arrive at any just estimate. Their organisation is vigorous, their following is almost fanatical in its zealous propaganda and personal service, and their leadership is obtrusive and not too flagrantly inharmonious. They, like the Conservative Party, have the great advantage of numerous constituencies whose political adhesion is assured by the economic occupation of its electorate. Where some great trade like coal mining, or the iron and steel industry, is so concentrated as to be practically predominant, the tendency to follow the lead of the

Trade Union movement and Congress, and the political orders of the Trade Union leaders, is practically irresistible. At the recent election at Wansbeck, many miners openly admitted the strength of the Liberal arguments, the economic and financial soundness of their proposals, and the sterility of the Labour programme. A break-away from organised Labour, however, would have been "treachery," and local support to inept leadership was for them the unescapable obligation. One may regret the stupidity of an attachment (which dates back to the days of Burt and Fenwick) but one must at the same time admire a loyalty which hesitates at no material sacrifice for a cause and an idea. That elsewhere than in such traditional centres of Labour politics there is plenty of hesitation, doubt, and indifference, seems certain from the reduction of the Labour poll even in cases where they have been successful. It is not wise to deduce too much from such a reduction. It may have been due to certainty as to the result as at Wansbeck or Bishop Auckland, or to the nearness of the General Election, or to the knowledge that victory or defeat were equally temporary, quite as much as to any permanently adverse cause. Such a cause may be found in the admitted shrinkage of Trade Union numbers which have fallen from 4,501,000 at the end of 1924 to 3,814,800 at the end of 1928. The obligation to pay a Union subscription, carrying sick and unemployed benefits, must naturally put considerable pressure on members to support the approved Trade Union candidate. Thus only can a political return be obtained for what is in reality a political payment. With the release from the payment, or with the inability to continue it, has very probably gone the incentive to vote for the approved (Labour) candidate. The judgment of the voter, freed from moral coercion, recovers its sanity and balance, but with any revival of trade will come renewed subscriptions and benefits, and their appeal to renew allegiance and support.

In the agricultural constituencies where there are no congested centres of work, thought, and personal pressure, Labour seems to make little headway. The enthusiasm of its leading adherents provides much cheap and unpaid assistance which enables contests to be undertaken at a minimum cost. Where such take place support is secured partly from former Tory or Liberal voters, but mainly, I think, from those who had held aloof from both parties. This latter class, though being, as electoral statistics can show, of considerable size, affords a groundwork of support less substantial than it appears. It will almost of necessity be more affected by "atmosphere" than any other part of the electorate.

At this point in my attempted survey of the field of battle it is appropriate to remind oneself of the difficulty, since the war, of ascertaining the individual opinions and probable vote of the elec-

torate. At elections up to 1918, the vote in the small towns and villages of every individual was known with approximate certainty. To-day, whether due to the introduction of a third element, Labour, with its attempted dictation to wage-earners, or to greater respect for the legal secrecy of the ballot, or to escape the activities of party canvassers—yearly becoming more numerous, more zealous, and more of a nuisance—electors, men and women alike, are more elusive or secretive than they were. Party agents are baffled and predictions falsified by the reticence of the new voter. There may, of course, be another, though kindred, explanation of this phenomenon of discreet silence or concealment. Up to the election of 1910, the battle-cry of all parties was mainly concerned with political machinery—the extension of the franchise, the respective powers of Lords and Commons, women suffrage—one man one vote, and so forth. On these questions one labouring man had little difference with another labouring man, and had gradually lost his fear of his employer. To-day, since the political machinery has been completed, franchise controversies have been replaced by social and economic issues. On such questions working men and women of all grades may, and do, differ profoundly from each other on detail, as well as on principle. Anxious to avoid friction and discussion in working hours, and resultant (though usually imaginary) loss of benefit in employment, voters either decline to reveal their attachment to any party, or alternatively profess their preference for all three in turn. Whatever the reason, the fact remains, and is a source of ignorance and constant astonishment to all parties in turn. As the ballot was meant to be secret perhaps it is as well that it should have become so, and Liberals who created secrecy are in no way penalised by its emergence.

I come now to consider our own Liberal position and outlook. I may be supposed to know something of our efforts and our hopes. If I were to estimate unduly high these latter, in order to keep up spirits which in truth do not now require Dutch Courage of any sort, I might be found to have pitched my tale too strong, and hereafter be treated as an unreliable prophet. If, on the other hand, to gain or keep a reputation for extreme carefulness, I pitch my tune too low, I shall be properly charged with unduly depressing our friends. Again, therefore, I avoid figures—and adhere to observation and commentary. For the first thirty months of the Parliament the Liberal Party was in low water. Internal difficulties; loss of numbers and consequent prestige; the death of Lord Oxford; were cumulative in their effect on our fortunes. Fortunately, harmony was restored and work was resumed in time sufficient for our purpose to be made plain, and to become acceptable. At first it was uphill work. The shadow of the disaster of 1924

hung heavily over all our efforts. Organisation throughout the country was partly non-existent and more largely quiescent and dispirited. Candidates were difficult to find—and were very shy and diffident when forthcoming. Gradually confidence revived and the ineptitude of the Government has done the rest. A few successful and successive elections put us on our feet, and enabled the party to fulfil the pledge it gave to its supporters that at least 500 candidates should face the music at the General Election. The *Evening News* of March 23rd, a Conservative paper, finds itself obliged to say it is by no means impossible that the election will see the Liberals returning as the strongest party in the House. If it is possible to pick out of a number of contributing causes such as have worked the most effectually on our behalf, I would choose the following—Unemployment, the Anglo-French compact, the extension of Insurance requirements before disability is recognised, and the effect of heavy taxation due to excessive armament expenditure. Of these four, beyond any question, unemployment occupies most attention. For ten years more than a million of men and women have been forced by economic pressure to go without work or wages. Doubtless some small percentage of the unemployed were not much concerned about either, but the vast majority wished for both, and could find neither. It was not only that they were discontented, but that their more fortunate neighbours felt peculiar and fullest sympathy with them in their distress. To repeat, as Ministers did, that there were so many more men in employment than before their advent to office was to offer, not consolation, but insult, to the sufferers and their friends. To hurry forward the erection of houses at a cost enforcing an economic rent far in excess of the possibilities of workmen in employment, is not relief, it is almost mockery, to workers out of employment and on dole. It was not want of good will, but of good sense, which has been confounding Conservative Ministers. Since every town and every constituency has its long list of workless and often of doleless, the political revulsion was certain to be overwhelming once the elector discovered that any alternative to a continuance of idleness was available. At first, class feeling and the knowledge of genuine sympathy backed by vague and abundant promises drew the attention and fixed the allegiance of despairing men to Labour. But once Liberalism could substitute the concrete for the abstract, could exhibit actual plans and put forward calculations based on study and revised by expert knowledge—its ancient attraction for the reasonable, understanding Englishman and woman began to return.

At the moment I am not concerned with the soundness of the finance or construction, or even the possibility of the schemes, though all three are demonstrable. I am attempting to estimate the

force of their appeal to the electorate. It seems to me to be very great, and probably to be decisive. For how do the long-time-hopeless regard it? Suddenly, out of the gloom and danger as the final catastrophe is in sight, as the electoral whirlpool rages round the threatened ship of State, a life-line is thrown out, and, slender though it be, it contains the certain assurance of imminent rescue. Whose heart would not warm to such a work—whose heart would not respond to such unexpected hope?

While Liberalism recognised the task and buckled to it, what was happening to Toryism and Labour? Their attitude was wonderfully alike. It is not surprising since their philosophy of life is in so many respects so similar. Anger, regret, incredulity, hesitation, found ample expression from the lips of Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. Not a word of constructive suggestion. I need not labour, nor amplify their speeches. This is the time for positive emotions—for endeavour, for experiment, if you must have it even for failure, but at any cost for something to be done. Not for blank negation—or for abortive epigram. If the Liberal schemes for unemployment capture the mood of the electors, as I think they will, the reason will be found not only in their merit—but almost as much in their constructive courage. From the moment that Mr. Lloyd George put forward the policy embodied in “We can conquer Unemployment”—the silly game played by Conservatives and Labour with so much enthusiasm and with some momentary success, was up. While Mr. Baldwin was perorating at Leicester that the electors’ battle was to be waged between Conservatives and Socialism alone, the Liberals in the Holland Division were actually driving both these forces off the field of battle. While *The Times* is delivering its minute doses of stodgy electoral proprieties to the “classes” in condemnation of Liberal candidatures, the *Daily Mail* is telling the “masses” that if they want decent progressive and economical government, they have only one, the Liberal, party from whom they can expect it. The *Observer* becomes respectful.

It is a fact of vital electoral importance that though unemployment is obviously and naturally more prominent in town than in country, and more generally felt in one town or industry than in another—yet wherever labouring men are congregated the terrors of unemployment are visible. If it is A’s turn to-day, it may equally well be X’s turn to-morrow. Put forward proposals which will lift C out of the quagmire, and you shake off the nightmare which clings to D’s neck.

Of course, it is very aggravating that Mr. Baldwin could not in five years “deliver the goods”—nor Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in nine months produce the “rabbits.” It is positively exasperating

that Liberal economists and thinkers should be able to evolve, and eminent business personages be able to certify, schemes which will absorb definite numbers of men for definite sums of money for definite periods of time, on definite and productive objects. It is yet more exasperating and even menacing to self-complacent Ministers that the ordinary men and women capable of forming shrewd judgments should be ready to accept these proposals as genuine and realisable. Sick to death of negation and platitude, the community seems to turn with avidity to something which at least promises immediate action. A patient at the point of exhaustion gets no benefit from the physician who contents himself with the rejection of all prescriptions. He seeks a new method of treatment, new remedies, is not afraid even of a change of advisers. All the more does he seek this change as he becomes convinced that his present advisers are not going to the cause of the disease, that they are trifling with the symptoms and that their views are wholly superficial and antiquated. One of what Mr. Baldwin seems to think is the most serious of criticisms asserts that a loan for unemployment expended on work would be a withdrawal of capital from reviving industry. If it were for industry reviving in another country there would not be much, perhaps so much to find fault with in the argument. But can anyone point to any industry at home at the moment whose difficulty is not one of markets rather than of capacity for production? Moreover, the capital expended will not be withdrawn from internal circulation. Its return to the lender will synchronise, in practice, with its advance to the borrower. The question really at issue is not whether the schemes are novel, or entail large expenditure, or whether they involve borrowing. The test which must be applied is, whether, when a general scheme is announced, there is in fact a number of detailed and localised plans in existence which will enable a beginning to be made with work at once. Are they so correlated to the whole proposal (which must be economically sound) that though one part may necessarily be very costly, yet that it will be no more than expenditure on certain costly machinery essential to the economic working of the entire plant? If it satisfies that condition, then borrowing for immediate commencement and speedy completion is more than justified. Believing, as we do, that prolonged idleness is even more disastrous to the national character than dole-giving is to the national finances, we are convinced that there is a moral obligation to get to work at once; and so to drag men up out of the bog of despair, and to plant their feet and their hopes on firmer ground.

But, again, says Mr. Baldwin, the one real way (how many "one real ways" has not Mr. Baldwin had) to get rid of unemployment, is to get rid of disputes in industry. No one conversant with

industry or with international competition in industry will question that one of the handicaps incurred in commerce is the recurrent disputes between capital and labour on matters too often of minor importance. It follows also that the consequent interruption of work, and delay in completion and delivery, by increasing cost of production raises prices to the purchasers, and thus diminishes the possibility of successful tenders and consequential orders and employment. The efforts of the Mond group of employers, working in harmony with the Turner group of Labour, are indeed praiseworthy. They jointly deserve the assistance of all engaged in appeasement in industrial life or concerned for the restoration and expansion of trade. But when we inquire what the Government has done to second their efforts, or to forward their aims, we cannot be given any satisfactory answers. In truth there is no record of any legislative proposal or achievement to this end standing to the credit of the Government. As to Labour, since one of its avowed objects is the destruction of private capital, it is difficult to see how, if it is to be faithful to its creed, it can consistently ever do anything to reconcile the interests of two partners, one of whom it has decreed to death.

We Liberals have given no little thought to the subject. Since 1918 thought is all that we have had the opportunity to contribute. It is clear to us that the vast majority of industrial and commercial enterprises must be financed by private capital and directed by private energy, foresight and skill. We see that in such undertakings there must be room for an adequate reward for the capital so employed (or it will not be forthcoming), but that the reward must be conditioned by the requirement of the men and women employed being able to earn such salary or wage as will provide food, housing, clothing, rest and recreation in reason. We also recognise that in the course of production or distribution disputes must arise as to whether the hours of work or rate of wages paid do in fact adequately meet the just demands for such a fair standard of life. It is plainly better to prevent the occasion of dispute arising than to adjudicate upon it when the trouble has delayed the fulfilment of orders received from purchasers. With this in view we have as a party passed resolutions at the Kingsway Hall in March, 1928, and at the National Liberal Federation in October, 1928, which deal both with the relations of Government to Industry, and the mutual relations of Capital, Management, and Labour in Industry.

First—we desire to concentrate all the multiple and complex relations of Government to the innumerable industrial and commercial activities of the country under one Head, and in one Ministry. Such a Ministry would deal, e.g., with Factory and

Compensation Acts, and the duties of the Ministry of Mines. It would establish a Council of Industry to study every movement in Industry of general interest, such as pensions, profit-sharing, conciliation, co-partnership.

Secondly, we would create in every industry a joint authority for the regulation of the common interests of the industry. Such interests would obviously include recruitment and training, wages, hours and unemployment amongst other issues.

Thirdly, we are convinced that industrial capital cannot be too widely and generally held by industrial workers. Such an extension of ownership would give those employed a zeal for steady and continuous work, by the knowledge that the consequent reward would be largely their own. It would teach them, by adequate share of and in management, the difficulties of Management and Direction. It would give to Management a sympathy and understanding with labour which is now too often and too notoriously absent. Co-operation would be real because it would be based on mutual and equal interests. All those conceptions of social industrial life which give an opening to legitimate ambition and individual enterprise while ensuring industrial compromise and peace, are part of the formal and official Liberal policy. They recognise the advanced position that sixty years of general Education has given to the democracy of Great Britain. They equally recognise and leave room for the human differences of character and intellect which must always play their part in life. The Conservatives have failed to admit the former. Labour is refusing to acknowledge the latter.

It is of no use however to prepare an elaborate set of regulations for the capital and labour of industry, unless the industry is there to yield wages and dividends. For my purpose, industry or production, and commerce or distribution, are one and the same thing. It is in grave danger from the policies of Conservatives and Labour alike. The Government and the Tory Party have persuaded themselves that any expansion of overseas trade, unless it is with the Dominions or Colonies, is undesirable. Maintenance even of existing trade with the rest of the world is more than suspect. Tariffs have been imposed to destroy or restrict it. If these are not sufficiently punitive they are to be increased in number or severity. The theory apparently is that competition from the Dominions is the breath of life, but from elsewhere it is a poisonous exhalation. That import duties imposed by, e.g., Australia, on British goods is a regrettable eccentricity even when they become in practice exclusive. But similar duties imposed, e.g., by Italy, Spain or Germany are hostile disabilities deserving of the sternest retaliation. It is difficult to adjust so odd a conception of Imperial

Unity and of mutual Imperial obligations to the daily wants of a population of forty millions living in an island physically capable of housing only ten millions. The theory reveals a profound and amazing misunderstanding of the meaning of trade. Tariffs are imposed, *pace* Mr. Baldwin, not to provide profit for manufacturers, but employment for workmen. The home producer must sell his goods at the same price after the duty is imposed as before. It is therefore a constant boast that the price of safeguarded goods is stationary or has fallen, and that less foreign goods are being imported. Figures taken over a short series of years (in which statistics fluctuate violently by reason of duties imposed or taken off, or of trade disputes) can be shown to prove anything, and are capable of establishing both these assertions and their contraries. I wish therefore to show to what absurdities the three Conservative axioms lead us. First, to Imperial development based, on our side, on low duties eased off by high preferences, and on the Dominions' side on high duties mitigated by unreal preferences. Second, to the maintenance of London as the monetary capital of the world, on which must depend all financial systems, and which will ever be the principal banker of Europe, Asia, and Africa and the Dominions, and which, at the same time, preferably lends to the home and Dominion markets. Third, a trade yearly expanding towards the Empire, and yearly contracting towards the rest of the world. What a tangle of patriotism and forgetfulness! More foreign financial business—less foreign loans and goods, and shipping to foreign countries. More purchases from the Dominions—more competition by the Dominions—more preference to the Dominions—higher duties by the Dominions. Decrease of unemployment by decrease of foreign trade! Head and heart are indeed at warfare. How can they expect any electorate to accept such a hotch-potch of sentiment, business prejudice and ignorance? England's greatness began when the Elizabethan adventurers burst the bounds of the commercial preserves set up by Spain and Portugal. It was enhanced when the Dutch monopoly of the East was rudely waved aside. It reached its zenith, by comparison with contemporaneous nations, when it was the only trading community free from Napoleon's restrictions. Our commerce, so history insists, to be successful must be world wide. That rivals should desire to destroy our trade is but natural, but that we should set out to stifle our own commerce is an act of such silliness as only the present Government could be guilty of.

On this point of trade relations, Labour speaks with divided allegiance and understanding. It is repellent to some of their leaders to share anything, except their errors, with Liberals. They can hardly, therefore, make an exception of free trade traditions,

even though many, perhaps the bulk of the intelligentsia, are, with Mr. Snowden, convinced Free Traders. To some of the rank and file the immediate interests of their own trade seem, on the contrary, to call for the exclusion of foreign competition, while others have always been protectionist in the widest sense. The Labour Party dare not, therefore, face up to the issue of Free Trade or Protection. Like the liquor question, it is taboo in Labour politics. There are many voices, but no opinion; much speech, but no courage. There is no declaration, not even any hint of guidance, in the official statement of policy, as to whether safeguarding is to be continued or abolished, whether food is to be taxed or free, whether preference is to be encouraged or dispensed with. There are countless suggestions, mostly borrowed from the Liberal Yellow Book, as to the regulation of life, work, and even recreation. Not a word is, however, given as to that interchange of goods with foreign countries which is called trade, and which provides livelihood, work and leisure, but which, if mishandled, will quickly disappear. With it will go the credits and profits whose taxation alone can render feasible the Labour programme.

It appears then that the Conservatives believe that the National interests require tariffs and a restriction of foreign trade. That Labour lacks either courage or conviction, and withholds information on this vital subject. That Liberals are convinced that all shackles should be removed from international commerce from whose restoration and expansion we hope to draw the power to raise the social level of our fellow citizens.

Little space is needed for the subjects of Disarmament and Peace, if the signature of the Paris Pact is to be honoured as the ethical adhesion of Great Britain to the most important document of the Christian era. By that signature we have renounced war as part of our national policy. We are in line with all the Governments of the world. Are our joint signatures to be testimonies to our powers of hypocrisy or to our recognition of new international relationship? The Government, which signed the Pact, submits military estimates of a hundred million sterling with but little apparent regret for their size and burden. Labour is very guarded in its expression of a wish for reduced military expenditure. It cannot forget that unemployment may be reduced by building cruisers. The end justifies the means, so Mr. Thomas talks of watching for what others may do. For Liberals such moral cowardice is a reinforcement of their belief that Labour is merely Toryism under a democratic label. We ourselves have affirmed without reserve our determination immediately and substantially to reduce British armaments in accordance with the Paris Pact, and so to regain the spiritual leadership of Europe lost by the Government

in their hesitation over disarmament. We believe it is better to study the science of Peace than the science of War. We may be unpopular at the War Office. We hope to be effective at the Treasury and Home Office.

The hour of conflict is very close at hand. Conservatives have the prestige of Office, and the support of a wealthy and large Press. They suffer from the drawback of proposals which have failed, of purposes unaccomplished, and of promises overlooked. The wind is against them, the sun of popular favour is behind heavy banks of clouds. Still there are secure strongholds of suburban residents whose social respectability and standing depend in each other's eyes on their voting Conservative. To this may be added some genuine fear of social upheaval. So also, in industrial centres, Labour has impregnable fastnesses not to be stormed as long as class-consciousness maintains its hold on the workers' imagination. Elsewhere Labour seems to have lost grip. There is a good deal of froth, but not much gravity, in Labour ale. Diminished support has accompanied, even if it has not prevented, recent electoral wins. Liberals suffer from the paucity of their numbers in the present House of Commons. They will have to make so many gains to reach even the Labour standard that their friends hesitate. Yet they have great assets. Their organisation is unrivalled. The quality and quantity of their candidates leave little to be desired. Their leader attracts more personal attention than any other in the rival parties; he may be criticised or depreciated, he is not to be ignored. The Liberal programme is coherent, well worked out, explicit, progressive. Finally, through a speech of great electoral merit it has thrust into the National conscience a suggestion for dealing with the national evil of unemployment, which is clear, consistent, possible and immediate. It looks to me as if the electorate might easily give Liberalism such representation in the new House of Commons as would entitle Conservatism and Labour to call on Liberals to take up the duty of putting their proposals into operation. Though this would be done in the hope that Liberalism would be broken in the attempt, it would give us the opening, which for eleven years we have lacked, to launch it on another period of social achievement comparable in results with those of 1906-1914.

CHARLES E. HOBHOUSE.

THE LIBERAL UNEMPLOYMENT POLICY.

WHEN, on March 1st, 1929, Mr. Lloyd George gave, on behalf of the Liberal Party, his dramatic pledge that, if entrusted with power, the party could within a year reduce the total of the unemployed to normal proportions without adding to the burdens of the taxpayer and the ratepayer, it was widely assumed that this was merely a tremendous electioneering "stunt." Both Conservative and Labour critics have committed themselves to this view. They have loudly asserted that the promise was dishonest and insincere and was only given because there was no chance of its author being called upon to fulfil it. Not only Mr. Baldwin and the leading members of his Cabinet, but Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Thomas, and other Labour leaders have proclaimed their belief that the scheme is utterly impracticable. Meanwhile their alarmed advisers in the press are urging them to forget these indiscreet observations, and to produce alternative schemes which will outbid Mr. Lloyd George. Doubtless, on reflection, they will try to do so, as the election draws nearer; though their loudly proclaimed scorn has not made it easy for them to take this course.

In reality, apart from the arresting and challenging form in which it was promulgated, there was nothing new (to those who have followed the development of constructive Liberal thinking during the last few years) in Mr. Lloyd George's promise. All the schemes, and all the economic doctrines upon which it is based are to be found, fully thought out, in the Yellow Book, published more than a year ago. The governing idea—that a vigorous policy of national development is the true remedy for unemployment—was set forth in Mr. Asquith's speech to the National Liberal Federation at Brighton in 1924. And the rudiment of this idea was set forth long before—when the Road Fund and the Development Commission were launched in 1909. If the Liberal Party returns to power on this issue, it will in fact be taking up again, though in more difficult and exacting circumstances, the tasks upon which it was prepared to enter before the war. All that is new to-day is, first, the dramatic form of the pledge, and, secondly, the detailed and specific setting forth of the work that can immediately be taken in hand, and the working out of its financial aspects.

It is desirable, however, to withdraw the subject from the atmosphere of controversy and denunciation by which it is inevitably surrounded on the eve of a general election, and to show how sound and solid are the economic foundations upon which these proposals rest.

I.

The abnormal unemployment from which we have suffered during the last few years is, by common consent, attributable to the relative decline of our great staple export trades, coal, iron and steel, the textiles, shipbuilding, and some branches of engineering. With a growing population, this country, which depends upon export trade, has never, in any year since the war, exported more than four-fifths of what it was exporting before the war. And the decline of the export trades has been reflected in a reduction of the purchasing power of the home market.

We may therefore agree with the critics of the Liberal proposals that the *ultimate* restoration of our prosperity depends upon a revival of the staple trades and the development of new export trades. This in its turn depends upon several factors. In the first place, the free flow of international trade, impeded not only by the impoverishment due to the war, but by the insane tariff policy of many States, must be restored. This must take time; and the time required will be lengthened if we, of all countries, allow ourselves to be enmeshed in the fallacies of protection, and thus fail to take the lead in the movement towards freer trade. In the second place, all our great trades stand in need of reorganisation: in comparison with their rivals they have fallen behind in their adaptation to the modern methods of large-scale production and organised co-operation. This process is at work already. But it will take time; and the time required will be lengthened, as Mr. W. L. Hitchens and others have pointed out, if the manufacturer is persuaded to believe that, under the shelter of "safeguarding," he can go on as he is doing. Moreover, the process of reorganisation is apt, in the first instance, to lead to an increase rather than a reduction of unemployment. Economies in production mainly take the form of economies of labour. In the long run, no doubt, increased efficiency means not only lower prices, but more work and higher wages. But in the short run, labour is displaced; and the obstacles in the way of progress, during a time of severe unemployment, are bound to be very great unless alternative avenues of employment are opened out for those who are displaced.

In any case, the process will take time. Are we merely to wait, leaving the army of a million unemployed to exist on the bare pittance of the dole or of poor relief, supplemented by charitable funds, to deteriorate in quality, and to continue to be a burden upon the community instead of being a source of strength? If this must be our answer—and the present Government has hitherto had no other answer to give—then, indeed, our outlook is a gloomy one. We are caught in a vicious circle. For the longer we wait, the more difficult and the slower must be the revival of our great

industries; the weaker must be the stimulus given to their revival by the purchasing power of the home market; and, when the revival comes, it will have to depend upon a demoralised labour force, rotted and embittered alike by the endurance and by the fear of unemployment.

But, on any sound view of the facts, there is no reason at all why we should accept these grim and pessimistic conclusions. For there is another great need of industry, another condition of revival, which needs to be satisfied. If industry is to revive it must be equipped with the most modern and efficient systems of transport, of power, and of communications. The satisfaction of this condition does not depend at all upon the state of foreign markets. It depends solely upon the development of our own national resources. It needs only a sufficient supply of capital, a sufficient supply of labour, and a sufficient supply of energy and knowledge. And in satisfying this primary condition of industrial revival, we shall not only be able to absorb the pitiful army of the unemployed, we shall also, in doing so, directly contribute to stimulate every industry by increasing enormously the purchasing power of the home market, just at the moment when such an increase is most needed.

Now it happens that for all these needs—transport, power and communications—the State is either wholly or largely responsible. The State controls the roads, which afford the principal modern method of transport. It controls the telegraphs, the telephones and the wireless, which are the distinctive modern methods of communication. It has found it necessary to assume a large degree of control over the development of electric power, because in no other way could the necessary uniformity of method and the necessary co-operation be brought about. If, therefore, industry is to be equipped with the conditions most favourable for revival, it must be by State action.

But just because the State is primarily responsible for these "public utilities," action has been timid and slack (under a Conservative Government) at the very moment when vigorous and progressive action was obviously needed. This fact provides a significant illustration of the dangers of direct State control, even in the sphere where it is, on other grounds, desirable or inevitable. Why is it that we have only thirty-six telephones per thousand of the population while America has one hundred and sixty and even Denmark has ninety-two? In America the Bell Telephone Co. (a private company under a high degree of public regulation) is free to raise as much capital as it thinks it can usefully expend upon the development of its business, and it is said to be raising £80,000,000 of new capital a year. In this country the telephone service, being State controlled, has to get the approval of the

Treasury before it can raise any new capital; and the Treasury, hag-ridden by the idea that there must be no avoidable "borrowing," refuses to allow, and certainly does not encourage, the rapid expansion that is possible and needed. In the same way, we are trying to carry out the colossal task of reconstructing our road-system out of annual revenues, whereas America has been raising huge loans for this purpose, estimated at £400,000,000, in the last few years. The creation of a new road-system (as distinct from its maintenance) is surely a capital charge, seeing that it is meant to serve the needs of future generations. Capital outlay for such a purpose is national investment, and ought never to be equated with "borrowing" for unproductive purposes, such as wars or the bare maintenance of unemployed men—for which purpose we have borrowed some £40,000,000. The orthodox Conservative view seems to be that it is quite legitimate to borrow money to keep men rotting in idleness, but wicked to invest the nation's savings in equipping the nation and its industries with modern facilities.

Transport, power and communications are not by any means the only national needs that depend, in modern conditions, upon State action. Afforestation, on any large scale, can only be undertaken by the State, because, although ultimately profitable, it involves a long delay before profits begin to accrue. Arterial drainage (i.e., the clearance of the great river systems, without which local drainage schemes are of little avail), and the general survey and conservation of our water resources, are necessarily State functions, because if the State will not undertake them they will not be undertaken at all; and we are losing millions of acres, now waterlogged, and wasting our water resources, because these duties have been neglected. The revival of agriculture demands rigorous State action. And, finally, and perhaps most important of all, the housing of the mass of the people in healthy conditions can only be undertaken by the State, because the building of healthy houses capable of being let at rents (plus rates) within the reach of working people is now, and will long remain, a task impossible on ordinary commercial terms.

All these are activities of vital importance to the well-being of the community, which depend upon State action and which are not affected by foreign competition. They can be pressed on when employment is slack, and slowed down when industry is active; and in this way the fluctuations of employment can be largely "evened out," and the purchasing power of the home market can be steadied—a very important means of checking the violence of slumps and booms. It was with a view to this policy that the Yellow Book advocated, as a permanent element in national policy, the establishment of a Committee on National Development, advised by an

Economic General Staff. To-day many of these services need rapid development, in the interests of industry and of national well-being; great arrears have to be made up. To-day, also, the need for employment is exceptionally great. And the work that ought to be done is so great and so varied that all the abnormally unemployed could be easily and rapidly absorbed by it. The undertaking of this work would have several vitally important results: (1) It would equip industry with the conditions (transport, power and communications) necessary for its effective revival; (2) it would provide an immediate demand for capital goods (such as iron for bridges) which would stimulate revival; (3) it would greatly increase the purchasing power of the home market, and thus further stimulate all industries; (4) it would bring about, in a natural way, the transfer of surplus labour from the distressed areas into other areas in which it could gradually be absorbed in normal industrial work; while the simultaneous carrying out of a big housing programme would gradually remove one of the greatest obstacles to this necessary transfer; (5) and, meanwhile, it would stop the deterioration of our idle labour force, and bring to an end its needless and pitiful sufferings, turning men from burdens upon the community into sources of added wealth and strength.

This is, in principle, the essence of the Liberal scheme. It is not merely a scheme of relief works. No work is to be undertaken which is not urgently needed, which will not have to be done sooner or later, and which it will not be cheaper to do now rather than when prosperity returns. For when prosperity returns, the needed labour will have been absorbed elsewhere, and the needed capital will be fully employed; whereas, now, every man put into work represents a saving of (on the average) 22s. a week to the community, and every £1,000,000 worth of permanently valuable work can be got at a net cost to the community of (say) £800,000.

The argument for a policy of this sort thus appears to be irrefutable. It is not merely an emergency policy, though it meets an emergency. Great play has been made by critics of these proposals with the fact that detailed figures have only been given for the first two years, and it is asked what is to happen to the men at the end of these two years. But the period contemplated is one of five years. Details are given only for the first two because it is assumed that the industrial revival, which has already begun, will by that time have begun to absorb surplus labour. There is fruitful and productive work of national development waiting to be done which might be spread not merely over five, but over fifty years, and by the time that is finished there will be new needs. The work of national development will always have to go on. But the essential constructive idea which inspires these proposals is that

this work (since it is very little affected by the state of foreign markets) ought *not* to be held up until times are good, but ought then to be slowed down; the time for national development work is the slack time—is *now*.

II.

The first reaction of many readers to Mr. Lloyd George's pledge was that it was too good to be true. Four questions have to be answered if these misgivings are to be allayed; and the answers to these four questions are also the answer to all the ignorant and thoughtless criticisms which have been poured upon the scheme. First, is the needed labour available? Second, is the needed capital available? Third, would the cost of these huge schemes be prohibitive? Fourth, can it possibly be true that these schemes can be carried out without adding to the burden of taxes or rates?

(1) Obviously, sufficient labour is available—in volume, at any rate. But it is urged that manual or “navvy” labour is not all that is needed; and that even for road-making a certain proportion of skilled labour is required. The answer is two-fold. In the first place, the types of labour required for these schemes, either directly or indirectly in the provision of materials, is of infinite variety, and would include a great deal of women's labour in clerking, etc. In the second place, the experts who are responsible for the various parts of the scheme satisfied themselves, before defining the numbers that could be employed in various kinds of work, that the requisite proportion of skilled labour was available.

(2) Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Churchill have asserted that it would be mischievous to use capital for such work, since any capital so employed would otherwise be employed in other industries. This implies that, at any given moment, all available capital is being fruitfully employed. If this is true, then no industrial development can ever be possible. It is notorious that great masses of savings are lying on deposit in the Banks for lack of suitable openings; and if an appeal were made for subscriptions to a National Development Loan, the response would be as great as the appeal for War Loan—and would in the same way stimulate saving. Much capital is being thrown away upon speculation and sometimes fraudulent enterprises; much of the capital we export is used in a way that gives little stimulus to our export trade. Does Mr. Churchill think it would be disastrous if capital were diverted from dog-racing stadiums to working-class houses? Or does he think it better that our savings should be used for the development of the resources of Greece than for the development of the resources of England, for beautifying the suburbs of Dresden than for making a ring-road round Birmingham? Beyond a doubt, the capital needed for the work of national development, and for the utilisation

of idle labour, can be obtained without impoverishing legitimate industry.

(3) In the endeavour to prove that the cost of carrying out these proposals would be prohibitive, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, and other Government speakers have argued that for every £1,000,000 spent on road-making a year's work at £3 a week would only be found for 2,000 men. That would cost £300,000. What happens to the other £700,000? It goes mainly in materials—stone, which must be quarried and carted, tar and cement, which must be made, iron for bridges, fences, and reinforced concrete, and so forth. The Minister of Transport has since had to admit that his colleagues were wrong; that while in some cases 2,000 would be directly employed, in others the number would be 2,500; and that for every man directly employed another is employed in producing materials. Here, therefore, we have 4,000-5,000 men at work for a year at £3 a week, who were previously drawing "the dole" at 22s. a week. The community saves some £200,000 in doles, and gets its £1,000,000 worth of road for £800,000. But, besides this, the men *spend* their £3 a week, an addition to the purchasing power of the home market of over £400,000 per annum, which fertilises every industry, but especially those that provide food and clothing. If we spend £100,000,000 raised by a loan, all these figures must be multiplied by 100. There will be 400,000-500,000 men at work for a year; there will be a saving of £20,000,000 in doles; there will be an increased purchasing power of £40,000,000. And beyond this, all sorts of other activities will be stimulated; new motor 'buses will ply on the new roads; new transport facilities will stimulate farmers and factories; new factory sites and housing areas will be opened up; and all this will involve the outlay of capital and the employment of labour—to an extent not calculable beforehand, and not taken into account in the Liberal estimates. If the roads were in any case needed (and this is a fundamental postulate—no roads are to be made that are not already scheduled as necessary) then we shall have got our £100,000,000 worth of roads at a net cost to the community of £80,000,000; we shall have stimulated all the industries in the country directly or indirectly; we shall have given a vital fillip to trade; and we shall have equipped ourselves with better facilities for the future. Clearly this is a very wise and profitable outlay of capital.

(4) But how can all this be done without increasing the taxes or the rates? Some of the work proposed is directly remunerative in character: the more the telephone service, for example, is developed, the more profitable it becomes, as American experience has shown; and it has been sheer folly to stint capital for its development. Indirectly, road-making also—the largest single element in

the scheme—can be made to pay its way. The Road Fund, which now amounts to £25,000,000 a year, and is increasing at an average rate of £2,000,000 a year, is at present partly spent on grants for maintenance (a legitimate charge on income) and partly on grants for construction (properly a capital charge). If we build the new roads out of capital, the grants for construction will more than cover the interest-charge, and the annual growth of the fund will rapidly extinguish the capital. Moreover, new roads create new values. When the Kingston by-pass was built the land was purchased at prices from £60 to £300 an acre; when the road was finished the same land was sold at prices from £1,800 to £3,500 an acre. These new values, created by the community, ought not to go wholly into private pockets. A substantial betterment levy will go far to cover the cost of construction. Thus Liberal finance, by making the users of the roads pay (in motor taxation and in betterment levies), turns the work of road-construction into a profitable undertaking even from the Exchequer point of view, apart from the advantages secured for the community. Other parts of the scheme (notably housing and land-drainage) involve a definite outlay by the community. Thus the cost, over and above existing expenditure, of building 200,000 houses a year to let at rents within the reach of working men might amount to £12,000,000 per annum. How can this be met? It can be covered by the financial advantages that flow from the scheme as a whole. If (say) 600,000 men are set to work, the saving in unemployment pay and in poor relief would amount to not less than £30,000,000 per annum. Moreover, a part of their increased pay will be spent upon taxed commodities—beer, tobacco, sugar, tea, and so forth; while their employers will have more to pay in income tax. It is estimated that the increased yield of existing taxes that would thus accrue would amount to something like £8,000,000 a year.

Thus the Liberal plan is by no means a mere electioneering stunt. It is solid business. It will turn what is now a crippling burden into a source of strength to the nation. It will lift the cloud of depression that overhangs us. It will permanently improve our national equipment as an industrial nation, and give us the advantage of this improved equipment at an earlier date. It will not merely enable us to tide over the period during which the staple trades are reorganising themselves, it will stimulate and accelerate their reorganisation. And it will do all this without adding to the nation's burdens. All this sounds miraculous. There is nothing miraculous about it. The secret of it all is the plain fact that it pays a nation better to have its citizens working actively upon productive work than to have to support a large proportion of them in reluctant idleness and progressive deterioration. RAMSAY MUIR.

HOUSING AND THE GENERAL ELECTION.

SINCE the war there has been a good deal of general agreement among members of all political parties as to the broad outline of the policy to be pursued in providing houses for the working classes. This agreement has been of a temporary character owing to the acuteness of the emergency. Now that we have built over a million houses since the war, the underlying differences are beginning to emerge, and the voters will have to decide at the general election between two different housing policies, based on a different philosophy and a different appreciation of the main factors of the situation. Broadly speaking, one policy is advocated by the Conservative Party and the other by the Liberal and Labour Parties. The issues are, however, by no means clearly stated; all parties assert with equal emphasis their desire to clear away the slums and to provide good houses for the working classes. The object of this article is to try to set forth what the two policies are, and what their effect is likely to be as regards the actual provision of houses, as regards employment, and as regards the burden both on the national exchequer and on the rates. It is too much to expect that an article written by one who hopes to be a Liberal candidate at the forthcoming election shall be accepted as giving an impartial view on a question of this sort. The writer can only do his best to state the facts as fairly as he can, and to explain why he prefers the Liberal policy to the Conservative.

In the first place, let us consider how far there is general agreement. We are agreed that the country has done well in building 1,250,000 good houses since the war. These houses have set a new standard of working-class housing; probably the best ever set in any country in the world. We are agreed that if we can continue building houses of this standard until every family could live in a house of this sort, we shall have dealt finally and satisfactorily with the housing problem. When it was announced that the millionth post-war house had been built there was a tendency in certain quarters to feel that we might now slacken our efforts with a certain sense of self-satisfaction. Since then it has been realised that this was an entirely unjustified attitude; that while we have done well in providing houses for those who can afford to buy, or to pay something near £1 a week in rent, we have literally done nothing for the slum-dweller and for the poorer class of worker. It is generally recognised that the condition of the cheaper houses, that is those let at 10s. per week gross rent, or less, is definitely worse to-day than it was at the time of the armistice. Repairs have not been adequately carried out and the state of the houses, as a whole, has steadily deteriorated. What is worse, there seems

in general to be no relief to the appalling overcrowding. The reports of medical officers of health on this matter are monotonous and depressing reading; in almost every London borough families of six or seven persons living, eating, sleeping, doing all their daily domestic tasks in a single room, are common. In Manchester, where overcrowding is below the average for the country, about one-quarter of the working-class houses in the central parts of the city are so overcrowded that separate bedroom accommodation is not available for growing boys and girls; decency and self-respect are out of the question.

So far there will be general agreement. A further important step has recently been taken in the education of public opinion in the new recognition that the slum problem cannot be dealt with by the simple process of pulling down slum houses. So long as overcrowding exists such a step could only accentuate the overcrowding, and make things actually worse than they are to-day. It is now recognised that there is fundamentally only one way of sweeping away the slums, that is, by building new houses in such numbers, and letting at such rents that the poorer sections of the working classes can afford to move out of their slum houses and to live in new ones. As soon as that has been done on a large enough scale then the task of clearing away the foul old houses can be undertaken on a large scale without any great difficulty.

On one matter of the utmost importance, the scale of the slum problem, there is no agreement simply because the facts are not known. Before we can say with any accuracy how many new houses are needed, and at what rents they would have to be let in order to enable the people to live in them, a detailed survey of the facts is required. This is another point on which there is general agreement, and it is to be hoped that the new government, whatever it may be, will undertake this preliminary task of throwing light on the whole problem without delay.

Up to the present there has been general agreement on another fundamental matter: that it has been impossible to build houses, and to let them at rents which the workers could pay, except by the aid of a subsidy. Recognising this, the Coalition Government, the Conservative Government, and the Labour Government have all, since the war, passed Acts of Parliament granting subsidies of different kinds to bridge the gap between the economic rent at which a house could be let and the rent which the workers could be expected to pay.

We have now reached the end of the main points on which there is general agreement. They may be summed up as follows:

1. That while we have done well in building houses for the artisan and clerk, we have done nothing for the slum or for the poorer sections of the working classes.

2. That even to build for the artisan and clerk it has hitherto been necessary to grant large subsidies.

3. That the problem of the slum can only be solved by building new houses to be let at rents which the poorer sections of the workers can afford to pay, that the number of houses required for this purpose is unknown, but is certainly of considerable magnitude.

When we come to consider future policy, we find that a sharp division of opinion is arising. In the first place, Mr. Chamberlain, in talking about the slums, lays great stress on reconditioning, that is on the improvement of the existing slum houses, and the "Octavia Hill management," i.e., management of slum property by properly trained women managers. It is agreed by all that both these proposals are, up to a point, entirely sound. Good management by properly trained women, or by properly trained men, is a very important factor; reconditioning can do much to improve some of the worst slum houses in London, Birmingham, and other towns where this work has been neglected in the past. But it must be remembered that both these remedies are merely partial. On the one hand, they do nothing to reduce the most acute evil of overcrowding, and on the other they can, at the best, only improve the condition of houses which must always remain unsatisfactory and far below the level of the standard which has been set by post-war houses. Reconditioning cannot provide gardens, and can only to a very slight extent let sun and air into overcrowded slums. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to recognise that these two remedies can do nothing more than slightly reduce the severity of the problem in existing slums; as a means to the sweeping away of the slums they are utterly useless. The *only* means to this end is the building of new houses.

It is on this fundamental aspect of the problem that the sharpest division of opinion has now arisen. While it is true that subsidies for the building of houses have been accepted as necessary by all parties since the war, the Conservative Party has recently made it perfectly clear that they are in full revolt against the system, and intend to bring it to an end as soon as possible. The Wheatley subsidy was fixed by Parliament in 1924 at £9 per annum per house. In 1927 Mr. Chamberlain reduced it to £7 10s. He has recently announced a further reduction, to take place in October this year, to £6. He has stated the reasons for these reductions in subsidy to be that subsidies mean increased prices, and that the first reduction in subsidy, which is equivalent to a reduction in the cost of the house of £37, has already caused a reduction in cost of £70 or £80. He hopes that the further reduction in subsidy, to be made this year, will cause further reductions in cost. Conservatives generally emphasise the fact that 95 per cent. of the

pre-war houses were built by private enterprise, and that housing will never again be on a satisfactory basis until we get rid of subsidies and set the speculative builder to work again. Their policy is clearly directed to the abolition of the subsidy and the restoration of something like pre-war conditions, the hope being expressed that the abolition of the subsidy will bring down prices so low that it will again be possible for private enterprise to build houses not only for sale, but for letting at rents which the workers can pay.

Liberals traditionally dislike subsidies at least as much as Conservatives, and have every sympathy in principle with the desire to abolish subsidies on housing, and still more with the desire to provide them under such conditions that private enterprise can freely function in the building of working-class houses; but the Liberal interpretation of the economic facts is totally different from that of the Conservative. In the writer's opinion the suggestion that by gradually reducing the subsidy to nothing prices can be got so low that the workers can be housed without subsidy is sheer economic nonsense. It is impossible to give the whole of the necessary figures to prove this in the course of an article. The argument may, however, be summarised very shortly as follows: In the first place, the level of the subsidy has itself nothing to do with prices. The contractor in tendering to a local authority for 100 houses would never dream of asking himself what subsidy is being paid. What he asks himself is, firstly, what his cost is likely to be, secondly, what competition will he have to meet and therefore what margin of profit can he afford to put on with a reasonable prospect of securing the order. Prices are determined not by subsidies, but by the ordinary laws of supply and demand and competition. This means that a reduction in subsidy can only affect the price by reducing the demand. It is perfectly true that every time the demand is suddenly increased prices tend to go up, every time it is reduced they tend to come down, but what Mr. Chamberlain overlooks is that there is a definite lower limit; that prices can never be reduced below the lowest cost at which a house can be built when there is keen competition.

At the present time the lowest cost in the average urban district of a decent family house, that is, a three bedroomed non-parlour house, is about £400 including land and roads. This means an economic rent, including rates, under average conditions, of about 14s. a week. Deducting the Wheatley subsidy, this house can be let at 11s. a week. The average rent of the slum-dweller in most large towns is round about 7s. a week, and it seems certain that the only way to get people out of the slums is to build a large number of new houses to be let at between 7s. and 11s. a week gross. In order to produce the 11s. house without subsidy, the

cost would have to be reduced from £400 to £250. In order to build a 7s. house it would actually have to come down to less than £100! These figures have been carefully checked; they surely provide convincing and irrefutable evidence of the fact that either we must continue subsidies, or we must abandon the hope of housing the workers in decent modern houses, and must be content to leave them in the slums.

So much for the effect of the Conservative policy on prices and on rents. Let us now consider the equally important effect on the number of houses produced. The only houses built since the war that can by any stretch of imagination be called working-class houses are those that have been built with the help of subsidies. In the year 1927 some 200,000 subsidy houses were built. After the cut in the subsidy, which took place in September of that year, the number of subsidy houses finished in the next year amounted to just over 100,000. The only important change in the circumstances as between these two years was the reduction in the subsidy. It seems fair to say that it was due to this cut that nearly 100,000 houses less were built in 1928 than would otherwise have been the case. The further cut threatened for this year will certainly have a similar effect. The rate of building so far during 1929 shows no signs of recovery as against 1928. The Liberal view is therefore that further cuts in subsidy cannot further reduce the cost, but can and will make it necessary to charge higher rents and therefore will certainly reduce the number of houses built.

It is in view of these facts that the Liberal Party has been forced to the conclusion that so long as present economic conditions continue as regards costs, wages, rate of interest, etc., the housing subsidies must also continue, and at the Yarmouth Convention, held a few months ago, they passed a unanimous resolution to the effect that the essence of Liberal policy was to build 200,000 houses a year at rents which the working classes can pay, and that such subsidies as are necessary for this purpose must be provided. There is a clear choice before the country which cannot be evaded. Slums on the one hand, and subsidies on the other. If the subsidy is abolished the slum must continue. If the slum is to be abolished the subsidy must continue.

The subsidy must, of course, be the smallest possible subsidy which will enable the necessary houses to be built and let at the suitable rents. This has not yet been worked out by the Liberal Party. It is a matter for consideration, after receiving the best official advice, when the Party has the opportunity of putting its proposals into force. In order, however, to give some idea of the cost of the Liberal policy, I have personally made an estimate that to build 2,000,000 houses, during the next ten years, letting three-quarters of them at rents between 7s. and 11s. a week, would mean

a burden on the national exchequer of about £12,000,000 a year, and a further burden on the rates of about £6,000,000 a year, or altogether a cost to the nation of £18,000,000 a year. As against this, under the Conservative policy there would be little hope of getting even as many as a million houses during the next ten years, the cost of which would be relatively small, say about £3,000,000 a year. That is to say, for an additional cost of £15,000,000 a year the Liberal policy would, during the next ten years, provide 2,000,000 houses as against the Conservative 1,000,000. The latter figure would suffice to meet the needs of the increasing population, to provide houses to replace those that have to be pulled down, either because the sites are needed for factory purposes, or because they have fallen down through sheer decay, and might provide a few additional houses to reduce the pressure on the slums, but very few. The Liberal scheme would, in addition to this, provide a further 1,000,000 houses which would go a long way to cure the worst aspects of the slum problem.

But there is a further aspect which is of the utmost importance at the present time, that is the amount of employment provided by the two schemes. Roughly speaking, the building of one house gives employment directly to one man for a year, and indirectly to another man for half a year. The Liberal scheme would, therefore, employ steadily for the next ten years 150,000 more men than the Conservative scheme, and the saving in unemployment benefit would therefore amount to about £7,500,000 per annum during the whole of that period. We have, then, the following balance-sheet as between the two schemes:

1. The Liberal scheme would in ten years provide 2,000,000 houses against the Conservative 1,000,000.
2. Whereas under the Conservative scheme little or nothing would be done for the slums, the Liberal scheme would provide 1,000,000 houses which would go a long way towards the reduction of overcrowding and the clearing out of the worst plague spots.
3. The Liberal scheme would continuously provide employment for 150,000 men more than the Government scheme.
4. During the next ten years under the Liberal scheme there would be a saving of £7,500,000 per annum in unemployment benefit.
5. At the end of ten years the burden on rates and taxes of the Liberal scheme would be £18,000,000, the Conservative scheme £3,000,000.

These conclusions, I believe, are substantially correct, and can hardly be seriously disputed. They provide a clear issue which the electors will have to decide. To put it quite shortly, is it worth £15,000,000 a year to provide employment for 150,000 men, and to go a long way towards abolishing the slums? Alternatively, is the country satisfied to allow the present horrors of slum life to continue?

E. D. SIMON.

RUSSO-BRITISH RELATIONS.

IN the years which have followed the World War, Great Britain and Russia have played a considerable part in each other's affairs, and the relations between them have exercised an important influence also on the attitude of other countries towards the Soviet Government. It was the British Government which was mainly responsible for the campaign of Intervention in 1919, in which the French, Japs and Czechs also took a hand. It was the British Fleet which maintained the blockade that followed it. It was, on the other hand, on the suggestion of the British Prime Minister that the Allied Governments suddenly decided to abandon the Blockade in January, 1920, and to open up negotiations with the Soviet Government. Great Britain also made the first of the Treaties that followed with the Russo-British Trade Agreement in 1921. Later in 1924 she gave France and Italy a lead in establishing full diplomatic relations. Again, it was the British Government which gave a new turn to the course of European relations with the Soviet Government by ejecting Soviet diplomats from London and withdrawing the British Mission from Moscow in 1927. Though other countries have not followed this last example, it would be idle to deny that it has seriously handicapped Russia's diplomacy and her commercial progress in the world generally.

Russia on the other hand in these years has played a considerable rôle in the internal and external politics of Great Britain. One General Election has already been fought almost solely on the Russian issue, and it is not unlikely that the same problem will figure prominently in the coming campaign. It has also become increasingly clear that Russia's participation is essential if any stable settlements are to be effected in the post-war problems that still disturb this country and the rest of Europe. The League of Nations can hardly hope to function satisfactorily until Russia is either a member of it or at least is co-operating directly in its work. It is futile to talk of schemes of military disarmament unless Russia and her immediate neighbours are included. The success of any reparation settlement depends largely on Germany's power to develop trade with Russia, for this is the main hope of Germany's rapid economic recovery.

It is not only, of course, in Europe that Russia matters vitally to British foreign policy. London is the centre both of the world capitalist system and of the British Empire. Moscow is the origin and present home of a movement whose admitted object is the destruction of Capitalism and its replacement by a new international order of society. Though in Europe and America the capitalist system is firmly established and shows no signs of early

demise, the situation in Asia is very different. There the capitalist organisation of industry has hardly begun. Great changes are evidently pending—they have already begun—in economic and political conditions. No one can foretell what form they will eventually take. Meanwhile the principles and ideas represented by London and Moscow are in bitter and dangerous competition. The rivalry of England and Russia in Asia is no new phenomenon. Before the war it was a struggle of rival Empires for territorial expansion and commercial advantages. It has since taken a different and more dangerous form. Soviet Russia stands now as the upholder of the rights of Asiatic nations to self-determination. She offers herself as their champion in their struggle for freedom from European interference and exploitation. England is inevitably regarded on account of her vast territorial influence in Asia as the defender of the *status quo*—of rights and privileges acquired by conquest in the nineteenth century. It is not important to this argument how far, as the Conservative Press asserts, Russia's only aim in Asia is the destruction of the British Empire and its replacement by a Communist Internationalism controlled by Moscow, or how far, as Moscow asserts, the British Empire in Asia is a mere cloak for the ruthless exploitation of defenceless Asiatics by traders and others. The vital point is that in the circumstances likely to prevail in Asiatic countries in the next decade there will be constant friction between England and Russia leading inevitably to conflict dangerous to the peace of the world unless somehow or other friendly relations can be maintained on a wide basis of co-operation between the two countries.

The Conservative members of Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition Government never attempted to hide their dislike of the policy embodied in the Trade Agreement of 1921, and the rank and file of their Party were only with difficulty persuaded to acquiesce in it, despite the considerable volume of trade that did in fact develop under it. After 1924 the stiff and unsympathetic attitude adopted by Sir Austen Chamberlain towards the Russian representatives in London and his steady refusal to discuss or even to explain his grounds of complaint against their Government made friendly relations difficult. Eventually Chinese affairs seemed to make their continuance impossible. A little time before the Raid, Sir Austen had made it clear to the House of Commons that he was only waiting for a convenient opportunity to break off relations. Before Sir Austen was really ready, Sir William Joynson-Hicks provided the occasion in his own inimitable way, with a reckless disregard of consequences—which probably, in fact, he did not at all foresee.

Presumably the British Government expected certain definite

results to flow from the rupture of relations. The intention was no doubt either so to damage the prestige and financial stability of the Soviet Government as to cause its replacement by some other and more tractable Government, or to force it to change its policy. It was also no doubt intended to strike a heavy blow at Communist influence generally and to free this country from what was alleged to be the menace of revolution aided and abetted by Russian agents here. The view was strongly held in many European countries, and especially in Russia itself, that the Raid was a dramatic prelude to actual war on Russia, if not by Britain herself then by other countries, e.g., Poland or Roumania, encouraged and financed from London. But it is almost inconceivable that the British Government was so ill-informed on British public opinion as not to realise the almost universal disapproval there would be of a war for which England was directly or indirectly responsible, except among a noisy group of Conservatives—so small in numbers and real importance as to be negligible. What does seem to have been hoped for was a diplomatic and commercial boycott of Russia in which Germany, Italy and France would join. If this was the case, the Foreign Office was seriously misled as to continental opinion. Germany hopes too much from her trade with Russia to be able to afford to quarrel with her. She knows also that in the absence of a definite settlement of the reparations problem Russia might provide her with a counterpoise of great value against the pressure of France. Italy with a rapidly growing industrial population is deeply interested in the possibilities of the South Russian market, both as an outlet for her manufactures and as a source of supply of petrol and other raw materials. It is her only way of avoiding complete financial dependence on New York and London. M. Poincaré had no doubt great sympathy with the feelings of the British Government, but he was not at all unwilling to see Downing Street in difficulties. Nor would he risk a step which might throw Russia definitely into the arms of Germany. When three months later, mainly for internal party reasons, he forced the withdrawal of M. Rakovsky, he was very careful to secure the appointment of another Soviet Ambassador immediately in his place. So the idea of a united diplomatic front miscarried. Of the twenty-two nations who at any time have had diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R., only Great Britain has broken them off.

The experiences of 1918-1920 might have shown how futile it was to expect that foreign pressure would force Russia to change her Government. And she has not been brought to sue for terms. The harm it has done her, politically and commercially, though serious, is far less than might have been expected.

In many respects in 1929 Soviet Russia is stronger economically

than she was in 1926, despite serious harvest difficulties in 1928 due to a specially severe winter in some of the exporting provinces. Agricultural production is slowly but definitely expanding and has reached pre-war figures. There is less wheat, it is true, but this is compensated for by increased output of other products. The acreage is about pre-war. Peasant and worker are on the average both living better than before the Revolution and there is consequently a smaller export surplus of foodstuffs. The restoration of industry has proceeded at a remarkable rate in these last three or four years. The figures for the year ending October 1st, 1928, show an increase of approximately 20 per cent. over the previous year, and judging by the experience of the first six months of the present statistical year there is no appreciable slackening of the rate of increase. Foreign trade has been affected by the temporary absence of grain exports. Two years ago 3,000,000 tons of grain were exported. But the almost entire absence of grain for export last year was made up by an increase all round in the export of other commodities. Dairy produce, timber, metals, petrol, furs, etc., all show steady expansion. The total turnover of exports and imports together for the last statistical year was £172,000,000.

But what has happened since 1925 is that though Russian trade with this country has heavily declined, the deficiency has been more than made up for by increases elsewhere. London was, previous to the rupture, the chief centre for Russian foreign trade. Here were centralised most of the financial business, the shipping, insurance, and the general supervision of trading operations. The effect of the rupture has been to transfer most of this from England to Germany or elsewhere. Ship chartering is now organised from Hamburg. South American hides which used to be purchased and reshipped in Liverpool are now purchased direct in the Argentine. Wool is bought direct in Australia instead of in Bradford. Much machinery is purchased in Germany or the United States instead of in England. The following figures compiled from the official customs returns of the various countries show the course of trade at a glance :

	British exports and re-exports to Russia.	German exports and re-exports to Russia.*	U.S.A. exports and re-exports to Russia.
	£	£	£
1923	... 4,481,000	... 3,788,950	... 1,665,000
1924	... 11,072,529	... 4,545,100	... 9,532,000
1925	... 19,256,929	... 12,555,750	... 14,270,000
1926	... 14,401,366	... 13,378,150	... 10,273,000
1927	... 11,289,775	... 16,478,200	... 13,356,000
1928	... 4,800,749	... 20,168,600	... 14,900,000

* Germany's re-export figures do not include statistics of foreign and colonial produce consigned via a German port.

Sales by Russia to this country have shown no corresponding fall. The reason is simple. A great proportion of Russian sales to Great Britain, e.g., timber, flax, dairy produce, are disposed of before they are actually shipped, on the basis of their specifications and their reputation. Consequently many of the difficulties arising from the absence of diplomatic relations are avoided, or have been surmounted by British traders forced somehow to get the goods.

But the case is different with regard to Russian purchases in this country. British manufactured goods have to be sold to Russia in close competition with the Germans, who start with geographical and other advantages. Before the rupture the growing realisation in Russia of the superiority of British workmanship, and the wider credit possibilities in London, were overcoming our initial handicaps. But since the rupture British sellers have been at grave disadvantage. Though there has been some improvement lately, visas for Russians to visit this country were for some months hardly obtainable except with great difficulty. In addition to the possibility of weeks of delay, there has always been uncertainty as to whether permission would be accorded or not. The general impression given to the Russian visitor, even though he carries thousands of pounds worth of orders in his pocket, is that he is a suspicious character whose presence is not desired. When an order is placed the same sort of difficulty may attend the visit of any technical expert required at short notice on points arising in the course of manufacture. No such difficulties arise in Germany, and it is small wonder that the responsible and overworked heads of trading concerns find it much easier to do business with a country where their visits are cordially welcomed by traders and Government alike.

The absence of a Commercial Treaty adds to the difficulties of all contractual operations. The legal status of British traders visiting Russia as well as of Russians visiting England is uncertain. Their personal rights in each case rest on courtesy rather than on definite law or treaty. Questions concerning patents, copyrights, the position in the case of a conflict of laws, the verification of documents and the various formal duties that would normally be carried through by a British Consul in a Russian port or a Russian Consul in an English port, have all been left in the air. Neither Russian nor British commercial negotiators know exactly where they are or what will be the legal or diplomatic position in a month's time. There is no certainty or clarity. There may or may not be continuity. Nobody exactly knows. In such an atmosphere business cannot develop. Moreover, speeches by Ministers seem to have been designed to dissuade traders from taking ordinary trading risks. The very fact that the assistance

of the Export Credits Act is withheld from traders desiring to do business with Russia, though it is available to every other European country whatever its lack of stability, commercial or financial, naturally scares traders off Russian business. The attitude of the Public Departments corresponds, of course, to that of their political chiefs. For years the Foreign Office and the D.O.T. have lost no opportunity of impressing on British business men the manifold difficulties and dangers of trade with Russia. So far as Russia is concerned the letters D.O.T. might well stand for the Department for the Obstruction of Trade. It hardly seems to have occurred to these Departments that most business men are fully aware of the difficulties, and that what they desire is advice and assistance in surmounting them. The difficulties concerning visas, of course, are not all on one side. It is far from easy for British subjects to get into Russia. There is no Russian representative in London from whom authoritative information can be obtained. Applications have to be sent to Berlin or Paris. And in the case of the Soviet officials also in the existing atmosphere of suspicion the machinery for according visas works slowly and uncertainly.

It is not only the special difficulties in England that induce responsible heads of Russian organisations, weighing up all the uncertainties and the difficulties, to place their business elsewhere. When the Conservative Government refused to ratify the Treaty of 1924, the Germans were not slow to realise the chance it gave them of capturing business which otherwise might have gone to this country. The Government and the banks guaranteed credits for a period of years up to a total of 300,000,000 marks (£15,000,000 sterling) to German manufacturers undertaking Russian orders. A considerable part of this credit has already been repaid and negotiations are proceeding for an additional and more extended scheme. The Norwegian Government has given considerable credits to finance the export of Norwegian herrings to Russia. The Austrian Government has adopted a similar course in the case of goods manufactured in its own country. In other countries arrangements, partly Governmental, partly private, facilitate the financing of exports.

The growth in American business with Russia, despite the absence of diplomatic relations between the two countries, requires some comment. There are no formal diplomatic relations between Moscow and Washington. But there are, in fact, Russian representatives in Washington and New York who facilitate trading operations in almost exactly the same manner as the Russian representatives in London up to 1927. In point of fact their relations with the American Government Departments are much more friendly and

mutually helpful than was ever the case between the Russian representatives in London and the corresponding British Departments. There is in Moscow a very competent representative of the Russo-American Chamber of Commerce, a New York organisation formed three years ago, whose members include many leading bankers and manufacturers. Russian engineers and technical experts are welcomed in American works and factories, and many responsible American bankers, professors, scientists and commercial experts have visited Russia in these last few years. Credit possibilities also have rapidly improved. Relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have suffered no setbacks. They have steadily developed in friendliness and understanding. If there has been no diplomatic recognition there has been no Arcos Raid. There has been no rankling background of intervention and blockade. American traders do not have to explain away a Churchill or Curzon or even an Austen Chamberlain. There is no fear in Russia of American hostility. There is, on the contrary, a widespread feeling of gratitude for the help that the American Government under the inspiration of Mr. Hoover—in striking contrast to the British Government—afforded during the Famine. The Americans understand that goodwill in business is a valuable asset. So American trade with Russia, already far in excess of pre-war figures, progresses and will continue to progress.

There remains the last line of justification of the rupture of relations, that the strong line adopted by the British Government has had valuable results in stopping Russian propaganda against this country. But there is little evidence that it has affected this one way or the other, except that as has constantly occurred in Russian history before, the effect of a rebuff in Europe has been to turn Russian attention to the East. As for Russian propaganda in Great Britain, it never was of any serious importance. The British Labour Movement shares to the full the national suspicion of and hostility to foreign interference. It is not necessary to ascribe the comparative lull in industrial conflicts since 1926 to the banishment of the Russian representatives from London. Unemployment and bad trade, the heavy reduction in trade union funds and membership and the disillusionment caused by the results of the 1926 struggles, are the real causes of what is in fact only a temporary truce. Communist propaganda in England is the work of English Communists. So far as this depends on inspiration or funds from Moscow the maintenance or absence of diplomatic relations has no effect one way or the other.

To sum up, Conservative policy in relation to Russia in fact has seriously handicapped British trade; it has brought no corresponding advantages of any kind; it has ended in a deadlock, from

which it is evident that British public opinion would now like to find a way of egress.

The visit of the delegation of eighty British industrialists to Moscow has brought the discussion back to the point at which it was left in 1924. The essentials of the problem have not changed. Trade cannot develop unless there is a settlement of the outstanding questions, financial and political, and a real attempt to create a friendly political atmosphere in which the two countries and their traders can co-operate. The first step is frank, friendly and continuous discussion between responsible representatives of the two Governments in London and in Moscow. This obviously involves the renewal of diplomatic relations. There is no other way by which the points at issue can be properly and speedily examined. And it is waste of time to try to lay down preliminary conditions which will, in fact, have to form the subject of the later discussions. The statement of M. Piatakoff to the Delegation as to the need of re-establishing diplomatic relations may give an opening to the present Government—or whatever British Government may be in power after the Election—for ending the deadlock. The settlement of the routine details of a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation will present no difficulty. The ground was, in fact, covered in 1924, and there was no serious criticism of these provisions. But the question of debts and propaganda is much more complex.

It is often overlooked that the Soviet Government has from 1919 onwards repeatedly stated its willingness to negotiate an equitable settlement of the financial claims of foreigners for debts or damages arising from before or during the Revolution. It took this line in communications to the Peace Conference in 1919, in the Declaration on the Recognition of Claims appended to the Trade Agreement in 1921, in the Hague Conference of 1922 and in the Treaty negotiations of 1924. Actual figures for the terms of redemption of pre-war bonds were tentatively agreed to in negotiations with the French Government in 1926. But the Soviet authorities have always refused to commit themselves to a vague and undefined acceptance of liabilities. They have insisted that the amounts and method of payment must be carefully worked out having regard to the changes that have taken place in Russia and the rest of the world since 1917, and to Russia's present economic position and its chances of rapid development. It has been tacitly agreed between the two Governments in the various Conferences that inter-Governmental debts and the Soviet counter-claims for damages on account of the intervention campaign might well be balanced the one against the other. Claims in regard to nationalised factories, mines, etc., are different. The British Government has admitted

that the Soviet Government is entitled to organise its industries as it pleases and that the demand for the unconditional return of such property to its original owners could not be maintained. In fact the Soviet authorities have never refused to discuss the return of many such factories on a mutually agreed concession basis, and the 1924 Treaty contemplated the payment of compensation for actual proved losses where such concession schemes were impossible. But the circumstances of each case will obviously have to be considered separately. The essential point is that given reasonable desire for a settlement on both sides the determination of an equitable basis for liquidating all classes of debts and claims presents no insuperable difficulty. And after eleven years controversy and delay from which neither Russia nor her creditors have profited there is no reason to doubt the real desire of both sides to get this question settled.

But all international debt repayments eventually require a surplus of export goods. No such surplus is at present available. Every pound of exchange which Russian exports can provide is needed, and more than needed, for imports necessary for maintaining her existing programme of production. Such a surplus can only be obtained by a substantial increase in Russia's productive capacity. This involves a large increase in the capital invested in her industry and agriculture and especially the purchase abroad of machinery, transport material and plant of almost every description. The progress already made in industry has been secured by a heavy investment of capital derived from taxation or internal loans issued by the Russian Government in these last five years. The equivalent of over £50,000,000 sterling, for example, has been put into the naphtha industry. But this has only been accomplished with the utmost difficulty and with grievous strain on the whole economy of the country. This process cannot be extended and it hardly affects the problem of the financing of large additional foreign purchases. There is no way by which it can be accomplished except by foreign loans.

In this respect the position of Russia now is exactly the same as it was before the war and is exactly the same as that of Canada, Australia or any of the South American agricultural countries or, indeed, of the United States previous to 1910 or thereabouts. Russia before the war absorbed capital from abroad each year to the amount of about £40,000,000 sterling per annum. The settlement of debts and claims as well as the increased participation of Russia in world trade depends directly and inevitably on the provision of foreign loans. It is equally true that there is little or no expectation of foreign loans to any substantial amount unless the debts question is cleared out of the way. The financial problem is little

different in essence from that which has been faced and solved in connection with the post-war position of Germany and Italy and of half a dozen other European countries. It is a matter for careful business discussion. The easiest method of settlement and the speediest means of bringing Russia into a position in which she will be a great consuming market for British goods would be a Government guaranteed loan as tentatively agreed in 1924, or large credits under the Trade Facilities Act as also proposed in 1924. But sooner or later Russia should be able to get the finance she needs from the investor in the ordinary way. There is no reason to doubt the willingness or the capacity of Soviet Russia to honour all the financial obligations into which she enters. In the last ten years obligations for trading purposes running into hundreds of millions sterling have been contracted and every one has been fulfilled to the letter. The very existence of the Russian people and their Government is wrapped up in the steady continuance and expansion of trade with other countries. Soviet Russia could not afford to default on her own obligations, and there is no reason at all to suppose that she has or would have any wish to do so.

As to her capacity to absorb capital and put it to profitable use there is no question as to the vast potentialities of the country. One example will suffice. The average yield per acre of arable land in Russia, on account of inadequate machinery and equipment and primitive methods of cultivation, is about one-fourth that of Western Europe. An increase in productivity of 10 per cent. making the yield still less than one-third that of Germany or England would give the peasants an additional purchasing power on the home or foreign market of over £150,000,000 per annum.

There remains the delicate and difficult question of what is vaguely called hostile propaganda in regard to which both Governments make bitter complaints concerning the activities of the other. Article 16 of the unratified Treaty of 1924 proposed to deal with this point as follows :

The contracting parties solemnly affirm their desire and intention to live in peace and amity with each other, scrupulously to respect the undoubted right of a State to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way, to refrain and to restrain all persons and organisations under their direct or indirect control, including organisations in receipt of any financial assistance from them, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to endanger the tranquillity or prosperity of any part of the territory of the British Empire or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or intended to embitter the relations of the British Empire or the Union with their neighbours or any other countries.

So far as the two Governments are concerned it is difficult to see how it would be possible to carry their definite obligations further. But the British Government has always complained of the activities of the Third International, a body—though it is not under the control of the Soviet Government—largely influenced by the Russian Communist Party from which also the Soviet Government draws its strength. The International is, in fact, an international body. There are affiliated to it about forty Communist Parties, in as many countries, some of which, like the German and the French, have thirty or forty representatives in their own Parliaments. It has behind it a fanatical, semi-religious missionary zeal which it is probably beyond the power of the Soviet Government or of any other Government completely to keep within the bounds of reasonable discretion. But it is easy to create exaggerated impressions as to its power. Is any responsible person really afraid of Communist propaganda, Russian or English, in this country? Does anybody either in London or in Moscow really fear the possibilities of world revolution in the near future so far as Europe is concerned? Nor does Communism appear to have achieved any very striking progress so far in the Near or Far East. Persecution anyhow is a notoriously inadequate method of combating ideas. The best antidote to those elements in Russia and elsewhere who attach more importance to stirring up world revolution than to the peaceful development of Russia is to make it transparently clear that economic co-operation with the rest of the world is possible and worth while. Let every possible suspicion be removed that the British Government desires to hinder Russia from organising her own internal life on whatever lines may seem good to her. And let every effort be made, by a steady growth of friendly business relations of mutual advantage to both peoples, to create such an atmosphere of goodwill and hope in the future that an overwhelming public opinion throughout Russia, within and without the Government, will refuse to countenance activities likely to endanger good relations with the rest of the world.

E. F. WISE.

KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON : 1829—1929.

I.

ONE consequence of this day's speed is that our fathers' work is in danger of being ignored, even if their names are not forgotten. This is of no consequence to the men themselves; but when we neglect an institution that has for a century been producing, feeding and equipping young men for the world's ever-widening need of enthusiastic enterprise, the fact is of consequence. The pioneers bequeath and pass away, but the institution inherits and lives on.

The writer of the ensuing story of the work done by his Alma Mater is probably the only man living who owes the whole of his education to King's, its School, its College, its Hospital; making for him, moreover, a career that has not been without service to his generation—a remark justified by the fact that he is now, though retired from his profession, a Consulting Physician to the Hospital. Even as a schoolboy he was aware, largely perhaps because of his father, George MacDonald, LL.D.'s connection with it, that King's College ranked high in its ideals. It was the earliest body, not excepting University College, to put the higher education within the reach of young men too poor to get it at the old universities. For it inaugurated a scheme of evening classes, held at such hours that business men might attend them and at merely nominal fees. George MacDonald was lecturer on English Literature, and through these classes he won many an ardent follower. That the majority of the evening students were dissenters is of interest, seeing that King's was primarily a Church Theological School founded to counteract the dangers of the Unitarianism and free-thinking nonconformity of University College. Nevertheless, the militant orthodoxy of King's drove its Council to deprive of his lectureship Frederick Denison Maurice, concerning whom a distinguished Churchman recently averred that there was not a clergyman living who did not owe something to him. Concurrently, or soon after, Dr. Jelf, the Principal, hauled George MacDonald before the Council because he also was suspect, not only for his intimacy with Maurice, being even a communicant at his church, but in that he had been actually known to preach in dissenting pulpits! MacDonald held his own, supported by Professor Plumptre, later Dean of Wells, and retained his lectureship—a post, however, so poorly paid that, but for his love of teaching, he would gladly have relinquished it.

At that same time in the school, sweeping reforms were made by a new headmaster, Dr. G. F. Maclear. Narrow-minded theologian though he was, he must have been the earliest to introduce

Science into a public school's curriculum. The intellectual uplift that resulted therefrom to one boy at least he will never forget; and the six lectures on Physics by an ardent young man, Herbert Tomlinson, soon to be an F.R.S., and happily still living, are vividly and individually remembered. Possibly those lectures had some share in giving that boy a certain ill-defined sense of idealism transcending the school routine, even if he was no better, possibly worse, than the average. Of more importance may have been the fact that he earned his schooling as a chorister in the Chapel Choir, though the head boy, James Gow, afterwards headmaster of Westminster School, dominated them in a way something short of ideal. For, on the election of any new member of the choir, Dr. Gow put into force a ritual of his own devising, what he called a "confirmation," and solemnised it in secret conclave. It consisted in a merciless spanking of the new boy by the other songsters in turn, inflicted of course on the time-honoured regions forcibly bared thereto.

But it was as a medical student that a sense of some spiritual influence inhabiting the whole organisation of King's took real hold of the writer—an influence which quite probably Professors and Staff might, in truly British way, question. Things were, it must be admitted, then amazingly rough, and students were not yet much advanced in their evolution from the Bob Sawyer type. But one thing soon became very evident, the devotion of the nurses, and that in strong contrast with what obtained in many other large hospitals. The zeal and piety of the Ladies of S. John's House, who undertook the supply of nurses as well as their maintenance, affected the whole atmosphere of the Hospital, which, it must be remembered, was founded by the College as a necessary adjunct to its Medical Department. Yet a more significant influence was soon to appear.

Sir William Fergusson, the chief of operating surgeons in London, died in 1877. A student beginning his surgery with him or any other surgeon in London before that date, might well be appalled at what surgery involved, if only because of the terrible mortality from wound infections. But to some there must have been a worse horror, viz., the callousness evinced, especially towards surgical out-patients, though Fergusson himself was an exceptionally tender-hearted man. Immediately on his death Lister was invited to relinquish his class of 250 students in Edinburgh and occupy the vacant chair of Surgery at King's with a class just then of only seven in number. He accepted; and for this sole reason, that London was almost the only big city in Europe that still rejected his system. A little before this, Professor Nussbaum in Munich had implored Lister's help, as his operation mortality

was over 80 per cent. Lister immediately responded, went, taught, and left behind him for an ardent disciple the most famous surgeon on the Continent. Nussbaum wrote a few months later that his mortality had now fallen to zero! But still London could not believe. When, at a specially convened Committee meeting, King's proposed to invite Lister to fill Fergusson's chair, all the surgeons on the staff voted against him, yet were overruled by the physicians and lay members. This is a good instance of King's wide-mindedness; for it must be realised that the Hospital was subordinate to the College Council and that the Principal, then Bishop Barry, was *ex officio* Chairman of the Hospital Committee. So Lister came. His reception by his new surgical colleagues was scandalous, as a few students still will remember yet never forgive. Well may King's pride herself upon her motto *Sancte et Sapienter* and her wisdom in trusting to a miscellaneous jury rather than experts when a momentous decision was at stake.

Lister took Fergusson's wards as he found them, teeming with microscopic horrors, though spotlessly clean so far as scrubbing-brush, elbow-service, and daily prayers could ensure. Thereafter in those wards not the faintest blush was ever seen on an operation wound. Septicæmia, erysipelas, hospital gangrene, rampant before, were banished. The student of to-day has no conception of what Lister's revolution meant: he even belittles it because operations are done to-day, even perhaps by bungling surgeons, that Lister never dreamed would be possible: yet 'twas *he alone that made them possible*. At the same time Lister was doing more than he knew, more than, I think, his biographers have noted. For his personal influence over his students was almost as notable as were his antiseptics over pyogenic bacilli. Fast men, as they were called, became devoted, rigidly obedient. His authority was like the absolutism of a dogmatic theologian. And it had to be so, seeing that deathly organisms lay in wait to profit by any faults in the dressers' technique. But the great man's handling of the patients themselves was quite as notable a revolution. When on his rounds, he would, if he had to break any bad news to a patient, make every dresser and student stand aside. Once it is recalled, part of a clinical lecture was devoted to pointing his own burden of responsibility when he determined upon an amputation, and the shock his decision must be to the poor woman. "Why, Gentlemen," he said, "the Almighty had been, for aught I know, a million years creating that foot with its exquisite mechanism, its tireless service to His creature. And yet now, I, with a sweep of my knife, am driven to destroy it! Think of it! . . . just think!"

Such ways endeared the simple-hearted man to all and strengthened the feeling, nowhere openly expressed, that King's

moved and lived in a certain spiritual atmosphere uncontaminable by infective organisms. It may well be that every clergyman to-day, possibly even his flock, is under deep obligation to F. D. Maurice. But more certain is it that there is not a medical practitioner in the whole world who does not owe, and most certainly his patients also, immeasurable gratitude to Joseph, Lord Lister. *And it was King's College that brought him to London.*

Indeed there seems to survive, through changes many and inevitable, something of Lister's, Maurice's, Clerk Maxwell's—even George MacDonald's, some will still believe—intangible ideals in study, service and simple living. In like spirit she offers all new knowledge, all old learning, with open hand to those who hunger. And their numbers are daily increasing. The Alma Mater seems moreover to foster one of the rarest of virtues, that of freely admitting her old sins and blunders precisely that she may in some measure make amends. For it is proposed to found a "Maurice Chair" in the Theological Department and so atone for the one dark spot in the College history. It is good, moreover, to learn that Sir Frederick Maurice, Professor of Military Studies in the College, is taking keen interest in this memorial to his grandfather.

GREVILLE MACDONALD.

II.

FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE.

In publishing Dr. Greville MacDonald's interesting reminiscences of King's College, London, and of some of the great men who have served it during the past century, I desire, as joint editor of *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, to call special attention to the proposal to endow a Maurice Chair of Theology in connection with the centenary of the College.

In the considered judgment of many Frederick Denison Maurice was the greatest spiritual influence, the most important theological thinker, and the most far-seeing prophet of the Victorian era. Though the profundity of his thought and the obscurity of his style prevented him from attaining a popular celebrity, from which, indeed, he shrank, yet he was the acknowledged master of those who, like Charles Kingsley, proclaimed the message they had learned from him. The very clash between Maurice and the authorities of King's College, for which the present proposal is an act of reparation, reveals the greatness, not only of the man, but of the vital truth, by which and for which he stood. For at a time when the doctrine of evolution, with all its attendant conceptions and habits of mind, was dawning upon the intellectual world, Maurice found himself confronted with an outworn interpretation

of the Christian Religion, which exaggerated the "otherness" of God till it appeared as His separateness from Man, gave a hard-and-fastness to doctrinal statements which sapped their spiritual vitality, tended to isolate the concerns of religion from the other interests of human life, and, not least of all, treated the distinction of the Christian faith as consisting not in its consummation of, but in its separation from the universal dealings of God with Man. Hence not only was theological thought dominated, for the most part, by a crude anthropomorphism, but it selected the least adequate of human analogies to set forth the relationship of God to Man. The profound and universal significance of the Incarnation was not grasped, and, therefore, the organic relationship of Christ to human life and history was, at best, only fitfully and imperfectly apprehended. That Maurice should have appeared when he did was in the highest sense providential. His teaching and influence became universally penetrative and effected a gradual, if unmarked, revolution throughout the English-speaking world. The result is that the man, who was feared in his time as a dangerous revolutionary, is now seen to have been essentially conservative, just because he was so truly progressive. That the old faith can live in a larger way with the new knowledge is due, in this country, more to Maurice than to any other man.

The characteristic content of Maurice's teaching can easily be stated, but for realising its far-reaching fruitfulness and unexhausted vitality both historical sense and quiet reflection are necessary. Maurice was led to see the Incarnation, as interpreted by the self-consciousness of Christ, not as a self-enclosed expedient, but as the culminating event which revealed, in an unique Fact, the universal relationship of God to Mankind. Hence he substituted the Fatherhood of God for His Sovereignty as the highest truth and the organising principle of all truly Christian Theology. He exhibited the profound significance of the Divine Fatherhood in contrast to much superficial sentimentality. In this light human history became for him the record of the gradual unfolding, "by divers portions and in divers manners" of the Truth, which was completely manifested in Christ. He was "the Light that lighteneth every man, coming into the world." Hence Maurice became the spiritual guide of Max Müller, the pioneer of the Science of Comparative Religion. Catholicity, for Maurice, was not a mere affair of ecclesiastical organisation, but was, above all, the spirit, which recognises and gathers together all the elements and factors of the Truth in a living Whole; which, while it accepts that which is positive and precious in all sectional contributions, puts the negativity of their sectarianism to shame. Hence came the restatement of Christian doctrine in terms of universal Love, as the meaning of

the Fatherhood of God, and of the Incarnation as the witness of His At-onement with Man. This supreme Truth meant not only the unifying principle of all truths about God, but equally the inspiring and directive principle which unifies all the activities and interests of men, the intellectual and the moral, the spiritual and the social. Hence Maurice, just because he was Theologian, became the founder both of the movement known as Christian Socialism and of the Working Men's College in Bloomsbury. The Settlement Movement and other kindred forms of social service owe their origin ultimately to the ideals and impulse of Maurice. Much more might be added, but enough has been said to show that King's College does well to found a permanent memorial to this great man, and to set up, not the sepulchre of a prophet, cast out in his day, but the abiding means, it may be hoped, of continuing and carrying forward the uplifting and reconciling message that he brought.

J. SCOTT LIDGETT.

RUSSIA'S PRE-WAR POLICY.

A FORMER Russian Diplomat, Baron Michael Taube, who acted as judicial adviser to the Imperial Russian Foreign Office for many years, has just published his Memoirs in Paris.* The book is a remarkable production in its clearness and impartiality. Baron Taube had many opportunities of studying the inner workings of European diplomacy, for he was on intimate terms with Count Lamsdorff and also at first with Iswolsky and was often employed on secret missions abroad. His judgments on Iswolsky and Sazonoff should be important for all those who wish to gain an unbiassed knowledge of the events and persons who played a leading part in Russia up to the outbreak of the war in 1914.

Baron Taube's first diplomatic experience was the International Inquiry held in Paris in 1905 on the Dogger Bank incident. Taube himself was convinced that the British recriminations in this matter were justified and that Admiral Rozdestvensky and his staff had lost their heads in their excitement over a possible attack by Japanese torpedo-boats, against which they had been warned. Doubts of the justice of the Russian case did not make Taube's mission easier. On the other hand, he had been told by Count Lamsdorff in St. Petersburg that the whole of the Dogger Bank incident had been very unwelcome to the British Government, and that British diplomacy showed a marked inclination for a better understanding with Russia. O'Beirne, the clever British Council-lor, who was afterwards to play a leading rôle at the British Embassy in St. Petersburg in cementing the friendship with Russia, was in Paris at the time and did much to help Taube over the difficulties he encountered. Delcassé, too, who had signed the agreement with England and prepared the way for the Entente Cordiale, was all for a better understanding between Russia and England. At an official dinner given at the Quai d'Orsay to the Russian Delegation, Taube was seated next to Delcassé against all the rules of the Protocol, and the French Minister there propounded to him his views for the future. "France," he said, "sincerely hopes that the Dogger Bank affair will prove a turning-point in Russo-British relations. The old enemies will have taken the first step to follow a common path in the future. France is an old friend of Russia, and at present she is in the eighth month of her honeymoon with England in spite of your unfortunate war in the Far East. When that is over we shall have to think of a natural extension of the Entente Cordiale."

With Delcassé's approval Taube reported this conversation to

* Bibliothèque du Monde Slave, *La Politique Russe d'avant guerre et la fin de l'Empire des Tsars*. Mémoires du Baron M. de Taube, Paris, Librairie Ernest Leroux, 28 Rue Bonaparte.

Count Lamsdorff, who was not inclined to pursue the proposition, for he was opposed to any policy that would impose ties on Russia with regard to her position in Europe. "I will never go a step further towards Buckingham Palace than I do towards Potsdam." As a matter of fact at the time Lamsdorff was being pressed far more strongly from German quarters. Shortly after the Dogger Bank incident the German Emperor had wired to the Czar on October 27th, 1904, reminding him that Germany had helped Russia with coal supplies for Rozdestvensky's fleet while France had turned a cold shoulder on her Ally. The telegram ended with the proposal that Germany and Russia should act in common in order that Delcassé be forced to declare himself openly and accept his obligations under the Franco-Russian Alliance. The Czar had consented to this curious proposal without consulting his Foreign Minister, and Lamsdorff very soon had to carry on negotiations with Germany with regard to a formal treaty of alliance between Russia, Germany, and France, directed against England and Japan, which was to be gently forced upon the French Government by the other two Allies. This far-reaching plan which, as we now know, was chiefly inspired by Count Witte, came to nothing, because the two Governments could not agree whether France was to be consulted beforehand or forced into a *fait accompli*. The incident had a curious sequel a few months later when the Emperor William met the Czar at Bjorko, and there persuaded him to sign a treaty of alliance, which was afterwards cancelled by Lamsdorff.

Baron Taube describes Russo-German relations as a series of attempts to put something in the place of the famous Reinsurance Treaty which Caprivi had declined to renew in 1890. Looked upon from a broad point of view these attempts were fully justified. Bismarck's European policy had created a system of insurances and counter-insurances, which were essentially factors of European peace. His method of never giving himself up heart and soul to one neighbour but always keeping an alternative in hand for emergencies may have been Machiavellian, but it had the advantage of never allowing Europe to be divided into two hostile camps. It must not be forgotten that the co-operation of Bismarck and Salisbury had created that curious factor in international politics, the European Concert. The New Course in Germany found Bismarck's juggling with five balls too complicated; simpler methods were tried and their result was less favourable to European peace. Count Lamsdorff can be looked upon as the last representative of the old school of Russian diplomacy. He was obliged to retire as a scapegoat after the Russo-Japanese War and after the granting of Parliamentary Government to the Russian people. His successor, M. Iswolsky, was less narrow-minded with regard to demo-

cratic reform, for he was a self-made man and had always favoured more liberal methods.

At this point begins the story of a policy that eventually led to the end of the Romanov Empire in Russia. Iswolsky's first steps displayed a moderation and statesmanship which met with general approval. Before entering upon his new duties he had bound himself to a policy of better relations with England and Japan. He tells us in his Memoirs of a meeting held in Paris before he assumed office, at which the Russian Ambassadors in Paris and London were present, and where they all three agreed that a good understanding with England and Japan must henceforth be the pivot of Russia's foreign policy. When Aehrenthal was nominated Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1906 he returned to St. Petersburg to present his letters of recall. A long conversation with Iswolsky convinced him that any idea of a renewal of the Treaty of the three Empires (*Dreikaiserbündis*), a policy which Aehrenthal had always advocated, was out of the question, because Iswolsky had already decided on the opposite line of action. Iswolsky's refusal to discuss any far-reaching political transactions with Aehrenthal very probably influenced the latter in the decision he came to shortly afterwards with regard to the Mitrowitza Railway. For anyone with any knowledge of commercial possibilities Aehrenthal's action in Constantinople in 1907, where he persuaded the Turkish Government to grant Austria-Hungary the right of building a railway across the Sanjak of Novibazar to Mitrowitza, appeared at the time as a purely political move. It created great excitement in Russia, in the Balkans, and also in England. It put an end to the European Concert in Constantinople, to the scheme for judicial reforms which was being pressed on the Sultan at that moment, and it also broke up the Entente between Austria and Russia which Lamsdorff and Goluchowski had made at Müritz in 1903. Aehrenthal's action was not dictated by any aggressive intention on his part in the Balkan Peninsula. The Treaty of Berlin had given Austria-Hungary the right to make roads and railways—"au delà de Motrowitza"—and the new Minister of Foreign Affairs saw in this action a means of increasing Austria's authority in the Near East by peaceful methods. His fundamental intention may have been to improve the internal situation of the Dual Monarchy by a vigorous, though peaceful, foreign policy, and to a certain extent he succeeded in this. The years of his tenure of office proved that successes outside could strengthen the ties which bound the different nationalities in Austria and Hungary to the Habsburg Monarchy. Iswolsky, who was a clever observer, realised at once that Austria's prestige must increase to the disadvantage of Russia's position in the Near East through the

Mitrowitzka Concession. His first impulse, Baron Taube tells us, was a hostile rejoinder, but a meeting of the Cabinet very soon undeceived him, if ever he had thought it possible to take up arms. Stolypine, the Prime Minister, told him plainly that the State of Russia forbade any warlike undertaking and that only a madman could think of such an adventure. Iswolsky had to give way, but he then decided on a curious policy of barter and compromise, which Taube looks upon as the origin of the cataclysm that came over Russia. Iswolsky's argument was something like this: Aehrenthal seems to be intent on an aggressive policy in the Near East, and if we are not strong enough to stop the Austrians, we must offer them advantages spontaneously and then try and get compensations guaranteed to us.

Taube declares that Iswolsky conceived the idea of proposing the exchange of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the Dardanelles at the meeting which took place at Reval between King Edward and the Czar in June, 1908. This has since been denied in British publications, but, by what Taube says, there can be no doubt that Iswolsky came back from Reval and told his friends that King Edward had promised the Czar his consent to the passage of Russian warships through the Dardanelles. When he approached Aehrenthal on the subject he seems to have been convinced that England would consent, and that France, Russia's ally, could not stand aside. This mistake in his calculations was the beginning of a series of misfortunes which befell the Russian Minister. On July 2nd directly after the Reval meeting he addressed a note to the Austrian Government, in which he proposed that the two Governments should come to an arrangement "*dans l'esprit d'une réciprocité amicale*," which should include the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria and the opening of the Straits to Russia.

Aehrenthal was pressed at that moment by the warnings of the Minister for Bosnia, Baron Burian, who declared that the status of Bosnia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire should be definitely settled in view of the young Turk revolution and the introduction of constitutional Government in Turkey. For a long time Aehrenthal resisted Burian's proposals, but at last he realised that something had to be done if the scandal of Bosnian Mahomedans being elected to the Turkish Parliament was to be avoided. Iswolsky's proposals therefore came at a very useful moment, and the meeting of Buchlau, in which the pact was concluded, was the natural result of Iswolsky's initiative. Seen in the light of later events it may perhaps be regretted that Aehrenthal thought it better not to let King Edward into the secret when the latter visited the Emperor Francis Joseph at Ischl in September, 1908. There is no doubt that King Edward's personal antagonism to Aehrenthal and the

annexation was largely due to his not having been informed before. An element of mistrust and rancour was brought into the relations of the two countries by this omission, which was to make itself grievously felt in subsequent events.

Iswolsky's ill-luck and defeat in the Annexation Crisis have been told so often that the story can be omitted here. The result of the crisis, as far as European politics were concerned, was the strengthening both of the Austro-German Alliance and the Triple Entente, and the splitting up of Europe into two hostile camps, a development against which Sir Edward Grey, in a moment of prophetic insight in 1912, uttered a warning as the possible or probable cause of a European war.

Iswolsky's position seemed untenable in March, 1909, when he had to give way before German intervention and accept the Annexation. He managed, however, to remain in office for more than a year after this event, and also in some degree to regain the goodwill and approval of the nationalistic St. Petersburg Press after his journey to Racconigi and the understanding he came to there with Italian statesmen with regard to Tripoli, the Dardanelles, and Italy's Austrian policy. His anger and hatred of Aehrenthal and the Central Powers were henceforth the dominant impulse that ruled his thoughts. Racconigi was the first move in a methodical action of revenge, which found its conclusions in August, 1914, when, as Taube confirms, he told his friends in Paris that the war was "his little war"—*ma petite guerre*.

Baron Taube publishes the text of a military convention between Russia and Bulgaria, which was proposed to Iswolsky in 1910 and which contained a paragraph saying: "In consideration of the fact that the high ideals of the Slav people in the Balkan Peninsula, which Russia has at heart, can only be realised after a happy issue of a war between Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany," etc. Taube does not believe that this treaty was ever signed, but he sees in the proposal the first attempt on the part of Russia to form an alliance of the Balkan States directed against Turkey and Austria-Hungary, a scheme which his successor carried out very successfully. He continues as follows:

The text of this convention was certainly in accordance with the views and aspirations of an ambitious and rancorous statesman who, owing to the weakness of his Sovereign, was retained in office longer than was desirable for the prosperity of Russia and for the peace of the world. I observed him closely during the whole of the year 1909, and for my part I gained the conviction that Iswolsky, in spite of his intelligence, talent, and other qualities, was so to say predestined to play a nefarious rôle in Russian history. Had Russia been strong and prosperous, he might have been a great statesman; but he never realised to

what an extent his diplomatic ideas (conceived without any proportion being observed and respected with regard to Russia's situation and needs) clashed with the internal state of the country, and how they ever threatened to deprive Russia of the one thing she wanted after her war and revolution, namely peace. To me Iswolsky's policy appeared as a continual fire-work, let off in a village "à la Potemkin," that must some day set fire not only to the sumptuous theatrical staging of this village but also to the clay huts behind it.

Late in 1910 Iswolsky gave over the reins of Government to Sazonow and went to Paris as Russian Ambassador. Sazonow, as Baron Taube describes him, seems to have been a curious mixture of common sense, honesty, fanatical nationalism and almost incredible ignorance with regard to the diplomatic history of his country in the last fifty years. Baron Taube tells us that he had never heard of Bismarck's Reinsurance Treaty with Russia until he himself told Sazonow of it in Paris in 1920. As a young man Sazonow wanted to enter a Russian monastery, and something of the austerity and fanaticism of the monk must have remained in his nature up to the end.

His beginnings as Minister of Foreign Affairs seemed to point to a return from the policy of rancour and hatred, initiated by his predecessor, to one of peaceful understanding and common sense. King Edward's death in the summer of 1910 had brought a lull into international politics, and Baron Taube tells us that the Czar wished to avail himself of this opportunity to try once again to better the relations between Berlin and St. Petersburg. A meeting took place at Potsdam in October, 1910, and very important conversations ensued, in the course of which the new German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, went too far in his anxiety to efface the bad impression which Prince Bülow's action in the Annexation Crisis had created in Russia. Bethmann-Hollweg gave Sazonow the formal assurance at Potsdam that Austria-Hungary had pledged herself not to pursue an aggressive policy in the Near East, and added that Germany would certainly never uphold any such action on the part of Austria. Seen in the light of the later developments this assurance, which was repeated in writing shortly afterwards by the German Ambassador, Count Pourtalès, in St. Petersburg, may be looked upon as one of the most unfortunate and fatal mistakes made by German diplomacy in the past years. I can well remember Aehrenthal's annoyance over Germany's action. He knew Russia and realised at once that a declaration of this sort would not confirm Sazonow and his country in a line of peaceful development and avoidance of war, but must on the contrary have the very opposite effect of creating the impression in Russia that Sazonow had succeeded in completely isolating Austria in her Near Eastern policy, and that now was the time for Russia to

improve her situation in the Balkans and to realise the Slav aspirations so near to the heart of the Russian Minister.

Taube confirms this impression of Aehrenthal word for word. Potsdam initiated a policy on the part of Sazonow, which he himself has described very vividly in his Memoirs, and which certainly had very little to do with insurance for the peaceful development of Russia or Europe. Taube tells us that the Czar went to Berlin in May, 1913, for the marriage of the Duke of Brunswick with the German Emperor's daughter, and there tried for the last time to come to a better understanding with Germany. The Emperor Nicolas assured the German Foreign Secretary that Russia had no wish to disturb the *status quo* in Turkey or to deprive the Sultan of the guardianship of the Dardanelles. The Czar's overtures met with a cold response in Berlin and nothing was settled. Almost at the same time Sazonow wrote to Hartwig, the Russian Minister in Belgrade: "Serbia has traversed only the first stage of her journey. In order to reach her goal she will still have to fight a hard fight which may imperil her existence. Serbia's promised land is actually in the hands of Austria-Hungary." The Liman Sanders affair gave the Minister the opportunity of counteracting the peaceful intentions of his Sovereign. From that moment on Sazonow was carried forward in his war policy by an outburst of anti-German feeling in the Russian Press. He could now pursue his activities with every support from public opinion. Roumania was gained to the Russian cause, Serbia strengthened by the Peace of Bucarest, and everything tended to encourage Sazonow in his plan. Taube's friends seem to have made a futile attempt at the time to warn the Czar of the danger his Minister's foreign policy was preparing. Bodkin was suggested as a possible successor, but the Czar was not to be won for a change. The day of the Liberation of the Slav and of the victory over the Teutons must have appeared near at hand to all Russians at that time in an almost Apocalyptic sense, and Sazonow was far too much of a fanatical Nationalist not to be influenced by this expectation. Victory meant not only the liberation of the Slav people in the Balkans but the liberation of Russia herself from autocracy and from German-Baltic influences. Sazonow was not the man to turn back from a policy that contained the promise of great fulfilment only to keep the peace. Never again from his point of view could so favourable an opportunity occur for Russia's success. The European situation preceding the war was all in favour of Russian ambitions, and it would have required an almost transcendental act of sacrifice for a Russian statesman to turn his back on the temptations offered to him and return to the ways of peace. From this point of view Baron Taube was probably right in placing the word *Moir*a (Fate) at the end of his interesting Memoirs. ALEXANDER HOYOS.

"Y.P.s"

WHAT makes the "Young Prisoner"? Different observers state that the most frequent contributory cause of a "young person" breaking the law at present is unemployment. It saps enterprise and self-respect, leaves him long vacant hours in which to get into mischief, and makes him more inclined to cut loose from his family. It complicates the work of the probation officer, if he should be put on probation; and, if he should serve a term of imprisonment, it makes his return into the ranks of normal life more difficult, and increases the possibility of a relapse. Obviously, not all unemployed boys become delinquent. But if the ordinary causes of law-breaking, such as a home that does not provide affection or guidance, or faculties and intelligence a little under the normal, get complicated by unemployment, bringing as it does a special sense of grievance and of inadequacy for the demands of life, it is easy to imagine how strong the temptation is to break out in some way; to steal or do damage or get into a fight. But plenty of young people get into prison now who have neither stolen, nor smashed, nor fought. The Governor of Wandsworth makes an indignant protest against stow-aways—"a very good type of lad usually"—being sent for seven days to prison; and there are also protests against young costers being sent for failing to buy a licence. They are not criminals and should not be sent to be with them. Certain benches seem to exclude deliberately the alternatives the law gives them, and the bench at Leeds which recently sentenced a batch of boys of sixteen and seventeen to imprisonment for playing football in the street is on the way to achieve classic notoriety. On a visit to Scotland recently, the present writer was horrified to read of the number of youths sent to prison for sentences of a month or less. In the year 1926, 2,464 lads and 178 girls between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one were sent to prison, a number about equal to three battalions of infantry on a peace footing. There is reason to believe that in 1927 the number was higher.

It may, I think, be felt that the foundations of a system for treating the offenders under sixteen have been well and truly laid. The exclusion of these children from prison, the system of probation and of children's courts, the improvement in what used to be called Industrial and Reformatory Schools, all these provide a skeleton of adequate treatment. It is not always satisfactorily filled out. Probation varies between a thorough painstaking system carried out by skilled and enthusiastic people, and the fitful attention of a well-meaning amateur whose whole-time job is something else. Children's Courts are sometimes conducted by a special

bench prepared to give thought and time, sometimes by an accidental section of the general rota of lay-justices, some of whom may or may not be deaf. And we still inquire of a bewildered urchin of nine whether he pleads guilty or not guilty to the charge "that he did on the — day of — feloniously and burglariously break and enter," etc. There is plenty to do in the way of what might be called legislative underpinning to deal with these and other defects. In particular, it would be desirable to abolish the terms "conviction" and "sentence" in the case of the offenders under seventeen. These terms prevent them entering our Dominions, the Post Office service and the Royal Navy. It is difficult to believe that any of these authorities really wish to exclude a man or woman because, at the age of thirteen or so, he or she may have raided an orchard or thrown stones at a window.

It is also worth considering whether an Act forbidding the purchase by shops or dealers of goods offered by children of school age should not be passed, and thereby stop at the source the activities of an undesirable class who both incite the children to pilfer, and then cheat them grossly over the price of the spoil. All these are useful and desirable things to do, but they are hardly to be called revolutionary. It is in dealing with the next age of offenders that something of a revolution is desirable, the boys and girls of sixteen to twenty-one who in one way or another break the law. No one would attribute the marked diminution in school children's crime entirely to the operations of the Children's Act of 1906 and its progeny, which swept the offender under seventeen out of prison altogether. Unemployment insurance, the feeding of children in schools, the raising of the school age, have all played their part. Yet recent events would seem to show that the part played by those acts was considerable.

It was observed, at the time of the murder of Police-Constable Gutteridge, that Brown, the undoubted ringleader in the enterprise, was an unusual type of criminal. Kennedy, his associate, was of a far more familiar kind; flabby, idle, vain, given to drinking and affairs with women. Brown was none of these things. He was sober, thrifty, hard-working; had considerable ingenuity as an engineer, which unfortunately he exercised chiefly in re-building stolen motor-cars. He was also a kind husband and devoted father, very solicitous over the education of his children. But when he was about fifteen, a clever boy from a respectable family with a good school record, he was sent to prison for some small offence. That sentence was followed by others; and a man with abilities which might have brought him not merely a good living but a small fortune, lived the life of a criminal and died on the scaffold. One hopes the Browns of to-day are being more humanely

and intelligently dealt with. At any rate they do not go to prison at fifteen. Could not the same beneficial change be extended to the "juvenile adult," the offender between sixteen and twenty-one? Is there any good purpose served by sending him to come up against "Old Lags," habitual drunkards, the violent, the perverted, the depraved, in the mechanical routine of an ordinary prison, with little or nothing to distract his mind or direct it into sensible or helpful lines of thought? No one who has had anything to do with the system thinks so. The effect of a prison sentence on a young person is "very bad," observes a woman visitor. "It is an unfortunate fact that the subject of conversation and the whole tone of conversation which goes on between prisoners is almost entirely confined to wrong-doing, or what they have done and what they are going to do. A youth, particularly of that impressionable age when he hears so much of this, is being done a lot of harm" is the opinion of an experienced prison officer. "Prisons have nothing to counteract that, in the way they have in a Borstal Institution, in the nature of games and other interests." In other words, it is very difficult to prevent a boys' prison from embodying everything that a wise schoolmaster would spend his time avoiding in his school: insufficient occupation both for body and mind, long bouts of unsupervised solitude, and the consequent concentration of the boy's thoughts entirely on himself and his grievances.

Another reason given by great numbers of observers against sending these young people to the common prison, especially for short sentences, is the loss of any deterrent fear of imprisonment, for whatever it is worth. This is probably vague and romantic, taking shape from rumour and story-books, with a suggestion of dungeons and clanking chains. At the end of a remand or a sentence of seven days, the boy considers he has discovered the worst; that it may be disagreeable but it is not intolerable, and all fear is lost. It is also probable that the presence of these young offenders, treated as they must be differently from the recidivist or habitual offender, causes difficulties and discontent among the ordinary inmates. I have noticed lately, in reading the lucubrations of ex-convicts, several violent outbursts against the young prisoners. The reason cannot be any special knowledge of their characters and offences. It is more probably jealousy aroused by seeing some mitigation which they enjoy, a form of football organised in the prison yard, or some visitor specially interested in helping them.

It is worth while to think over what actually happens to a "Young Prisoner" when sent to prison. He usually travels in the prison van up to the prison in company with other offenders. An officer travels with them, but it is quite impossible to prevent communication. A prison orderly looks after him while he has his

bath. He is then sent to a cell or special landing, if the prison is a fairly large one, or to a special wing, where the young prisoners are kept isolated from the old offenders, and all the orderlies, cleaners, and so forth are young prisoners. If, however, it is a small provincial prison and the total number of these young prisoners is small, segregation is quite impossible. Cleaners and orderlies may be quite old offenders whose very kindnesses are undesirable and dangerous. In certain prisons, notably Wandsworth and Strangeways, Manchester, matters are made worse by the presence of an execution shed and the taking place from time to time of an execution inside the prison. As I write, an execution has just taken place at Manchester and another is expected at Wandsworth. No doubt the authorities do their best to keep the boys away from the place and events, but they cannot isolate them from the gusts of morbid excitement and horrified curiosity that blow about among staff and inmates. At Wandsworth there is an additional disastrous circumstance, for in that prison is established the observation centre for Borstal boys and young prisoners whose mental condition is suspect. No one able to arrange matters with reasonable regard to the welfare of these unfortunate boys would dream of sending them for examination to the neighbourhood of an execution; nevertheless, it is done.*

When any attempt is made to release the efforts on behalf of young offenders from the prison buildings and prison surroundings (the efforts for the boys have been described as "a struggle between good men and bad buildings"), we are always challenged by the cry of "expense." Sir William Joynson-Hicks is begging £100,000 of some private benefactor in order to build a Supplementary Borstal for the boys slightly "mentally inefficient" but not sufficiently so to be classified "M.D." It may seem to be hauling in political controversy to mention that the Government, under the new de-rating scheme, is handing over large sums to prosperous industries paying large dividends. If the brewery trade alone would give the money they declare they never asked for, it would suffice to give us the best coherent system of dealing with young offenders in Europe. We could have separate remand houses, a full medical and psychological staff for difficult cases, properly staffed and equipped institutions for the juvenile adult to enable us to re-educate him for life and industry, an adequate probation system and even that castle in the air, a separate method of dealing with the young first offender between twenty and twenty-five whom some observers have called "the convict of the future."

But apart from this consideration it may be pointed out that an

* It has been announced that it is intended to move the boys from Wandsworth to Wormwood Scrubbs.

adult criminal is an expensive article. It costs round about £300 to detect, apprehend, try, and punish him; expense apart from the damage he may do or the absence of the wealth he might provide if not in prison. The interest on £100,000 is £4,000, roughly speaking, the cost of thirteen adult criminals. It is surely reasonable to hope that an expanded and modernised system would provide at least that reduction on the annual recruitment of the criminal population. And if a whole-hearted effort to abolish recidivism attained any large measure of success, it is obvious that the financial saving would be enormous. It is what may be called the chronic offender, the person who drifts incessantly into prison because he has not the power to stay out, who keeps a large number of our prisons open. The women chronic offenders often constitute nearly the whole of the occupants of the women's wing. This is not to say we shall abolish crime. We shall probably still have the person who "plumps" for illegality because he likes the excitement of the life; and the middle-aged who, in a fit of disgust or disappointment, break out and commit some offence. But it surely might be possible to divert the dismal stream of "habituals" into some more hopeful channels and enable them to achieve a more satisfactory kind of existence.

At present we commit three marked obvious mistakes towards young offenders. We lay on them the prison taint for small offences; we wait until they have been convicted of three crimes (which means in practice several more) before we send them to Borstal, waiting until they have acquired dishonest habits and undesirable friends before we get started with a systematic effort to change them. And we compel the Borstal authorities to handle normal boys together with sub-normal. If the work is arranged at a pace and difficulty to suit the normal, the sub-normal lose heart and leave off trying. If it suits the sub-normal, it is too slow and easy to be good training for the normal.

All these considerations apply with even more force to the big girl offenders. Much fewer in numbers than the boys, they are often more perplexing cases, and are more difficult to establish in normal habits.

LUCY MASTERMAN.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF PERSONALITY AND LIFE.

IN the various attempts of present-day thought to construct a philosophy on the basis of the principle of personality, we may see a response conscious or unconscious to the need of the times for a philosophy of life, in the Greek sense. Seldom indeed has there been a greater need for that type of moral philosophy which is not ashamed to relate itself to the problems of human life, not content with analysing the psychological or anthropological origins of our judgments of right and wrong, or examining (from a logical standpoint) the question whether "good" is an ultimate or a definable notion. It may be asked, however, whether the idea that this need can be met by philosophy is more than a pathetic illusion. Is it conceivable, or is it suggested by the history of philosophy that an interpretation of man's relation to the universe is possible, in which he can read the meaning of his practical experience? Such a philosophy must satisfy the demands of a consistent and intelligible view of the world-process and also, in, and by means of, this view, make convincingly clear the kind of action which the individual as a source of change should contribute to the process, if he is loyal to his universe.

There have indeed been great thinkers who believed themselves to have furnished systems of philosophy, possessing this practical value. But in the modern era at least, they have written for the philosopher rather than the ordinary man. Spinoza's ideal—to attain the union of the mind with the whole of nature—has appealed only to the very few. The Hegelian system, in the applications of its most ethically earnest students, as, for instance, Bernard Bosanquet, is compelled by its own logic to admit that for the philosophy of the Absolute there can be no finality in ethical relations, that personality and its moral values must be transcended in passing to the Whole. Moral good and evil would then be alike relative to our finite view, and the finite view, though we cannot escape it, ought to be as far as possible discounted in the search for reality. For another type of thought which is perhaps less remote from the standpoint of daily life, it is evil which is less real than good, evil which

Is nothing, is nought,
Is silence implying sound,

or which is there because "there must always be something contrary to the good" (*vide* Plato's *Theætetus*). The attractiveness of this interpretation which has so often reappeared in different forms (since first hinted by Heraclitus) seems due to its appeal to the natural religious tendencies of the healthy mind, as expressed in

Browning's lines, though it is far from receiving unqualified support in the greatest religions. But that it was not fully accepted by Plato, and only appears in modern Platonists when logic is less rigid in the presence of acute practical need, is evidence of the truth that the doctrine of the unreality of evil, as based on the limitation of our knowledge, carries with it that of the incomplete reality of the ethical good. This was perceived by Heraclitus whose sayings suggest that to God there is neither good nor evil. By Aristotle, who did not consider it essential to apply an exact logic in the field of ethics, the problem which is so acute from his standpoint as well as from that of Plato, how it is possible to know the good, and choose the evil, is slurred over with a rather transparent evasion. At least, as he argues, where the agent's responsibility is in question, if a man is not free to know and follow the true good, but only what appears to him to be good, this will hold for virtue as well as vice, and it is absurd to suppose that the virtuous is not free. The Greeks seem right in their view that whatever a man perceives as good, though it be an "ignis fatuus" that lies at the end of his path, this he inevitably pursues and strives to attain. For him it is reality. And if so, all attempts, as pre-eminently the attempt of Kant, to set the right action on a different plane of reality from the wrong as alone motivated by the true self, or rational being, whilst in wrong-doing we act as members of the phenomenal world, and our deeds are links in the chain of natural causation, must be fallacious.

The treatment by philosophy of the relation of good and evil may then confirm our doubt whether a satisfactory philosophy of life is attainable, one which can make intelligible the hardest problems of practice, when we are actually at grips with them, and the greatest stumbling blocks in the way of progress as revealed to the student of history. On the nature of such problems the insight of the poet sometimes throws a clearer light as, for instance, on the fact of a genuine and unreluctant choice of evil. "Evil be thou my good," or of the apparent impotence of reason in the historic process, "For thought's the slave of life, and life time's fool." It is possible, however, that some aspects of the truth, even those which are vital for human experience, may be undetected by the philosophic mind. The reason for this failure would be that, starting upon the investigation of man as of any other object of knowledge, the philosopher's method makes him imperfectly alive to the necessity of going direct to humanity in its dynamic history as dynamic, and not as systematised and treated in forms which make abstraction from the concrete movement. It is from this concrete history that may be derived (as we shall argue) materials for a philosophy which can help towards the understanding and facing of the living

practical issues of the time. This will not be by suggesting immediate solutions, for that is not the business of philosophy, but by going to the roots of these problems and pointing to the deeper issues which connect them with "all time and all existence." Such a problem is that of personality and its relation to the world of values, especially moral good and evil. That there exists a profound and widespread anxiety to understand the nature of personality is obvious, whether we consider the literature of modern life, and semi-philosophical interpretations of the changing face of civilisation and its effect upon men and women, or the innumerable movements for reform in education, industry, social welfare, prison methods, and in other familiar directions.

Amongst thinkers who have been writing upon the philosophy of this subject, Dr. Max Scheler, whose recent death is a great loss to moral philosophy, stands out for the interest of his work in ethics. In a striking passage (page 283) of his book, *Der Formalismus in der Ethik und die Materiale Wertethik*, he points to the change in moral outlook which has come about since the epoch of Humanism. In that age, as he says, there existed neither a theory of the evolution of life which included man, nor sufficient knowledge of the great diversities of human races and of ethnography and science of history built upon insight into these diversities. Humanity could still be regarded as something fixed and unchanging in its essential characteristics. Hence the conceptions of the "truly human" and "universal human nature." This notion of man endowed as such with qualities which set him apart from all other living things, and are the sources of his true life in the worlds of knowledge and value having been destroyed, the issue for ethics as seen by Dr. Scheler is that the moral values are either less or more than human. Either they are "related to values which are relative to life, valid for man not as man, but in his character of living thing, or at a certain stage—it matters not which—of human history, there comes into existence a wholly new type of values and acts, through which man shares in a kingdom which is superhuman, and in its positive sense divine." It is the latter alternative in which Scheler finds the truth. Without at present inquiring into the exact significance of his conception of a divine kingdom, we may notice that it is in the ideas of the person as bringing value to experience, and of the world of each person as correlative to him alone, as developed by Scheler, that lies the chief contribution of this book to ethics, and to study of the problems of human life in a wide sense. Essentially metaphysical and not based on any empirical induction, his view nevertheless seems to do more justice to the facts of experience than the doctrine he rejects of a naturalistic origin of the values. For this can give no adequate explanation of the emergence of values which

are not necessary to life, and the pursuit of which may be unfavourable and hostile to successful life in individual, and even in species. Dr. Scheler's theory seems also truer to experience than a realist doctrine of value, or such a modified realism as we have in Professor Alexander's conception of value arising in a relation between mind and objects. (Space, Time and Deity.) Scheler's view of the complete correlation of the person and the world of his experience to which he brings value, as I understand it, involves that there is nothing in this world of knowledge and practice which is not affected by the unique quality of value derived from the person's whole history and spiritual point of view. It is this which makes real for the human being an existence, which apart from this would be the dream-life of the animal, in so far as it lacks apprehension of values. This, it may be noted, is perhaps not true of all animals. The meaning or worth of experience is then not a "tertiary quality" in Professor Alexander's sense, as something added on to the secondary and primary qualities, something to which, though not to the simpler orders of experience, we may allow that mind makes a difference. Rather must we deny the possibility of any qualities experienced by personal beings to which the valuing mind makes no difference. The face of the world illuminated by colours and sounds presents to each, at least potentially, the kind of beauty which is for him alone. This is the implication of the *a priori* doctrine of value which Scheler defines by contrasting it with Kant's formal *a priorism*. Kant he regards as wholly right in his insistence that the moral principle must be prior to experience, but wrong in holding that nothing can be *a priori* except the form, a doctrine which allows to the moral law no content, no character, but bare universality. It is the material or content of ethics, "good" in all its forms, which is prior, and is brought into the scene of human life with the entry of the personal principle. And evil enters also, disvalue with value, though on this point Dr. Scheler is less unambiguous. The full significance of human history, as I should add (not in this following him closely), is determined by the struggle of the finite mind, or person, to transcend the limits of experience in pursuit of the real, and from this struggle evil as well as good results. This is the essential character of human activity, never shown in the perfect symmetry of animal life. Nature reveals disorder from the human point of view because man has brought to his experience the laws of value. And in the immense waste of nature, and the constitution of myriad creatures as instruments for the destruction of others, there is disorder for the valuing mind. But apart from the judgment of a personal being there is no disorder in nature. As the philosophical biologist J. von Uexküll observes,* "Every living creature is in

principle absolutely perfect." This is because whilst every organism "can only be itself, within the limits set it by nature—within itself it is perfect. All resources are exploited to the full." This is quite just from the biological angle. But the personal principle brings on to the stage of human life a disorder as well as order of value, and finds in nature the revelation of a wider disorder, of which the animal behaving in accordance with laws of nature is not conscious. The reality of the evil course of action, not less than that of the good, depends upon the fact that it seems to be demanded by the world which is absolute for the agent, the world in which he has found such value as he is capable of experiencing. And unless, or until he can himself become creative of a different value, there is for him no other reality. The truth of this is surely confirmed by practical experience in many directions, especially in attempts at moral education, both successful and unsuccessful, and in the experiences which have been described as conversions.

Scheler's doctrine of the inseparability of the world of each person from his own unique nature is made clear in his account of the emergence of personality, in relation to consciousness. There is no question of personality, he tells us, no occasion for tracing it, so long as we are merely examining the separate elements that go to make up any particular act, as, for example, judgments, feelings of love or hate, perceiving, willing, and so forth. "But there is something else which stands prior to, and over against the whole inductive experience, and of this we can ask, What agent is it, to which it belongs essentially to perform all these various acts? And it is at this point that we are faced with the problem of personality. At the same time arises the problem of the world-unity which closely corresponds with that of the person."† He insists also on the inseparability of person and act. "The person is not simply a starting point of acts but the concrete being, without whom no descriptions of acts adequately convey their full nature. . . . Only in belonging to the nature of this or that individual person do acts become concrete. . . . No knowledge of love or of judgment brings us a step nearer the knowledge how the person A or B loves and judges. But if we know the person we know the world to which his acts belong."‡

To some it may seem that in such statements Dr. Scheler is trying to express in somewhat technical terms a truth so obvious that it does not require a philosophy to expound it. To others, perhaps, that he begs the whole question whether there is any such principle as the "person" over and above all the distinct facts

* *Theoretical Biology*. By J. von Uexküll, translated by Doris Mackinnon, D.Sc. Chapter V.

† Max Scheler, *op. cit.*, page 394.

‡ *Ibid.*, pages 399 and 401.

and factors of consciousness, together with the fact of their inter-connection or association. Here we have an old subject of controversy, and brilliant presentations of the view which is most opposed to that which dominates Scheler's philosophy are not lacking to-day, especially in Mr. Bertrand Russell's more recent books, in which David Hume seems to reappear in a dress which well becomes him. For Mr. Russell, the self, or person, is an inference, or "construct," not given in any original experience. Thus, if on introspection you arrive at a belief which may be expressed, "I am now believing that mind is different from matter," and go on to inquire what you have in this, apart from inferences, you must begin by cutting out the word I. "The person who believes is an inference, not part of what you know immediately." It is worthy of note that it is not when a philosophy is set in relation to the practical world and the ethical problem that the doctrine of the unreality or non-primary reality of the person appears in the foreground, or even the background. An example of this may be seen if we turn from the above-quoted passage in the *Outline of Philosophy* (page 11) to the chapter on Ethics in the same book. We pass into a different atmosphere of thought when we are told that in the education of the child there should be "a gradual growth of self-development through opportunities of difficult achievement of a sort which is useful, and yet satisfies the impulse towards mastery of the environment." From the standpoint of this type of thought, however, it is not to the study of ethics that we ought to turn, when we seek philosophical truth. In Scheler's view, on the other hand, it is "not through inner perception or observation, but in the feeling and living intercourse with the world that the values and their true order shine forth." And in this experience the reality and true nature of the person are originally and directly known. His argument would not therefore be liable to the criticism of *petitio principii*, any more than that on which depends the contrary conclusion that acts or states of consciousness can occur without a self.

The philosophy of personality is, at least in the form in which it is presented by Dr. Scheler, essentially a metaphysic of the highest principle in human nature. It is interesting, however, to find in Von Uexküll's *Theoretical Biology*, to which reference has earlier been made, the view that the world of every subject is unique and unsharable, expressed on scientific grounds with great force, in relation to the whole animal world. For this reason he argues that the study of theory of knowledge should not be omitted from biology. Neglect of this has led to those "amateurish" experiments which aim at discovering the degree of intelligence possessed by an animal, by setting it to deal with human implements and to

learn by practice to use these as the human being would. "If we tried to change the point of view and look at things from the animal's mind, we should, suddenly, find ourselves surrounded with the animal's appearances which have no connection with our own. For the unity of appearances depends solely on the unity of our own apperception" (page 131). This view, that wherever there is a subject, the world in which it lives is inevitably for it alone, and unknown to any second subject, except in so far as he can identify his point of view with that of the first, is not only consistent with the theory of personality under consideration, but necessarily follows from it, though the truth of the position is more easily shown where the subjects are persons, and their experience is primarily something valued.

If then the supreme moral choice, the issue for good or evil, depends upon the individual's vision of a world which has reality for him, it may be asked whether the argument has taken us further than we are taken in the last word of Greek thought at its greatest, on the subject of wrong-doing. Ignorance is the cause, no one would willingly do evil. Yet to those who believe that human nature is really revealed in history, and that this revelation is never complete since personality is creative, it would seem strange if the pages of history which have been unfolded since Plato faced the problem should enable no further insight into the forces from which human action proceeds. We may turn to great examples of written history, understanding these to give the interpretations by men of genius, each from his own standpoint, by means of his own categories and range of experience, of that which has been brought into the process of changing events by the spirit of man. In these probably the most constant and universal single impression we receive is that of the ignorance of the higher values, and blindness to their presence which has characterised human conduct on the whole. From the days when Thucydides found that no absolute meaning attached to those notions of good in human relations which make life sweet in times of peace, but that they lose their worth and are deemed contemptible when the sheltered life of civilisation is broken up, to the times in which Gibbon observed that history is "little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind," the student's impression does not vary greatly. And however little can be conveyed, even by the most insightful historian, concerning the true life of the multitudes who rest in tombs unvisited by human memory,* the striking lives and patches of events illuminated by history are an index to the beliefs in the mind of the race, in regard to what is worth striving for. For in

* Expression suggested by Bernard Bosanquet's "Unvisited Tombs" in *Some Suggestions on Ethics*.

these we see what was attempted by those men who were free at least to show the world what they desired, and who introduced accordingly greater changes than the rest into the course of events, though rarely such changes as they had intended. If we turn from history to great art we may find a similar truth perceived, and illustrated as pre-eminently, by Shakespeare. In the phases of English history which he selects for dramas, we are made to feel the constraining and driving force of the passion for power to which all else is sacrificed by those who come to the front, and to which the rest expect that everything will be sacrificed. This is the colour which gives these plays their savage beauty, their pity and terror.

Does then the knowledge of good which is demanded by ethics not appear as a force determining history? Certainly it seems difficult to find in the pages of history, for the most part, or of the great literature in which the impression of history is presented not as an extract but as a microcosm of that vast world, a picture of general life in relation to an absolute good, and events to any considerable extent determined by pursuit of the good. Such a picture, it seems, is only a true portrait in relation to events at two opposite ends of the scale of human experience. At one end it is seen within a little circle, family, friends, or fellow-workers in common endeavour to win some benefit for their society. Here we have the ethical social unit, and in these aspects life can be conceived as set in the framework required for the scheme of ethics, the pursuit of the *summum bonum*, the realisation of intrinsic value. Or at the opposite end the ethical idea is manifested in the life of the moral genius who feels humanity to be not less worthy of his efforts than family and friends, and devotes his powers to the battle with some massive wrong obstructing human welfare. To a Wilberforce or a Shaftesbury the meaning of life may present itself as opportunity for a struggle against evil, and the good lies in the realisation of conditions essential to human freedom.

It is the purpose of this article to point out that the history of humanity becomes more intelligible if we recognise that, in evil as well as good manifestations of personality, a single principle can be traced, though in evil it takes distorted forms. The longer the historic record which is our material, the more clearly this fact stands out, and in this respect modern thought would have an advantage over that of the Greeks. In the excessive self-emphasis, and unrestrained pursuit of power which have filled history with "sound and fury" as well as in the instances of endeavour to seek a universal good, and subordinate the individual point of view to that of a community, small or vast, and in all the minor forms in which the same impulses may be seen at work in common experience, there is a driving force which may act blindly, as well as with

clear vision. This is the struggle of finite beings after the real life, the restlessness born of living in unreality. It has often been observed that from the distorted use of a spiritual principle may proceed the greatest evil. "Corruptio optimi pessima." We cannot then follow Max Scheler in calling the personal principle, or the worlds to which it introduces man "divine," since it may bring about the choice of evil. We may, nevertheless, see in it a principle on which it is possible to base our hopes for the future history of the race. For if the argument is valid that mankind as endowed with personality is so far always the same, always roused to the kind of action that is creative in experiments of life, good and evil, by motives which proceed from the need for reality, this does not necessitate the unending sameness of history. It does not follow that the forms taken by this motive force must continue to be of that kind which has given to history its predominantly tragic character. The point of view taken implies the possibility of a new trend and tendencies in history, brought about through increasing prevalence of conditions which are favourable to the true type of personal activity. Granted the recognition that personality is creative, and that it is by means of this creative principle that history comes into being, as distinct from processes of natural change which have neither value nor disvalue, it results that novelty in history is possible. It cannot be questioned that there have been ages in the past creative of new value in the sphere of human relations. The feudal era in which national and social order were at the mercy of the rivalries and struggles of powerful families and clans was left behind. In our own times there are signs of the dawn of a new era in international relations. The ultimate ground for the sombre tone of the greatest ancient historians seems to consist in lack of hope that reason can lay hold of the helm of the human ship. This hope is less vain to-day. But if it is to be realised it will not be because a type of progress is conceivable in which a universal or logical reason is continuously manifested in the course of events. The tendency of each generation to react against the ideals of the last bears witness to the truth that the individual, the generation, are authors at least in great part of their own worlds, within which principles supposed universal take on their own incommunicable colour and value. Only as each perceives the value he is capable of discovering, and feels its power, is he able to realise it. Rational progress is possible in proportion as this truth is understood and lived and the inevitable differences of distinct points of view are admitted. In so far as this comes about, the irretrievable waste which has strewn history, not only in "unhappy, far-off times," but in every age, through blind conflicts of standpoints, and struggles to dominate those of others,

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will not go on for ever. It is a simple remedy perhaps though also most difficult. For it implies recognition that surface appearances, as, for instance, that of a final irreconcilability in points of view, have their foundation in reality, and therefore that it is not possible to bring human beings to one mind in all important matters. To each his own world is real. There exist, however, and have always existed, individuals capable of placing themselves at the many points of view of others, personal and national, and of introducing into the course of practice and even the history of the world the results of their wider vision. In the conditions under which such persons have larger opportunities than their forerunners in past days, of making their vision to be generally shared, and bringing into the motives of action over a wider area the ideas it calls forth, lies the hope of the present.

HILDA D. OAKELEY.

THE OLD INDIA AND THE NEW ERA.

WHEN the British Power, in charge of the East India Company, entered India, it was chiefly interested in the rich and easily accessible sea-coasts and the estuaries of the great rivers. Under the stress of those influences which have continually pushed outwards the frontiers of our Empire, it gradually invaded the valleys of the Ganges and Jumna and the inland plains, leaving untouched the mountainous and less fertile regions, which were also the chief strategic positions, where the native Princes had their dominions. This older India consists of some 400 States running down the whole length of India from Kashmir to Travancore. They cover an area of over 700,000 square miles, that is, 40 per cent. of India as a whole, with nearly eighty million people, or 23 per cent. of the entire Indian population. It should be noted that neither the rulers nor the people of these States are British subjects. Many of these Principalities were, and are still, rich and powerful. Hyderabad has twelve millions of people; Mysore nearly six; Kashmir three, and many of the other States such as Alwar, Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Travancore, Udaipur, to mention a few quite casually, are of considerable size and wealth.

The old East India Company, under the wise counsel in this regard of Warren Hastings, respected the independence of the States which bordered so extensively on its jurisdiction. Relations between the States and British India were gradually regularised by a series of treaties which, it must be noted, are still valid, and by the interpretation of which the rights and obligations of the States on the one hand and of the British Indian Government on the other can alone be determined. It is not too much to say that the steady loyalty of the Northern States at the time of the Mutiny saved British rule in India. As Lord Canning admitted, the staunch friendship of these Princes opposed a "breakwater" to the flood of rebellion which would otherwise have washed us into the sea. The Mutiny was followed by Queen Victoria's famous proclamation (Nov. 1st, 1858) which remains still the Magna Charta of the Principalities:

We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all treaties or engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained and we look for the like observance on their part.

This solemn undertaking has in later days been confirmed by King Edward's Coronation message, King George's speech at the Delhi Coronation Durbar, and by the royal proclamations of 1919 and 1921 which repeat our "determination ever to maintain unimpaired

the privileges, rights and dignities" of the States, and the assurance that "this pledge remains inviolate and inviolable."

Here, therefore, we must note again that the relations between British India and this older India of the Princedom rest on contract, on formal Treaties which have not been repealed and cannot be without mutual consent. It is important to remember this, because during Victorian days, and even beyond, there was a growing tendency in British Indian Governments to assume that they possessed some residual and prerogative right outside the Treaties to interfere in the internal affairs of the States. There is no reason, or even excuse, for such a claim. The extent to which the sovereign independence of the States is qualified, and the mutual rights and obligations of the two parties, are laid down in the Treaties. These differ in detail. But the main condition is the same. The individual State agreed to surrender its right of control over its own external relations and in return for this was guaranteed defence and security against all its enemies, with full and unqualified internal independence.

This mutual relationship was confirmed and generally maintained by the Company and its earlier Governors, but during the Victorian era a great deal was done both in politics and in economics in our dealings with the States for which there was no legal justification. It was thought and said, even by well-informed politicians in England, that the native States existed simply on sufferance. We began to claim almost unlimited rights of control and tutelage. So convinced were our Indian administrators of the blessings of British rule that they grew impatient at the prospect of large territories still governed by native chieftains on patriarchal lines. We pushed beyond all proper limits a right of interference in case of maladministration, which might well be justified by occasional necessity, but was never reserved by treaty or agreement. We insisted on reforms in a quite intrusive and unwarranted fashion, and we freely deposed for misrule as in the case of the Gaekwar of Baroda and the Jubraj of Manipur. We even claimed a general right "to remove by administrative order any person whose presence in the State might seem objectionable" and acted on it. British Indian governments seem to have had at the back of their minds an idea that the feudal analogy applied to the relations between themselves and the States. It was this misleading notion that prompted the claim to enter a native State when a minority occurred in the rulership, to undertake the administration and remodel it on Western and British lines. Then again, the Political Officers who were sent to the States to watch over their affairs on behalf of the Central Government often watched a good deal too narrowly and interferingly. The Prince of Wales was moved, on

his visit to India in 1875, to protest to the Queen about the conduct of some of these representatives. He complained of "the rude and rough manner in which the English Political Officers (as they are called who are in attendance on native chiefs) treat them. It is, indeed, much to be deplored, and the system, I am sure, is quite wrong." Since then there has been a great change for the better in this respect, and the agents of the Central Government maintain much happier relations with the States and Rulers to whom they are accredited.

But in the economic sphere the encroachments upon the sovereignty of the States and, one might almost say, upon the rules of elementary justice, have been even more pronounced. The Princes have a right to complain that their dominions have been subject to legislation and policies which, though closely affecting the States, were devised by the British Indian Government solely in the interests of British India. The railway system of India, for example, was designed and developed, as regards the direction of its lines and other such matters, for the convenience and profit of British-ruled India. The States were expected to provide the land for the railways, often, as in the case of Patiala, free of charge and on perpetual lease, and to forfeit their sovereign right over it. The Governor of the Punjab, for example, explicitly ordered the Patiala Durbar in 1900 to comply with this last requirement. Moreover, the States had to contribute towards the expenses of building certain sections of the lines and to refrain from charging any transit dues on goods passing through their territories. In all this they had no say, and they have no share whatever in the profits of the railways.

And as regards salt and coinage, the same high-handed and one-sided methods have prevailed. Anxious for purposes of revenue to make salt a British Indian monopoly, the British administration practically forced the States to close down their own salt works. They pay the salt tax: yet, here again, they get no share in the resulting revenues. A similar policy, quite unwarranted by anything in the treaties or any formal agreement, was followed in regard to the mints. Owing to its monetary policy the British Indian Government has made a very good thing out of its minting and note-printing. Many of the larger States had their own coinage and were attached to it as a visible attribute of sovereignty. But these local currencies stood in the way of British policy and the Princes, with a few exceptions, were required to close them down, losing thus not only a valued privilege but an important source of income. Though they contribute some 90 lakhs of rupees a year (a lakh equals £7,500) to the profits of currency, they receive nothing in return. Even if it be granted that the British policy of

centralising the mints was sound, the States have surely a right to some share in the revenues to which they so largely contribute.

But the "sic vos non vobis" principle reaches its climax in the Customs arrangements. The States are mainly agricultural in character. They have few industries. They want to buy their cloth and other commodities as cheaply as possible and have no use for industrial protection. British India, however, holds nearly all the seaports. Recently the new British Indian legislature, in which the States have of course no representation, made India a highly protectionist country, in the interests of the Bombay manufacturers and incidentally to the great endamage of British, especially Lancastrian, trade. These high duties were as injurious to the Indian States as to Manchester. The people of the States, who had never a word in the imposition of the duties, have to pay the resulting higher prices. Yet, though it is estimated that they contribute some 7.06 crores of rupees annually to the Customs revenues of India (a crore is the equivalent of £750,000) they receive not a dribble of backward flow from the British Indian Exchequer. Kashmir is allowed a drawback of Customs duties on articles consigned to that country in return for charging no transit dues on goods passing through its territory to British India, but the general grievance stands as I have stated it.

It is calculated that under the headings of customs, salt, railways, currency and excise, the States contribute annually some ten crores forty-four lakhs to Indian revenues without receiving a rupee in return. It is sometimes suggested that they get an adequate return for all this in the blessings of defence and security and that the account is thus balanced. But this is unfair, as the States have paid independently for these blessings by their enormous contributions to Indian defence in cessions of land and money and in many tributes and subsidies. These ideas and methods of British Indian administration reached their climax in Lord Curzon's assertion of "unchallenged sovereignty" which had no sort of basis in treaty or contract. Since then (1905) there has been a kindly change, at least in the spirit of our administration. Viceroys have thought and talked more about co-operation with the States and less about patronage and supervision. The policy of isolating the Principalities has been modified, and they have been encouraged to confer together. After the war (1921), in which the States rendered such splendid and loyal service, the Chamber of Princes, with its elected Chancellor and Standing Committee, was brought into being. And in the same spirit the Butler Committee was more recently appointed to inquire into the rights, duties and legal position of the Indian States.

The Great War had no doubt its effect on the consciousness of

the States and prompted the new movement for reform. But the Indian Princes have no sympathy with the revolutionary ideas that find expression in British India. They are steadfastly convinced that the British Power must remain in India. They are moderate and courteous in their request for various reforms, for some voice in affairs of common interest to India as a whole, for the regularisation in accordance with treaty or specific agreement of their relations with the Paramount Power. The Indian Princes, many of whom are men of statesmanlike ability and modern ideas, are the natural leaders, social and religious, of the Indian folk. As such, I think we shall have to call them fully and generously to our counsels in our future administration of India. They ask also for the help of British capital and enterprise in the development of their large and mostly unexploited resources. Here our own interest comes into play, for, with the increase of their prosperity and purchasing power, the eighty million people of the States offer a vast and growing field of trade for British manufacturers.

Since the above was written, the Report of the Butler Committee has been published. Its views on the meaning of paramountcy and on the basic character of the relations between the States and the Paramount Power differ in some degree from those expressed here. But it is gratifying to note that the case for the States as set forth in these pages is generally conceded, though the form of redress may not always be precisely what the Princes would have preferred. The Report concludes with a pregnant and meaningful sentence: "We confess that our imagination is powerfully affected by the stirrings of new life and new hopes in the States by the progress already achieved and by the possibilities of the future."

J. SAXON MILLS.

A NOBLE ELECTRESS PALATINE.

LINKS add to the zest of life. A year or two before her death I met the widow of Sir William Harcourt for the first and only time. Very charmingly she recounted how diffident her father, John Lothrop Motley, had been concerning the probability of placing his first great work *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*. I was able to tell her that poring over this arresting volume day by day in a garden at Heidelberg had given the first impetus to my interest in historical research. At Heidelberg, too, I made friends with Miss Bunnètt, the translator of Gervinus's *Shakespeare* and of other important German works and the biographer of Louise Juliane, Electress Palatine. Attracted by Spanheim's reminiscences of this remarkable daughter of William of Orange-Nassau and Charlotte de Bourbon, Miss Bunnètt had embarked on what in the fifties of the last century was considered a startling adventure for a young girl. She set forth alone on a pilgrimage to Munich and Heidelberg to consult diplomatic sources and professors of history concerning the part played by Princess Louise Juliane in the stormiest days of the Palatinate. Walking a large part of the way to cut down expenses, she encountered a professor who was going in the same direction. Smiling at the recollection, she told me how for propriety's sake they had agreed to walk on opposite sides of the road, discussing their literary problems across this safe gulf. On several occasions when asking for archives at Munich, she was told that an American diplomatist was perusing them. This was Motley, then writing his second book, *The United Netherlands*. For him William the Silent was as attractive as the self-contained daughter of that silent father was for her.

The glamour of mingled romance and tragedy surrounding Mary Queen of Scots' beautiful grandchild, Elizabeth Stuart, has made many people familiar with the story of James I's ambitious daughter, who know little concerning her noble mother-in-law. Yet—to quote Miss Bunnètt—"Louise Juliane exercised no inconsiderable influence over many of the leading men of her time and strove to avert the disaster to the Palatinate which her home-training had prepared her to foresee." Anxiety and trouble dogged her footsteps from childbirth. Her earliest years were overshadowed by the constant strain of uncertainty weighing on her parents. Born in 1576, cradled in arms and reared amidst civil commotions, she was barely seven years old when an attempt was made to assassinate her father. This shock killed her mother. Within two further years, William of Orange married Louise de Coligny and was mortally wounded by Balthazar Gérard. His orphan child wrote to her uncle, Count John of Nassau, begging him to be a father to her

and to her little sisters that they might continue in the faith of their dead father. Her stiff, pathetic little letters show spontaneousness and suggest that the stern Calvinism in which she was reared might have made her a hopeless prig, had she not owned a heart larger than her creed.

At the age of seventeen, she was taken from the Netherlands to the Castle of Dillenburg, her father's old home in Nassau, to be married to Frederick IV, the young Elector Palatine. It must have been overwhelmingly strange for a Princess accustomed to Spartan simplicity to be accompanied by a brilliant train of noblemen and knights on a journey ending in nuptials of surpassing splendour. John of Nassau spared no outlay for his niece, because the alliance was expected to strengthen the Protestant Union in Germany. Heidelberg, where the inhabitants were treated like shuttlecocks to suit the theological proclivities of their rulers, was then a stronghold of Calvinism. The fierce hatred existing between Catholics and Protestants was only equal to the bitterness exhibited by Lutherans and Calvinists towards each other. Fortunately there was a temporary lull in this irregular religious strife when the young bride arrived. Again accompanied by a crowd of nobles, she had travelled along the Bergstrasse with its smiling vineyards and many ruined strongholds crowning the richly-wooded foothills of the Odenwald. On reaching the banks of the Neckar she beheld far away on her right the gleaming streak which marked the junction of the Neckar and Rhine. Near by, as a boy of ten, her eldest son was one day to lay the foundation-stone of the Friedrichsburg, the fortress intended to form a bulwark against the enemies of Calvinism. Outlined on the horizon were the blue Haardt Mountains with which sad days would make her familiar; facing her the lofty towers of Heidelberg Castle frowned down on a brown-roofed town. Unlike the beautiful ruins that in later times drew Goethe to spend long days in their contemplation and which moved Turner to immortalise them with his brush, a grim though unfortunately not impregnable fortress confronted Louise Juliane. Neither the sculptured palaces within, their art treasures and orangeries filled with the luscious fruits of the South, nor even Salomon de Caux' famous garden, sufficed to dispel the first impression made by her new home on the girl Electress. To welcome her, banquets, jousts and dancing were freely indulged in, combined with heavy drinking and a roughness of manners such as she had never known. Her husband's diary contains the strange confession for so pious a man that he was often "full." From the first, though enjoying the pastimes, Louise Juliane exercised a restraining influence over the Court and read the Scriptures daily with her ladies.

The outbreak of the plague in 1596 forced the Electoral family

to leave Heidelberg. During their two years' absence, the heir was born whose vicissitudes as Frederick V were to wring his mother's heart. For nine years he remained under her care, then was sent to his relative, the Duc de Bourbon, to be taught French polish and Calvinism. When he was recalled to lay the foundation stone of the fortress destined to be destroyed by Tilly in the Thirty Years' War, a violent tempest interrupted the proceedings. Trees were uprooted, and the waters of the Neckar and Rhine swelled to an angry flood suggestive of the storm gathering throughout Germany in the name of religion. After many sorrows, Louise Juliane found herself a widow at thirty-four, with five children surviving out of a family of eight. Frederick IV's body lay undisturbed with the remains of other Electors Palatine in the Church of the Holy Ghost of Heidelberg, till the myrmidons of Melac laid sacrilegious hands on the sacred building seventy-nine years later, but thirty-four uphill years awaited his brave consort. During her son's minority, Louise Juliane, now Electress-Dowager, showed herself the worthy daughter of a great administrator by the assistance she gave to the Regent, the Duke of Zweibrücken. She effected much for the welfare of the people, and drastically checked expenditure when reforming the tone of the Court.

Later James I's vacillations brought difficulties which almost broke down her fortitude, but in 1612 her letters to England's king show a lack of her usual foresight. They breathe delight at her son's prospective marriage to our Princess Royal. "I could die happy," she writes, "when I have had the honour of seeing so worthy a princess as your daughter allied to our House." On April 20th, 1613, Frederick V brought his bride to the Castle which he had beautified with fresh buildings and gardens in her honour. The nobility and burghers outdid themselves in welcoming her. Garlands, pageants and deputations met her at every turn, the Great Ton, symbol of the Palatinate's wealth of vineyards, was filled and emptied repeatedly. On reaching the Castle courtyard, Frederick had led his wife to his mother, whose tender embrace of this new daughter brought tears to the eyes of the beholders. Yet the joy bells of the Church of the Holy Ghost were ringing the knell of that mother's peace.

A year later Elizabeth wrote to her father, "The Electrice is retired to her dowrie and well contented at her parting." The huge suite, the regal splendour and reckless expenditure of the new Electress, grieved and alarmed the Dowager. A useful life of almost puritanical simplicity at Kaiserslautern in the Haardt Mountains was more to her taste. Its quietude was broken in 1619 by the alarming news that, egged on by Maurice of Nassau and the Duc de Bouillon, whose political schemes coincided with Elizabeth

Stuart's ambitions, Louise Juliane's beloved son was about to risk his own and the Palatinate's welfare by accepting the crown of Bohemia. The magnitude of the mistake overwhelmed her. Undeterred by her stepbrother Maurice's jibe that one who could have a crown and refused it needed a foolscap, she put the political difficulties before the Elector, showing how some Powers would remain quiescent, how others would be hostile, and that France could not act. Elizabeth over-ruled her husband's doubts by saying it was "the call of God." Nothing, therefore, remained for the mother-in-law but to watch the departure of the travellers from the window of the stately Friederichsbau erected by her husband and to exclaim: "Now the Palatinate is lost in Bohemia."

"*Toutes choses s'achèment à une sanglante tragédie.*" This comment in the Heidelberg archives sums up the oft-described reign of the Winter King and Queen. During their flight from Prague after the Battle of the White Mountain, the Electress-Dowager was doing her utmost to keep things together at Heidelberg, helped by the Duke of Zweibrücken, who had become her son-in-law. He wrote to implore James I's help, emphasising the strong ties of blood and that it was indeed time for His Majesty to interfere. A letter from Louise Juliane to James, preserved in the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh, says equally forcibly, "There is no longer a doubt that it is against the Palatinate that Spinola's great army is marching, for he is before our very gates," and again "our children are on the very brink of ruin." She begs the king not to be tardy if he would not "see the entire loss of all that is dear to him."

Yet James shilly-shallied. Not till it was too late did he send poorly equipped troops to join Mansfield. A Baden family once owned a curiously wrought silver cup bearing the date "1617," and supposed to have been sent by James I to his daughter Elizabeth. It bore the motto "*Beati Pacifici.*" The excess to which His Majesty practised this virtue proved the undoing of Frederick. Not till his plans for his son's marriage to an Infanta of Spain failed and the betrothal to Henrietta Maria was being negotiated, did the king bethink himself of political alliances that if formed earlier would have strengthened the hands of the Elector Palatine. Louise Juliane fled with three of her grandchildren, including a baby in arms, first to Würtemberg, then to Berlin to seek shelter with another son-in-law, George William, Margrave of Brandenburg. Though a turncoat in religion and politics, always watching which way the cat jumped and ordering his conduct accordingly, he had the grace to admire the steadfastness shown by his mother-in-law when her beloved son was placed under the Imperial ban and she herself was a fugitive with her dowry in the hands of the enemy.

Whilst Spinola was devastating the Palatinate, its members, panic-stricken at the ban on Frederick, dissolved the Protestant Union, which Louise Juliane's marriage had been intended to consolidate. But for a new army raised by Count Mansfield there would have been no force to oppose the Spaniards and the Bavarian Field-Marshal Tilly, who, grotesquely clad in a green satin coat with a yard-long red feather surmounting his steeple-crowned hat, was marching on Heidelberg. Incendiarism and wholesale murder marked his progress. Tilly's reputation as a second Alva was enough to fill William the Silent's daughter with terror. She did not allow it to prevent her heartening her son to strive for the recovery of his dominions. Bitter, therefore, was her disappointment when, after joining Mansfield in the Palatinate, Frederick, discouraged by reverses, yielded to his father-in-law's time-serving counsels, and sought to make submission to the Emperor, who only allowed him to return to Germany in 1630. In view of King James's conduct it is a salve to one's national pride to learn from old German chronicles that, when Tilly attacked Heidelberg Castle, English mercenaries were amongst his stoutest opponents. Three days of pillaging and arson, accompanied by the torturing and massacring of the townspeople, whilst women and children were forcibly carried off, preceded the advance on the Castle. It was compelled to surrender owing to the surrounding heights having been left unfortified, of which Tilly took full advantage.

On February 25th, 1623, the Emperor Ferdinand invested Maximilian of Bavaria with the Electoral dignity. With her dear ones dispersed, her erstwhile home become the Court of a stranger, the people she loved in misery, the pastors of her adored father's creed exiled and only the practice of the faith permitted which the sufferings of the Netherlands had rendered terrible to her, there was enough to break Louise Juliane's spirit. Yet Spanheim and her own letters in the *Collectio Camereriana* at Munich, as well as other contemporary letters, show her possessed of so unswerving a faith that it led Miss Bunnètt to say, "we look at such a character and feel that it is almost raised above the frailties that beset human nature." She is, however, quick to add, "Louise Juliane's estimate of herself is far otherwise." It was marked by rare humility and beautified by a restrained charity in her judgments amidst the bitterest disappointments. One can picture her feelings on hearing of districts in the Palatinate where people gladly exchanged many acres of land for a bushel of corn and of others where the peasants had died of starvation. Worse still, what must it have meant to her to learn that "it was not only in the churchyards that corpses were not safe," because starvation bred murder and cannibalism?

Yet regarding her son, who had helped to bring this state of things about by his desertion of his people, she was wont to say, "men are like counters, they often change places and have different values according to the situations they fill." She was no dreamy mystic. Her triumphant faith showed itself in a resoluteness and sincerity of purpose which formed a striking contrast to the attitude of the German princes, few of whom were not swayed by motives of jealousy or self-interest, with the exception of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar. He allowed neither the lure of worldly advancement nor of great matrimonial alliances, nor the baits held out by Richelieu, to divert him from the cause he had espoused. This gallant prince, famed for saving the day at Lützen after Gustavus Adolphus fell, received his baptism of fire in the Palatinate and fought for it repeatedly.

One thinks of Gustavus Adolphus as a hero of the battlefield rather than of romance, yet ten years before appearing as the Champion of German Protestantism, he played the part of a royal Lochinvar. George of Brandenburg had a beautiful sister Eleonora, whom Gustavus and Wladislaus, King of Poland, sought in marriage. The Margrave favoured the latter from political reasons, but Gustavus took the opportunity of visiting Berlin in his temporary absence and carried off the fair lady to be Queen of Sweden. This rankled with the Margrave, and together with the facing of both ways led later to Berlin becoming in danger of being reduced to ashes had not Louise Juliane's promptness saved the situation.

The year 1627 had brought disaster to the Margraviate of Brandenburg. Imperial troops filled the country. Louise Juliane in bad health wrote to Brederode, the agent of the States-General: "Foreign troops are devastating the land and treating the people with the utmost rigour; there seems no hope of their leaving us, as they are rendering themselves masters of all the rivers." Mansfield was dead and the Protestant Cause was at a low ebb. The Emperor had threatened to make the Margrave of Brandenburg "like unto the Palatinate," if he did not renounce his friends. On this, to his mother-in-law's grief her shifty son-in-law openly acknowledged Maximilian of Bavaria as Elector Palatine. When, however, Gustavus Adolphus appeared as victor, there was a stampede amongst the princes, and Brandenburg was reported to have drunk the King of Sweden's health, but as the fortunes of war alternated so did his toasts. On June 11th, Gustavus appeared before Berlin and demanded whether his brother-in-law meant definitely to side with him or to see his capital in flames. Brandenburg wavered. Gustavus would have waited no longer had not the ageing Electress, accompanied by her daughter the Margravine,

gone in person to the Swedish King's camp and acted successfully as mediator. Gustavus gave Brandenburg a final fright by letting off all his guns to celebrate the occasion.

Revived hopes of regaining the Palatinate diminished with Gustavus's death. Frederick V was disheartened, and his enfeebled life flickered out. Even his body was not destined to rest peacefully, but was carried for fear of desecration from place to place until it vanished mysteriously. Curiously enough, the last to make an effort to safeguard the mortal remains of a Prince who considered tolerating Lutherans too much to pay for recovering his dominions, was that convinced Lutheran Bernard of Saxe-Weimar.

Louise Juliane desired unity. She was thankful when before her death her more tolerant grandson, Charles Louis, reigned at Heidelberg as Elector Palatine though with diminished territory. The people, however, never forgot their treatment both by friends and foes before this happy consummation. In the nineteenth century, "I'll make you Catholic" or "Be good or the Swedes will come" were still used equally as threats to naughty children. The aged Electress-Dowager remained with her relations at Berlin. When that became unsafe they fled to Königsberg. There dying selflessly as she had lived, her tenderest message being for Elizabeth Stuart, she passed beyond the clash of creeds.

M. MONTGOMERY-CAMPBELL.

FAMOUS ELECTION FIGHTS OF LONG AGO.

NOW that we are on the verge of a great electoral struggle, the importance of which has certainly not been surpassed for many years, a glance at the electioneering methods of bygone times, and a brief account of some of the most famous contests, cannot fail to be interesting. The history of Metropolitan elections for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries alone would occupy the pages of a considerable volume. At the election for Westminster in the year 1741 the anti-Government candidate was a popular naval commander, Admiral Vernon to wit, described as "a friend of his country," and all that was possible was made of his exploits and popularity to ensure the defeat of the King's, Duke of Cumberland's, and Ministerial party of that day. In an old cartoon Admiral Vernon and his worthy colleague Charles Edwin, Esq., are shown in front of the Covent Garden Church, standing upon a pediment or platform, whilst seated at a table in the portico beneath the Church are the poll clerks with the returning officer casting up the votes. Vernon's ships, and the benefit of increased trade as exhibited by bales of merchandise, are seen in the distance, and the Admiral himself, wearing a laced cocked hat and carrying a short stick in one hand, is seen on the left of the cartoon declaring "for the glory of Britain, and down with the Spaniards."

It was at this election that Lord Sundon, one of the Ministerial candidates, who is shown declaring in favour of the Excise (the duties on cider and fermented liquors) which gave great offence to the mob, took the extraordinary course of ordering a body of grenadiers to surround the hustings at a point when he and his colleague, Sir Charles Wager, were several hundred votes ahead of the popular candidates, so that no further voting could take place! This course of action was adopted because of the statement made by Admiral Vernon's and Mr. Charles Edwin's supporters that they had many hundred votes in reserve; and the high-bailiff who controlled the election actually countenanced these high-handed illegalities and "made his return of the votes accordingly." Lord Sundon's proceedings ruined the chances of the Government. A petition was presented against the return of Sir Charles Wager and Lord Sundon, and although this was fought by Walpole with all his might, it was made a party question on the assembling of Parliament, and the two Ministerial members for the city of Westminster were unseated by a majority of four, namely, 220 to 216. The election was thus declared void; and, showing how high party feeling ran, we are told in a letter from Horace Walpole to Sir

H. Mann, dated December 10th, 1741, that "Mr. Pulteney presented an enormous piece of parchment, which he could only just lift, which was the Westminster petition to be heard next Tuesday, when we shall all have our brains knocked out by the mob." At the new election which ensued Charles Edwin and Lord Perceval (who took Admiral Vernon's place on account of the latter having already taken a seat for Ipswich), were elected without opposition.

The victory which in 1741 unseated these two members, Wager and Sundon, and the fact that the independent body of electors of Westminster had been against the Court party in 1741, militated very severely against the former in the year 1745, when the Young Pretender raised his standard of rebellion in Scotland, and when the matters chiefly absorbing public attention were Jacobite plots, real and imaginary. At the dissolution of Parliament, which was then impending, the Government in office neglected no opportunity of bringing what they termed "the so-called friends of the people" or the anti-Court party into evil repute, and the disastrous end of the Rebellion at Culloden Moor was seized upon as a means of stigmatising those who were declared enemies of the then existing corrupt Administration as Jacobites and sympathisers with the rebels. When the independent electors of the city of Westminster held their anniversary festival at Vintner's Hall on March 10th, 1747, which they had done annually since the famous election of 1741, the *London Evening Post* gave a list of the toasts drunk on that occasion, which naturally began with the King. But one of the Tory papers said that the health was honoured in the recognised Jacobite fashion "to Charlie over the water," stating "Each man having a glass of water on the left hand and waving the glass of wine over the water." There seems, however, to have been no truth in this statement; which was probably an electioneering dodge to bring those taking part in the annual festival into disrepute. It appears, according to the *Gentleman's Magazine* of this period, that amidst the health drinking one Mr. Williams, host of the "White Horse" Inn, Piccadilly, was observed to be taking notes with a pencil, which act gave such offence to the company that he was severely cuffed and beaten, and then kicked out of the room, being branded as a spy. Such were the amenities in those days of electioneering at Westminster.

The odium attached to any suspicion of Jacobite proclivities in candidates or electors proved sufficiently strong to place the "Independent" party throughout the country, after the election which followed the Parliamentary dissolution of 1747, in a much smaller minority than at the previous one. Thus the rising of the Jacobites in favour of the Pretender served to enhance the strength of the Court party, which had been much reduced at the election of 1741,

and had indeed shown great signs of decline of power previous to the rising of 1745. We are told that the second Government candidate at this election, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, was as usual "supported by a mob of Jack Tars or of ruffians dressed in sailor's clothes for the occasion, which was a common party trick at Westminster elections." The "Independent" candidates, Sir Thomas Dyke and Sir Thomas Clarges, were heavily defeated, and even Royal Dukes and Princes did not disdain, so fierce was the contest, to canvass for the rival factions; the Duke of Cumberland espousing the cause of the Government candidates, and the Prince of Wales that of the "Independents." The Duke of Cumberland was, it is stated (although this is not perfectly clear), satirised in several broadsides and cartoons as the "two-shilling Butcher"; and there seems some reason for the supposition when one remembers that he had been, in consequence of his conduct after Culloden, nicknamed "Culloden Butcher." So high did party feeling run that the Duke of Bedford and other gentlemen were assaulted upon Whittington Heath during Lichfield races, and it was stated that a Mr. Heston Humphrey (a country attorney) "horsewhipped the Duke of Bedford with equal justice, severity and perseverance. And that Rigby and Lord Trentham, one of the Government candidates, were also cudgelled in a most exemplary manner."

Voting according to one's conscience was in the reigns of George I and II, as also in those of later sovereigns, often a matter of grave consequence to the voter. The following is a copy of a letter addressed by the Duke of Bedford of the day to a Mr. Matthew Creighton, one of his tenants, in consequence of the latter having voted against the Duke's nominee.

I hereby give you Notice, that you are to quit the house you rent of his Grace the Duke of Bedford, situated in Bedford Street, in the Parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, at Lady Day next, or to pay his Grace £72 a year for the same from that time.

R. T. Butcher,

Steward to his Grace.

To which Matthew Creighton, who describes himself as "an insulted elector of Westminster," appends the following comment:

NOTE.—I acknowledge to have received the above letter by the hands of Mr. Becuda, one of his Grace's stewards, and accept the Notice therein. The rent I at present pay is £38 per annum. I voted for, and to my utmost have served, Sir George Vandeput. Who would not?

No rent due to his Grace.

N.B. The House to let.

The humours of some of the elections of the day are well exhibited by that for the County of Essex. In a contemporary cartoon one is shown the galleries of an inn yard filled with spectators,

whilst down in the courtyard an election procession is forming, consisting of a posse of men carrying bludgeons, and bearing an effigy of a more than life-size baby, with a child's rattle and horn book or A B C. Behind the chair, in which the figure is seated, is carried a banner with the inscription, "No Old Baby." "Old Baby" being made to represent the Honourable John Child, whose family afterwards took the name of Tylney, who opposed Sir Robert Abdy and Mr. Bramstone.

At the election itself a man was placed on a baulk of timber with a mock infant in his arms, exclaiming as he whipped it, "What, you little child, must you be a member?" A curious circumstance in connection with the election is the fact that the candidate was not only a child by name, but was also legally a child, being under the age of twenty.

The elections of 1754 were rendered additionally famous by reason of the series of paintings which were executed by Hogarth, and from these interesting and graphic pictures we are able to judge of the stirring and extraordinary scenes which often characterised the election of members of Parliament at that period. The corrupt nature of a large average of those sent to the Commons as representatives of the people was in perfect harmony with the rapacious boroughmongers of the time, who were always willing to supply men of wealth with seats, and mercenary voters to return them. In those days almost everything political had its price, and was purchasable, and thus what a man bought he held himself fully justified in selling for as big a sum as he could realise when the opportunity occurred.

The four famous election pictures painted by William Hogarth, which, originally sold to David Garrick for the modest sum of 200 guineas, are now in the collection of Sir John Soane, may be taken as not only depicting the methods of the Oxford elections of 1754, but as typical of many others. "Election Entertainment" depicts the hospitality and policy of the "open house" which in those days was thought to be one of the first steps towards obtaining support. The scene depicts gluttony, rioting and false patriotism, with bribery and violent intimidation prevailing above all. And in the picture a youthful candidate is seen submitting to tipsy indignities at the hands of those whose votes he wishes to obtain. Gentlemen are seen giving away gloves, favours, and other articles to the fair sex, taken from the pack of a pedlar. The Court party is depicted regaling supporters at the leading tavern, whilst their opponents are engaged in an out-of-door demonstration, so that a view of the humours of both sides is afforded. Animated exchanges of missiles between the political antagonists is shown proceeding out of and through windows, those within being attacked by a shower of

bricks, to which they are replying with a volley of drinkables and furniture, showered upon the heads of the passing procession of patriots underneath the windows. In the background a small detachment of the "Old Interest" party are sallying forth from the interior of the inn armed with oak cudgels and headed by a man with a drawn sword.

Not only in those days were corruption and rioting of a serious character concomitants of almost all elections, but even murder was not infrequently done. All who could walk, hobble, or be dragged were got to the booth, and Hogarth's picture of "The Polling Booth" shows the type of men that sometimes were carried to record their votes. These included not only the lame, the blind, and the halt, but hopeless idiots, and it is stated also in some cases felons who were let out for the purpose of voting! At the Brentford election of 1768 the candidates were John Glynn, the friend of Wilkes and Sir William Beecham Proctor, who had been defeated at the previous election. Both parties on this occasion resorted to terrorism; and mutual recriminations regarding the hiring of ruffians and bludgeon men were made during the inquiries which ensued upon the disturbance which had occurred. Proctor's faction seem to have employed reckless bullies, who are depicted in the famous engraving of the "Brentford Election" beating women and wrecking stalls, while a respectably dressed person is taking the opportunity of robbing one of the women stall-keepers who is being wantonly bludgeoned with a heavy cudgel. A noted pugilist who had been engaged is made to exclaim, "All for a guinea a day; damm Glynn and all his friends."

Coming down to a later period we find corruption still rampant, and even the feats and reckless expenditure of such skilful electioneering masters as the Whartons, Walpoles, Pelhams, Graftons and others pale considerably in comparison with the huge fortunes which in later times were spent upon a single election. At the latter end of the eighteenth century it is stated that two great county contests for Hampshire cost the Ministerial candidates £25,000 each. And the contest in Northamptonshire, known as the "Spendthrift Election," in which the three earls, Halifax, Northampton and Spencer, fought in favour of their respective nominees, is estimated to have cost at least £400,000, which is, indeed, an enormous sum when it is considered that it represents at least double the equivalent value of the present day. Turbulent and often fraught with grievous consequences and serious injuries as electioneering was in those days, yet even then there were humorous episodes which helped to lighten the seriousness of these contests. In the Andover election of 1768, when less than forty votes were sufficient to return two members, the first of whom polled seven-

teen, the second fifteen, and the defeated candidate seven votes, the last (Sir Francis Delaval) after the election found himself at issue with his attorney, an acute lawyer, whose bill had been allowed to run for years, although considerable sums of money had been paid on account. A final claim of an astoundingly large balance, said to be due to the lawyer, was made, which Sir Francis disputed. And when the case came before the Court of King's Bench for settlement the following item, included in a long list of most outrageous charges, aroused considerable interest. It ran as follows :

To being thrown out of the George Inn, Andover; to my legs being thereby broken; to Surgeon's bill and loss of time and business; all in the service of Sir Francis B. Delaval, £500.

The explanation of this item was that the lawyer, by way of promoting the interests of his client in the Borough, had sought to ensure the favour of the Mayor and Corporation in whose hands rested so much of local influence by inviting them to a banquet. It was necessary, however, to secure their attendance that some pretext should be made, and so the lawyer sent out the cards of invitation to the Mayor and Corporation in the name of the Colonel and Officers of a regiment in the town. At the same time inviting the Colonel and the Staff in the name of the Corporation to dine with them and drink the King's health on his birthday! The two parties having enjoyed themselves drank the King's health and then during speeches which followed they both repudiated being the hosts. As to who in reality had given the feast was discussed with much warmth, and the cards of invitation were then simultaneously produced. In the dispute which again raged, the eyes of the discomfited guests, Corporation and Officers alike, rested upon the attorney, and at this critical moment the lawyer's nerve and impudence seemed to have suddenly deserted him, so that when questioned he faltered and betrayed himself. In a fit of uncontrollable anger the Colonel of the regiment threw him out of the window, and for this his client, Sir F. B. Delaval, was charged £500!

Of the corruption which prevailed prior to the Reform Bill of 1832 in many boroughs few cases were worse than that recorded at Old Sarum, Wilts. Amongst the statistics given in a "Parliamentary Guide for the Year 1784" it is stated that the Borough of Old Sarum was then reduced to one house. After the Revolution of 1688 the right of election was in the freeholders being burghage holders, and the number was seven. In several constituencies we are told "shambles on old foundations, which carried with them voting qualifications, were eagerly bought; burghage tenures were

purchased, and voters were pensioned from year to year, the process varying according to the nature of the suffrage."

The constituency of Helston, where the franchise was usually vested in a Corporation under the Old Charter, had by 1790 dwindled down to one elector, to whose lot it fell to nominate two members!

The bill of the expenses of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, who sat for the Borough of Stafford from 1780 till he was elected for Westminster, provides one with an interesting sidelight into what may perhaps be called the legitimate expenses of an election at that time. It is necessary to add that, such was Sheridan's carelessness in business matters, the figures can only be accepted with some reserve :

R. B. SHERIDAN, ESQ., EXPENSES AT THE BOROUGH OF STAFFORD FOR ELECTION ANNO 1784.

248 Burgesses paid £5 5s. each £1,302 0 0

YEARLY EXPENSES SINCE.

House Rent and Taxes	23	12	0
Servant at 6s. per week, Board Wages ...	15	12	0
Ditto, Yearly Wages	8	8	0
Coals, etc	10	0	0
Ale Tickets	40	0	0
Half the Members' Plate	25	0	0
Swearing Young Burgesses	10	0	0
Subscription to the Infirmary	5	0	0
Ditto, Clergymen's Widows	2	2	0
Ringers	4	4	0
One Year	143	18	0
Multiplied by years			
	863	8	0

Total expense of six years Parliament, exclusive of expenses incurred during the time of election and your own annual expenses

2,165 8 0

Canvassing was not considered less important than at the present day. And in the past there have been many noble ladies who have espoused the cause of various prominent candidates. Amongst the most famous of these were Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, and Walpole's lovely nieces, the three Ladies Waldegrave, who canvassed so eagerly in the interests of Fox the great Whig chief. Many verses were written in praise of the Duchess of Devonshire and her assistants, of which the following was one of the most quoted and popular at the time :

Fair DEVON all good English hearts must approve,
 And the Waldegraves (God bless their sweet faces),
 The Duchess she looks like the sweet Queen of Love
 And they like the three Sister Graces.

Whilst a very good idea of the Duchess's methods is to be gathered from the following :

ODE TO THE DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE.

Hail, Duchess ! first of womenkind,
 Far, far you leave your sex behind,
 With you none can compare;
 For who but you, from street to street,
 Would run about a vote to get,
 Thrice, thrice bewitching fair !
 Each day you visit every shop,
 Into each house your head you pop,
 Nor do you act the prude;
 For ev'ry man salutes your Grace,
 Some kiss your hand and some your face,
 And some are rather rude.

It will thus be seen that although elections of the twentieth century do not in many instances lack excitement and ebullitions of party feeling, the cartoons and the skits which are now issued are very tame indeed when compared with those of other days. What a contrast this glance back into electioneering practices of the past provides to those of the present day : when, indeed, the number of electors sending a single member to Parliament often exceeds 20,000, and corruption—even if it were the desire of the age to practise it—has been rendered so dangerous both for those who give and those who take ! Fancy 20,000 electors being paid five guineas a-piece for their votes, the price Sheridan paid for his !

CLIVE HOLLAND.

A NEGLECTED GEORGIAN ADMIRAL.

" It will be so much for the honour of Russia to go to war with the Corsican thief, that I hope the Emperor has decided upon it."—Nelson to Sir J. B. Warren, 1804.

AMONG the large number of sea officers of the first rank who, headed by Nelson, Hood, and Collingwood, kept the old flag flying during the epic era of the Napoleonic wars, the name of Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren must ever rank high. He was the victor in several important fleet-actions that exercised an immediate influence upon the European scene. In the brief space of the five critical years 1793-98 he captured or destroyed no fewer than 220 sail of the enemy, nearly forty of which were armed vessels including a 56-gun frigate. He was the idol of the men and officers he commanded, and he maintained a state of efficiency in his fleet that was not unworthy of Nelson himself. As for his captains, on a more modest scale they may be said to have rivalled Nelson's celebrated " band of brothers "—as witness the honoured names of Sir Edward Pellew, Sir Richard Strachan, Sir Byam Martin, Sir J. B. Nagle, Harvey, Keates, and Durham.

A descendant of one of the oldest families in England, J. B. Warren was born on September 2nd, 1753, and educated at Winchester and Emmanuel College, Cambridge. At eighteen, sheer love of the sea led him to enter the Royal Navy, and if it be true that he afterwards took his B.A. degree at Cambridge it was " an unique instance of a man being first an A.B. and then a B.A." He served for a while as midshipman in the *Alderney* in suppressing smuggling. Quitting that ship in 1774, he was elected M.P. for Marlow, Bucks, and, purchasing Lundy Island and a yacht of his own, he enjoyed long cruises on his own account. But he got rid of his yacht and applied for active service on the outbreak of trouble with the revolted American Colonies, when Lord Howe, whose " patronage " he enjoyed, appointed him to a lieutenancy in the *Apollo*, commanded by that gallant hero Captain Pownall. Warren was present at Howe's indecisive action with the Comte d'Estaing's squadron, and in 1778 he returned to England when Howe resigned from the American command.

Warren's next service was as first lieutenant to Admiral Kempenfelt—destined to a melancholy end at Spithead, where his *Royal George* went down with " twice four hundred men." The young sailor now married the daughter of Sir James and Lady Diana Clavering. The year 1781 was marked with a white stone for Warren. In command of the small frigate *Ariadne* of twenty guns he fought and beat off, after nearly an hour's close fighting, the French privateer *Aigle* of twice his own size and weight of metal, and drove her

into St. Malo. This exploit procured him a much finer frigate, the *Winchelsea*, and he captured a French and a Dutch privateer and drove on shore a formidable Dutch lugger commanded by Brown, a well-known pirate. Enemy privateers were a constant menace to our commerce, and until the peace of 1783 Warren was engaged in convoy work. A period of comparative rest for him on shore followed, until in 1793 we were at war with Republican France. Warren was at once appointed to the *Flora* of 36 guns, under the orders of Admiral McBride. He signalled the occasion by capturing the brig *La Vipère*, and was next entrusted with command of a small squadron to observe and report upon the French naval bases.

From Brest he was able to report to the Admiralty that "the French fleet is certainly in here, and great confusion reigns among them. They returned in consequence of a mutiny, for which a lieutenant has been executed. The Commissioners of the Convention endeavoured to start the guillotine on board the flagship, but failed! So determined was the opposition on the part of the sailors, in which they were joined by the townspeople, particularly the seamen, that they were obliged to desist from their purpose. Here and at St. Malo they are fitting out transport." The time was now at hand for his first fleet-action, which was attended with the most brilliant results. On April 23rd, 1794, Warren's little squadron had the good fortune to fall in with four French frigates to the west of Guernsey.

"The enemy crossed us on the contrary tack," he wrote, "and commenced the action at a considerable distance. As their sternmost ships crossed ours they again tacked, but, the wind changing two points in our favour, I perceived it was possible to weather them, and therefore the signal was made for our ships to engage as they came up, so as to prevent the enemy gaining their own shore and to oblige them to come to close action. . . . I am much indebted to Sir E. Pellew in the *Arethusa*, who was my second astern, and to the other officers and ships under my command, who exerted themselves in pursuing and engaging the enemy. I am happy to say Sir R. Strachan in the *Concorde* came up with and captured another ship in the evening."

Actually, in rather less than three hours' fighting—our loss was the incredibly small one of 9 killed and 11 wounded, the French having 110 killed and 140 wounded. The captures included *La Pomone* of 400 men and 44 guns, *L'Engagement* of 300 men and 36 guns, and *La Babette* of 200 men and 22 guns—all practically new ships. The *Resolute* only escaped. A few months later, in August, 1794, Warren followed up this dashing feat of arms with another at least as meritorious. After having driven the 26-gun frigate *Volontaire* a total wreck on the Penmarke rocks, he gave chase (accompanied by Sir E. Pellew's *Arethusa*) to several enemy corvettes which

ran into Audierne Bay and went aground. Boats were immediately sent in to destroy them, the corvettes so disposed of being *La Félicité* (40) of 300 men, *L'Alerte* (18) 200 men, and *L'Espion* (18), 200 men. Warren brought off fifty prisoners. In his squadron on this occasion served Captain (afterwards Admiral Sir) Eliab Harvey,* destined to command the *Téméraire* at Trafalgar.

These victories gained Warren the K.B. and command of *La Pomone*, the chief prize in the action off Guernsey, which was refitted and re-armed according to his own design. We next find Sir John Warren strongly recommending Falmouth as a base of operations. Down to the spring of 1795 he had dispatched the following prizes to England: the *Petit Jean*, *St. Pierre*, *Deux Frères*, *Petite Madeleine*, *Cayenne*, *La Coureuse*, *La Liberté*, and *La Gloire*, while destroying eight others. Commodore Warren was next engaged, under the orders of Lord Bridport, in the thankless task of endeavouring to co-operate with the heroic but divided Royalists of La Vendée. He met and conferred with their principal leaders, was able to inflict defeat upon the Republican forces on the River Morbihan and elsewhere, and we hear of great sums of what we should now call "secret service money" being disbursed by him. But it was not a sailor's work, he did not get on well with Lord Bridport, and, after the evacuation of the Quiberon peninsula, he returned home depressed and out of health.

But he was soon at work again. It was, incidentally, the Irish Rebellion of 1798 and the French "invasion" of Ireland in that year which led to Sir J. B. Warren's greatest sea-exploit. Commodore Bompard was dispatched from Brest with a fleet consisting of the *Hoche* (74), eight frigates, and a schooner, having on board 3,000 troops under Generals Hardy and Ménage. Bompard made more than one false start, knowing that he was being well "looked out for," and Sir John, then in Cawsand Bay, was instructed to proceed in search of the French squadron. Even so it was as much by luck as judgment that he was enabled to bring it to action, owing to Lord Bridport having dispatched another squadron with similar instructions! As it happened, however, on the morning of October 12th, 1798, Warren succeeded in finding and fighting his enemy, whom he eventually located by placing a look-out vessel off Tory Island. The weather was rough, not to say stormy, when the fleets joined battle. But Warren pressed on regardless of all odds, and the *Hoche* surrendered to him after a brave resistance. This was the signal for Bompard's frigates to make off, but a "general chase" lasting several hours resulted in the capture of all of them save two. Even Sir John had not counted on so complete a success. He was honoured by the thanks of Parliament and promotion to

* See the present writer's "The *Téméraire's* Captain" in CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, October, 1928.

Rear-Admiral, and a gold medal was struck in his honour. Among the numerous congratulations showered upon him, perhaps the following from that great sailor Lord Howe pleased Warren the most :

" You have rendered such a very important service, my gallant friend, by the defeat of the French armament destined for the Irish coast that I cannot refrain from troubling you with my congratulations on the fortunate opportunity for signalising your resolution and judgment, of which you have made such successful use, and of assuring you of the esteem with which I am
Your most faithful servant, Howe."

Our sailor-prince, afterwards William IV, wrote :

" Nelson's victory (the Nile) has been of the greatest importance to Europe, but your masterly conduct, my good friend, has secured the tranquillity of the country and the sister Kingdom. Let me know when you are in town, that I may as Lord of the Manor celebrate your victories with illuminations, etc., in my villages and at Hampton Court."

And from the Comte d'Artois (who, Warren claimed, should have led in person the Royalists of La Vendée) :

" Recevez, je vous en prie, tous mes compliments pour votre victoire, et soyez convaincu que mes vœux les plus ardents pour votre bonheur et votre gloire vous accompagneront dans toutes les entreprises que votre courage et votre noble ambition vous porteront à exécuter."

After a temporary return to the Quiberon peninsula, the ultimate abandonment of that enterprise, and participation in the grossly mismanaged expedition against Ferrol (1800), Sir John joined Lord Keith in the Mediterranean. Efforts to bring Admiral Ganteaume to action failed, but Warren found himself in charge of the finest squadron he ever commanded. It consisted of the *Renown* (74, flagship), *Gibraltar* (80), *Généreux* (74), *Dragon* (74), *Hector* (74), *Haarlem* (64), *Mercury* (28), *Champion* (20), and *Salamine* (18). In rather less than a twelvemonth in the Mediterranean his share of prize-money amounted to nearly £12,000. In this connection, writing to Admiral Markham, Lord St. Vincent said :

" From a long acquaintance with Sir J. B. Warren, I am of opinion that he will cruise as long as his stores of provisions and water last. Sir John, who has a most impatient spirit, will be restless and clamorous—he will intrigue with you for a chief command on the coast of Portugal, with the Azores, Canaries, and Cape de Verde Islands. He wants money, and will not be content with the small pittance likely to be the lot of a puisne flag-officer."

Calling at Alexandria in his flagship the *Renown* in the spring of 1801 after one of these prize-hunting cruises, Warren received the heart-rending news of the death of his son and heir in Sir Ralph Abercromby's victory of Alexandria. This blow was followed shortly after by the death of the Warrens' youngest daughter, Diana. In his grief, Sir John was glad to " swallow the

anchor" for a while and accept the post of British Ambassador to Russia in 1802, the Tsar Paul having been assassinated a few months previously. He and Lady Warren remained in the Tsar Alexander's capital for a couple of years, and he played an important rôle in England's efforts to induce Russia, Prussia, and Austria to act in concert against Napoleon. In St. Petersburg the Warrens appear to have enjoyed a constant round of Imperial and social entertainment and gaiety. Lady Warren tells how, in nine days, the Embassy dessert alone cost £50. " The fortunes of the people here are immense; they never deny themselves anything. Count Strongonov has about £100,000 a year, and his establishment consists of more than three hundred persons fed in his house. We are fifty-seven in family, and certainly have not one more than we can help. . . ."

However, for more than one reason Sir John was not sorry to vacate the Russian Embassy on July 24th, 1804. England was at war again, and he was not long an idle man. Late in 1805 two small squadrons escaped from Brest, commanded by Admirals Leisségues and Willaumez respectively. Sir John Warren with seven sail-of-the-line, and Sir R. Strachan with six, were dispatched in search of them. The former chased Willaumez as far as the West Indies, and, though failing to bring him to a general engagement, only two French ships ever saw home again. But meanwhile another squadron, that of Admiral Linois, managed to get out to sea, and with it Warren fought his last and one of his best battles on March 14th, 1806. We gather from the dispatch of Sir John, whose flag was in the *Foudroyant*, that this action almost at once assumed the form of a general chase. Our *Amazon* and *London** speedily became hotly engaged, until an officer boarded the *Foudroyant*, bringing the sword of Admiral Linois (wounded) and stating that he surrendered the *Marengo* (80) of 740 men and the *Belle Poule* (40) of 320 men, or more than a thousand prisoners. These two vessels were the remainder of the French squadron which had committed so much depredation upon British commerce in the Eastern part of the world.

The untiring Sir John was next appointed, in 1808, to the command-in-chief on the North American station, which he held for a term of about two-and-a-half years. We were not at war with the United States, but there were numerous petty vexations from this and other directions and the position was no sinecure. There was some friction with Sir Alexander Cochrane, commanding the Leeward Islands station; our ships were under-manned and desertions frequent; and various losses at sea were only compensated by the splendid capture of the French *Furieuse* by the British *Bonne*

* H.M.S. *London*, the latest of her type, was christened by the Lady Mayoress of London and launched on September 14th, 1927.

Citoyenne. His term of two years having expired, Warren requested to be relieved, and wrote under date December 20th, 1810: "Having waited in vain until the date of my orders, I prepare to sail in the *Swiftsure* with 150 French prisoners." He was permitted little rest, however. September, 1812, found him back at Halifax in a far more important command, the whole North American station being combined under his orders. We were now at war with the States, who in this wretched struggle had fourteen hundred ships and 20,000 sailors captured by Great Britain, while their export trade actually diminished from £24,000,000 in 1807 to £1,000,000 in 1814! For his part, with his habitual vigour, Sir John blockaded the Susquehanna and successfully raided Frederickstown and Georgetown. He also wrote to Captain Broke, on the occasion of the latter's magnificent capture, in his *Shannon*, of the U.S. cruiser *Chesapeake*:

"At the critical moment, you could not have better restored to His Majesty's naval service the pre-eminence it has already preserved, or contradicted in a more forcible manner the foul aspersions and calumnies of a conceited and hostile enemy, than by the brilliant action you have performed."

But peace was inevitable after the fall of Napoleon and his departure for Elba, and Warren played a modest but not unimportant part in the negotiations leading up to the treaty of Christmas, 1814. Meanwhile, he struck his flag for the last time. A few years of tranquil retirement on shore remained to this fine old fighter and chivalrous opponent. Among the honours conferred upon him after 1814 were the G.C.B. and an honorary D.C.L. of Oxford University. It was in 1823, while paying a visit to Greenwich Hospital as the guest of its Governor, Keates—one of his former captains—that Sir J. B. Warren passed away. He was survived by his devoted wife. The veteran of seventy years had dedicated forty-three of them to almost uninterrupted service for his country. We have seen that his instinct for maritime warfare contained an element of daring initiative not unworthy of being classed with the "Nelson touch." No biography of Sir John was published until he had been dead for nearly a hundred years. A slight memoir, the work of Captain W. V. Anson, R.N., and reproducing a number of interesting letters, then appeared. No one could dissent from the author's statement that Warren "had many friends both in and out of the Service, and though he belonged to a profession in which a man is often severely judged, even by his brother officers, he appears to have won universal respect. Courteous, capable, active, and brave." To which may be added, without risk of exaggeration, "honour and glory as bright as his sword."

PERCY CROSS STANDING.

A CRISIS IN MODERN MUSICAL LIFE.

NEVER yet in the history of European art has the musical market been overstocked to such an extent as in our day with composers, performers, festivals (commemorating the life-work of individual artists or groups of musicians representing racial idiosyncrasies or technical tendencies), with lectures treating of general or specialised problems of musical history and craft. Never before were members of the public, even those with slender purses, enabled to follow the evolution of older music and the trend of modern tonal art as closely as in this period of bewildering inventions in the department of broadcasting, gramophone, pianola and other kinds of mechanical reproduction and propaganda. And yet a serious economic and spiritual crisis has set in for the very contributors without whom musical life with all the technical advantages at the disposal of the broad masses is unthinkable and may soon be extinct, unless prompt and energetic action is taken by those responsible for the presentation of music in its various branches. It is true that the time when a Mozart, Schubert or Hugo Wolf had to live an existence of material discomfort and artistic disappointment, owing to the scanty opportunities offered by the concert routine of their day, is past and gone. The composer of 1929, if he really has something original to say, and even he who has not, is given every chance to be heard and to make his way, particularly if he has a sufficiently elastic conscience, willing to tread the broad way indicated by the signpost, "Follow the prevalent taste!"

It is a different story with regard to the performer and teacher. These have arrived at such an *impasse* that the majority of them will either have to give up their profession altogether or adopt some subsidiary means of making a livelihood, waiting meanwhile patiently in their Ivory Tower until the present crisis is past. There is no doubt whatever that the public has gone on strike. If we except a very small number of performers and professors who either through their international standing or momentary good fortune can fill a hall with a paying audience or, owing to the exceptional luck of having trained some well-known artist, are able to attract pupils ready to pay a decent fee—if we except these few cases, anybody conversant with the actual state of public recitals and the teaching profession must consider the economic outlook of the less lucky members amongst artists with the deepest concern. Recitals, even those given by eminent musicians—*nomina sunt odiosa*—are either half empty or filled by that vast crowd of music lovers supplied with complimentary tickets. The casual observer will, of course, blame broadcasting, etc., for this

attitude of indifference towards concert-givers. But, as I hope to prove in this article, the real causes are to be found elsewhere. If I may summarise the chief reasons for the present crisis in musical life, the following points will perhaps help to act as a basis for my remarks :

1. The steadily growing number of concert-givers for whom no sufficient audiences, especially considering the high prices of admittance, can be found.
2. The increasing rate of mediocrity amongst performers and teachers, particularly immature or downright amateurish beginners, bewildering the public and preventing a tolerably sound standard from being established amongst the vacillating masses.
3. As a consequence, the utter impossibility of any conscientious and constructive critical work being done under the present system of daily mass-slaughter at the hands of the musical critics.
4. The musical programmes offered by performers.

The first point, the absurdly high prices charged for admittance, is of too complex and technical a nature to be fully dealt with in this connection. Only a congress of music-agents, managers of concert halls and performers meeting with the sincere wish to finish once for all with the ludicrous farce of providing entertainment for which the one factor who ought to have the lion's share of the financial profits, namely, the performer, has to bear the full brunt, will be able to offer a basis for the discussion and solution of this problem. The reduction of prices for admittance will be, at any rate, the first step towards removing one of the most serious objections of the general public to patronising recitals.

Closely connected with this external point is the truly appalling increase of thoroughly unfinished, untalented or, what is perhaps worse, mediocre performers. A great work of art (and merely going by the programmes offered by those countless aspirants to fame, they all consist chiefly of high-class compositions) cannot stand alone. In order not to result in a caricature of the original it must be presented by an artist not only well equipped with all the technical resources indispensable for the reproduction of a masterpiece, but in addition intellectually and emotionally a worthy partner of the composer whose work he is supposed to project and to re-create from the point of view of an analytical and outstanding personality, humbly serving the composer's intentions and, through his interpretative powers, stirring up all the latent artistic instincts of his listeners. Such an artist need not fear any critic or audience. But how few have attained this state of artistry and, if so, how few can get a chance of being awarded their place of distinction owing to the steadily growing number of indifferent concert performers! The public with its unerring instinct for what is really valuable,

has up to now adopted the disconcerting attitude of passive resistance, taking the safest course of patronising only recitals of well-known artists of international fame. Other concerts, amongst them sometimes interesting ones, but of yet unknown artists, are ignored, and those of third-rate performers are left to the tender mercies of their doting relatives or friends who are induced to buy tickets for the occasion, thereby often being prevented from attending really noteworthy performances : a vicious circle equally detrimental to art and real artists. There is only one way of mending matters : the surgeon's knife. I mean perfect candour on the part of the teacher as to whether the pupil is sufficiently gifted to warrant any serious professional training, and the most energetic rejection of inferior performers by the musical critics. Mistakes will, of course, always occur. But the career of an obviously indifferent performer ought to be nipped in the bud, otherwise the spreading epidemic of mediocrity will kill every artistic initiative. Both performers and audience have a vital function to fulfil—both have, generally speaking, collapsed. But it was, initially, the fault of the performers.

As to the daily increasing difficulty of doing any constructive critical work, the critics themselves can only be partly made responsible. Not many newspapers are in the position to engage as a critic a thorough and many-sided, impartial musician who is at the same time a cultured *littérateur*. And those critics who come up to such a standard are usually handicapped by the exhausting duty of having to attend three or four recitals and to report on them sometimes the same evening—in itself an impossible task.

The strongest reason, however, for the actual anti-musical attitude of the public in all countries seems to me the choice of hyper-modern works by performers in preference to compositions which have already emerged from the perilous state of experiment. I know that an artist is not always free to follow his personal inclinations, that he is bound to prove that he is acquainted with and can follow the trend of modern iconoclasts. However, by coquetting too openly with a yet unsettled modernity, he has to pay the penalty of losing touch with the normal artistic constitution of most of his hearers. A sudden breaking with established traditions has never been satisfactory, and musical modernism in its most pronounced form of recoil from simplicity seems to be at a standstill, if not at the end of its tether. To give only one example : Stravinsky, one of the best-known protagonists of this movement, is returning to "antiquated" methods of expression. Moreover, the public in general, which has been patiently listening for years to all the manifestoes and theoretical advertisements of musical innovators, has at last become tired of waiting for the promised "Messiah," the modern Beethoven or Wagner, exemplifying successfully in

his work all the paraphernalia of atonality with which the numerous experimenters of the last thirty years have been trying to herald a radical change in musical æsthetics. The public is indeed going on strike, not only for the reasons already discussed, but because the music which it is forced to absorb in most recitals is often worthless, frequently in every detail fundamentally differing in conception and form from what it was accustomed to regard as *music*, and which it associated with logical thinking and emotional loftiness.

Is the "Dusk of the false Gods" really at hand and, if so, was their Reign of Terror only an episode in musical history? To begin with, let us investigate the reasons why the modern movement failed to make good and then try to find out whether it has really laboured in vain. In the first place, atonality (the dethronement of the hierarchy of certain chords within the key of a piece of music) is not an invention of modern composers feeling after new standards, but a logical consequence. With Hugo Wolf music in the accepted sense had arrived at a dead point. The chromatic structure of his songs acted as a solvent within the old-fashioned system of harmony, and a step further had to lead into experimental music, cutting itself adrift from all key-consciousness. The composers after Wolf had either to revert to the Brahms type (a process we can notice in the case of the Russian Medtner), or to cross the Rubicon and flounder hopelessly in the quagmire of atonality with its attendant systematic and *regular* (not as formerly exceptional) introduction of jerry-built discords. Further, in order to be consistent, modern music had to look askance at old-established forms and well-beaten tracks and tried desperately to create new ones. Schoenberg, for instance, purposely forfeited a big popular success by keeping his *Gurre Lieder* in their hybrid form instead of adapting the score to the orthodox type of opera. The same argument holds good for Malipiero's *Sette Canzoni* and numerous other works. This striving after exclusiveness, or the desire to set the town by the ears, made some modern composers likewise give up the accepted form of song-writing and induced them to invent rare combinations for the voice and string and wind instruments (Chausson, Schoenberg). Even in works like Stravinsky's *Ædipus Rex*, where the composer openly denies his "lurid" past and becomes almost suburban, he elects to introduce a "conférencier" (speaker) acting as interpreter of what is going on—all innovations apt to irritate an audience and, being foreign to purely musical expression, making it doubtful whether the composer is really entitled to claim originality as a *musician*. Briefly, modern composers frequently evade the problem of musical progress

and its proper function by feverishly trying to break new ground outside its territory.

The worst offence of modern music, however, seems to me its uncompromising attitude towards tradition in every department of musical technique.

The evolution of music, in so far as it led to the spontaneous growth of great composers, was gradual—so gradual indeed that the musical historian requires considerable knowledge and discernment to differentiate between a Mozart, Piccini and Cimarosa—a Haydn and earlier Beethoven—a Meyerbeer or Marschner and Wagner in his first period. A complete and sudden break with the past obviously results in antagonism towards all the technical equipment of former composers, and (as a new serviceable technique could not as yet be evolved) in frequently freakish experiments. And since the musical expression of a great religious, ethical or philosophical idea, e.g., Bach's *Passions*, Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*, Wagner's *Ring*, Elgar's *Dream of Gerontius*, was characteristic of the older composers' artistic outlook, this feature too had to be given up, thus reducing modern music to barren patterns of blurred ornamental designs or vague mood-pictures, thereby depriving music of its noblest aspect: its *humanitas*. These two points: the prevalence of theoretical speculation (Schoenberg, Casella) and the inability to produce a representative work of art in proof of it, such as shall constitute a milestone in musical history, may account for the actual bankruptcy of modern composers, their momentary eclipse and the unfriendly attitude of the public towards them.

But the most deplorable influence of modern music is the one exercised upon performers of all classes, especially vocalists. The determined exclusion of the human, emotional element by modern composers was bound to react disastrously upon the interpretative faculty of artists. An undeniable prevalence of what is called brain-temperament, devoid of warmth of feeling and therefore unable to arouse similar emotions in the listener, has become a striking feature of the majority of young artists, a deficiency which is not so much noticeable in their interpretation of modern works, where a certain elegant, blasé indifference is characteristic of the composer's aim, as in those compositions in which the human note is the artistic centre. This is where most of our modern performers fail piteously, and if the public is naturally antagonistic towards modern tendencies in music altogether, it becomes exasperated on hearing great works of the past treated as mathematical problems, mostly with the weary gesture of apology for having to perform such "old-fashioned stuff"!

But do not let us underrate the importance of an experimental period for the future of art. The Florentine school of music and

drama in the seventeenth century did certainly not hand down to posterity any immortal works, but its intellectual and moral influence was instrumental in shaping the life-work of Gluck and Wagner. The theoretical treatises and verbal experiments of the *Ecole Symboliste* with its head Stéphane Mallarmé did not, during its period of incubation, mature any outstanding literary achievement, but it was mediately responsible for the splendid poetry written by Verlaine or Henri de Régnier. In a similar way present-day music is likely to influence the mentality of a coming great composer, availing himself of its innovations and thus throwing a new light on problems whose discussion would be less stimulating if older methods of expression were used. And in the wake of such a real creative genius will automatically arise performers with a new mission and corresponding interest.

But as long as the "fertilisation of music by poetry and philosophy" is disregarded as being outside the province of music, so long will the modern composer and performer have to blame themselves for their lack of appeal to higher artistic instincts. Ernest Newman has put the case in a nutshell in his apparently dogmatic axiom: "The history of music is the long struggle between the purely musical principle and the literary one." And I will add, as long as the end of this struggle is not sealed by a permanent alliance between those two factors, music will be unable to hold its own, performers will become dry exponents of a facile technique and correct phrasing, and the public will definitely turn to other kinds of intellectual and emotional recreation.

MANUEL JOUBERT.

THE NEW INDUSTRIALISM: HUDDERSFIELD LEADS THE WAY.

DURING the summer of 1926 there was launched by a number of Huddersfield Liberals a movement for the securing of peace in industry. The various proposals of this scheme were drafted in the form of a petition to the Prime Minister and submitted to the people of Huddersfield for ratification and signature. Previous to the launching of the Huddersfield Industrial Peace Petition a great shadow had passed over the industries of this country, with disastrous results. The General Strike created an upheaval which required a considerably longer period than three months, the time allowed to elapse before the petition was inaugurated, to restore affairs to normal. Therefore, when the petition was presented for signature, reverberations of the General Strike were still being felt in many homes, and, indeed, the country was witnessing the greatest struggle that had ever taken place in the British coalfields.

Under such conditions, the task of asking a community, whose means of livelihood the General Strike had severely affected, to consider constructive proposals for the establishing of a new industrial order, was rendered extremely difficult to perform. The petition was, however, extensively canvassed for signature throughout the Borough, and everywhere was cordially received, and subsequently signed, by the people.

At this stage a brief examination of what the petition contained will not be amiss. The petition was divided into four parts or "clauses," the first three of which related to the conduct of industry, whilst the fourth was concerned with trusts and combines.

The first clause contained proposals for the settlement of disputes. Future strikes and lockouts were to be declared illegal unless the matter in dispute had first been submitted to an independent tribunal for investigation and report, and afterwards a ballot taken of all parties involved in the dispute upon the recommendations of the tribunal.

The second proposal was headed "Industrial Co-operation," and embraced the general field of labour organisation. The creation of Joint Industrial Councils in industries where they do not already exist and which are sufficiently organised for the purpose; the giving of statutory effect over the whole industry of any decision of a Joint Industrial Council adopted by a majority vote of each side; and the supplying to these bodies of such information concerning their respective industries as would ensure their proper working, were three of the things touched upon in this section of the petition.

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Clause three proposed the formation of a National Industrial Council or "Industrial Parliament," representative of industry as a whole, and working in close conjunction with the various Joint Industrial Councils. The last proposal of the petition outlined the legislative measures now necessary to prevent exploitation of the public by trusts and combines.

About eighteen months after this Peace Petition had been made public, the report of the Liberal Industrial Inquiry was issued. Under the title of *Britain's Industrial Future* were published the results of perhaps the most exhaustive inquiry ever made into the working of our present industrial system. Here we are mainly concerned with that part of the report which deals with Industrial Relations although the interdependence of the several sections makes any separation difficult. Between the proposals contained in the Huddersfield Petition and those of the Industrial Relations part of the Liberal Report, there is a great similarity. The proposals of the report are, of course, more detailed and wider in scope than those in the petition, as was only to be expected from such an inquiry, but the same principles are to be found in both schemes. The petition asked for Joint Industrial Councils armed with statutory powers for all industries that were sufficiently organised for the purpose. The Liberal report also urges the formation of Joint Industrial Councils in all such industries, recommends that they be empowered to obtain legal sanction for their agreements subject to certain conditions, and suggests the inclusion on these Councils of a neutral element and, where appropriate, representatives of managerial and technical staffs. This last proposal would greatly strengthen Joint Industrial Councils, and make their decisions more representative.

In place of the National Council, *Britain's Industrial Future* recommends the creation of two entirely new bodies. The existing Ministry of Labour is to be reconstructed under the name of the Ministry of Industry, which besides performing its present functions, will take over the administration of the Factory Acts from the Home Office and the Mines Department from the Board of Trade. In this way the whole system of State regulation of the conditions under which industry is carried on will be brought under the control of a single Government department, which besides dealing with the administration of existing Acts, will provide the leadership and stimulus required to bring about efficient and well-conducted industries. No public department, however well organised, could unaided direct industry into the new channels outlined in *Britain's Industrial Future*. It is therefore proposed that the new Ministry of Industry should work from the first in close association with a statutory Council of Industry. This

Council would be of workable size and able to command the confidence of the industrial world. It would meet at frequent and regular intervals, and have under continuous review the work of Joint Industrial Councils and other negotiating bodies. Whilst the Liberal report does not favour the formation of a National Industrial Council at the present stage of development, preferring instead a smaller and more workmanlike Council, it states that the institution of the Council of Industry should not stand in the way of the subsequent establishment of a larger National Industrial Council, "when such a step seemed desirable."

The petition proposals for settlement of disputes have also been included in the *Yellow Book*. One of the first duties of the Council of Industry will be to schedule the essential services and request the negotiating bodies in each scheduled vocation to submit a scheme providing for a satisfactory system of negotiation, which would include a reference for report to an impartial inquiry and the making of strikes and lock-outs illegal until the report of the inquiry had been published.

In two other directions the Liberal Industrial Inquiry Committee have made recommendations similar to the petition. The equipping of all negotiating bodies with adequate knowledge of the financial facts affecting their industries would be made possible through the Economic General Staff, which it is proposed in another part of the report should be formed to survey generally and supply the statistical requirements of the nation. For the problem of control of trusts and combines, both the report and the petition suggest identical legislative action. The admirable scheme for the future conduct of industry outlined in *Britain's Industrial Future* is now the accepted policy of the Liberal Party, a series of resolutions based upon the conclusions of the report having been carried at a special meeting of the National Liberal Federation held last March.

The Liberal Party however is not the only national body which has "recognised" and accepted the Huddersfield method of industrial organisation. The interim report recently issued by the Joint Committee of the "Mond Conference" also contains proposals for industry similar to the petition. The two outstanding recommendations of this report are: (1) the immediate formation of a National Industrial Council for the improvement of industrial reorganisations and relations; and (2) Joint Conciliation Boards formed for the investigation of industrial disputes. The Joint Committee of the "Mond Conference" is not a political body, but consists of the country's leading industrialists and trade union leaders, many of whom hold widely divergent political opinions. For such an assembly to have reached almost unanimous agreement

upon proposals which are essentially Liberal in principle, and indeed now form part of official Liberal policy, is both remarkable and significant.

When the Industrial Peace Petition was introduced to the people of Huddersfield, some surprise was expressed at the large measure of support it received, especially in working-class districts. Everywhere those who canvassed the petition found that working men and women were thinking along the same lines, namely that it is much better to settle industrial disputes in an amicable manner instead of resorting to the crude method of strikes and lock-outs. No wonder that a scheme designed to bring about this change received general approval.

The "Mond Report" has shown that the success of the Huddersfield Industrial Peace Petition was not an isolated incident due perhaps to some local feeling or personality. The whole country now demands that industry shall travel along the lines originally proposed in the Huddersfield Petition. Thanks to the Liberal Party, not only Huddersfield electors but electors throughout the country will be able to sign the Industrial Peace Petition at the next General Election, but this time their signature will take the form of a **X**.
STANLEY CHADWICK.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

THE naval controversy that has developed between Great Britain and the United States since 1920 has gradually crystallised into its two elements, the one concerning naval disarmament, the other concerning what is commonly known as "the freedom of the seas." During the past ten years the two countries, in consultation with Japan and to a smaller degree with the European maritime Powers, have concentrated on an attempt to solve the first problem, that of naval limitation, in the expectation that thereby the second would be simplified. British official opinion has adopted the decided view that the limitation of naval armaments comes first in the order of procedure, and continues to be unshaken in that view. One of the present difficulties is that American official opinion seems now to have concentrated its weight upon the question of the freedom of the seas as the matter of first importance.

Before attempting to understand the implications of the problem in its present phase it would be well for controversialists to make allowance for certain general trends in popular (and largely ignorant) opinion in both the United States and in Great Britain. It appears from the type of argument that now predominates in American comment that the evolution of American opinion has taken something like the following course. The argument begins from the axiom that the United States is twice as big in population and three times as wealthy as Great Britain. How wealth is computed is a question that would involve much research and probably no agreement, but it does seem to be taken for granted by the American commentators that the United States is at least three times richer than Great Britain. The typical American commentator (for instance, Mr. Frank Simonds, who writes extensively on the subject) therefore regards America's "offer" of parity in naval strength to Great Britain as a generous offer, the argument being that in pre-war days, when Great Britain was wealthier than the United States, Great Britain was content with nothing less than naval supremacy. In the changed circumstances, continues the typical American argument, the United States, conformably with British principles, could now claim naval supremacy. The fact that in spite of an overwhelming financial and economic advantage that would enable her to outbuild the whole world at any moment, she none the less asks for nothing more than "parity" (arrived at by American standards of calculation) is therefore regarded as proof of American good will and high principle.

That conception being the starting point of the American

argument, the next submission is that the United States has honestly tried to induce Great Britain to accept the principle of parity. The attempt was made at Washington in 1920 and again at Geneva in 1927: both failed, according to the American view, because Great Britain, still dominated by the Admiralty, clung to the demand for virtual supremacy, as concentrated in the British demand for cruisers. The feeling in the United States that the British Government has so far rejected the American offer of parity is sincere and widespread, in spite of isolated appreciations, publicly expressed, that Great Britain, while refusing "parity" as prescribed by America, is willing to grant "equality" by a differentiation between two classes of cruiser.

The classic example of such isolated broadmindedness remains that of Mr. French, Chairman of the House Naval Committee, who in 1920 fully agreed with Lord Balfour's claim that the British Empire, being at any given time within seven weeks of starvation, had a special need of protective cruisers for her food supply. Mr. French repeated his view as lately as January 4th, 1927, when, in presenting the naval estimates to the House of Representatives, he 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 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." Thus Mr. French.

Mr. French's voice however cried in the wilderness, and when in the summer of that same year Mr. Gibson expressed the American view at Geneva he wholly refused to understand the British differentiation between 10,000-ton cruisers carrying 8-inch guns and 6,000-ton cruisers carrying 6-inch guns. Stripped of its irrelevancies the conflict consisted in this, that Great Britain wanted to establish "equality" in belligerent offensive power (and therefore proposed a reduction of the armaments carried by cruisers and a limitation in the size of their guns) and to leave a margin of defensive cruisers for the purpose of protecting trade routes, the amount of such cruisers to be left to the discretion or to the calculated need of each party irrespective of the other parties; whereas the United States held out for global parity in tonnage, under which principle each party would be free to build either 10,000-ton cruisers with 8-inch guns or 6,000-ton cruisers with 6-inch guns, as it might by itself decide. On the face of the argument, the United States certainly offered arithmetic parity: but unfortunately no weight was allowed for the unmistakably

tenable view of the British Admiralty that on the American principle the United States, not wanting small defensive cruisers with 6-inch guns for the protection of trade routes, could absorb her global tonnage in the building of 10,000-ton cruisers with 8-inch guns, and would thereby leave Great Britain to choose on the one hand between following her example in order to maintain belligerent equality and thereby being forced to sacrifice the defensive cruisers she needed, and on the other hand of building her defensive cruisers and accepting belligerent inferiority. The technical basis of the British argument was that cruisers carrying 6-inch guns are useless in war against cruisers carrying 8-inch guns, because the latter can engage the former from a range which renders themselves immune from the guns of the former.

As is the unhappy way of the world, however, the commentators and the politicians proceeded by an unscholarly route to their conclusions. They did not take the trouble to weigh, or even to read, the case of the other side; with the result that American opinion after the summer of 1927 jumped in the main to the conclusion that Great Britain had rejected America's offer of "parity"—a conclusion that was by mathematics right, but by reason and commonsense absolutely wrong.

By such courses America reached the end of the second phase of her controversial evolution. She could claim and enforce supremacy, she had asked only for parity, and had been denied.

The next phase was directly produced by the wickedly unfortunate episode of the Anglo-French naval "compromise" propounded in 1928, of which the effect on popular American opinion could have been foretold by any schoolboy. Having just reached the conclusion that Great Britain had rejected the offer of parity, American opinion promptly, hastily, even stupidly regarded the Anglo-French proposal as a device, darkly conceived and mischievously intentioned, to force America's hands into accepting a disguised form of British naval supremacy. The psychological effect of that blunder, so far as the United States was concerned, was immense.

One fact by itself is enough to illustrate its immensity, the profound change, namely, which it produced on an important person in the United States who had identified himself with the cause of Anglo-American understanding. The change stands on record in all its depressing clearness of outline. It was Mr. Britten, Chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, who towards the end of last year sent a telegram to Mr. Baldwin in the following terms: "Recalling your publicly expressed desire of November 13th for more frequent personal discussions between American and British representatives and remembering very

pleasantly my personal participation in Inter-Parliamentary Conferences, both here and in Europe, I am impelled to suggest a joint meeting of the committee on naval affairs of the United States House of Representatives and a select committee of members of Parliament for the purpose of friendly discussion and the hearing of testimony in connection with applying the principle of equality in sea power between Great Britain and the United States on all ships of war not already covered by the Washington Treaty. Meetings to take place, preferably in Canada, after March 4th, 1929, and each committee will report with recommendation to its respective Government, just as may now be done annually by the various groups of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Where there is so much genuine regret among the people of England and America over the failure of the last Geneva Naval Limitation Conference, surely some way should be found for a meeting before 1931, when the five leading naval Powers will again assemble at Washington. I will respect your personal desires in connection with these suggestions."

In sending that telegram Mr. Britten acted with the courage that is necessary for all true pacifism. He ignored not only the certain disapproval of vulgar opinion, but of official Washington, and he further, with his eyes open, flew in the face of an American Statute itself, the so-called Logan Law, which expressly prohibits any citizen of the United States from making any representation to any foreign Government on any matter of public policy. It happened by the same token that the telegram caused a certain embarrassment to Mr. Baldwin, who to his obvious regret could answer only in this strain: "I have learned with great interest your proposal for a joint meeting of members of the United States Congress and members of the British Parliament for a friendly discussion on the limitation of naval armament. I cordially reciprocate the spirit which inspires your suggestion and I share your desire for a complete understanding between the two countries. In my speech of November 13th, however, I was speaking, not of Legislatures, but of Executives of Governments, and it was the absence of facilities for personal intercourse between Ministers which I regretted. Except to remove this possible misunderstanding of my speech, I feel it would not be consistent with the courtesy I owe to the United States Government to express any further opinion on the proposal, about which, as I understand it, they have not been consulted. I would, therefore, only repeat my appreciation of your friendly sentiments."

The point however was that Mr. Britten was at that time still inspired with a crusading zeal to stem the tide of Anglo-American misunderstanding that had been started by the Anglo-French

blunder. He failed, and the bitterness of his failure was made apparent at the beginning of February, when the Cruiser Bill was signed. On that occasion he declared: "The President . . . knows that at the very moment when France and England were agreeing to the Kellogg Pact to outlaw war they were already in a secret agreement to submerge American sea power. Public condemnation in England and in France has caused the scrapping of this unfriendly alliance. President Coolidge knows that Lord Birkenhead's naval construction programme, which has been secretly adopted by His Majesty's Government, is a distinct menace to the balance of the world. More convincing than all of these acknowledgments is the outstanding fact that the accepted principle of the Washington Conference has been violated by each of its signatories excepting the United States, thus leaving the American Navy far behind the 5—5—3 ratio."

Mischief therefore was afoot. Even those who had fought for commonsense in Anglo-American relations were swept into the opposite tendency, and Congress resounded with openly hostile sentiment against Great Britain. There was something alarmingly significant in the news that the new cruisers voted to the Navy Department would be 10,000-ton cruisers carrying 8-inch guns. It looked at first sight as if a deliberate provocation had been launched at Great Britain.

At that point, however, other factors emerged in the situation which bade one modify one's first impression. The popular headstrong emotionalists on both sides made the worst of it, and continue to do so: but the fourth phase in the evolution of American feeling, which was ushered in with the passing of the Cruiser Bill on February 5th, is not anything so crude as a surrender to uncontrolled anti-British feeling.

What then is the fourth phase? The three preceding phases had been, first, the assumption of America's right to supremacy, second, the offer of parity, subjectively regarded as a generous offer, third, a resentment against the alleged British refusal of that offer, intensified by the discovery of the supposedly Machiavellian Anglo-French manoeuvre of last summer. The new cruisers have been voted, the time limit for their construction has been maintained against Mr. Coolidge's express desire. Why are those cruisers being built?

The avalanche of comment and argument now appearing in the United States leads one to something like the following conclusion. The problem of limiting the naval strength of the leading naval Powers has now been subordinated in the American view to that of vindicating the principle of the "freedom of the seas." The two problems are still closely connected in American minds,

but the balance has shifted. The new cruisers themselves, by the same process, are oddly enough assigned a subordinate place in the argument. They are regarded as a bargaining pawn. Although the Navy Department is authorised to build the new cruisers, and to build them within a time limit, it is always possible for the legislature to suspend building—in the event, for instance, of an international agreement being reached for a limitation of navies on the American basis. The new cruisers therefore fulfil as it were a belligerent purpose in a game of gentle blackmail, designed for the noble end of naval disarmament. Indeed the Cruiser Bill expressly stipulated that the Secretary of the Navy was to submit estimates annually to the Bureau of the Budget for the programme of construction authorised in the Bill, requested the President to encourage an international agreement for the further limitation of naval armament, and in the event of the United States signing such an agreement the President was empowered to suspend the whole or a part of the construction authorised by the Bill.

A respite being thus gained from all immediate consideration of "disarmament" American opinion has turned its attention to "the freedom of the seas." What is meant by that conception? It would take a long time to explain the different ideas it has been used to express at different times, in different countries, by different people. It is clear, however, that for the past fifty years general opinion in America has identified the doctrine of the freedom of the seas with President Pierce's definition (1854) that "free ships make free goods, except in the case of articles contraband of war." By the time however, in 1918, that President Wilson enunciated the second of his Fourteen Points, the principle had come to mean in the American view the absolute freedom of all nations, belligerent or neutral, to conduct their trade upon the high seas, in war or in peace, without impediment. In President Wilson's day there was conceded one exception to that principle, namely that freedom be denied in the one case when the seas might be closed, partly or wholly, as a result of international action designed to vindicate international covenants. In other words American opinion just after the war, and before it repudiated President Wilson and all his works, toyed with the notions that underlay the League of Nations.

President Wilson, however, and the League of Nations, alike fell from grace in American eyes. There has developed in their place a strong reaction against the "European" League of Nations, an almost fanatic dread of being dictated to by any League of Nations, and in particular a strong refusal to be entangled in any way that would modify America's unfettered sovereignty in the determination of what she was to do with her navy. American

opinion has hotly resented all argument in favour of signing the Covenant of the League for the main reason that the obligation to take part in economic and other sanctions against an aggressor state would place the American navy at the disposal of Geneva. Such a thought has been gall and wormwood to the isolated American, that is to the vast majority of American citizens. The slogan "freedom of the seas" has therefore come to be mixed up, in American thought, with freedom from Geneva and freedom from all interference on the part of those nations who are represented at Geneva. The Wilsonian exception above alluded to has lost all its appeal in the United States. What America now claims by the principle "freedom of the seas" is freedom for American ships, in war or in peace, to carry goods, whether contraband or not, to and from any country, even to and from any country that might at some future time be boycotted by the League of Nations in pursuance of the provisions of the Covenant.

Under modern conditions of warfare the distinction between contraband and other goods is almost meaningless. A month after the World War started the German Government had set up in New York an agency for buying the goods it wanted to prosecute the war, and the goods were shipped as private property from a neutral country to a neutral country. All belligerents in modern war ship their supplies as private property, and all private citizens in a belligerent country become Government agents for the duration of the war. Even the most private of private property, money, is lent to the State on patriotic grounds! The two slogans therefore "free ships, free goods, except contraband" and "immunity of private property at sea" become meaningless muddles in time of war. Yet American opinion has become obsessed with the urgency of reaching some sort of definite understanding with the other naval Powers about the sacrosanctity of private property at sea. A clause in the Cruiser Bill, as passed on February 5th of this year, prescribed that treaties with all the principal maritime nations regulating the conduct of belligerents and neutrals in war at sea, including the inviolability of private property thereon, should be negotiated, if possible, before the meeting of the Naval Limitation Conference in 1931.

That clause of the Bill seemed to establish the precedence in American official as well as in American private thought of the problem of the freedom of the seas over that of naval limitation.

Such is the state of mind, and such the evolution from which it seems to have resulted, in the United States. So far as Great Britain is concerned the problem is necessarily looked at from a different angle. The British Government is a signatory of the League of Nations Covenant, and in theory at any rate, the British

navy is potentially mortgaged for the purpose of the Covenant. In theory, therefore, the British navy might be called to blockade an "aggressor" state with which the United States, not being a member of the League, might want to trade. That theory is so preposterous as of itself to prevent its realisation. Clearly, until the whole world goes unreservedly mad, a League of Nations whose purpose is to prevent war is not going to produce an Anglo-American war as a means of preventing a minor war in Europe. It is, of course, out of the question, for the sufficient reason that no British Government would ever be capable of so exquisite an upheaval of its reason. British Governments are stupid, nearly always: but even stupidity is denied unlimited scope.

What therefore is to be the solution? On the one hand the British Government is genuinely anxious to reach an agreement on naval limitations and on the 5—5—3 basis, provided that the criterion be reasonable equality, and not mathematical parity, which in practice may be misleading; and the United States Government still protests its loyalty to the principle of a 5—5—3 limitation. On the question of the freedom of the seas, the British Government is committed to the League Covenant, the United States Government is not. The interests of the two countries are on a long view or on any sane view, long or short, identical. The politicians are timid, as they mostly are, and popular feeling is being allowed to acclimatise itself to the existence of an Anglo-American problem. Such drift is dangerous. Yet to any person whose judgment is not vitiated by nationalist passion, or who retains an elementary measure of commonsense, there appears to be a perfectly simple solution. So far as the limitation of navies is concerned, it is hard to believe that by 1931 it will not be possible for American and British experts, granted their good will and sincerity, to strike a common measure between global parity in tons and belligerent equality in guns. There could, for instance, be an equation of the value of a 10,000-ton cruiser carrying 8-inch guns and a 6,000-ton cruiser carrying 6-inch guns. If, for instance, an American expert claimed that the two are equal in value, and a British that the 10,000-ton cruiser is worth six 6,000-ton cruisers, the mean could be taken between the two estimates and an agreement reached that either country could build either one 10,000-ton cruiser with 8-inch guns or (say) three 6,000-ton cruisers with 6-inch guns. If in that case the United States wanted her 8-inch guns, she would have no grievance, because, if she wanted, she could build three of the smaller cruisers instead of one of the bigger. Some such automatic scale ought readily to be achievable.

As for the freedom of the seas and the complication of the League Covenant, could not the "Kellogg" Pact be used as a bridge?

All the interested Powers have signed the Kellogg Pact. It ought therefore be possible for the British Government to agree that the right of capture of ships or goods at sea be totally abolished with the single exception of ships of war; while the United States for her part should find no difficulty in agreeing that by treaty or by Presidential edict she should be bound to forbid any American citizen from conducting trade with any country that had been deemed by an international authority (say the Permanent Court of International Justice which America is about to join) to have resorted to war as an instrument of national policy.

Certain serious people in Great Britain have begun to move in their minds towards such a solution of the problem of the freedom of the seas. Hitherto the difficulty has been that America's distrust of being dictated to by Geneva has kept her aloof from international collaboration in the organisation of peace. Now that Mr. Kellogg has engaged American interest in a pact for the renunciation of war—the principle of which is essentially the principle of the League of Nations—and now that the Statute of the World Court is being amended on American initiative to meet American objections, the necessary contact seems to have become, not only available, but inevitable. The solution by the same process begins to emerge of its own growth, like the shoots in one's garden.

THE LEAGUE AND DISARMAMENT.

The announcement that the League of Nations would on April 15th resume its examination of the general problem of disarmament caused little stir among those who normally give their enthusiasm to what remains the greatest and the most urgent cause in the world's diplomacy. It is a good cause; and as is the way of good causes, it is beset with difficulty. There are signs that those who work for disarmament are feeling the discouragement brought upon them by the deadlock that has persisted for the past twelve months. Yet the League of Nations, true to its purpose, convened its disheartened delegates on April 15th to begin the sixth session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

The weariness and the non-success continue in the main to be due to the same cause, the lack of harmony in the outlook of Europe on the one hand and of the United States on the other. It is known in the heart of every representative who sits on that Commission that there can be no progress until the combined diplomacy of the United States and of Europe is genuinely chastened into a desire for disarmament. It is unfortunate therefore that the two halves of that combination have not equally been beaten by misfortune into the necessary humility of spirit. In spite of all the deep-rooted distrust, fear, craving for armaments that in the past have been

the curse of Europe, it has appeared to be the case since the war that the European countries had one and all suffered enough from the war to make them ready sincerely to entertain proposals for disarmament. Since the war many schemes for disarmament have been formulated, most of them with thought and sincerity behind them, and they have one and all been European schemes. By contrast, the United States, far from suffering the war's effect in any sense comparable to its effect on Europe, has emerged since the war as a powerful and prosperous country. The chastened spirit is conspicuously lacking. The problem is regarded by many European statesmen as nearly insoluble, precisely because it is a psychological problem, and the psychology of disarmament is denied because the United States is passing not through the wisdom of adversity but through the ordeal of prosperity.

The difficulty is beyond the control of the League of Nations. The United States is composed of citizens who for the most part do not feel the urgency of disarmament. Some of her leading politicians, aspiring none the less to do the fine thing, have wanted the United States to use her wealth, not to set the pace in the building of navies, but to set the pace in the abolition of all armaments. The United States has it in her power to arm or to disarm the whole world.

It was in March, 1928, that the fifth session of the League's Preparatory Commission ended in the deadlock that has lasted ever since. The result was all the more disappointing because on March 15th, 1928, when the Commission met, the presence of the representatives of the United States, Russia and Turkey (who had not before participated in that work) seemed to open the prospect of a more businesslike examination of the problem than had before been possible. Yet the delegates, when they met, seemed not to be able to shake off their shyness of the big task that faced them. The shyness was helped by the feeling that the United States, though now for the first time taking a hand in the vital work, did so in a non-committal spirit, for the United States remained outside the League itself. The Commission made the mistake of allowing the first day to pass without attempting anything essential to its main purpose, and on the second day was palpably relieved to find that it could gain still more time by allowing Mr. Litvinov to formulate what timid opinion throughout the world would doubtless regard as an unpractical suggestion. What Mr. Litvinov suggested was that the best means of agreeing on a scheme of disarmament was simply to agree on a scheme of disarmament, total and immediate. The other members of the Commission, sharing the timidity aforesaid, almost unanimously agreed to a total and immediate rejection of Mr. Litvinov's suggestion.

Next, an event took place which illustrated the truth that the right thing, when done at the wrong time, may belie its name and produce mischief. On the second day of the Geneva Commission's meeting—when the decision still wavered in the balance whether anything or nothing should be done—the news arrived in Geneva that on the previous day Mr. Kellogg had launched his proposal for a multilateral pact against war as an instrument of national policy. After that moment the Geneva Commission was a motionless ship, with no wind for its sails. Mr. Kellogg's words, fine in themselves, were a cold douche to Geneva, where the representatives of all the nations were assembled, and where therefore Mr. Kellogg in other circumstances might reasonably have expected to receive the warmest support. "I do believe," declared Mr. Kellogg, "that the world is making great strides towards the adjustment of international disputes and that the common people are of one mind in their desire to see the abolition of war as an institution."

Now the substance of what Mr. Kellogg proposed and of what he said in support of it, was of the very substance of what Geneva proposed and said. Why therefore did Mr. Kellogg, as it were, offend Geneva? Tact in statesmanship is as necessary as it is in private life. The Geneva statesmen had been working on the problem of general peace and disarmament for ten years while Washington had stood obstructively aside—obstructively, because it was the very aloofness of the United States that robbed Geneva of its opportunity. Mr. Kellogg now, as it were, came to the help of Geneva by ignoring Geneva, by dismissing Geneva, by proposing himself to do what Geneva had failed to do—but failed for the reason aforesaid. It was unfair. If Mr. Kellogg had had the tact to make his suggestion through Geneva instead of in despite of Geneva, he might have become a conspicuous benefactor to mankind. He made it otherwise, and the Europeans of Geneva, who had worked harder than Mr. Kellogg in the same field, reacted against him. They were wrong to do so; but one could understand why they did so. On the very same day, March 16th, as if symbolically, the Geneva Commission proceeded to approve the report of its own kindred Security Commission, which had been drawing up plans for precisely the same end as that encompassed by Mr. Kellogg.

For the remainder of the March, 1928, session, the Preparatory Commission wasted its time in a way that seems more and more deplorable as one looks back on it. There was Mr. Litvinov's renewed formulation (March 19th) of his proposed scheme for total immediate disarmament; the guarded encouragement of Count Bernstorff and Rushdi Bey; and then Lord Cushendun's vigorous, uncompromising, flat denunciation of it. Lord Cushendun

eloquently exposed the double-dealing of the Bolsheviks, their peaceful front at Geneva, their warlike front elsewhere, their gymnastic combination of excessive zeal within the counsels of the League and of equally zealous sabotage of the League outside; all quite true, but hardly helpful to the work in hand. So convincing was he in his destruction, that the representatives of the United States, Greece, Holland, Poland, Sweden, Belgium, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Finland, and Cuba all of them on the following day joined the chorus of denunciation against Mr. Litvinov: when they ought more properly to have been joining a chorus in favour of disarmament.

Even before the Commission dispersed, Count Clauzel revealed the cloven hoof of something that was destined to cause trouble a little later. In pleading that the reading of the Draft Convention on Disarmament be postponed, he alluded to conversations which were then in progress, he said, between certain Powers whom he did not specify. Lord Cushendun later explained, to allay certain qualms that had been caused by Count Clauzel's mysterious pronouncement, that the conversations had merely taken place in an informal way in Geneva, in Paris, on the golf course, in the train, and that nothing much as yet had resulted. The immediately interesting thing was that the work of the League's Commission was now adjourned *sine die*, and the British and French politicians and military "experts" began discussing certain particular problems that had arisen as between their two countries by themselves.

The League's Disarmament Conference had been shunted for an indefinite prospect of time. The Anglo-French experts then proceeded to commit a quite surprisingly unbusinesslike stroke of business by laying the foundation of the notorious "Anglo-French naval compromise proposal." The world certainly does not deserve the diplomatists it gets, if the Anglo-French diplomatists of last summer be taken as a sample. No world, however bad, could deserve anything so ridiculous. What they did was a thing that becomes more surprising, and more comic, as one reflects on it. The starting point was that Great Britain and France could not agree about a definition of what constituted "effectives" for the purpose of reducing the principle of limitation on land to practical terms. Being unable to agree in that matter, and recognising that so long as they disagreed on so important an element in the general problem of disarmament the League's Commission could never restart its work, the Anglo-French experts hit on the highly original expedient of agreeing, instead, on a matter closely affecting naval disarmament. By that device, they apparently thought, with

sublime simplicity, they would remove the deadlock and enable the work of the Commission to be restarted.

Now it happened that the particular basis of naval agreement on which they so happily stationed themselves was the precise basis of naval limitation which had been proposed by Great Britain at the Three Power naval conference of the summer before, and roundly rejected by the United States; but to add diplomatic correctitude to the puerility, the negotiators satisfied their consciences with the intention of submitting the plan to the United States. Nor did the frumpery end even there. In their elation, no doubt, over so agreeable an achievement, the British negotiators freely conceded, as a separate transaction, the whole of the French contention about land armaments. It was meticulously explained in Whitehall that no thought of bargaining had ever entered the British mind in reaching that dual result; an assurance that did less than justice to the intelligence of those to whom it was addressed. How could one regard as a "bargain" an arrangement in which Great Britain on the one hand obtained French agreement to a naval scheme which depended on American concurrence (it being known that America would not concur) and on the other hand gave away to France the whole case that she had argued against Great Britain in the matter of land armament? It was not a bargain, for bargains have two sides to them. Moreover—and herein lay the supreme point of the French *plaisanterie*—the naval "compromise" had been designed to facilitate a resumption of the argument about land armaments: by the same token there being now no argument to resume.

The Anglo-French exchanges had the effect of annoying the United States and of still further postponing the work of Geneva. When the Assembly met in September, 1928, it could do no more than express a weary hope that the Preparatory Commission might meet soon, that was, either at the end of 1928 or at the beginning of 1929. It did not meet till March 15th.

THE VOLSTEAD AND OTHER COMPLICATIONS.

America has her own peculiar difficulties on the sea. The Volstead Act has produced some rough seas, as it were, for American politicians. One remembers eight years ago the attractive conundrum that was raised: does an American ship on the high seas fall under the dry sway of the Volstead Act; is an American ship part and parcel of American territory wherever it be? The conundrum was launched from the best of all possible quarters, a Government quarter, for the Shipping Board was caught in the act of buying liquor for its ships. The Shipping Board helplessly pleaded that American ships would stand little chance in

competition with British and French ships if the passengers thereon, of any nationality and of any tendency, dry or wet, were sternly denied the possibility of a drink on the high seas, no matter how far from the prohibitive United States. The Shipping Board had to submit to the humiliating ruling of the American Attorney-General that an American ship was American for all that, and no drink was the rule.

It was soon after that incident that the first rumblings were heard of the storm that the Volstead Act was destined to produce all round the shores of the United States. The Volstead Act created the most lucrative profession the world had ever known, that of "rum-running," its clients being the citizens of the United States, their need that of a large unsatisfied thirst. In the autumn of 1922 the American cutters were already losing their heads and seizing vessels, even outside the three-mile limit (as it then was) on the mere suspicion of their being engaged in smuggling liquor. A Canadian schooner and a British schooner were seized in that way. At that time, nerves being still fresh, the ships were seized only, not sunk. But as nerves became a little worn under the disappointing discovery that the ships seized were mostly innocent of liquor, there began an American agitation for a widening of the field of search. America asked for an extension of the three-mile limit into a twelve-mile limit, wherein her cutters could have better exercise.

After a year of controversy the United States was given her widened territorial waters, the chief effect of which was to make rum-running more attractive to adventurous spirits, and more exasperating for the coastguard cutters. American nerves became frayed to such a pitch that the sharp-shooters have now blundered into sinking a foreign ship outside the United States territorial waters. On March 22nd of this year the British schooner *I'm Alone*, was fired on and sunk off Louisiana in the Gulf of Mexico. The coastguard patrol had signalled her to heave-to, and the captain defied them. The captain has since been acquitted of transgressing American law, and the coastguard watchdogs are in a sorrier case than ever: but one of the *I'm Alone's* crew—a French citizen—was drowned, the other members of the crew were badly treated, and an international incident has been produced of the kind it were better not to have produced. Something more is involved than the question whether the *I'm Alone* was inside or outside the territorial limit. She was outside, but even if she had been inside, the sinking of the ship would have been an unwise expedient from every point of view. At the time, in the summer of 1923, when test cases were applied to the *Berengaria*, the French *Paris*, and the Japanese *Korea Maru*, each of which carried liquor

into American territorial waters, certain principles of conduct were laid down on both the British and the American side about the international aspect of the Volstead Act.

Even granted a ship were carrying liquor in American waters, it was agreed that a severe limit was placed on American scope for action. On the American side Chief Justice Marshall declared that "an Act of Congress ought never to be construed to violate the laws of nations." Mr. Justice Sutherland, of the United States Supreme Court, endorsed that sentiment.

Lord Curzon, on the British side, expounded the traditional unwritten law of the sea which demanded that even in its own territorial waters a nation shall not narrowly apply its own laws to the exclusion of all others. "This," he said, "is rather a case of international practice than of international law. If a nation acts unreasonably towards the ships of other nations when they come within its jurisdiction it will find its own ships are unreasonably treated when they are within foreign jurisdiction."

The sinking of the *I'm Alone* raised in the first place a treaty question, but in the second place it raised the more important question of its relation to the established practice of good form at sea.

It would perhaps be a mistake to take too seriously the diplomatic implications of the sinking of the *I'm Alone*. It is true that a diplomatic issue has been raised which will have to be dealt with. It would, however, be unfortunate, in view of the already serious nature of America's diplomatic problems with the rest of the world, if the sinking of the *I'm Alone* had the result of distracting attention from the main problem. When on April 9th the captain and the crew of the *I'm Alone* were tried at New Orleans on a charge of conspiracy to defeat the Volstead Law, the evidence against them was adjudged to be inadequate and they were acquitted. Four days earlier (April 5th) the Canadian Government lodged at Washington a formal protest against the action of the coastguard cutter. It is understood that the Canadian Government submitted that the schooner was not within American territorial waters at the time, and protested against the sinking of the ship on the dual ground that it constituted a violation of international law and also went beyond the powers conferred on the United States cutters by the special agreement designed to help the United States Government in enforcing the prohibition law.

On April 15th Sir Austen Chamberlain in the House of Commons gave the full facts of the case, as by then established. "In the early morning of March 20th last (he said) the schooner *I'm Alone*, which cleared from Belize, British Honduras, for Bermuda, encountered the United States Revenue cutter *Walcott* off the coast

of Louisiana at a place which is alleged by the United States preventive authorities to be 500 miles off her course to Bermuda. The United States Government also alleges that at the time when the *I'm Alone* was encountered by the *Walcott* she was within the limits prescribed by Article 2 of the Convention respecting the Regulation of the Liquor Traffic signed at Washington on January 23rd, 1924, but this is disputed. The master of the *I'm Alone* declined to obey the command of the officer in charge of the *Walcott* to heave to, and made off with the Revenue vessel in pursuit. The chase continued until the morning of March 22nd, when the *I'm Alone* was sunk by gun-fire from the United States Revenue cutter *Dexter*, which had joined in the chase some time earlier, the master of the *I'm Alone* still refusing to heave to. When the *I'm Alone* sank the master and crew were thrown into the sea, which at the time was running moderately high, but were able to reach the *Walcott* or the *Dexter*, and were picked up by the crews of one or other of these vessels. The boatswain unhappily did not react to artificial respiration on board the *Walcott*, and died. The crew of the *I'm Alone* were taken to New Orleans and proceedings were initiated, but on April 9th these were discontinued, the charges against them being withdrawn. On the same date the Canadian Minister at Washington, acting upon instructions from His Majesty's Government in Canada, made representations to the United States Government. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom had previously been notified by His Majesty's Government in Canada of their intentions, and His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington was authorised to inform the United States Secretary of State, after the delivery of the Canadian Note, that they shared the views of His Majesty's Government in Canada, and desired to support the action taken by them."

GEORGE GLASGOW.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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THE KORAN.*

One of the most remarkable events in the history of mankind was the sudden emergence in the first half of the seventh century of the Christian era of a prophet in Arabia who created a new religion and gave that religion a new Bible which welded together into a solid whole the most discordant races in Asia and Northern Africa. In a century the followers of Mohammed were ruling the greater part of Western Asia, the whole of North Africa, Spain, Portugal, and Southern France. Sir Wolseley Haig, in the third volume of the Cambridge History of India, goes so far as to say that in A.D. 732 the French victory of Poitiers over the Arabs

decided whether the Christians' bell or the muezzin's cry should sound over Rome, Paris and London, whether the subtleties of the schoolmen and later, the philosophy of Greece, or the theology and jurisprudence of the Koran and the Traditions should be studied at Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge.

This seems a difficult statement, since Islam is essentially a faith that suits tribes and peoples ripe for revolt against idolatry but is not a faith that could stand against the essential intellectuality of the western world. The history of the Arabs in Spain shows that their victory in the seventh century was due to divisions among the Visigothic Christians and not to military superiority, and that during their sojourn in the peninsula they rapidly yielded to the

* *The Koran (Qur'ân)*. Translated by E. H. Palmer. With an introduction by R. A. Nicholson [The World's Classics]. Oxford University Press. 2s. net.

penetration of Grecian philosophy and mathematics. The book which was and is the common basis of Islamic faith is a strange document, but it is not one that the intellectual minds of the West could have accepted. The Christian Bible is a fit subject of theological and philosophic thought, and gains in riches the more that it is subjected to adverse or destructive criticism. That is not true of the Koran, remarkable though that work undoubtedly is. If it had been true the Turk would have passed west and north in his tide of conquest in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the Arabs of Spain in the earlier centuries would have been a progressive and not a retrograde power which the Spanish Christians eventually expelled. The amazing achievements in art, poetry, and thought of the followers of Mohammed in Spain and in India were achieved almost in spite of their faith, and were due to the essential genius of the Arabian and Indian peoples. The conquerors of Constantinople showed no such originality of thought or art. They have contributed very little to the content of humanism.

It was a true instinct that turned the Arabian conquering race eastward to India and southward to Africa. The invasion of India brought the new faith into contact with idolators whom they hated. The Arabs carried the Koran up to the Indus during the two and a half centuries that elapsed between the first attack on Sind in the early part of the eighth century and the decline of the political unity of Islam of the eleventh century. From thenceforward separate kingdoms spread the new faith beyond the Indus and into many regions of the peninsula. The solidarity of the faith was indeed only broken to the extent that Sunni orthodoxy was faced with a reformed, the Shiah, movement. Again in Africa, from the north coast the faith drifted down to the west, as it had long since drifted down to Egypt. Islam, as many a Mahdi has shown, peculiarly meets the spiritual needs of tribal Africa, a fact that would have appealed to its founder, who regarded his mission as one to extirpate or convert idolators.

It has been the fate of the British Empire to become the overlord of a large part of the world of Islam, both in Asia and in Africa. It is, perhaps, not without significance in the trend of history, that the three faiths that owe allegiance to written inspiration, the Jewish, the Christian, and the Islamic, the Peoples of the Book, should be so closely allied to-day. The Islamic conquerors had a Roman tolerance towards Christians and Jews, and certainly the same freedom is extended to Islam wherever the British rule extends. It is, therefore, desirable that British subjects should read and become acquainted with the Book of Islam, and the neat edition in English now added by the Oxford University Press to the "World's Classics" Series will be widely welcomed.

The history of the compilation that took the name of the Qur'ân is full of interest. Mr. Nicholson dwells on the inspirational quality of the chapters that Mohammed spake forth at Mecca and contrasts them with the regulatory form of the earlier parts of the Koran. In some way these rhapsodies from Mecca recall the voices of Isaiah and Jeremiah, but certainly not the voice of Christ. Mohammed at Mecca was a mystic, but he was to become a conqueror, an organiser, a leader of a host that was destined to conquer a great part of the old Roman Eastern Empire. For such a race legislation was necessary, and legislation from such a man necessarily took the form of divine messages.

But the question of compilation, the formation of a Book for the People, was a real difficulty. In the prophet's lifetime his words were learnt by heart and in some cases written down, a process that no doubt also accounts for the *Logia* attributed to Christ. But when the Prophet was dead it was soon seen that memory and tradition were not enough, and in the Caliphate of 'Othmân

an authorised edition was prepared by Zaid Ibn Thâbit, the Prophet's amanuensis, with the assistance of three colleagues. This edition, which contains the Qur'ân in its present form, soon gained universal currency. While its value as a genuine record of the Prophet's teaching and preaching cannot be impugned, the contents are in such a state of confusion that to read the book through from beginning to end is to miss all its significance as an historical document. Granting that the editors could not possibly have arranged the whole series of revelations in the exact order in which they were delivered, we must accuse them of ignoring chronology entirely. The plan they adopted was very simple, the place of each sûrah being determined by its length, and the longer ones preceding the shorter.

European critics have attempted to restore the original order and divide the Sûrahs into those written at Mecca between A.D. 610-622 and those written after the flight to Medina between A.D. 622-632. The Meccan Sûrahs fall into three periods, but "many passages of diverse date and provenance remain embedded in Sûrahs which have been assigned to a particular period." In reading the Koran it will be well to follow the order given by Mr. Nicholson.

Nevertheless, the Koran is rather a series of addresses and edicts than an orderly book. "No subject is treated systematically," and apparently the author regarded his revelations "as divine messages which had served their purpose when the emergency that had produced them was past." At Mecca he concentrated on monotheism, resurrection and retribution. That was Mohammed's essential message from Mecca in the face of gross idolatry. He was speaking to those who needed conversion. But in the Medina days of prosperity he was speaking to a converted people, and like Moses was ordering their lives.

Mr. Nicholson says that from the point of view of revelation for a temporary purpose neither the Prophet nor his audience could have cared for the preservation of his words. But that was not the view of the Prophet's successor, and it is hardly conceivable that it was altogether true of the Prophet when revelation became legislation, however crude or imperfect. But the primary purpose, the Meccan purpose, was conversion, the conversion imposed by the eye and voice of a great enthusiast on savage peoples, not the conversion of a literary people. But there is the beginning of a great literature in these fiery words, words that lived when the Prophet had passed away from the Sword and the Word. The Koran lives not only as a series of articles of faith but as all great literature lives, as a mirror of the personality that begat it.

The essential truth about the Qur'ân is not that it is a garbled version of the old scriptures, but that the whole work bears the stamp of a creative personality in conflict with traditional ideas. Only against the background of Arabian heathendom, from which it sprang, can it be viewed in its true proportions. Unless we keep in mind the abominations, as Mohammed deemed them, of the system he was sent to overthrow, we shall fail to recognise the original and distinctive form which he imposed on his revolutionary doctrine. That doctrine is neither Judaism nor Christianity: it is Islam.

It is a mirror of one of the greatest of human personalities. That is why it has such permanent influence on races of the type that Mohammed himself converted, but it is also why it has for twelve centuries appealed to earnest and learned Muslims who see, as the European cannot see, the unconquerable force for righteousness of the man who fled from Mecca and, fleeing, conquered a world that already in its heathendom was feeling after God and Immortality.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

THE RESTATEMENTS OF THE RENAISSANCE.*

Renaissance is the sequel of all life. "Ye must be born again" was no new statement, although like many other expressions it was taken literally at the time. The outworn must of necessity be replaced; as in nature, spring follows the seeming death of winter, which is but the preface of re-birth, "the winter of our discontent," that divine discontent which gives place to, and fructifies in new knowledge.

Reformation demands restatement, and restatement is not revolution, but an adjustment in the light of new learning. The new

* *Erasmus the Reformer*. By L. Elliott Binns. Methuen. 5s. net.

art of printing in the fifteenth century made this possible. Erasmus was one of the apostles of that new age. Dr. Binns has lately published his Hulsean Lectures, 1921-1922, which deal with Erasmus, and he shows with much scholarship the part which Erasmus played in restatement in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Erasmus was born in troublous times, in the year 1466, "in the very middle of that great series of changes by which the modern world was gradually evolved from the age which preceded it. He was both a child of the Renaissance and a forerunner of the Reformation." Dr. Binns does not feel that the Renaissance was entirely due to the revival of Greek thought, but that the hopes and ideals spontaneously springing in men's minds found their expression in Greek culture. "It was a moulding rather than an originating force"; "the true inwardness of the movement" was "the blossoming and unfolding of the mind of the Italian people."

The abuses and corruptions of the Catholic Church had brought her in the fifteenth century into disrepute with all deeply religious and thinking men, and not least amongst those of her own communion, whom the Roman Catholic Church never lacked, even in her darkest days. The Catholic revival, or counter-Reformation, as it was called, was partly due to the Protestant Reformation, and to the New Learning, which was not opposed to the old religious system but had come with it down from the Middle Ages. The new knowledge opened men's eyes to the almost complete secularisation of the Papacy, and to many abuses, including the sale of indulgences, which greatly enriched the coffers of the Church. These and many other evil accretions were wellnigh choking the old faith, and Erasmus stood stoutly against them. As Burchhardt says, "The moral salvation of the Papacy was due to its mortal enemies." We may well wonder if the spread of education amongst all classes to-day portends a not dissimilar scrutiny of the accepted forms of religion, and will demand, and ultimately obtain, a restatement of doctrine which will accord with the new discoveries in science, and, with a fuller knowledge of the past, retain the essential things without loss. Tares and wheat must grow together for a while, but the daily acquisition of new knowledge stirs man's mind and consequently he will demand a new setting which will satisfy his reason and justify his faith. Nature knows no pause, and religion and science are no exceptions to this rule. They, of necessity, must evolve and eventually unite, and in that unity, and in "the knowledge of the Son of God," will produce "a perfect man." This consummation is devoutly to be wished and worked for, one for which all great thinkers and reformers have fought in all ages.

Erasmus and Luther were diametrically opposed one to the

other, in their methods, although their goal was the same. Luther was a revolutionist, as Dr. Binns shows, and he lost much of the reformer by his "passionate narrowness," but great reforms are often brought about by exaggeration in the first place, and without that passion and exaggeration there would in all probability have been no Reformation, at any rate at that period; and the movement might have died down if left only in the hands of scholars, such as Erasmus. Luther was a religious genius and an enthusiast rather than a theologian. It was his personality and strong hatred of abuses which made him overthrow all authority, and culminated in that burning of the Papal Bull which, as Dr. Binns says, was "the parting of the ways."

In the preface the author excuses himself for his apparent depreciation of the work of Luther, owing to his sympathy with the policy of Erasmus; but the student of the two opposite characters must feel how necessary both were to the reforming movement in which, in diverse ways, they were the leaders. The parallelisms of history are not to be disregarded. The Prayer Book Measures of 1927-1928 have failed to become law, partly because the readjustment did not meet the views of either section of the Church.

These most interesting lectures with the Appended Notes give the reader an insight into the many and far-reaching causes of the Reformation, and should, by a study of the past, help the present age. The author closes with the warning, "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord," not by perfect organisation, nor by exact definition, shall we bring in the "Kingdom of Heaven." This book should be read beside *Erasmus and His Age*, by Mr. P. S. Allen (the President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford) and his wife, Mrs. H. M. Allen, and Mr. Allen's monumental work on the letters of Erasmus.

S. DE M.

* * *

CZECHS AND SLOVAKS.*

Apart from the fully documented account it gives of the treatment to which the Hungarians in Czecho-Slovakia are being subjected, the main object of this book, which would have been more effective if it had been reduced to about one-third its size and provided with an index, is apparently to prove that the consent of the Slovaks to unite with the Czechs in forming a national state was neither asked for nor obtained. The resolution of Liptozentmiklos of May 1st, 1918, which was supposed to give expression to their

* *Ungarns Vergewaltigung (Oberungarn unter tschechischer Herrschaft)*. Von Lajos Steier, Mit 87 Abbildungen und 8 Karten (1,004 pp.). Amalthea Verlag, Wien, 1929.

desire in this respect and was used by Masaryk to mislead public opinion in America, was, it is argued, a falsification due to Czech intrigue. The fact being that no such resolution was passed at the meeting in question, which so far from being, as was reported in the English and American Press, a representative assembly of several thousands, consisted of a handful of dissatisfied workmen, who, with the consent of the Hungarian Government, met together at the Black Eagle Inn to protest against a continuance of the war and to claim for themselves the right of self-determination, the liberty to express their opinion freely, and a strict observance of an eight-hours labour-day. So too the Declaration of Turozszentmarton of October 30th, 1918, passed at a private meeting which had no right to speak for Slovakia as a whole and which was intended to convince the Peace Delegates of the desire of the Slovaks to unite with the Czechs, was likewise a falsification, the original document, with a clause limiting the agreement to ten years, having been suppressed by the Czech managers of the meeting. How much truth there is in these statements we cannot take upon ourselves to decide. All we know is that a considerable number of Slovaks are dissatisfied with their treatment by the Czechs and that probably, if they were allowed a plebiscite, they would declare in favour of autonomy. That this would mean the end of Czecho-Slovakia goes without saying, and we think that Dr. Steier would have done better if, instead of losing himself in details, he had clearly pointed out that the *raison d'être* of Czecho-Slovakia is to be found in the fact that every third man in Bohemia and Moravia is a German. To make themselves masters in their new state the Czechs were obliged to bite off more than they have been able to chew. This accounts not only for their efforts to Czechise Slovakia, but for the disregard they are showing to the rights of the German and Hungarian minorities. Fortunately the Germans are fairly capable of taking care of themselves; but no one who considers how the Hungarians are being treated will deny that Dr. Steier has furnished sufficient evidence to justify a revision of the Treaty of Trianon, or at any rate a rectification of the boundary between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia.

* * *

CANTEENS IN THE BRITISH ARMY.*

An army marches on its stomach, and a great book might be written on the methods adopted by the great Commanders for feeding their armies. In this brief book Sir John Fortescue, the notable historian of the British Army, tells the story so far as it

* *A Short Account of Canteens in the British Army*. By John Fortescue. Cambridge: at the University Press. 3s. 6d. net.

regards the British Army, and places on firm record the superb inventions that enabled our huge armies in the Great War to be fed as never any army has been fed before. The work was done by the Expeditionary Force Canteen "without the direct cost of a penny to the National Treasury. . . . No contractor was enriched at the cost either of the taxpayer or the soldier." Indeed, there were substantial profits which in 1922 were allocated to a United Services Fund by Statute administered under the direction of General Lord Byng.

This great success, which will provide in future the guiding principle of feeding the fighting services in peace or in war, was due to the adoption of the co-operative principle which was introduced in 1894 by three officers—Major Harry James Crauford of the Grenadier Guards, Captain Lionel Fortescue of the 17th Lancers, who had introduced canteen reforms for his regiment in 1892, and Surgeon-Captain Herbert Murray Ramsay, medical officer attached to the Scots Guards—who founded the Canteen and Mess Co-operative Society. The Society secured three district contracts, and in 1900 its trade rose to £265,000. At the opening of the South African War the Society supplied its own regiments with such success that Lord Roberts cabled asking the Society to supply the whole of the troops as well as its own members. Eventually the work was done by Sir Redvers Buller's own organisation. After the war Lord Grey's committee recommended the co-operative system, but in vain, and the system by which canteens were let out to contractors continued, with the result that terrible corruption was exposed just before the Great War, and "Regimental Institutes turned eagerly to the Canteen and Mess Society, whose business made rapid advances."

The Society was flooded with work upon the outbreak of the war of 1914, and at the request of the War Office combined with one great and patriotic firm of contractors to form the Expeditionary Force Canteen. In 1916 the old contract system was abolished for the huge forces in training at home, and the Army Canteen Committee was formed which, by April, 1917, had two thousand canteens and spread its activities not only oversea but into the two sister services, the Navy (June, 1917) and Royal Air Force (April, 1918). During the war the Expeditionary Force Canteen became "universal providers for all the wants of the Army and of its auxiliary services at the Western Front." Sir John Fortescue describes the almost miraculous work that was done not only on the Western Front but in Italy, at Gallipoli, at Salonika, in Mesopotamia, and in the post-war campaigns. The success of the E.F.C. dominated the position, though even after the war efforts were made to abandon the co-operative principle. To-day, the Navy

Army and Air Force Institute, the child or grandchild of the Society of 1894, is "in principle a co-operative trading business conducted by those services for those services, including both officers and men," and is run on terms that no contractors could offer.

What was the system or systems that the co-operative method replaced? Sir John Fortescue does not go beyond the campaigns of Marlborough save to say that primitive armies lived on plunder, that plunder was organically distributed, and that private adventurers, the sutlers of later times, followed the armies with food-stuffs. Some mention might have been made of Cardinal Wolsey's organisation for his French Expeditionary Force, which was said to be better equipped than any force that left England until the year 1914. In Marlborough's campaigns the Army was dependent on licensed sutlers, and Sir John Fortescue tells the almost romantic story of the great sutleress, Mrs. Christian Ross, who fed both officers and men. Kit Ross "was perhaps the best known character in the Army except Marlborough himself, and, when finally she died, many years later, she was buried with military honours in the Churchyard of St. Margaret's, Westminster." The N.A. & A.F. Institute should raise a monument to this bellicose lady who is so much more to be admired than the contractors who took her place in the mid-nineteenth century.

In the Peninsula campaign Wellington had still to depend upon licensed sutlers. The story of the soldier's life after the end of the Napoleonic wars, both at home and abroad, is a lamentable one. The contracting system was introduced for the sale of spirits in barracks, and these canteens, which brought in a profit for the Government of £53,000 a year, had to be set against "the ruin of half-a-million's worth of good soldiers." The feeding of the men was wholly intolerable, and it was only the efforts made by poor officers on foreign stations that saved the army abroad from moral and physical collapse. But reform could not be delayed for ever, and in the year 1847 there came the beginning of canteen reform and the creation of regimental schools and libraries. With the Crimean War the eyes of the public were opened to the sad state of the patient soldiers with the Levantine trader as the only sutler. Improvements were organised at once at the Front by voluntary effort, and after the camp at Aldershot was opened in 1855 many improvements at home were introduced. The Canteen Regulation of 1863, moreover, showed the way to better things. The bitter experience of regiments even under the new system proved the need for co-operation and combination, and by 1894 the co-operative system had come into being, and fully justified itself twenty years later in the greatest war that history has known.

OUR NEO-ALEXANDRIANS.*

In these collected poems by Mr. Wilfrid Gibson entitled *The Golden Room and Other Poems** the title is taken from the last poem of all describing "the Golden Room," where a little company of young poets talked in July, 1919,

... in the lamplight, while the day
Died from rose-latticed casements, and the plovers
Called over the low meadows, till the owls
Answered them from the elms.

It, to the poet, is an immortal memory, and he dreams that the room is thereby hallowed. The brief Golden Room group of poems give the salt of hope to this sad volume which too often dwells on the essential tragedy of things in little biting heart-breaking poems that recall both the hopelessness and the brilliancy of the Alexandrian school of scholar-poets in the third century before our era. The evanescence and the tears of time form the main theme: and the sorrows of the Great War, its essential tragedies, give full play to Mr. Gibson's pre-war obsession of hopelessness. The fox's Mask of Life outlives the hunters on the wall of the ruined hall. Tragedy is everywhere, and one detects something of what Browning would have become had he not been an incurable optimist. There are poems of Browning's that exactly illustrate Mr. Gibson's perpetual mood. Mr. Gibson states his successive problems with absolute truthfulness in a few words that sear the soul, but his weakness as a poet is that he draws the obvious inference of intolerable sadness and neglects the intenser spiritual analysis which solves the riddle of the apparent evil that springs from the conflict of things essentially good. He describes his own difficulty in four lines:

Losing himself within himself, he wanders
In the dark labyrinth of his mind so long
That the great epic which he ever ponders
Cannot escape in song.

The difference between the great poets and Mr. Gibson is that "the great epic" is sung because the poet has to emerge from his labyrinth to explain the true nature of tragedy. They can only do this in the open air, so to speak, where the objective helps the subjective, where nature helps faith, where God and Immortality are the inevitable correlatives of Yearning and Sorrow. A comparison of Browning's "Householder" and Mr. Gibson's "The Search" shows the difference of outlook. Browning, at any rate, found "something worth looking for." The Neo-Alexandrians find nothing except dead memories and immortal sorrows. In these negative conclusions they can find no support either in science or philosophy. They make their own darkness and light it dimly with funereal epigrams.

J. E. G. DE M.

* Macmillan. 6s. net.

PITCAIRN ISLAND.*

The literature concerning the Pitcairn Islanders began in 1790 with Lieutenant William Bligh's account of the mutiny on H.M.S. *Bounty* and of the subsequent voyage in the ship's boat of himself and eighteen others of 2,400 miles from the Friendly Islands to Timor. The book contains the names of the mutineers. It was the first of a library of at least fifty-three books. The mutiny took place on April 20th, 1789, Bligh landed at Plymouth on March 14th, 1790, and his book was not only published at once in London but was immediately republished in French at Paris in 1790 in the turmoil of the Revolution. The Admiralty were not less active. H.M.S. *Pandora* was sent out at once in search of the mutineers, and fourteen of the sixteen who had been left at Tahiti by the *Bounty* were captured and ten of them (despite the wreck of the *Pandora*) were successfully brought to England and tried, three being hanged. One of those who were acquitted, Peter Heywood, rose to be a post-captain in the Navy. Nine of the mutineers and the *Bounty* had disappeared, and they were sought in vain. The nine men were, first the leader of the mutiny, Fletcher Christian, a brother of a well-known English lawyer and acting lieutenant on the *Bounty*. There is a mystery about his fate, since Heywood declared in 1809 that he saw him in Plymouth or Devonport and spoke to him, calling him by name, whereupon he instantly ran away. The other men were Edward Young, one of the midshipmen; William Brown, William McCoy, Isaac Martin, John Mills, Matthew Quintal, John Williams and Alexander Smith, who is known to fame as John Adams.

It was not until 1814 that the mystery of the nine men was solved by an accidental call at Pitcairn Island by H.M. ships *Briton* and *Tagus*. The story then came out, and the sole survivor of the nine, John Adams, offered to go back to England for trial. The offer was refused for the very good reason that though he was the last of the mutineers, he was the necessary leader of the remarkable community that had grown up in the island. The British men-of-war were not the first callers at the island, since an American ship out of Boston had called at Pitcairn Island in 1808 and had discovered an English-speaking community of thirty-four women and children under the tutelage of Smith or Adams. Adams' story was an amazing one and was not questioned. Indeed, he began from the first to compile the Island Register, which is reproduced in this delightful volume by Sir Charles Lucas. The nine men with nine Tahitian wives, three Tahitian men and their wives, three Tahitian men without wives, and one infant girl sailed in the

* *The Pitcairn Island Register Book*. Edited with an Introduction by Sir Charles Lucas. Together with Maps, Index, and Appendices. S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d.

Bounty from Tahiti to Pitcairn Island, a lonely spot, favoured by Christian, discovered by Philip Carteret in 1767. They arrived there in January, 1790. Their first act was to burn the *Bounty* on January 23rd. Her guns were recovered later. The *Pandora* sailed close by the island a year later but never searched it. The first three or four years were a time of riot and bloodshed, and by 1794 all the black men and five of the white men were dead, if Christian is included. In 1798, McCoy, in a drunken delirium, threw himself into the sea, in 1799 Quintal became dangerous and was executed by Young and Adams, in 1800 Young died in his bed, and Adams was the only survivor of the pirates. He lived on till March 5th, 1829, a reformed character, the patriarchal leader of an ideal community of women and children. He devoted his life to religion and education and found solace for himself and for his flock in both. Both were based upon a Bible that belonged to Christian or Young and a Church of England Prayer Book of his own. This was the sole literature of the island, and it was enough to upbuild a community that claimed to be not only loyal English subjects but also firm members of the Church of England.

Adams' patriarchal labours were lightened when in 1823 two Englishmen joined the community, John Evans and John Buffett the schoolmaster. In 1828 George Nobbs joined the islanders, and after the days of Buffett and Adams he continued the Register. In 1852 Nobbs returned to England to be ordained, and during his absence his place on the island was taken by the naval chaplain, the Rev. W. H. Holman. The community was long before this date almost highly organised. The population of 106 in 1839 was equally divided, 53 males and 53 females, and the school almost took half the inhabitants, 52 in fact. The Government consisted, from January 1st, 1839, of a magistrate or elder elected by the free votes of all the native-born inhabitants, or five-years' residents, male or female, being over eighteen years of age. He was assisted by a council of two, one chosen by the votes of the assembly and one nominated by the magistrate. These may be likened to the people's warden and the vicar's warden in an English parish, and perhaps the Church of England parochial idea was the germ of the system of government. Indeed, in many ways the island was like an ideal parish with a little village or town situated in a scene of romantic beauty on the top of the little island mountain peak, the Hill of Difficulty.

For a brief time, in 1831, the community moved to Tahiti, with bad results, and they returned after some months. The last survivor of the *Bounty*, Susana, a Tahitian woman, survived until July 15th, 1851, a year after the sixtieth anniversary of the landing. The previous September the Tahitian wife of Christian had died.

She well remembered Captain Cook's first arrival at Tahiti. In 1852 the population of the island was returned as 168, the males and females being exactly equal, and as the little rockbound island of two square miles was being overcrowded, a transfer to Norfolk Island was arranged, and 194 persons reluctantly migrated in 1856. On December 2nd, 1858, two families faced the forty-five days' journey back to Pitcairn Island, the land of their birth and the place they loved, and sixteen persons (Youngs and McCoy's) arrived, while twenty-seven others returned in 1863. What is the position in Pitcairn Island to-day? Sir Charles Lucas, in his fascinating introduction, dwells most on the religious side of the strange community and the interest not only of the Navy but of men like Bishop Selwyn, in this "carefully guarded and childlike flock." It is a story that beggars invention, and the penitent pirate who led the flock is a more amazing person than John Silver.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

A MYTH OF SHAKESPEARE.*

Mr. Charles Williams' most recent work is a description of the life of Shakespeare as he sees it: the country lad, full of dreams, heading from Stratford for London, the meeting with the poet-dramatists Marlowe and Greene, and the manager Henslowe, and the instant acceptance of the lad on the faith of his recited word; the life of Marlowe and Shakespeare at Deptford; the Globe Theatre and the companionship of Southampton, Raleigh, Mary Fitton, Henslowe and the rest; the court at Greenwich; the poet's lodgings in later days; the *Mermaid*; the Theatre again with a rehearsal of *The Tempest*, presenting Heneage, Burbage and the other actors; the road back to Stratford and the meeting with Autolycus. Every scene is illustrated with the noblest passages from Shakespeare's works dovetailed with extreme skill into poetic scenes that in places rise into the high spheres of the Elizabethan manner. The speeches of Marlowe are Marlowe. Parodying of manner and sense could go no further: excellent poetry all. Indeed, Mr. Williams seems to have joined the Elizabethans and become one with the company that gathered in the *Globe* dressing-rooms or the *Mermaid* tavern. There is not a dull page in the whole book, and the literary life of the period seems actually to live before the reader.

That indeed is the object of the book. *The Myth of Shakespeare*

* *A Myth of Shakespeare*. By Charles Williams. Oxford University Press. 5s. net.

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was written, at the suggestion and largely on the plan of Mr. A. C. Ward, of the City Literary Institute, for a Shakespeare festival; the first part for the afternoon performance, the second for the evening. Its purpose, therefore, is only to provide a momentarily credible framework for representative scenes from the Plays. It does not pretend to be an episodic play, after Mr. Drinkwater's model, and here and there—especially in the scenes relating to the Court—it allows itself a freedom of anachronism which its title may excuse. It contains no thesis of Shakespeare's life, character or genius, except that he was a born poet and writing dramatist. The scenes included were intended, quite mythically, to represent barely possible incidents in his life, passages read to or by his friends, or performances in his theatre.

But *The Myth* is alive in a way that no life of Shakespeare can be said to be alive. The spirit of the poet-dramatist is, as it were, at work in the play. This play should be the beginning of dramatic work on the part of Mr. Williams. The day of drama in verse is not ended, though in fact the nineteenth-century poets failed in their attempts. Apparently the lighter dramas of Lord Tennyson and the deep dramas of Browning have not got the essential something that is needed for stage-production, though it may be that the actors of our time have not the spirit for the work. But that blank verse is still the right medium for great plays is certain, and for this reason, that children prefer Shakespeare to any other form of performance. The "Old Vic" has established that fact. Now Mr. Williams' *Myth* is so entirely readable, so patentlyactable that it would be a pity if he were to be content with this composite play and not go further afield. In any event the "Old Vic" should produce *The Myth of Shakespeare* and give the public, and especially the children, a living glimpse of Elizabethan times and Elizabethan stage-craft and of Shakespeare himself.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

In his latest work *Franz Ferdinand*,* Theodor von Sosnosky, the well-known Austrian historian and publicist, presents the first authoritative study of the tragic figure whose murder provoked the world war; for the volume by his private secretary Nikitsch-Boules, though indispensable for a knowledge of his character, makes no claim to offer a political interpretation. The preface frankly confesses the author's sympathy for the man who seemed destined to stop the dry rot in the Hapsburg Empire by modernising institutions and substituting leadership for drift, but there is no attempt to hide the dark shadows in the picture. An exceedingly vivid conception of the Archduke emerges from these chapters—the most forceful of the Hapsburgs since Joseph II, strong-willed, self-confident, passionate.

* Verlag von R. Oldenbourg. München and Berlin, 1929.

The inertia of the aged Francis Joseph exasperated his hot-blooded and autocratic nephew, who had his schemes of reform all ready for the longed-for day which never dawned. It is a story of unrelenting conflict in which the heir to the throne sometimes reached his goal, as in his marriage and in his promotion of General Conrad, but more often failed to influence the Emperor, who supported Aehrenthal's toleration of Italy's infidelities and tacitly accepted Tisza's treatment of the Roumanian and Yugoslav minorities. The author demolishes the legend that Franz Ferdinand was a Chauvinist, and explains that the so-called war-party in Austria consisted of a single man, Conrad. Far from desiring to fight Serbia, the Archduke wished to form a Yugoslav unit within the Empire; and instead of fighting Russia, his dream was to revive the Three Emperors' League, autocratic Russia taking the place of faithless Italy in the system of alliances. The closing chapter on the personality of the Archduke is the most interesting in the book—balanced, well-informed, and illuminating. It is a fascinating occupation to speculate on what he would have done had he come to the throne. Would he have had the strength and the skill to make the rusty wheels revolve again and to restore to the Empire its strength and self-confidence? Or would he have wrecked his reign on a constitutional conflict with the unbending Magyar aristocracy or on a war with the hated Italian ally? If we cannot answer these questions with certainty, we can at any rate derive help from this valuable book towards an informed opinion.

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Mr. T. H. Vail Motter in his illustrated volume entitled *The School Drama in England** deals with the limited themes of plays acted by schoolboys excluding scholarly productions such as university plays. The development of boy actors fills a preliminary chapter and this, though of interest, is perhaps hardly pertinent since these professional boy actors were so cut off from the schools that in the year 1600 the Master of the Chapel Royal was punished by the Star Chamber for crimping a gentleman's son to be a stage player. The proper business of Mr. Motter is the drama as manifested at Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Merchant Taylors, St. Pauls, Charterhouse, Christ's Hospital, Harrow, Rugby and Shrewsbury. The author deals with some plays acted in other schools and notably the play produced in the twelfth century at Dunstable school, *Ludus Catharinae*. He apparently does not note the fact that the first school in modern times to produce a Greek play in Greek was the Blackheath Proprietary School under the Rev. E. W. South. The play was the *Archanians* of Aristophanes and the date was 1882. Mr. Motter says that "the Westminster is a law unto itself" and that "we cannot look to Westminster as we look to other schools, for a drama that supplements the adult drama of the outer world." But surely Terence ought to supplement the "adult drama" in creating a noble standard of play-acting.

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Mr. J. W. N. Sullivan, in his volume *The Basis of Modern Science*† in twelve chapters, traces, perhaps inadequately, the pre-Newtonian outlook—it is not true to say that "When Kepler replaced circles by ellipses as the orbit of the planets, he substituted

* Longmans. 15s. net.

† Ernest Benn. 12s. 6d. net.

mathematics for æsthetics": the Greek geometers and mathematicians were of the highest order. Mr. Sullivan then passes to the Newtonian conceptions. Newton did not premise absolute time and absolute space. He knew quite well that the so-called "fixed" stars move, but he chose an absolute framework for the sake of convenience. Mr. Sullivan says that though Newton denied the existence of "action at a distance" his equations assume it, but that is a matter of the meaning of terms. Mr. Sullivan goes on to deal with the ether theory, heat and energy, molecules and atoms, Maxwell's theory of electro-magnetism, the atoms of radio-active elements, the electric theory of matter, the doctrine of relativity involving new conceptions of space and time. In fact, Newton did not dogmatise, and would not have been at all surprised at the modern doctrine of relativity since the conception of relativity was one of which he was cognisant. Apparently, Dr. Einstein thinks that a mathematical description of the universe is an impossibility. Mr. Sullivan is therefore right in thinking that the elements ignored by science "are not thereby shown to have no bearing upon the nature of reality. Our æsthetic and religious experiences need not lose the significance they appear to have merely because they are not taken into account in the scientific scheme. It is even possible that they will not always remain excluded from the scientific scheme." That is undoubtedly true. We are only now beginning to penetrate the mystery of the physical universe. The suggested structure of the electron may mean that man creates his own space and that will-power, whether of God or man, plays a fundamental part in things.

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The Report of the Seventeenth Annual Conference of Educational Associations* held last January is now published, and contains reports of no less than forty-three subjects discussed with ardour by specialists. Education has indeed become a many-sided subject: religion, art, philosophy, nature study, school journeys, touring by air, give phases of educational endeavour, while education, in the older sense, was discussed in its many aspects. Lord Lytton showed in his striking address the imperial significance of education in India, and what Sir Michael Sadler called "the educational difficulties and possibilities and hopes of India." All those, and they are myriad, who believe that the future of England and the Empire is inextricably mingled with the education that England is giving at home should read this record of almost every phase of modern English educational life. There were no less than 2,700 members of the Conference who attended, and that fact shows how widely the Conference appeals to those who are concerned professionally with the upbuilding of our great system of national education. This was the Seventeenth Annual Conference that has been held since Miss Henrietta Busk started the movement. She is still the soul of it and she imparts her own wonderful energy to the continued life of a unique gathering of more than fifty educational associations. The joint discussion of all the associations dealt with "the Influence of Examinations on Education," and the Board of Education and the local education authorities can gather from the views expressed by specialists the fears that the intensification of the examination system have awakened. The discussion aroused much general interest and

* Conference Secretary, 29, Gordon Square, W.C.1. 4s. 6d.

the fact that this discussion and many others are now recorded in permanent form is a matter for congratulation. These reports may have much influence abroad as well as at home in placing the theory and practice of education on a right footing.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mr. Cleveland B. Chase has translated M. Louis Bertrand's volume entitled "Louis XIV."* M. Bertrand places his hero very high in history. "When I came to realise how much has survived of what he achieved, and what a profound impression he had made upon the manners and customs, upon the very soul of my country, I began to think of Louis XIV as the most typical Frenchman in history, as the French representative in the Supreme Council of all ages and all nations." Louis planned modern France and resisted successfully for forty years the combined efforts of Europe united against him. He created a system of finance, an army, a navy, colonies and national commerce and industry. He created academies and centres for arts and crafts. M. Bertrand feels that Louis XIV has been ill judged by his own countrymen and he has attempted "to do justice to this man whose character has been so absurdly distorted by political passions." This excellent translation of an enthusiastic and patriotic book is well worthy of study and meditation.

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Mr. I. O. Evans has published the first part of what he names the "World Service Series" under the title of "Suggestions for practical work in World History."† It is based on Mr. H. G. Wells' work entitled "The Outline of History," and the idea is that historical reading can be supplemented by practical work in astronomy, geology, zoology, by visits to the Zoological Gardens, by living the life for a day and a night of a cave man, by visiting the megalithic monuments, by experimenting in the psychology of early man, by noting the various races and the points in common of the various languages of mankind, by visualising the life and habits of people in the ancient Empires and so forth, by the use of museums, and so to modern times, dreaming on the way of the methods of great men and great leaders. The effort to reproduce the life of soldiers in the Great War is unwise, as is the effort to make children discuss the economic fallacies of Marx. The weakness of Mr. Evans' idea is that nothing can be done thoroughly. A scrappy idea of world history is dangerous unless it leads to thorough study.

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The report of the Board of Education and the statistics of public education, published under the title "Education in 1928,"‡ is a very important document and the Board of Education is to be congratulated on presenting to the public within three months of the end of the year, a record of detailed information up to December 31st, 1928. The report deals with the substantial progress of the three-year programmes of work which the local education authorities launched

* Longmans. 18s. net.

† 24, Haydon Park Road, London, S.W. 6d.

‡ H.M. Stationery Office. 4s. net.

in April, 1927: the reorganisation of the elementary schools giving some form of secondary education to all children over eleven years is well under way, while the process of reducing the size of classes and of reconditioning and rebuilding of defective school buildings is making some real progress. But only 35 per cent. of the black-listed schools have been, or are, in process of being dealt with. It is not only the voluntary schools that are the offenders. Rich local authorities still tolerate wholly intolerable provided schools. In secondary education there has been substantial numerical expansion, but the figures published show that the vast majority of those schools are still cursed with the tradition of the old Science and Art Department and admit many thousands of children unfit for higher secondary education. Less than 1 per cent. of the pupils pass to a university or a university training department, while less than three per thousand of the boys go to Oxford or Cambridge for degrees or training.

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It is a genuine pleasure to welcome the fourth edition of Dr. Isaiah Bowman's masterly treatise "The New World."* The first edition, which appeared in 1921, immediately took its place among the books which are literally indispensable to the statesman and the student of public affairs; and the new version, enlarged and completely revised, is of even greater value. The title might suggest to some that the author deals with America alone; but his theme is nothing less than the new world which has emerged from the fires of the world war. Though the distinguished Director of the American Geographical Society made his name in his own science, he also speaks with authority on the political and economic issues, national and international, which confront us to-day. Beginning with nearly a hundred pages on the Problems of the British Empire, he devotes more than half of his 800 pages to the countries of Europe, whence he passes to Asia and Africa, ending up with chapters on Latin America and the United States. It is impossible to exaggerate the interest and importance of such a carefully compiled and up-to-date compendium, which contains precisely the information that we need about any country, large or small, in which we are interested. The elaborate bibliography is worthy of the text, and the 215 maps of the first edition have grown to 257. In these days of expensive publications this large and well-printed volume of 800 pages is a miracle of cheapness.

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Mr. Ronald C. Davison in his excellent book "The Unemployed: Old Policies and New"† reviews "the measures adopted in Great Britain for relieving and assisting the unemployed during the twenty eventful years since 1909." There is no such record available except scattered through the pages of official papers. This narrative of events is prefaced by an historical retrospect and then comes a chapter on Relief Works, three chapters on Unemployment Insurance (which Sir Paul Vinogradoff declared was a novel political invention of the first importance), two chapters analysing the distribution and nature of unemployment and emphasising the fact that training must supplement maintenance. The final chapter deals with migration

* Harrap. 1929. 21s.
† Longmans. 10s. 6d. net.

from depressed areas. Mr. Davison thinks that the unemployment fund should be relieved of all liability in respect of men in training, who should be paid the same rate of subsistence out of State funds as in the case of women in training, men in training for work overseas and to some extent men in training at rural centres. Juvenile Unemployment Centres are not favoured by educationists since the unstable conditions of these centres are such that no teacher could hope to achieve "any measurable results in academic or industrial training." But Mr. Davison defends the centres as a measure of unemployment relief for juveniles which keeps boys and girls physically and mentally fit and is, in fact, capable of successful management. It may be suggested that juvenile unemployment is increased by the part-time employment of school children and even of children under twelve, though this is wholly illegal.

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The farewell message* that Dr. Stephen Pierce Duggan, the Director of the American Institute of International Education, sent to England after his visit last year is quite delightful, and many people on both sides of the Atlantic will read "Good-bye England" with instruction as well as pleasure. It contrasts with a pungent but kindly pen the essential features of the two countries: England the land where spelling and speech are divorced, the land of heavy breakfasts and heavier drinking, of political liberty and social castes, the land of Oxford and Cambridge with their concentrated studies and sport for sport's sake, the land of tolerance and faith; America the land where one can travel for almost a week without meeting a custom house officer, the land of bright sunshine and extreme temperature where health is a religion and diet a science, where professors pontificate in all subjects and men are protected against "dangerous thoughts," the land of sumptuary laws where men and women are hopefully struggling to maintain a democracy. With all the outward differences it is plain that England and America have the same ultimate ideals though perhaps this is "a dangerous thought."

* * *

Mr. Charles Whitley in his preface to his volume "The Bath Anthology of Prose and Verse"† claims that Bath is the most central city outside London, and so he gives to the visitors to Bath from all over the world a selection from the "innumerable eulogies of and references to Bath which abound in our literature." Mr. Whitley claims that the two closing sonnets by Shakespeare (cliii and cliv) refer to Bath and there really seems to be enough in his suggestion and argument for the anthology to open with those delightful lines. Spenser's "boyling Bathes at Cairbadon" are also claimed. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle and the Exeter Book give an earlier note while Chaucer has immortalised the good Wife of Bath. Among the greater literary names that have associated themselves with this famous little town are Leland, Pepys, Defoe, Pope, Goldsmith, Mary Montague, Smollett, Jane Austen, Frances Burney, de Quincey, Dickens, Thackeray, Carlyle, Macaulay, Swinburne and Austin Dobson. It is a charming book and it contains three poems by the compiler.

* The Institute of International Education, 2, West 45th Street, New York.
† Folk Press, London. 3s. 6d. net.

Mr. Barrett H. Clark has compiled a "Collection of short biographies and memoirs chosen from the literature of the ancient and modern world" under the title "Great Short Biographies of the World."* The ancient world gives us Socrates (Diogenes Laertius), Alexander and Cato the Younger (Plutarch), Titus (Nepos), Augustus (Suetonius), Agricola (Tacitus) and St. Luke's narrative of the Life of Christ in a bald American translation. Mediæval Europe is represented by "lives" of Charlemagne, Dante, St. Francis, Joan of Arc and François Villon; there are nine biographies from the Renaissance period, six from the seventeenth, ten from the eighteenth and twelve from the nineteenth centuries. The book has many good features and many of the essays on famous men are of real literary and historical value. There are only four women in this collection: Joan of Arc, Mary Queen of Scots, the Marquise de Rambouillet, and Charlotte Corday. Surely Queen Elizabeth deserved a place, if not the Queen of Sheba or Sappho the Queen of Poets.

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Some current volumes of verse are like leagues of burnt heather where no one tramps who has no need to go; but occasionally among the dead heather is found a hair-bell, a little heavenly portion. "Scattered leaves: poems by A. E. Wood"† is of the hair-bell type, though it is impossible to acquit Lady Wood of acquaintanceship or, at any rate, of spiritual affinity with the Alexandrine poets of the third century before our era, sweetly sad and sadly sweet. "The Fugitive's Song" is sad and beautiful, "The Pilgrim's Song" is hopeful with a mystic fear of hopelessness. The most perfect of all these little bells that ring on life's moors must be quoted:

THE BUILDER.

I built myself a little house
For all Eternity,
Of shells that shimmered like the moon
And murmured of the sea.
With pearly walls and arabesques
Of coral, brave and gay;
But in the night a storm arose
And swept my house away.

I built myself a little house
Of tints that sunrise brings,
With walls of cloud and rainbow towers
And April glimmerings,
Of late September's golden-red,
And rose-flecked pearl of May;
But in the night a wind arose
And swept my house away.

But surely such a delicate muse as that of Lady Wood is capable of more hopeful things, of the singing of immortalities and mystic unions beyond the grave.

* William Heinemann. 8s. 6d. net.

† Elkin, Matthews & Mariot Ltd. 3s. 6d.

CHURCHILLIAN FINANCE—THE FIFTH BUDGET.

MR. CHURCHILL has now introduced and carried by unprecedented majorities five consecutive Budgets. This places him in a class with Walpole, Pitt, Peel, and Gladstone. They all introduced and carried five or more consecutive Budgets, and they are the four really great Chancellors of the Exchequer in English history.

Mr. Churchill has established no claim to sit in the financial Valhalla with these Vikings, unless the number and enormity of his raids on funds assigned for other purposes, and his remarkable gift for unearthing treasure-trove, provide him with the necessary passport. His Budgets, I dare say, will be studied by future generations of economic students, not indeed as patterns for imitation, or as examples of financial perspicacity, or as evidences of a successful stewardship; rather will they point a moral and adorn a tale, when some future lecturer wants to show his class how a series of artful dodges and flashy makeshifts may enable a finance minister to turn awkward corners, evade inconvenient obligations, or postpone the fulfilment of imperative pledges during the life of one parliament. Or again, if a Budget should be regarded as a three or four hours' entertainment, like a Bernard Shaw play; if a pageant of words and an ample provision of appropriate jests and timely pleasantries—which the House of Commons hugely enjoys—are the main *desiderata* in a fiscal statement, then Mr. Churchill's praises will be sung by professors of political economy and City Fathers long after the masters I named have sunk into oblivion.

In the fifth of his Budget speeches, to which I listened on April 15th, his talents as a debater and his shortcomings as treasurer or accountant struck me more than ever. It was inevitably an electioneering speech, and everyone, except perhaps one or two of the victims, enjoyed the good-tempered satire which he levelled at his chief opponents on the Opposition benches; and the raillery was if anything enhanced by the spectacle of so great a spendthrift rebuking extravagance, so great a borrower boggling at the very thought of loans, and so great a Free Trader (in the past sense) expounding the merits of his own Protective taxes. These contrasts, unexpressed but not unfelt, added piquancy to the play. When it was over, someone asked me in the lobby what I thought of it. I said I had not laughed so much since I saw *The Farmer's Wife*. But the lighter touches, the smart repartees and witty sallies of an accomplished performer in the House of Commons cannot be reproduced on the printed page. In Hansard the tones

are lost. Only one gem is likely to survive—the parable of the boat-race, and the suggestion that such an outburst of road construction as that contemplated in Mr. Lloyd George's scheme might exhaust the nation in much the same way as an ill-judged spurt sometimes exhausts a crew at Hammersmith Bridge.

When I turn from words to things, and from superficialities to realities, I am inclined to predict that Mr. Churchill's fifth Budget will be memorable in itself, and distinguishable from its predecessors, not for the amusement it afforded to those who heard it, but for the astounding fact that Mr. Churchill, by a wave of the wand, converted what any sober Treasury official would have treated as a prospective deficiency into a prospective surplus, in order to wind up his career at the Exchequer with a prosperity Budget.

As my object is to present the main features of Churchillian finance rather than enter into exhaustive and detailed criticism of the last Budget of the series, I will start with the thing that matters most—National Expenditure, as Mr. Churchill found it and as he has left it. It will be remembered that Mr. Baldwin's Government took office on the assumption that National Expenditure was excessive and that it was the duty of a Conservative Administration to reduce it for the benefit of trade and industry. A strong paragraph was devoted to public economy in Mr. Baldwin's Election Address, and he followed it up with two sentences in the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament in December, 1924. They ran: "The present heavy burdens of the taxpayer are a hindrance to the revival of enterprise and employment. Economy in every sphere is imperative, if we are to regain our industrial and commercial prosperity." Now the National Expenditure in the Financial Year which ended on March 31st, 1924, was £788 millions and the expenditure in the following year for which Mr. Snowden and Mr. Churchill were jointly responsible was £795 millions. Then come the years for which Mr. Churchill was wholly responsible:

1925-6	...	...	£826 millions.
1926-7	...	...	£842 millions.
1927-8	...	...	£838 millions.
1928-9	...	...	£823 millions.

These are the Treasury figures and they are stated to be comparable; but I suspect, from what Mr. Churchill said in his fourth Budget Speech about certain other "minor accounting changes" having been made, that amounts of from £7 to £10 millions for contributions to teachers' pensions, etc., which previously appeared have been omitted in the last year. I am led to believe that £823 millions should be more like £833 millions if a true comparison could be

made. It should also be observed that £18 millions of public money (the so-called "surplus") taken from the taxpayers was not actually spent, but was passed to a Suspense Account for the purpose of defraying the future cost of the Derating Scheme.

As Mr. Churchill has altered the system of Public Accounts by excluding "self-balancing items" and making the "minor changes," one must turn, for comparison of last year's Budget with this year's Budget, to his own figures. His total estimate for 1928-9 was £741 millions, and the actual issues were £739 millions. His estimate for the current year's expenditure is £746 millions to which may be added £80 millions of self-balancing revenue and expenditure. The Suspensory Fund for Rating Relief stood at £22,633,000 on April 1st, but from this has been deducted £2,570,000 which is the estimated cost of anticipating Rating Relief for Agricultural Land. It is obvious from these figures that Mr. Churchill has spent year after year many millions more than were spent under the two preceding Budgets. Yet in his Budget Speech of April 28th, 1925, he said: "I believe that we ought to aim at a net reduction in the supply expenditure of not less than £10 millions a year. That is not taking an extravagant figure." Two years later, in his third Budget Statement of April 11th, 1927, he referred to his failure to economise:

I am frequently reproached with having in my first Budget expressed a hope of effecting a net reduction of ten millions a year progressively. I am even represented as having *promised* that that should be done. But the words I used were "aim at." One may aim at a reduction, as one may aim at a target; but one does not promise to hit it.

This was very amusing and very Churchillian; but from the taxpayer's point of view it seems a dismal sort of joke. It was Mr. Churchill's duty to carry out the "imperative economy" pledge of the Cabinet; and the country had a right to complain when he tried to get out of a policy, on the performance of which (according to a Cabinet statement) the prosperity of the country depended, by telling the House of Commons that he had proved a bad marksman. He had aimed at Economy and had happened, by bad luck, to hit Extravagance! Taking the Supply Services only the total expenditure for the year 1924-5 was £402 millions and for 1925-6 it was £427 millions.

When Mr. Churchill is reminded of the melancholy gap between his intentions, or aims, and his performances, he sometimes takes refuge in his enlargement of the Sinking Fund. But his additions to the Sinking Fund have unfortunately been mere window dressing, and his operations on the National Debt have been, if anything, more unfortunate and unsuccessful than his efforts to

prune and reduce expenditure. It can never be too often insisted that the only real Sinking Fund by which debt can be reduced is the annual surplus of revenue over expenditure. By way of example we may take the year 1926-7. In that year Mr. Churchill professed to allow for a Sinking Fund of £60 millions; yet at the end of the year there was a deficit of £36 millions which reduced the Sinking Fund to £24 millions. But his operations on the Debt have been even less effective than might appear after the deficits are deducted; for he has raided Funds which might have been applied to the extinction of debt, and has appropriated them to fill up gaps in his ordinary revenue. He has also borrowed for various purposes, and added largely to the national liabilities. According to one set of official figures the total liabilities of the nation on March 31st, 1924, were £7,707 millions. On March 31st, 1929, they stood at £7,616 millions, a reduction in five years of only £91 millions and an average reduction of just over £18 millions a year. The real situation is even worse; for the British taxpayer is more concerned with the interest than with the principal of the National Debt. It is the interest that constitutes the burden, and the Interest Charge has been higher in each of the last three years than it was in Mr. Churchill's first complete year of office. And he has always underestimated the interest. Thus in 1928-9 he allotted £304 millions for Management and Interest, but they actually cost over £311 millions, and under his new system of a fixed debt charge the Sinking Fund payments fell by £7½ millions below his estimate. One of the most severe criticisms brought against his last Budget is that he has again estimated only £304 millions for the Interest Charge on the Debt, although he has an unusually large floating debt and has started the year with a 5½ per cent. Bank Rate as against 4½ per cent. last year. On a moderate view, therefore, his estimate should have been at least £7 millions higher, and the imaginary surplus (which he used for remissions of rates and taxes) should have been on this account alone at least £7 millions less. This would have reduced the prospective surplus available for tax remission from £10½ to £3 millions.

Then again in his 1928 Budget Mr. Churchill estimated the yield of the Death Duties at £72 millions, and the actual yield proved to be £8½ millions in excess of his anticipations. This was a record figure, due to the abnormally heavy mortality of a large number of very rich men. Now under these circumstances a prudent financier, anxious to forecast his revenue accurately, would have assumed that an extraordinary crop of deaths among the rich would be followed by a smaller harvest for the revenue in the ensuing year. But Mr. Churchill, without a word of explanation or defence, calmly assumed that the record of last year will be

exceeded this year, and laid before the House an estimate of £8½ millions from Estate Duties, at the same time assuming that the Income Tax and Super Tax together will yield £3,730,000 more than last year. Another assumption is that there will be a rise of £7 millions in the yield of Customs to set off against an estimated decline of £2 millions in Excise.

Mr. Churchill based his anticipations of an expansion in the ordinary revenue on an alleged recovery of trade. Last year he drew a very black picture of the condition of our staple trades. Undoubtedly there was at that time a severe depression in the coal and iron trade as well as in cotton. But the general trade of the country in the early months of 1928 was certainly not worse on an average, and was probably better than in the early months of this year. The best evidence for the state of trade is the state of employment, and in every week of 1929, up to the time of Mr. Churchill's Budget Speech, the numbers of the unemployed in Great Britain exceeded, and often considerably exceeded, those of 1928. It is quite true that the tendency of the unemployment figures in March, 1929, was better than in March, 1928, owing to the spurt in the coal trade and to the continued improvement in iron, steel, and shipbuilding. But the textile trades, as a whole, had gone back rather than forward in the twelve months, and there was nothing in the figures of our imports and exports to justify optimism, or to suggest that any great expansion of trade and revenue was to be expected. Money was 20 per cent. dearer owing to a rise in the Bank Rate from 4½ to 5½ per cent. A crisis seemed to be impending in Wall Street. The London Stock Exchange was flat and depressed. It is impossible, therefore, to avoid a suspicion that the optimism which permitted Mr. Churchill to anticipate a fairly substantial surplus, instead of the deficiency which a Chancellor guided by the ordinary rules of probability would have foreseen, was of political origin, and that his remissions of taxation and the favours he bestowed upon several powerful interests will prove to have been made not out of a surplus but at the cost of an addition to the National Debt.

As to the remissions I will say a word in conclusion. But before doing so, I must touch upon the important change which Mr. Churchill has made in the handling of the National Debt. This change is altogether to the bad, so long as a Churchill, or a Minister of his school, remains at the Exchequer. Let me explain. Under previous Chancellors the National Debt benefited by a surplus, as it lost by a deficit. Mr. Churchill's large deficits have been added to the debt, while his modest surpluses have been diverted to other purposes. His raid on last year's surplus, as I remarked at the time, was "an amazing piece of improvidence," considering that

£269 millions of war obligations were about to mature. No wonder that his debt conversions have been an ignominious failure.

Perhaps Mr. Churchill is conscious that he can resist anything except temptation. If so, we can understand better why he entirely altered the provisions for reducing our National Debt in his last year's Budget. The Churchill plan is pretentiously impressive—a Fixed Debt Charge modelled on an ineffective scheme introduced by Sir Stafford Northcote in 1875. Mr. Churchill's idea was to provide for himself and future Chancellors a fixed annual charge of £355 millions a year, which (if persisted in) would, on his calculation, extinguish the National Debt in fifty years. He took care, however, to make a pretty bad start, by underestimating the interest. He assumed that £304 millions would be sufficient; but the actual cost worked out at £311 millions. Hence that part of the debt charge, which was intended to be used for cancelling the principal of the debt, proved to be less by £7 millions than he had led the House of Commons to expect; and in his fifth Budget, as I have already observed, he has again probably underestimated the interest charge, with the result that his Sinking Fund will be inadequate to cover the statutory Sinking Fund charges, so that there will be no free fund in the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer which he can use in the current financial year to buy debt in the open market—a very unsatisfactory situation indeed.

Mr. Churchill's financial difficulties and embarrassments have been throughout largely of his own making. He admits that he would not have reduced Income Tax in his first year had he foreseen the future. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ*—the raiding of funds and the shaking of fruit trees and the anticipations of future revenue. The new White Elephant is the Derating Bill, which Mr. Churchill has bought (so to speak) for the next Chancellor of the Exchequer to keep; and a pretty costly animal it is likely to prove in view of the quality of the prospective surplus and the use to which it has been put.

This brings me to Mr. Churchill's remissions. The largest item is the complete abolition of the Preferential Duty of 4d. per pound on tea, which carried a rebate on Empire tea of two-thirds of a penny per pound. That involves a reduction of over £6 millions of revenue, and puts an end to a tax which has existed for three hundred years. Then there is the Repeal of the Betting Tax, a Churchillian invention which has proved an unpopular fiasco. This will cost the Revenue over a million; but a quarter of a million is to be recovered by various duties imposed on Bookmakers and Totalisators. Then there are increases in the licence duties of brewers, distillers, and tobacco manufacturers; but double the revenue gained will be lost by concessions to retailers of intoxicants, which

(in consequence of the Tied House system) will enrich Brewers and Distillers. Then there are some small concessions in the motor vehicle duties, which will relieve the motor-cyclist and some classes of commercial vehicles. There is also a new expenditure on telephones for the equipment of rural post offices. Altogether these changes in taxation will cost the revenue just under £8 millions this year and just over £8 millions in a full year, if Mr. Churchill's estimates prove correct. But he has also deprived his own Rating Relief Suspense Account of £2,570,000, in order to placate farmers and agricultural landlords by ante-dating the Rating Relief for agricultural land. This is probably the last of Mr. Churchill's raids, and there is a dramatic propriety in the fact that it is a raid upon a fund of his own creation.

It is a subject for satisfaction among those of Mr. Churchill's critics who feel bitterly his betrayal of the Free Trade cause, that he has in the last two years demonstrated in the clearest and most practical manner to the British public that Protective and Preferential Duties raise prices. Last year he proved it by his Protective Duty on light oils. The duty was 4d. per gallon, and on the very next day the price of petrol was raised all over the country by 4½d. This year he proved it the other way round, by removing the Preferential Duty on Tea. In this case his object was to lower the price in order to gain popularity for the Government on the eve of the election. The price fell promptly; and if, in the interval between the writing and the publication of these words, the electorate votes for a Government which has promised to extend Safeguarding and Protection, it will at least have done so with its eyes open, and will deserve no sympathy when disagreeable consequences ensue.

FRANCIS W. HIRST.

THE SAVING FAITH OF INTERNATIONALISM.

THE experience of the past ten years has persuaded most men that the larger processes of human history are not to be hurried. When the Peace Treaties had set the world on a new political footing of "self-determination," and pacific internationalism was incorporated in the Covenant of the League, the sudden relaxation of prolonged nervous tension left our minds hopeful of moral miracles. The world had at last learned that war was incompatible with civilisation, and was prepared to organise its spiritual and material forces to make another war impossible. Politics were passing on to a higher level of co-operation for the common security and welfare of mankind. National governments would come to recognise the paramountcy of this international life, would submit all their differences to the processes of equitable settlement by Conferences or Courts at Geneva or The Hague, and would rapidly eschew the folly and the waste of armaments thus rendered obsolete.

The prevalent feeling to-day is one of profound disappointment and of irritable criticism. The nations, or their governments, bend all their efforts to avoid serious disarmament; they strive to keep alive their former national hostilities, reinforced by new grievances arising from the Peace Treaties, and each strong nation insists upon reserving from the procedure of pacific settlement those issues which it is most important they should submit to it. Though few well-informed persons believe that a great war is imminent, active discontents, and new groupings among League members hostile to its principle of pacific solidarity, are recognised as grave and growing perils for the future. Another war, even more destructive than the last, is freely spoken of as probable or even inevitable, unless substantial and fairly rapid progress can be made in strengthening the structure of internationalism.

The issue is primarily and fundamentally moral rather than political: it is the stimulation and organisation of a common conscious will to peace among those members of the different nations who may be described as the live influences in politics. A remarkable book* by Don Luigi Sturzo, an exile from his country, Italy, where he had combined a distinguished professorial career with a variety of political and social services, makes an exceedingly helpful contribution towards the understanding of a problem which, though novel in the shape of its appeal to our generation, is actually as old as civilisation itself. Indeed, the spiritual core of all the civilising processes and structures has been the will to an ever

wider and more complex community. War itself, along with other obsolete and morally defective institutions, such as slavery and polygamy, must be regarded as having a legitimate place in the historico-biological movement towards the survival and progress of man from savagery towards civilisation. Don Sturzo devotes a remarkable store of learning and interpretative acumen to a discussion of the political, legalist, and moral theories and practices of war, as related to the different stages of organised society from pre-Christian times to our own. He fastens upon the mediæval term "just war" as the distinctively intellectual issue which haunted the best minds when the sociality of man was restrained within the narrow limits of the province or nation, and was not yet inured to the wider conception of humanity. As long as Sovereignty was absolute, and one nation had no moral obligation towards another nation other than some *ad hoc* contract, Machiavelli's dicta that "war is just when it is necessary," and "war is necessary when it is useful to the State," did not carry the consciously cynical and selfish significance now attached to them. It was, in fact, not until modern commerce and personal intercourse beyond the national barriers had widened and strengthened community, and laid the foundations of political internationalism, that the illegality and the wickedness of war began to oust the belief in its occasional necessity and justice.

Indeed, it is evident that even to-day, among most statesmen and diplomatists, the sense of the injustice and unreason of war as a way of settling vital contradictions of interests between nations is very feebly developed. They have little belief in the effectiveness of international organs of justice, and do not like the diminution of sovereignty which these involve. International law has little purchase on their loyalty; it has little moral and almost no material sanction. The "gap" in the Covenant, leaving open the "right of war," the reservations in acceptance of the Kellogg Pact, the discrimination of the League between breaches of the peace by Great and Small Powers, the fact that two Great Powers still stand outside the League, are taken as testimony to the fundamental unreality of pacific internationalism. Indeed, even outside avowedly nationalist circles, there exists a very strong belief in the necessity and the associated right of war. So curiously constructed is the mind of man that many who would reject as superstitious folly the principle and practice of Ordeal by Battle as a just settlement for personal quarrels, fail utterly to see the superstition or the folly of the same principle and practice on a large collective scale. Moreover, many who genuinely repudiate the injustice and the cruelty of war still preserve the belief that it is inevitable, in the sense that the fighting instinct of man is ineradicable.

* *The International Community and the Right of War.* G. Allen & Unwin.

In the exposure of this delusion Don Sturzo is ably supported by Professor Gilbert Murray in a little volume entitled *The Ordeal of this Generation*, which discusses with much grace and clarity the current situation of the international experiment. It may, indeed, be true that a combative disposition belongs to the instinct of self-assertion, and that in some forms of primitive society combativeness had a survival value. But to pretend that modern organised warfare is prompted by such an instinct, or affords it satisfaction, is sheer nonsense. A quarrel between two men, issuing in an affray where personal skill and strength secure a visible victory, with its pride and punishment, may still be rooted in this instinct. But not so with war conducted among "civilised" peoples. Its elaborate conflicts of collective conscript forces, inflicting wholesale destruction upon distant unseen enemies, furnish little scope for personal prowess or glory for the common soldier, though they bring him terrible risks of life and limb. The Jingoism of civilians, whom modern war exposes to increasing risks and losses, itself a passionate blend of collective hate and fear, has even less root in any biological instinct. As Professor Murray puts it: "The war which is formally renounced in the Pact of Paris, and partially guarded against in the Covenant, is not an instinct, it is a form of State action. It is not an element in human nature, it is part of a political programme."

If, in point of fact, it remains "inevitable," it is because the political will to war cannot at present be eradicated from the governmental systems. But it is of the utmost importance to realise that this "will to war" is no fixed element of human nature, but springs from social situations that are continually changing. It is widely recognised that modern wars are less and less racial, religious, dynastic, or purely aggressive in origin, and more and more economic. This view by no means commits us to an economic determinism, or to a disparagement of the sincerity of the idealist factors in the "war spirit." The will to war does not stand for an open, avowed policy of greed and grab organised by merchants, financiers, or concessionaires, and imposed upon their governments. Indeed, ethical or humanitarian motives more and more displace the other "reasons of State" in the modern "will to war." For though democracy in its larger sense of popular self-government may be unattained, or even unattainable, the real consent and support of a wide popular will, essential to the vigorous conduct of a war, can only be obtained by appeals to idealistic aims. It is only by representing, not war in general, but *this* war, as an obligatory act of justice, that a will to war sufficiently wide and intense can be brought into play. "War takes on the colour of justice from the most dissimilar motives" (writes Don Sturzo), "but these are

always raised to an ideal plane—love of the flag, defence of freedom, defence of fatherland, of religion, of civilisation."

Thus it appears that the establishment of a pacific internationalism depends upon a recognition that the historic function of the absolute independent State has been fulfilled, and that modern needs, material and moral, demand a wider conception of community, expressed by expanding areas of human co-operation and co-ordinated by a supreme international government. The League of Nations, Pan-Americanism, the Pact of Paris, are the beginnings of an experimental movement towards this federal world-government. There is something a little humorous in the indignant repudiation of the idea of a Super-State on the part of many supporters of these international institutions, for it is precisely a Super-State or federal world-government (if this term sounds less offensive) that is necessary, and that is actually evolving. The security and progress of civilisation require it.

Yet we are to-day confronted with an apparent intensification of nationalism in fact and feeling in all parts of the world. There is nothing strange in this. Until lately there was little to suggest that internationalism could seriously challenge the supremacy of nationalism in the actual world. The nation-state or empire was generally accepted as the final form of political society; internationalism was a small patchwork of *ad hoc* agreements with no final sanctions. The politician in most countries remained blind to the truth that his politics were becoming less competent to deal effectively with the new economic, moral, hygienic, cultural problems that were coming into being. The forces that were secretly undermining nationalism, and rendering its governmental institutions obsolete, did not come into his ken. His blindness has been intensified by the immediate aftermath of the Great War, with its little crop of new nations, and the strengthening of the struggle for economic isolation and self-sufficiency by most European nations. The temporary setback to free movement of goods and labour across national barriers has been a source of grave misunderstanding. It has served to obscure the operation of the main forces of economic evolution making for extra-national co-operation in production and finance. The obstructive handling of grave issues of productive and financial reconstruction by the economic illiterates of Foreign Offices has compelled Big Business to take the economic direction more and more into its own hands, and execute, with or without the assistance of national governments, measures of financial and economic co-operation for the common safety and prosperity of the business world. The international handling of great questions of currency and finance, on the one hand, the new experiments in international trusts and cartels, upon the other, the growing intercommunication of trade unionists

across national barriers, to say nothing of the important work of the Economic Commissions and the I.L.O. at Geneva, testify to the slow but steady recognition of the truth that, for the economic activities and welfare of the world, national barriers are wasteful obstructions. Not less genuine is the repudiation of crude nationalism by the more sober sections of every civilised nation, the penitent pacifism of the churches, and the more active internationalism of organised Labour.

Mr. H. G. Wells has truly described the critical time in which we live as "a race between education and catastrophe." For it is quite evident that the will to war has not yet been exorcised, that obsolescent political nationalism is putting up a strong fight even upon the plane of internationalism itself. The gap in the Covenant remains unclosed, the sectional treaties among members of the League are in themselves implicit admissions of the moral and material impotence of the League to perform its duties. There are many contributory causes of this feebleness: the unfair formation of the League Council on a victory basis, the unanimity requirement in the Council on most points of urgency, the cowardice in tackling Great Powers for breaches of their obligations, the insincerity of disarmament conferences, the remiss enforcement of mandates and treaties for the protection of minorities. But these defects all run back to a refusal to abandon the theory and practice of independent national sovereignty.

The part which Great Britain has played in this refusal is not, I think, attributable to any distinctively moral backwardness, but rather to a misinterpretation of the peculiar position she holds in the world. Our dependence for vitally necessary supplies of foods and raw materials upon overseas trade, hitherto secured, as we have contended, by our naval superiority and our making of sea-law, has undoubtedly been the chief reason why we will not undertake all-round arbitration. Associated therewith is the amorphous structure of our Empire, whose integrity rests, partly upon the goodwill of Dominions which lie outside our national supremacy, partly upon a sovereignty exercised over large areas of subject-populations which we are not willing to resign or to submit to any international control. Taking the latter consideration first, the pride we have always taken in the formlessness of our Empire has its nemesis in the excesses of a nationalism which on the one hand hampers our international policy at every step by the necessity of securing the separate assent of each Dominion, on the other, finds in the subject colonies and protectorates cravings for a completeness of self-government for which they are as yet unfitted by the state of their political and cultural development. Recognising, with Don Sturzo, that "colonial dominion is and must be considered a transitory

phase," we have to ask whether internationalism may not make a definite contribution to the progress of the subject peoples towards a self-government that should satisfy their reasonable requirements under a world-government in the future. The Mandate system under the League seems to supply the right principle and method, and Professor Murray's proposal that the British Government should extend this system to all its Crown Colonies and Protectorates, "thereby establishing the Mandate principle as the only true and accepted method for the government of the uncivilised peoples by the civilised" is a definite contribution to the peace and order of the world. For the chief danger of nationalism is the twofold assumption that the internal resources of every country are the absolute property of its people, who possess an unfettered *jus utendi et abutendi*, and that all peoples must be deemed capable of managing their own affairs.

Now a reasonable effective internationalism must challenge the validity of these assumptions. It must develop powers of world-government competent to say, not merely to subject and backward peoples, but, where necessary, to civilised peoples—"the welfare of mankind requires you to grant reasonable access to the lands and other natural resources within your area of government which you are not willing or not able to cultivate or develop: you have no natural or equitable right to refuse to would-be immigrants entry into your vacant lands, or to place unfair and oppressive terms upon your trade relations with the outside world." Though white civilised peoples have been ready enough to recognise these limits upon the autonomy of lower peoples, the process of Imperialism consisting chiefly in forced assertions of these rights of development on the part of particular civilised peoples and their governments, the admission of a similar suzerainty of a world-government over the obstructive policies of civilised white nations has hardly entered the minds of internationalists. And yet the most important, as the most difficult, problems of the political future lie in such modifications of existing rights of national sovereignty as fetter this wider realisation of the commercial, financial, and human intercourse necessary to enable mankind to develop to the utmost the resources of the whole world, in the interests of its inhabitants, on the basis of a world community. The great task of our time is the education of influential groups in each nation for the modification of national by international sentiment for this new stage of civilisation. The nation that first engages to undergo the risks of pioneer work in this field of political and moral endeavour will win an immortal crown of glory.

We live in an age when individuals are eager to stake their lives to make a "record" in some field of personal prowess or endur-

ance. Don Sturzo proposes a collective act of moral courage in establishing a new record in the art of civilisation, a breaking of that vicious circle which forbids disarmament until a "security" has been attained which is itself dependent upon disarmament. He proposes that

A group of the most courageous and highly civilised States should renounce all wars without exceptions or reservations, and at the same time declare their willingness to be recognised as disarmed and neutralised States, no matter what the international situation might be. This would mean at first the co-existence of other States accepting instead the present régime, the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact. Such co-existence would imply what we may call "a mixed system." This, or some similar way, must be followed before we can reach complete elimination of war. The free and simultaneous renunciation of all war by all States is practically impossible; no authority in the world can compel such a renunciation unless a favourable public opinion has been formed able to impose it on the authorities of every State. But the way to form such a public opinion lies in the actual realisation of disarmament and the renunciation of all war on the part of such a group of bold and courageous States.

Is there enough faith and spiritual sportsmanship in our nation to initiate such a group experiment? If there were, I feel confident that the risks would shrivel before the moral security it would generate. Even in the present dangerous world, the safest nations are the small and virtually unarmed Scandinavian States. Our supplies of food and raw materials are not even now really safeguarded by our navy and our arrogant claim to make our own seaway. These are provocative challenges to naval competitors and to hostile groupings, that endanger those supplies in the event of another war, which is made more likely by our naval attitude.

This act of a group of nations throwing themselves upon the goodwill of the world and the recognised community of human interests, as advance agents of the higher civilisation, would, for all believers in the power of moral forces, be just such a demonstration of faith and courage as would win the assent and following of the moral laggards in all the other countries. Why should such collective moral adventures be scouted as quixotic? Why should nations feel no shame in flaunting their collective cowardice and their materialism by demands for an armed security that is seen to be impracticable, when a voluntary surrender of a hardshell nationalism and a will to war would liberate statecraft from its obsolete traditions and set it free to perform its creative work in international politics?

J. A. HOBSON.

BRITISH POLICY IN THE NEAR EAST (1900-1909).

DURING the twelve years preceding the Great War the Near East and its problems had come to exercise a dominant influence over international relations: and the acute crisis which was provoked by the Young Turkish Revolution in the summer of 1908, and the consequent annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, did more than anything else to widen the gulf between the two rival groups of Powers. A flood of new light is thrown upon the attitude of Great Britain towards Near Eastern questions, in the newly-published volume of *British Documents*,* which will amply repay closer study.

The Turcophil tradition in Britain, which had reached its height under Disraeli during the Eastern Crisis of the seventies and the Congress of Berlin, slowly weakened during the last two decades of the century. The odious character of the Hamidian régime, culminating in the Armenian massacres of 1895-6, destroyed the last lingering belief in the reformability of Turkey: and Lord Salisbury not merely confessed publicly that in the Crimean War we had put our money on the wrong horse, but in private suggested to the Emperor William that Turkey was bound to collapse and be partitioned in a no very distant future, and that it would be wise for Britain and Germany to reach a timely understanding. This overture met with no response from Berlin, and indeed was denounced by Herr von Holstein as a "project for a Balkan conflagration." On the contrary Germany profited by the Armenian agitation in England to make her own influence supreme at Constantinople: and her Ambassador, Baron Marschall, for many years before the Young Turkish Revolution, occupied a position comparable with that of Stratford de Redcliffe a generation earlier. While William II played with the Pan-Islamic movement, trained the Turkish army and planned the Bagdad railway, the peace of the Near East rested above all upon the Austro-Russian Agreement of 1897, which pledged the two Powers in favour of the *status quo* and against territorial conquests, and indeed against separate action in any question of detail without a previous exchange of views. This undoubtedly secured to Turkey a respite of some years, but it, of course, could not prevent her internal condition from steadily deteriorating under the oppressive police régime of Abdul Hamid. During the last five years of the century Macedonia became the main centre of unrest, and by 1902 Turkish

**British Documents on the Origins of the War (1898-1914)*. Edited by G. P. Gooch, D.Litt., and Harold Temperley, Litt.D. Vol. V: *The Near East*. 1928. Price 18s. net. (Stationery Office.) The references throughout this article are to documents in Vol. V.

impotence and the terrorism of rival Christian propagandas—notably of the Bulgarian “Internal” and “External” revolutionary organisations—had reduced the province to virtual anarchy.

In February, 1903, the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministers, Lamsdorff and Goluchowski, put forward a programme of reform: but the consistent obstruction of Abdul Hamid rendered it only very partially effective, while the revolutionaries, who, of course, did not wish it to succeed, were roused to fresh violence. In August, 1903, Macedonia was the scene of a desperate insurrection, which the Turks succeeded in crushing: and British diplomatic reports at this time describe Russia's policy as one of drift, her Ambassador at Constantinople favouring suppression of the rising, and her Diplomatic Agent in Sofia backing the insurgents. Already in January Lord Lansdowne recognised “that Austria and Russia were specially interested” (No. 1) and that the situation had “become almost intolerable” (No. 2). But it was not until the rising seemed likely to provoke further complications, that he intervened with suggestions for an extension of the reforms. But he found himself forestalled, literally by a few hours, by a fresh Austro-Russian Agreement concluded at Mürzsteg (September 29th, 1903), and was content henceforth to leave the initiative to the two Imperial Powers. Hilmi Pasha became Inspector-General of Macedonia, with Austro-Hungarian and Russian Civil Agents as his assessors, and all the Powers save Germany shared in the creation of a gendarmerie under foreign officers. These measures were only a partial remedy and could not check the process of disintegration due to the internecine feuds of all the Macedonian races. But though the British Government always gave its support to any step intended to stiffen reform, it did not feel called upon to risk its good relations with either Vienna or St. Petersburg by too much insistence: and it was not till 1907, when the Anglo-Russian Agreement had diminished the risk of our motives being misunderstood, and when the gravity of the Turkish situation had become patent to all, that Sir Edward Grey found himself able to press for action.

In the meantime Britain had adopted a stiffer attitude than any of the other Powers towards the assassination of the King and Queen of Serbia in 1903. In the light of what followed it is interesting to remember that the advent of the new dynasty was “not viewed with disfavour” by Austria-Hungary (No. 89), that both she and Russia at once recognised it, and that though Count Lamsdorff invited King Peter as his first public act “to mark his reprobation” of the crime, neither he nor Count Goluchowski showed much further interest in the regicide question. It was left to Britain, with the active approval of King Edward, to withdraw her Minister and to insist on the dismissal of seven prominent conspirators

(among whom the sinister name of Dimitrijević-Apis does not occur, and only one, Major Kostić, has played any part in Yugoslav public life since the war) as a condition for the revival of diplomatic relations. The hitch which occurred in April, 1906, was attributed by our Chargé d’Affaires, Mr. Thesiger, to Austrian influence (No. 118): and on May 23rd Sir E. Grey, in a memorandum to the King, treats this as authentic. The Austro-Hungarian Minister in Belgrade, he states, “being anxious to secure the exclusion of British influence in Serbia, intimated that on the concession of certain commercial advantages to Austria, King Peter and the regicide officers would be officially received at Vienna” (No. 122). This was, however, flatly denied by Count Mensdorff as “absurd” (No. 126): but it coincided with Goluchowski's attempt to make the new Commercial Treaty with Serbia dependent on placing her order for guns and war material with the Austrian firm of Skoda, and Sir Edward Goschen, writing to his chief from Vienna, was quite justified in arguing that on the return of a British Minister to Belgrade “the chances for Austria-Hungary to profit by the present preoccupation and weakness of Russia and browbeat Serbia into a state of complete dependence, will be greatly lessened, if not destroyed” (No. 133). At last, in June, 1906, Serbia gave a public undertaking never again to employ the regicides already named, and Mr. Whitehead, the new Minister, certainly enjoyed added prestige owing to Britain's tenacious insistence on a moral issue which so many Powers viewed with indifference.

The war with Japan temporarily diverted Russia's interest to the Far East and weakened her international position: and thus Vienna seemed to be the real centre of gravity for the discussion of Near Eastern problems. From 1907 onwards, as Russia turned again westwards, the attitude of the Powers towards these problems came to be dominated more and more by the present rivalry of two men—Baron Aehrenthal, who succeeded Count Goluchowski at the Ballplatz in October, 1906, and Mr. Izvolsky, who had replaced Count Lamsdorff only a few months earlier. This rivalry, which was to have momentous consequences for the world, infinitely complicated the task of Sir Edward Grey and prevented the question of reform from being dealt with on its merits.

Aehrenthal had spent many years as Ambassador in St. Petersburg and had then passed as Russophil: but all his sympathies and connections were with the old reactionary circles, and Izvolsky was doubly distasteful to him, as representing the beginnings of constitutional government in Russia (to the Right Izvolsky and Stolypin passed as “Liberal,” though to the Left their Liberal veneer seemed thin enough) and in foreign policy an Anglo-Russian rapprochement. It was because Aehrenthal favoured a

revival of the Three Emperors' League that he at first enjoyed the strong backing of Francis Ferdinand, who advocated that combination right up to his death : and Goschen warned Grey in May, 1907, that Austria-Hungary and Germany were "doing all in their power to draw Russia aside from the understanding with Britain, by promises of future support, especially in the Balkans" (No. 158). Aehrenthal tried to win Russia for separate action in the Near East by four of the six Powers, to the exclusion of Britain and Italy : but when Russia, in order not to offend London, declined the proposal, he told Count Mensdorff to deny this to Sir Edward Grey (Nos. 159-191). When King Edward visited Francis Joseph at Ischl in August, Sir Charles Hardinge found Baron Aehrenthal in a suspicious mood, accusing Britain of inciting Serbia against Austria-Hungary and of encouraging Italy in Albania : and though allayed for the time, suspicion lay at the root of the Austrian statesman's psychology.

By the winter Grey was thoroughly alarmed at the drift of Turkish affairs, and told Goschen that he considered "things in Macedonia worse than ever since I came into office" : and as it was "quite clear that a conciliatory policy has no effect whatever" upon Abdul Hamid and his advisers, he would urge the Powers to press for "executive control and increase of the gendarmerie" (Nos. 173-4). But his Circular Note did not receive the necessary support, and he was "not prepared to break up the Concert" by pressing it (No. 177). Germany realised that by not backing Grey she increased her own influence at the Porte and diminished Britain's : while it speedily became apparent that Austria-Hungary had "got her price" (Sir Nicholas O'Connor's phrase, No. 180) in the Porte's concession for a railway through the Sandjak of Novibazar. "It appeared to me even before I got your private letter," wrote Grey to O'Connor, "that Austria had played the mean game of driving a bargain with the Porte in favour of her railway scheme, at the expense of Macedonian Reform" (No. 184). "The postponement of the Note and the spirit displayed by the Powers respecting it," he wrote elsewhere, "seem equivalent to the abandonment of all hope of progress in Macedonia" (No. 182). For the second time he had found Aehrenthal false and unfriendly, and quite indisposed to help in averting the impending Turkish catastrophe.

The Sandjak Railway project, ill-digested and strategically impracticable, caused intense resentment in Russia, to whom Aehrenthal had given no warning : indeed it abruptly closed the epoch of cordial Austro-Russian co-operation. The ensuing deadlock rendered still more necessary that direct exchange of views between Russian and British statesmen which was a logical sequel to the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 : and on June 9th to 11th,

1908, King Edward, accompanied by Hardinge, visited the Tsar at Reval. Izvolsky spoke bitterly of Aehrenthal and was ready to accept Grey's whole scheme if there were any prospect of its adoption by the Porte or the Powers, while Hardinge explained that London favoured "either no concession or both concessions"—in other words, a Danube-Adriatic transversal railway as well as that linking Bosnia with Salonica across the Sandjak. Hardinge's Memorandum on these conversations (one of the most important documents in the new collection—No. 195) shows that the Tsar spoke of "a new era" in the relations of the two countries, but also that no new binding arrangements were concluded. Yet the Reval meeting has come to figure as one of the central incidents in the legend of the "Encirclement of Germany."

But though the story of a deep-laid design can be dismissed as mere legend, the widespread belief in it did quite definitely help to precipitate the Young Turk Revolution : for the conspirators, whose two strongholds were at Salonica and Monastir, were afraid that Russia and Britain had concocted some new plan which, unless promptly forestalled, would deprive Turkey of Macedonia.

Sir Edward Grey's line throughout 1907-8 is straight as a die, but, of course, for that very reason obscure to men of such tortuous minds as Aehrenthal. Informed by such exceptional observers as Sir Nicholas O'Connor and Mr. Fitzmaurice, as to the desperate internal situation of Turkey, he pressed steadily for the new Judicial Reforms, as the best means of averting disaster : and in May, 1908, he told the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires with the utmost frankness that "as long as Turkey was incapable of decent government, we could do nothing to help her," and "that we had no political motive in pressing this question of reforms" (No. 197). When the revolution came, he at once expressed himself to Sir Gerard Lowther, the new Ambassador, as "ready to help the better elements" in Turkey (No. 204). Yet he was not a mere dupe of these "marvellous" events, as he calls them : for "it may well be," he writes (No. 208), "that the habit of vicious and corrupt government will be too strong for reform" (August 23rd, 1908). But "whether the chance of really permanent reform is great or small, we must back the chance as long as it exists" (No. 219, April 30th, 1909). These two phrases from his private letters to Lowther would in themselves suffice to prove his good faith and pacific efforts : but this impression is strengthened when we read his constant attempts to improve Russo-Turkish relations and to persuade Izvolsky to give the new Turkish régime a fair trial.

It was above all from this angle that Grey condemned Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia, as likely to compromise the reforming party in Turkey, encourage other claims against her, and

so precipitate partition and international complications. If this was his most practical ground for objecting, he was on even more unassailable, if more doctrinaire, ground in contending that an international treaty could not be revised by the one-sided action of a single signatory, and that Aehrenthal had struck at the root of public law in Europe. He based his attitude on the Convention of 1871 (when Russia's repudiation of the Black Sea settlement of 1856 was regularised) and upon the strong line which Austria-Hungary had then adopted in an analogous case. He told Mensdorff quite frankly that "in the interests of public morality" we should not recognise Aehrenthal's action (No. 351), and on the same day silenced the German Ambassador by asking whether Austria-Hungary would admit the right of *other* Powers to alter *other* clauses of the Treaty of Berlin at will (No. 350). On the other hand, he was careful not to commit himself unreservedly to a Conference until he could find out what questions would be raised at it, and this caution he maintained throughout the six months of crisis. It was very fortunate that he did so, for otherwise, in view of Aehrenthal's rigid and dictatorial attitude, not only Russia, but the whole Entente, might easily have found itself in an impasse from which war was the sole escape.

His attitude towards the annexation was inevitably influenced by Aehrenthal's shifty tactics. Already in February, 1908, Hardinge considered that Aehrenthal was "not acting straight" (No. 228), and Nicolson reported and endorsed Izvolsky's opinion of Aehrenthal's "sharp practice" over the Sandjak Railway. This impression was heightened when, two days before the declaration of Bulgarian independence, Aehrenthal denied its imminence to Goschen (Nos. 289, 299). On October 14th Goschen reported that Aehrenthal had given "his solemn word of honour" that Bulgaria's action had taken him by surprise. "When a man gives you his word," Goschen added, "one has to accept it": but his very concrete conversations with Herr von Tschirschky and Count Lützow had convinced him of the contrary. Further ground for suspicion was provided by the Austro-Hungarian communiqué of October 13th, stating that Russia and Italy had received previous notice of the annexation and had raised no objection (an assertion promptly denied), and by the discovery that Aehrenthal's Ambassador at Paris, Count Khevenhüller, had already known about Bulgaria before his chief's disclaimer to Goschen.

It is interesting to note that King Edward, whose minutes upon documents submitted to him are generally confined to a laconic "Appd." (approved), comments as follows on the Goschen report: "I cannot believe in M. d'A[ehrenthal]'s 'word of honour' statement, as facts belie it" (No. 381). A few days earlier Hardinge comments on the "woegone appearance" of Mensdorff, who

"thoroughly realises that his government have behaved in a very underhand manner . . . I really feel quite sorry for him. He is not a fitting representative of a policy of duplicity such as Aehrenthal's" (No. 372). Grey, on his part, told Goschen that "it is quite incredible that Aehrenthal had not arranged with Bulgaria before speaking to you. You and we cannot but feel justly aggrieved at being treated with such bad faith" (No. 299—also No. 487).*

Under such circumstances Sir Edward Goschen cannot have regretted his transference to Berlin: but his successor Sir Fairfax Cartwright found himself in a no less difficult position and was told by Aehrenthal at their first official meeting, that "England's attitude to Austria was at the bottom of the troubles" (No. 483). His excited criticism of the British Press seems to have nettled King Edward, who comments: "Baron d'A., knowing he is in the wrong, uses offensive language towards England, which, however, does not strengthen his case" (No. 484): and Grey complained to Cartwright that Aehrenthal and his Press talked "as if it were England and not Austria which had first disturbed the *status quo*" (No. 485). Cartwright went to Vienna with a considerable reputation—which events did not sustain—and he at once put forward a solution of his own: but this Hardinge dismissed as "simply palliatives, . . . of no real use unless accompanied by a change in the present irreconcilable attitude of Aehrenthal"—adding, "he seems paralysed and unable to suggest any step to extricate himself from his present impasse" (No. 475). Grey at this time very acutely complained to Metternich of Aehrenthal's neglect of *imponderabilia*, of "the forces beneath the surface" (No. 481): while Hardinge only two days earlier reiterated to Mensdorff his view that "a little conciliation on both sides is all that is necessary" (No. 476).†

Meanwhile Aehrenthal was utterly inelastic and Izvolsky an angry man with a grievance, and neither in the least disposed to be conciliatory. And so, while Austro-British friction brought an added complication, the central fact in the situation was the personal hostility between the two statesmen. The British Documents throw some new light upon their famous interview at Buchlau in September, 1908, at which Izvolsky is alleged to have

* There is some piquancy in comparing these phrases with the parallel comments of William II, who writes of Aehrenthal's "frightful stupidity" (*Die Grosse Politik*, Vol. 26, No. 8992), of "felony" and "the thanks of the House of Habsburg" (No. 9002), and declares that "Vienna has duped us in a monstrous way" (No. 8968), and that he is "deeply hurt in my feelings as ally" (No. 8939).

† Cartwright on his side hardly improved matters by explaining Aehrenthal's attitude to Grey as one of personal jealousy, "because you have succeeded in acquiring for England a preponderating position in deciding Balkan affairs." "Until Aehrenthal goes, the European situation will be complicated by these personal affairs."

purchased Aehrenthal's consent to the opening of the Straits by approving the annexation of Bosnia. But it is by now almost certain that no exact protocol of their conversations was ever taken, and the safest and most probable assumption is that two slim customers failed to fathom each other and genuinely misconceived each other's policy and immediate intentions.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Izvolsky, despite his subsequent espousal of the Serbian cause, was far more interested in the Straits, and would have acquiesced in the annexation if he could have obtained a *quid pro quo*, such as would have saved Russian prestige and allayed the clamour of the Slavophil press. What strengthens this view is the fact—prominent in the minds of the two statesmen concerned, though unknown to the world at large—that Russia had, not once but four or five times (in 1876, 1877, 1878, 1881, 1884, and perhaps 1897) unreservedly recognised Austria-Hungary's right to annex Bosnia, and indeed to choose the moment most convenient for herself. Not the least curious feature of the whole crisis is the secrecy in which these agreements remained shrouded till after the Great War.* It is typical of Aehrenthal that his dislike of healthy publicity, as opposed to press bureau manipulation, prevented him from revealing facts which, without affecting the criticism of his methods, would have immensely diminished the strength of Russia's case before Europe.

Aehrenthal again was comparatively indifferent about the Straits and might have let Izvolsky have his way here. By an irony of fate the obstacle lay with Izvolsky's two allies in the West. Once again Sir E. Grey's attitude was perfectly logical, and determined above all by fear for Turkey. To raise the question of the Straits on the top of the Bosnian and Bulgarian incidents might, he felt, fatally compromise the new Turkish régime which he was so eager to help. At the same time he drew up a Memorandum, accepting "in principle" the opening of the Straits, but claiming reciprocity instead of "exclusive though limited right" for the riverine states, and insisting on Turkey's consent as a preliminary (No. 377). He then assured Izvolsky, before the latter left London on October 15th, that his motive was "not a desire to keep the Straits closed, and that on the contrary he positively desired their opening on terms acceptable to Russia and the Black Sea States, without putting Turkey at unfair advantage," and that this seemed to him "essential to the establishment of good will between Russia and ourselves" (No. 387). He made it clear that he had "not much sympathy with the clamour of Serbia and Montenegro for territorial compensation," but did "not want to cold-shoulder

* Professor Fournier's pamphlet, *Wie Wir zu Bosnien Kamen*, indicated rather than proved the Austrian case in this direction.

Izvolsky on the Serbian question" and would do his best to support him (No. 412). He instructed Nicolson, in St. Petersburg, that Russia would have his "*diplomatic support, but not to the point of provoking a conflict*" (October 29th, No. 416): this he repeated to Serbia, and two days later added a strong warning against provocative action (No. 419).

Meanwhile he instructed Lowther in Constantinople that no obstacles should be put in the way of a direct Austro-Turkish arrangement (No. 402) and assured the German Ambassador that he "did not wish the discussion of Near Eastern affairs to lead to the formation of two opposing camps" (No. 408). He treated as "nonsense" "all this talk about 'ringing in'" Germany—and this, characteristically, not to Metternich the German, but to Benckendorff the Russian, Ambassador! (No. 441). To Mensdorff again he speaks of "the absurdity of trying to make mischief between Germany and Austria-Hungary" and disclaims all desire "to disturb the existing balance of power" (No. 505).

During December Grey did his best to encourage Turkey to settle direct with Vienna, but got no credit from Aehrenthal, whom Cartwright describes as "incensed against us" and fanning the anti-British campaign of the Press Bureau (No. 508). (King Edward here comments on "the 'bull in a china shop' style" of Aehrenthal.) When in a later mood Aehrenthal "even went so far as to regret and wash his hands of recent outbursts of Anglo-phobia in Austrian papers," Grey's terse comment—"Aehrenthal let his hands go unwashed for a long time" (No. 512)—betrays his not unnatural irritation.

In proportion, however, as Austro-Turkish relations readjusted themselves, Austro-Serbian friction grew more acute, and was aggravated by the press on both sides. From the national point of view Serbia, of course, looked upon the annexation as unjustly sealing the fate of kinsmen for whom she had twice gone to war in the seventies, and also as perpetuating her own economic isolation. But from the international point of view it was equally clear that her demand for territorial compensation was such as no Great Power would ever concede, and could only be enforced by war, and again that war meant utter ruin unless some other Power gave her active support. There can be no doubt that Serbia received undue encouragement from Izvolsky, who failed to realise till too late that he had entered a *cul-de-sac* from which he could only escape by a European war or by "climbing down."

Sir Edward Grey was not to be deflected by all this and never went so far as King Edward, who frankly favoured concessions to Russia in the Straits question (No. 372) and wrote to the Tsar, "to sing to the utmost my praises of Izvolsky and the great personal regard I entertain for him" (No. 409). But as the

Serbian crisis grew more acute, Sir Edward showed his comprehension for the general Slav aspect of the problem and Russia's special position. He held it to be "impossible for Russia to give a *carte blanche* assurance that she would under no circumstances whatever support Serbia: for this was not a question of the wishes or intentions of the Russian Government, but of the strength of Slav feeling which might be aroused" (No. 583). When Metternich argued that Russia "had no real claim to be directly interested in the Serbian question," Grey replied that it was not a matter of "abstract arguments," but of "race feeling which had to be dealt with as matters of fact and which had been the cause of many wars in history" (No. 606). Aehrenthal, of course, went much farther still, in arguing that the Serbian question was "a thing quite by itself," which "had no real connection with the annexation" (No. 715). Russia's attempt "to act as protectress of Serbia" was, he said, "a mad claim, which Austria-Hungary could never admit" (No. 657): and both his official organ, the *Fremdenblatt*, and the Hungarian Premier declared it to be the purely private concern of Austria-Hungary, with which no third party in Europe had any right to interfere (No. 636). In terms of law the great Power was within its rights, in terms of politics and sentiment the fire was driven underground and the final outbreak merely postponed.

At this stage Sir Edward Grey provided a fresh proof of his pacific aims. Realising that Izvolsky was inspired by pique rather than policy, and that Aehrenthal was impervious to argument, he made overtures to Germany, with a view to joint friendly representations at Vienna, which could then be followed by outspoken advice to Belgrade (Nos. 600-610). Hardinge had tried to prepare the way in talks with Bülow during King Edward's state visit to Berlin (page 608). Germany, indeed, refused, and the idea fell through: but M. Jules Cambon rightly interpreted Grey as wishing "to put an end to the division of Europe into two camps" (No. 615). Grey was now on the horns of a dilemma. He saw that unless Serbia renounced her claim for territorial compensation, there would be war, and that Russia must now decide whether she "means to give armed support" (No. 621). On the other hand he could not after all that had passed submit to Aehrenthal's dictation or take the initiative in disavowing Serbia, without endangering Russo-British relations, which was, of course, one of Vienna's ulterior objects.

Early in March Izvolsky, realising that Austria-Hungary might present Serbia at any moment with an ultimatum, advised the latter to drop her territorial claim (No. 619), but told Nicolson that he saw Aehrenthal to be bent upon Serbia's "complete and absolute submission" (No. 690)—to whom the Ambassador replied that Russia would have done better "at the outset" to explain to

Belgrade "the true situation." But, as Izvolsky weakened, Aehrenthal became, if possible, less conciliatory than ever, insisted upon an explicit renunciation from the Serbian Government, submitted a most uncompromising draft, and remained adamant towards Grey's attempt to tone down its phrases (Nos. 721, 732, 739, 747).

Then, quite suddenly, on March 23rd, while Grey and Cartwright were still trying to move the intractable Aehrenthal, Izvolsky received a *mise en demeure* from Germany, who wished to know whether Russia would agree if Austria-Hungary requested the Powers to ratify the new Bosnian situation. In a panic at this "diplomatic ultimatum" (his own phrase—No. 753) Izvolsky and his colleagues yielded to Berlin, without waiting to consult London or Paris. He told Nicolson that it was "a hard pill to swallow, but Russia did not want war when just recovering" from the Japanese War: that "the Austro-German plan was skilfully conceived, since they knew that in three or four years Russia could speak differently" (No. 761). Nicolson showed annoyance at Russia's surrender, and believed in a design to "break the ring and dissipate the Triple Entente" (Nos. 764, 775). He warned Grey of the "surprise and consternation" at St. Petersburg, of "the deep humiliation" felt at this "renunciation of Russia's traditional part in South East Europe," and of "the general assumption that she could not have acted thus except on the advice of Great Britain" (No. 801). Hardinge, at the other end, regarded Izvolsky's capitulation as "really too deplorable," but contended that "Britain could not be more royalist than the king," and that it was "a most difficult task for us here to follow the workings of Izvolsky's mind" (No. 807). Izvolsky justified this still further by his petulant criticism of Nicolson and Cartwright (No. 813), and by his annoyance when Grey quite properly made the Montenegrin settlement dependent in the first instance on the approval of the two Adriatic Powers, Austria-Hungary and Italy. "The interest which Russia took in Montenegro," he said, "was fifty times greater than that which she felt for Serbia!" (No. 828)—an attitude reminiscent of Shuvalov at the Congress of Berlin, but quite incompatible with his own action for the previous six months. Grey deprecated Izvolsky's readiness to believe stories about Cartwright: "He should not have been deceived: for he himself remarked to me that it was Aehrenthal's habit to compromise everyone with whom he talked. I fear he (Izvolsky) has judged us by some low standard of his own" (No. 823).

Germany's intervention was decisive; hard realities suddenly ejected both Serbia and Russia from their fool's paradise; and in the end the most that Grey could do was, through the medium of Cartwright, to obtain from the relentless Aehrenthal a formula of

surrender for Serbia just a few shades less humiliating than that originally drafted. Aehrenthal triumphed all along the line, but it was a barren victory, for it left Austria-Hungary confronted with the Southern Slav problem in a new and far graver form, which equally affected internal and foreign policy, and was insoluble save by universal war or by a complete reversal of tactics of which neither Aehrenthal nor his successors were capable.

It will be seen that even an article written from the angle of British rather than Austrian policy, and designed to stress the salient points of the new documents, has been driven to concentrate attention upon the personality of Aehrenthal and his fatal duel with Izvolsky which sowed so many dragon's teeth. This was a development for which Sir Edward Grey cannot be blamed, and it is difficult to see what else he could have done during the long crisis, without jeopardising the only friendships on which he could rely. His attitude towards the broken Treaty of Berlin has sometimes been treated as unduly doctrinaire, but such an argument will only weigh with those who subordinate international law to national egotism and who scoff equally at his action in August, 1914. These documents abundantly show that cordial co-operation with a man like Aehrenthal was almost impossible, that Grey and his subordinates gave loyal support to Izvolsky up to the point which they had indicated from the very first as their limit, and that they also did their best to maintain friendly contact with Berlin and prevent the Powers from ranging themselves into two hard-and-fast groups.

The weak spot in Grey's position was the very fact that he had made it quite clear at the start that the question at issue could not form a *casus belli* for Britain. It is a classical instance of the disadvantage of such an attitude, just as the lack of any definite pronouncement till the last moment in the great crisis of 1914 illustrates the drawbacks of the contrary method. There can be no doubt that the country endorsed his objection to commitments in a Russian or Balkan quarrel and would have gravely criticised a less explicit attitude: but it is also clear that this and the strange self-effacement of France during most of the crisis (which is reflected in this volume) increased the handicap against Izvolsky and weakened the Entente.

The more these documents are studied, the more severe is likely to be history's verdict against Baron Aehrenthal. Mr. Izvolsky cuts a poor, but not a discreditable figure, and the real indictment against him belongs to a later period. But Sir Edward Grey's high purpose, moderation and straight dealing are evident at every turn, and he was singularly fortunate in such able helpers as Hardinge, Nicolson, Goschen and others.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

BULGARIAN PROBLEMS: A SURVEY.

BULGARIA during the years 1927-1928-1929 is supposed to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of her liberation from the Turkish yoke. The word *celebrate* generally implies some great festivity and calls forth the idea of national rejoicing. Alas! this will not be the case as regards Bulgaria. Her independence and national integrity, sanctioned by the Treaty of San Stefano fifty years ago, have been mutilated successively by the fatal errors embodied in the Treaty of Berlin (July, 1878), by the Treaties of Bucharest of March 13th, 1886, and of August 28th, 1913, and finally by the Treaty of Neuilly, November 27th, 1919.

The short lapse of years between 1878 and 1929 witnessed the political maturity of a nation after centuries of complete oppression which weighed with crushing uniformity alike on the religious, economic, and cultural conditions of the Bulgarian people. In the course of fifty years of independence Bulgaria has had an unusual share of lessons in fortitude. Her years of prosperity and success have been cruelly outnumbered by periods of depression. Bulgaria has suffered from her own mistakes, but also from those of others, not to mention circumstances and events from 1913 onwards, which spun a fatal web of ill-luck around her. From this web the people are emerging slowly to-day, and it is to their credit that no revolutions or serious outbreaks have taken place; although the heavy blow of the Treaty of Neuilly shattered all the hopes and ideals based on the programme of President Wilson. Bulgaria has had her post-war periods of unrest, but although inevitable political rivalries could not but thrive in the atmosphere created by the settling of war accounts, they had no lasting effect, and after the accumulated years of fighting and distress there remained sufficient common-sense in Bulgaria to make her the buffer-State between Soviet Russia and Western Europe. There was more than one attempt, however, on the part of Moscow to use Bulgaria as a stepping-stone "on a westward campaign," and only recently Sofia was again disturbed by the discovery of secret societies taking their lead from Russia and the "Third International." It is a question for Sofia of remaining on its guard!

However, that is a difficult task for Bulgaria, which has been rendered almost totally defenceless through the military, naval and air clauses of the Treaty of Neuilly. (Articles 64, 93.) The Army, says the Treaty, shall be exclusively employed for the maintenance of order within Bulgarian territory and for the control of the frontiers. But this Army has been restricted and Voluntary Enlistment has been introduced. In the minds and hearts of the Bulgarian people the question of disarmament is an accomplished fact. The aims of that country do not go so far as to demand an increase of its military forces. It is only for

financial reasons and owing to the difficulties which are inseparable from Voluntary Enlistment, that the restoration of conscription is essential. The Bulgarian agricultural labourer is not naturally inclined towards a military career; before the war he regarded "conscription" as a matter of course which trained him as a disciplined soldier, and the life of the "barracks" was a useful preliminary school for his future life. The Army recruited by way of Voluntary Enlistment is a very heavy burden for the Bulgarian Treasury; moreover, the efficiency of a "volunteer" will never equal that of the "soldier recruited by conscription." The Army as it was constituted by the Treaty of Neuilly cannot be regarded as sufficient for the maintenance of order and guardianship of a long extended frontier. Bulgaria's river boundaries extend for 611 kilometres, her coast line for 311 kilometres, and her land frontiers for 1,235 kilometres. Altogether amounting to 2,157 kilometres of frontier. The system of a long-service army imposed on Bulgaria in 1919 was probably due to ignorance of the social and economic life of the country. But Bulgaria hopes that the Council of the League of Nations will alleviate this state of affairs, which places the Bulgarian military institutions in complete inferiority to those of her immediate and fully-armed neighbours.

To summarise the position of Bulgaria to-day, this constitutional monarchy, ruled by the able, democratic and gifted King Boris, has since January, 1926, a government whose members belong to the "Democratic Entente." This party is composed of reliable elements and stands for order and solid patriotism. It originated in an opposition bloc comprising all the political parties of Bulgaria against the Agrarian Party under Stambolisky. The present Bulgarian Prime Minister is the capable, energetic and hard-working M. Liaptcheff; seconded by M. Bouroff, Minister of Foreign Affairs; and M. Molloff, Finance Minister. On a total of 273 the Government have 168 representatives in the present Sobranie, elected last on May 29th, 1927, for four years. The other Bulgarian political parties are:

(1) *The Democratic Party*, with a well-known leader in Alexander Malinoff; (2) *The National Liberal Party*, originally founded by the great Stamboloff; (3) *The Agrarian Party*, composed largely of remnant of Stambolisky's followers; (4) *The Macedonian Group*, or party whose members are elected from the Macedonian districts of Bulgaria; (5) *The Social Democratic Party*, similar to the British Labour Party; (6) *The Radical Party*, or dissidents from the Democratic Entente; (7) *The Artisans' Party*, or Progressives; (8) *The Moderate Communist Party*; (9) *The Communist Party* proper, or Bulgarian section of the "Third International," were suppressed as a political entity in April, 1925.

All politics being essentially practical at the moment, it is necessary to turn to the maze of financial obligations which darken Bul-

garia's horizon and threaten to do so for many a year. The name of the ominous cloud is "Reparations!" The Bulgarian Government by increasing taxation, reducing salaries, and cutting down government expenses to a minimum have managed to balance the Budget for the coming year. (The Bulletin of the British Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce of Sophia, dated February 15th last, gives full particulars concerning the economic situation of the country.) Bulgaria is fulfilling all her obligations both as regards the service of her Pre-War Loans and the onerous financial charges of the Treaty of Neuilly. Starting with the so-called "Secondary" payments:

(a) The agreement of March 28th, 1924, has fixed the cost of the army of occupation at 25,000,000 gold francs (or £1,000,000), the amount to be paid in ten years with interest at 5 per cent.—the total will therefore be 31,500,000 gold francs. Up to this day Bulgaria has paid 15,500,000 gold francs towards this debt. 15,976,000 gold francs remain to be paid before September, 1934.

(b) The present cost of the International Commission of Reparations in Bulgaria amounts to £7,400 per annum.

(c) The upkeep of the Greco-Bulgarian Commission for the so-called *voluntary* Emigration costs Bulgaria £37,313 per annum. (The principle in the name of which this Commission was founded is one of doubtful moral value!)

(d) For the Tribunals of Arbitration, as provided by the Treaty of Neuilly (Art. 188), Bulgaria spends £4,470 per annum.

As to Reparation Payments proper, the staggering total of two milliards, two hundred and fifty million gold francs (2,250,000,000) was decreed by the Treaty of Neuilly (Art. 121), representing almost half the war-indemnity claimed by Germany from France in 1871. However, owing to the personal intervention of the members of the Inter-Allied Commission of Reparations, and the support of the British Delegate in particular, it was decided, under the protocol of March 21st, 1923, that Bulgaria should pay to the Allied and Associated Powers within sixty years—up to 1983—the sum of 550 million gold francs (550,000,000) with interest of 5 per cent. Under this Protocol Bulgaria is to pay yearly, on April 1st and October 1st, up to April 1st, 1983, two instalments, which will be increased at each term, until October 1st, 1934. The first instalment fixed was of 5,000,000 gold francs. From October 1st, 1934, up to April 1st, 1983, the yearly payment will be 43,395,336 gold francs. The Protocol has certainly fixed a sum slightly less overwhelming than that of the original treaty and spread over a longer period, but the burden remains crushing for the impoverished Bulgarian nation, especially after the last calamity, the earthquake of 1928. The reduction of Bulgaria's Reparation payments is

greatly due to the way in which negotiations with Sir Elliott Colvin, Sir Basil Blackett and the French members of the Commission, were conducted at the time. One recollects also that in the House of Lords Lord Newton supported the Bulgarian claim with truly noble courage in several brilliant speeches. He raised the question again last May.

To return to Bulgaria's yearly payments as fixed by the Protocol of 1923, namely, 5,000,000 gold francs twice a year, at first glance the amount does not seem too overwhelming. Bulgaria fulfilled her obligations to the letter till last year, when the terrible blow of the earthquake taxed the nation's power of endurance yet again. One must here pause to admit that the Treaty of Neuilly, that maze of onerous clauses, yet embodies a couple or so of less malevolent provisions, one of which may be found in Art. 122, which stipulates that: "The Inter-Allied Commission will have the right to arrange for any reduction or postponement of a payment should they consider it opportune." On the strength of this stipulation, and in view of the earthquake, Bulgaria's Reparations Payment due in October, 1928, was postponed for six months. This act of just kindness to Bulgaria was followed by the conclusion of the long-awaited Stabilisation Loan a few months ago of £5,000,000—half a million to be allotted for the earthquake damages. However, the disasters and losses of all kinds caused by the earthquake amount to a sum of seven milliard Levas, equal to the whole Budget of the Bulgarian State.

The Members of the Inter-Allied Commission living at Sofia have acquainted the Reparations Commission in Paris with the economic plight of Bulgaria through detailed Reports; and the temporary suspension of her next payment of 5,000,000 gold francs is under consideration. It has, however, just been announced (April 3rd) from Sofia that, as the decision of the Reparation Commission with regard to the request for postponement has not been made known, the Government has transferred to Paris 2,500,000 gold francs (£100,000), representing one-half of the payment due on April 1st. This move of the Bulgarians seems very creditable. It is hoped that the Commission—consisting of the five international delegates with the right of decision by majority vote—may agree to remit the other half. According to Part VIII, annexe II of the Treaty of St. Germain, September 10th, 1919, the delegates must be a representative of the United States, one of Great Britain, one of France, one of Italy, and one delegate to represent and be appointed on the principle of mutual consent by Greece, Poland, Roumania, Yugo-Slavia, Tchecho-Slovakia. These five men will have the right to examine the financial questions relating to Bulgaria, and to *postpone* (only to *postpone*) for one or two periods of

six months each, the payment of the Reparation Annuities, should they consider it opportune and justified.

It may be interesting to note here that although Greece has recently voiced feelings of sincere friendship towards Bulgaria, Greek Parliamentary circles are opposed to any postponement of Bulgaria's Reparations. The Greek Press also declares that if Bulgaria were to obtain a moratorium, Greece would then have the right to repudiate her financial obligations, namely, War Debts, towards the principal Allied and Associated Powers, pro rata to her allotted quota of the Bulgarian Reparations. 12 per cent. of the Bulgarian Reparations having been allotted to Greece, this theory would involve a sum of 1,200,000 gold francs, or *two* Bulgarian Reparation Payments, namely, 12 per cent. of 10,000,000 gold francs. Greece seems to make the payment of her own war debts to her Allies depend on Bulgarian Reparations! This seems both devoid of logic and of friendliness, and the remarks made the other day by a British business-man showed more foresight. This Englishman said that "a larger portion of Bulgaria's income should be set free each year in the Annual Budget for development, improvement of roads, railways, rolling stock, etc., and that a more liberal policy in this respect would be sound from the Allies' point of view, as it would make it more possible for Bulgaria to meet reparation payments in future years."

"Development and improvement" have certainly not been facilitated for Bulgaria by the indefinite postponement of another vital problem, the fulfilment of Article 48 of the Treaty of Neuilly, which provides for an economic outlet to be granted to Bulgaria on the Ægean Sea. Discussions and proposals at the Lausanne Conference ended in an atmosphere of discontent, as the Greek offers were inadequate and the Bulgarians felt the promise contained in Article 48 must be granted with more guarantees and fewer reserves. The "economic outlet" on the Ægean is by no means a recent discovery of one of Bulgaria's needs. The Treaty of San Stefano (1878) had already deemed it a necessity for Bulgaria to enjoy "free access to the Ægean coast to which the valleys of the Vardar and the Strouma are a natural road." Forty-one years later the Allies recognised this as a practical scheme and embodied it in a Treaty, thus providing sufficient foundations for its fulfilment. Bulgaria's foreign markets are dependent on this outlet, and her trade would benefit by it to a considerable extent, as regards imports of manufactured goods from Western States and exports of her own cereals.

There is yet another question affecting Bulgaria to-day, that of the much-discussed rights of Minorities. Needless to say, Bulgaria has followed the last meeting of the Council at Geneva with the

deepest interest, noting with gratitude that Sir Austen Chamberlain defended the Bulgarian claim regarding the bonds due to Bulgaria by the Greek Government in favour of Bulgarian refugees dispossessed of their properties in Greece. The history of Minorities is an ancient one! Must one return to the eighteenth-century Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji (1774) when the principle of European intervention in the Near East was put forward in order to alleviate "le mal des Nationalités"? Later, the Treaty of Paris (1856) was more precise, in that it stressed the need to grant "certain rights" to the Minorities of race and religion in the Ottoman Empire, and the right for the Powers to intervene and remonstrate with the authorities. There is an Article (23) in the Treaty of Berlin which is a formal foundation for the principle "to make the life of minorities tolerable," which principle President Wilson proclaimed throughout the world by stating that *Nations were free to dispose of themselves*. "That nothing changes in the East is a commonplace which threatens to become tyrannical," is Mr. Brailsford's comment in his book on Macedonia. But the rights of Minorities were again definitely set down in the following treaties: (1) between the principal Allied and Associated Powers and Yugo-Slavia at St. Germain, September 10th, 1919, and December 5th, 1919; (2) between the same Powers and Greece, signed at Sèvres, August 10th, 1920; (3) between the same and Roumania, signed at Paris, December 9th, 1919.

The statesmen of Europe all realise to-day that very wide issues are at stake when the rights of Minorities are being discussed, and as regards the Balkans and the particular case of Bulgarian Minorities it is impossible to hope for effective harmony between the Balkan States if a "regime" of fair play is not substituted for the "compulsory assimilation" of present methods. It is equally impossible to deny the existence of ethnical and religious minorities in Macedonia, the Dobrudja, Thrace, and the western region of Tsaribrod-Trn-Bossile-grad. I do not think I shall be contradicted if I say that not one Bulgarian school or church is accessible to the Bulgarian-speaking populations in the above territories. Bulgaria has put her case before the League of Nations, but every delay in reaching a solution of this problem is fraught with bitterness, both national and individual, the more to be deplored as it is detrimental to friendly relations of any permanency between Bulgaria and her neighbours. Bulgaria's aim and ambition are to live on friendly terms with these neighbours, and no good will is lacking on her side. This has often been proved in recent years. Results are not wholly unsatisfactory, and a short study of Bulgaria's foreign policy in the Near East dispels undue pessimism.

As regards Turkey the situation is full of friendliness on both

sides. A treaty of arbitration and neutrality was signed last month at Angora between Bulgaria and Turkey. Greece has just sent one of her best diplomatists as Minister to Sofia. Apart from the Reparations question there has been a strong *rapprochement* lately between the two nations; a treaty of commerce is being drawn up, and a convention of extradition regarding criminals has just been signed at Sofia by Greek and Bulgarian delegates. Concerning Yugo-Slavia, I think it may be said that Bulgarian public opinion follows the situation with interest, and not without hope. On February 25th last these hopes were partly justified by the meeting at Pirot of a conference between a delegation appointed by the Bulgarian Government and one representing Yugo-Slavia. The attempt to place relations with Bulgaria on a more secure footing was one move in the right direction; the opening of the frontier closed by Yugo-Slavia more than a year ago was another. It is hoped that a treaty of commerce may soon be concluded between Bulgaria and Yugo-Slavia; economic interests can sometimes open a way to more subtle understandings. As regards Roumania the relations are more friendly than they have been for some time. But the situation of the Bulgarian population of the Dobrudja is still very critical owing to the frequent incursions into the Bulgarian villages of bands of Kutzo-Valachs, and the methods of administration of the province. The improvements promised by the Roumanian Government are overdue.

The *leit-motif* of the Minorities' grievances must necessarily continue to overshadow Bulgaria's foreign policy, and the Government can only await the decisions of the Powers and of Geneva in hopeful expectancy, realising that the question is enormous and affects the whole course of international relations. It is to be hoped that Europe, and Great Britain in particular, at a time when countries are more inclined to destroy than to reconstruct, will encourage the Bulgarian people by furnishing them with some of the materials which will make the Bulgarian nation one of the strong factors in the peace of Europe.

This particular year has witnessed, both in Central Europe and in the Near East, a tendency towards endeavouring to find solutions of national grievances within the limits of signed treaties and to arrive at international understandings by means of mutual concessions. Bulgaria puts her faith in that "guardian" of treaties, the League of Nations, which is the New Agency of order in Europe. The inclination of nations to sign mutual agreements seems to denote a new phase of thought, and, it is to be hoped, may be the prelude to better understandings in the Balkans.

DIMITRI STANCIOFF.

(Sometime Bulgarian Minister at the Court of St. James.)

ARABIA—1926-1929

THREE YEARS OF WAHHABI RULE.

ON January 8th, 1926, the Wahhabi leader, "Abdul" Aziz ibn Sa'ud, was acclaimed as King of the Hijaz in the precincts of the Great Mosque of Mecca. He had already been the *de facto* ruler of the greater part of the Hijaz for rather more than a year and had thus provided material for the formation of an estimate of the future. And such an estimate was actually formulated at the time by an impartial and somewhat critical observer, an English Muslim who had performed the pilgrimage in June, 1925, and had resided during the following six months at the Islamic capital. This was Mr. Eldon Rutter who, in his recently published work, *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, sums up his impressions in the following terms: "He (i.e., Ibn Sa'ud) is probably the best ruler that Arabia proper has known since the days of the four Khalifas; and, if he keeps his balance in spite of success, he may do her much good." The third anniversary of the Wahhabi King's accession provides therefore a suitable occasion for taking stock of the situation and for assessing the value of the gifts conferred by him on the new Arabia, which in the beginning was inclined to look askance upon the *Danaos et dona ferentes*. The future still lies on the knees of the Gods, but Ibn Sa'ud has without question earned for himself a niche in the temple of fame as one of the outstanding men of modern times. And it is important to remember that, while men such as Mussolini, and even perhaps Mustafa Kemal, have built up their reputations in circumstances postulating peace and security as the proper aims of policy, the Wahhabi monarch, whose reign in Arabia has now lasted twenty-eight years, has had to contend throughout with a popular acceptance of war and rapine as the inevitable and by no means objectionable foundations of the social order.

His task had thus begun long before he ever dreamed of coming to the Hijaz, where, in spite of centuries of Turkish rule, the same philosophy obtained in all its nakedness with the added scandal that its victims were for the most part the strangers within the gate, the pilgrims drawn to the Holy Land by the insistent call of their religion. With better luck the extension of the Hijaz Railway from Medina to Mecca might in the long run have enabled the Turks to wipe off this enduring blot from their imperial escutcheon. But the Arabs prevented any such possibility, and their leader was Husain ibn 'Ali, a lineal descendant of the Prophet, who, when he duly came to the throne in fulfilment of his ambition, stood forth with all the zest of his vigorous character as the high-priest of the old cult of chaos. For the greater part of the decade of Hashimite

rule anarchy reigned supreme; and it was said by many wise in their generation that, for all his successful coping with the unruly nomads of Najd, Ibn Sa'ud could never succeed with the same methods in face of the seasoned turbulence of the Hijaz. They reckoned not perhaps with the terrible weapon he had forged on the anvil of his native wit from the volcanic stuff of his desert. And before he ascended the throne of the Hijaz he had shown himself in very sooth the master of its denizens. Mr. Rutter's schoolmaster friend was speaking the thoughts of many when he exclaimed: "But security! was there, in the days of the Turks or in the days of El Husain, protection such as this?"

Security—of life and limb and property—is the very sheet-anchor on which Ibn Sa'ud has relied with the true instinct of a born captain to steer his ship of State safely amid the shoals and storms of perilous seas. Administrative efficiency, the comfort of the pilgrims, the prosperity of the country and the adjustment of diplomatic relations with its neighbours, would follow in their due course. But everything depended on security and peace in a land where those commodities had for centuries been at a serious discount. And the method adopted by the Wahhabi King to achieve this end is not the least characteristic feature of his régime. A handful of gendarmes at the Red Sea ports, largely used for ceremonial purposes, is all that one sees of the guardians of the peace. For the rest the *Pax Wahhabica* stands on the sure foundation of an invisible army maintained at a trifling cost out of the royal civil list. The moral effect of such an army, always there but never seen, is tremendous, and the few sceptics who have challenged its mettle have lived or not lived to rue their rashness. As formerly in Najd, so now in the Hijaz, Ibn Sa'ud strikes seldom but strikes very hard.

Having secured peace without creating a solitude, his first pre-occupation was to reorganise the whole system of the pilgrimage, primarily in the interests of the pilgrims themselves but without forgetting the reasonable claims of those who court the cheerless life of the Hijaz in their service. King Husain had ever set his face against the obvious conveniences of the motor-car, but the new régime encouraged the introduction of motor transport for the pilgrim-service with the result that the four cars of yore have grown in three years to a figure not far short of 1,200, including the royal fleet which has shown itself triumphantly more than once in the high deserts of Najd itself. The claims of the camel-owner have not been forgotten in the rush of the new dispensation and he carries more pilgrims now than when he carried all. He still carries all the heavier baggage and some day—perhaps before very long—he will be driving cars instead of camels. Arabia is undergoing a

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wonderful and peaceful transformation and the pilgrims will flock to her in ever-growing numbers. Indeed, during the past three years the average numbers of the best years of the old order have been well maintained and the overseas visitation of 130,000 pilgrims in 1927 appears to have been an absolute record. The water-supply at Jidda and Yanbu, the two chief pilgrim-ports, has been or is being greatly extended and improved. Shelters, with medical attention and supplies of water, have been erected on the hot and dusty road to Arafat. Quarantine arrangements are adequate against such contingencies as one hopes not to see in being. The streets of Jidda and Mecca are kept clean, and the thankless task of roadbuilding has not been neglected. On the whole, apart from his complete safety, the pilgrim is better found now than of old and has more time to concentrate his attention on the doctrinal differences which separate him from his Wahhabi hosts.

A brief reference to this subject, otherwise better left to the unending argument of doctor and saint, is necessary in any review of the Wahhabi achievement. That some aspects of the new régime do not commend themselves to Muslims of softer climes than Arabia cannot be gainsaid; but the absence of serious incidents during the past three pilgrimages does not suggest any excessive insistence on the disputable aspects of the Puritan creed and practice. Ibn Sa'ud is indeed a missionary in Islam rather than an inquisitor. He believes with all the fervour of a great heart in the essential truth of the dogmas he professes. He seeks unashamedly to communicate that conviction to the faithful the world over. And in the holy cities, held by him in trust not for Islam but for God, he has or is seeking to set up a model Islamic administration for the guidance of those for whose spiritual welfare he is responsible, morally if not technically, as the *de facto* Amir al Muminin. The Shar' law holds in the cradle of Islam and is administered by judges lawfully appointed to their office. Under it the Muslim may conduct his life and his devotions according to his conscience and no person, be he Wahhabi or other, can interfere with him. Wine, women and song have been banished from the streets of the holy cities, and no true Muslim can justly cavil at that. Can he complain that the tombs are no more or closed where perchance of yore he was wont to pay his mite of worship in defiance of God's jealousy? It is difficult to think that the Wahhabi position is open to serious challenge on doctrinal grounds.

So much for the pilgrims who, if the most important, are but one item in the whole Arabian scheme. In catering for them the Wahhabi King has not neglected other aspects of his task. A definite link with the modern world has been forged by the signing

of the International Postal Convention, and it is understood that before long two experts from Switzerland will arrive at Jidda to advise on the reorganisation of the postal, telegraphic and telephonic administration, which even under existing conditions works smoothly enough. The one good feature of the old Hashimite régime, its wireless system, has been maintained and extended. A movement is also on foot to reorganise the long-neglected Air Service for the purposes of long-distance communication. But the settlement of the thorny problem of the Hijaz Railway still hangs fire over an apparently unbridgeable gap of conflicting sentiments—religious on the one side and practical on the other. It may be that the motor-car, when it has settled its quarrel with the camel as it has done long since with the once-famous donkey of Mecca, will prove that the railway, as a means of transportation, is out of date.

With peace, security and good communications, agriculture, long derelict in the Hijaz and in Najd, is showing welcome signs of revival; and machinery in ever-growing force is challenging the older methods of well-traction. But it has yet to be proved whether there is enough water in the bowels of Arabia to stand the strain of power-driven pumps. Till then her essential foodstuffs must continue to be drawn from the markets oversea, as also the clothing of the bulk of her people. And the drinking-water of the Red Sea ports must still come with travail from the inexhaustible sea.

Directly or indirectly the pilgrim provides the bulk of the revenues needful for the administration of a country not far short of a million square miles in area. In the interior the tithe and the animal-tax provide a small part of the Treasury's need; but Jidda is the goose with the golden eggs. Imports of foodstuffs, piece-goods, motor-cars and machinery provide the bulk of the State revenues at the high rate of 20 per cent. *ad valorem*. Within the last three years the revenue collected at the Red Sea ports has certainly increased by 100 per cent., and perhaps the total income of the Dual Monarchy is now not far short of £2,000,000. But the actual increase in the income of the State is as nothing compared with the fact that now the whole of it finds its way into the exchequer without diminution by the way. It was never thought that the more technical branches of the administration could be carried on without the importation of foreign experts, not necessarily European but Syrian, Egyptian or Indian. It is therefore somewhat remarkable that the much-needed reform of the financial administration has been effected entirely through the agency of local material hailing mainly from the deserts of Najd itself. Abdullah al Sulaiman, the Minister of Finance and the pivot of the

whole scheme of Wahhabi government, comes from 'Anaiza. The Director of Customs and the Minister of the Interior are from the same city; and the departments presided over by these three officers are almost entirely staffed by local officials from Najd and the Hijaz. It was moreover a Najdi who successfully created an excellent motor-road from Yanbu to Medina at a cost of less than £1,000, while a Turkish general with long experience of army engineering was failing at a cost of £30,000 to convert the camel-track from Jidda to Mecca for the use of cars. Indeed, the raw material of Najd is an untapped mine of splendid possibilities and is rapidly proving itself under the test of the new conditions created by the capture of the Hijaz.

Medicine and Foreign Affairs are perhaps the only branches of the administration for whose higher posts Ibn Sa'ud has had to rely on the co-operation of Arabs from outside the limits of his own territories. In the former steady progress is being made so far as financial stringency permits while much remains to be done before perfection is achieved. In Foreign Affairs Ibn Sa'ud has enjoyed the fortune of the brave; for more than two years his Foreign Minister was 'Abdullah al Damluji, who had been in his service ever since 1915 and rendered invaluable help in the early doubtful days of his master's first contact with the Chancelleries of the West. Since his resignation last August his place has been filled with distinction by his former assistant, Fuad Hamza, a Syrian. Thanks largely to the services of these two and others Ibn Sa'ud can say, with truth, that his relations with all foreign Powers are on a cordial and friendly basis. At the same time he can assure the Muslim world with equal truth that such relations are maintained without the sacrifice of one jot or tittle of the complete independence which is the keystone of his foreign policy. The last vestige of the old Capitulations disappeared with the Hashimite régime never to return, and in the Treaty of Jidda in 1927 Great Britain formally recognised the absolute independence of the Hijaz and Najd as a sovereign State. Of other European Powers France, Holland, Switzerland and the Soviet Union have accorded recognition to the Wahhabi State, while it seems that Italy, whose consul has for three years enjoyed the unofficial hospitality of Ibn Sa'ud's Government, cannot much longer withhold the formal recognition which is due from her. The lines of Ibn Sa'ud's foreign policy are simple and straightforward and only a single incident has in the past three years ruffled the calm surface of his relations with his neighbours. This is not a suitable occasion for the discussion of the intricacies of the Busaiya affair which troubled the peace of the Iraq frontier last winter; but it is noteworthy that, on the initiative of the

Wahhabi King, the controversy was transferred from the field of battle to the arena of diplomacy before any irreparable harm had been done. Diplomatic discussion proved in the end unable to produce an agreed settlement of the problem, but the friendly atmosphere in which the argument was pursued without either party finding itself justified in giving way was itself of greater intrinsic value than any compromise could have been. In meeting the representative of Great Britain, Sir Gilbert Clayton, at the conference-table on even terms Ibn Sa'ud showed himself, both in courtesy and tenacity, a born diplomat with a born statesman's grasp of the intricacies of a difficult situation. He realised from the outset that he could not accept the British standpoint and that his failure to convince the British Government would confront him with the even more difficult task of convincing his own fanatical Ikhwan. In the end it fell to him to face the latter alternative and the last weeks of the third year of his reign have witnessed the successful conclusion of a momentous conference between himself and his subjects of Najd at Riyadh. His fourth year thus begins on a note of peace and goodwill towards all men, and it is to be hoped that he will now enjoy a period of leisure so necessary for the completion of his task so well begun in the Hijaz.

H. ST. J. B. PHILBY.

MISSIONARY ORDERS IN FRANCE.

THE perplexed question of the re-establishment on French soil of a number of Roman Catholic Missionary Orders is responsible for the ominous echo of the great struggle that raged throughout France at the beginning of the present century in connection with the separation of Church and State, which has recently reverberated through the Chamber of Deputies. The proposal to grant the necessary authorisation to this end came from the Government, and was contained, in its final form, in a series of measures known as the Missionary Congregations Bills. These have encountered months of vehement opposition, upon which the Socialists and Socialist-Radicals, together with other parties of the old Cartel des Gauches, have expended the whole of their skill in the art of parliamentary obstruction. The Government finally succeeded in forcing their passage through the Chamber on the eve of the Easter recess, but they are now a mere wraith of their former substance, so insistent have been the demands for modification. They have run the gauntlet of abuse and sinister insinuation, have been hounded, first out of the 1929 Budget, in which they made their *début*, and then out of the Supplementary Credits Bill, and in their present form grant the desired authorisation only to nine specified Congregations, carrying on missionary work principally in the East and in Africa. The Government's scheme formerly made allowance for the re-establishment of any approved Order which made its application within a limited period.

No one can doubt the value of the work done by French missions in foreign lands, not only in its purely humanitarian aspect, but also in its powerful national influence in diffusing the language and culture of France. Under the existing laws, however, they are forbidden to recruit young novices in the country, and are, in many cases, in a state of decay. Thus we find something peculiarly inconsistent in a state of affairs in which the Quai d'Orsay looks to the help of the missionary congregations for extending French prestige abroad, while the Minister of the Interior is obliged by law to prevent them from recruiting their members within the frontiers. In spite of the growing urgency of the matter, and of the fact that the stringent conditions to be imposed upon the Orders made it impossible for them to interfere in any way with secular education, the Government's proposals were greeted with whisperings of a "reactionary tendency" on the part of M. Poincaré, which, as the cleavage in the Chamber became more clearly defined, developed into a full-throated roar of denunciation. The Government could have placed no deadlier weapon in

the hands of the anti-clerical element represented by the Cartel, who wielded it with the cunning and dexterity of an accomplished swordsman—to such effective use, indeed, that the Cabinet was forced to resign, back in the winter, primarily upon the religious issue. A surprising element of the dispute is that such violent objection should be raised to a measure sponsored, among other avowed secularists, by M. Briand, who, it may be recalled, figured prominently 25 years ago, in his capacity of Minister of Public Worship (an office now extinct, of course), in the framing of the series of secular laws responsible for the present plight of the religious Orders. M. Poincaré, too, regards the *lois laïques* as one of the corner-stones of the Republic, and would be the first to rally to their defence; but he is also of the opinion that their framework is wide enough to permit the re-establishment of the missionary congregations. Even Emile Combes, himself, could not have intended the secular legislation associated with his name to extend beyond the frontiers of France. Laicism, as has been aptly stated, is hardly an article for export.

The explosive temperament of the French Chamber, as many a Government has learned to its cost, is not a factor to be lightly reckoned with, however unimpeachable the contemplated legislation. Rarely, however, has the detonation been louder than that which accompanied the Missionary Congregations Bills. In spite of the many appeals for moderation and toleration, the mere mention of re-establishing the Orders seems to have fanned the dying embers of the religious conflagration of the first few years of the century into a ruddy blaze. One fact which emerges clearly from the controversy is that French politicians still take a delight in religious disputes. Yet at no time has it caught the imagination of the public. The mass of French people, although solidly in favour of the broad principle of secular education, do not wish to see a revival of the quarrel between Church and State, and are content to regard it as settled a quarter of a century ago. The fact that it could arise in Parliament, however, has somewhat shaken their confidence, and warnings have not been wanting against the danger of playing with fire.

Briefly, the question made its latest appearance as a clause of the Budget for the present year, proposing that missionary congregations which, before January 1st, 1930, should have asked for authorisation to establish in France houses for training, lodging, and retirement, requisite for the conduct and co-ordination of the work they had undertaken outside its continental frontiers, might be granted a provisional Statute by decree of the Council of State, and be entrusted with the administration of part of the property of the dissolved congregations at present in liquidation. This

clause, and another dealing with the allotment of ecclesiastical property to the so-called *Associations Cultuelles*, originate from M. Briand's Cabinet of 1926, which was shortly followed by M. Poincaré's Government of National Union. The Foreign Minister, who takes full responsibility for the present Bills, has insisted all along on the importance of the civilising influences of the missionaries being once more available to the State, pointing out that there could be no objection to a scheme which was subject to the triple control of the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (or of Colonies, as the case might be). Therefore, officials at the Quai d'Orsay, well versed in the intricate relations between France and the Vatican, drew up a clause for insertion into the Budget. The fact that the Socialist-Radical Party had, at that time, four Ministers in the Government, one of whom, M. Herriot, was not unfavourable to the proposals, did not prevent it from openly declaring war. The normally much-divided parties of the Cartel des Gauches at last had a prey upon which they could pounce collectively, and the cries of "clericalism" and "reaction" with which they threw themselves into the fray possessed a rare quality of harmony. The Government climbed down to the extent of limiting the authorisation to the nine specific Orders which had already asked for it, but the Cartellists were by no means appeased. Their hands were stretched out greedily to pull down the Government, and at the Angers Congress of the Radicals last November the "wild men" of the party, led by M. Joseph Caillaux, succeeded in carrying the adoption of a manifesto which so clearly showed the divergence between the Government and the Party that its Ministers had no other course but to resign. M. Poincaré having formed his present Cabinet to the exclusion of the Radicals from office, the Cartel, now in formal opposition, began to adopt purely obstructive tactics, and the Government, faced with the imperative need of getting the Budget through, was forced to withdraw the ecclesiastical clauses and introduce them into the supplementary estimates. The argument persisted, however, that the proposals involved more than a question of finance, and eventually M. Poincaré again gave way, and consented to the introduction of the present Missionary Congregations Bills.

The Cartellists, in their efforts to bring about the rejection of the Bills, professed that fear of a privileged Church which is the basis of their dogma, implying that the authorisation for the re-establishment of the Orders was not only a flat violation of the secular laws, but the thin end of the wedge for a general return of all the militant bodies, such as the Jesuits and Assumptionists, with privileges they did not possess even before 1901. To-day

it was the authorisation of missionaries; to-morrow it would be that of the teaching Orders, and the suppression of secular schools. Further, it was insisted that the proposals had been the subject of a bargain between the Foreign Minister and the Vatican. There is little to be gained from exploring the many cross-currents of opinion on the subject. It is noteworthy, however, that various supporters of the Government have denounced the laicity laws as being confiscatory and unjust, and have stated their determination to secure their repeal. M. Poincaré was thus forced to defend the secular laws against these attacks, at the same time advocating a measure which is held by many to be a theoretical infraction of them.

Many of the reasons which prompted the Government to champion the cause of the missionary congregations are apparent. Successive French Ministries have learned to value at a truer proportion the benefits likely to accrue to France from the activities of her Missions. Thanks, however, to the disestablishment laws of 1901, and the subsequent law of association—to say nothing of the attitude of the Holy See in the matter—many of the missionary congregations have been dying of neglect. In some cases they have ceased to be French, or to exist at all, and their property, passing into the hands of the State, has often fallen into disuse and ruin. All over France there are monasteries and convents, standing empty and silent, in which the forces of nature are relentlessly pursuing their work of destruction, undeterred by the hand of man. Other Orders have struggled on as best they could within the provisions of the existing laws, but their efforts have been seriously hampered by the prohibition against recruiting novices in France for purposes of training in the specialised work of the distant mission stations. Figures prove that the French lay missions are unable to take their places. These, controlled by a single organisation, known as the *Mission Laïque Française*, have only 10,000 pupils all told, against the 300,000 in the congregation schools in the East and in America, and the 200,000 black children being taught in Africa. Moreover, the chief work of the former lies in founding higher schools in accordance with French university standards, and leaves uncovered a large part of that of the congregations. The repression directed against the Orders has had the inevitable result. To-day the elaborate organisations they have built up abroad are being inherited by the missions of other countries, owing to the dearth of young missionaries from France. A large number of them have already passed into other hands, not merely in foreign countries, but in such of France's colonies, for example, as Madagascar, where Italian Trinitarians and American Salesians have stepped in.

Since the armistice the competition has become keener. The missionaries of other States, among them Ireland and Canada, amazed at the unsought prestige France has acquired through her missions, have inaugurated their own organisations to recruit for, and occupy, the fields from which she has been forced to retire.

Each of the nine Orders to be authorised by the Government is dealt with in a separate common-form Bill. Two are for women, and seven for men. We may gain some idea of their extensive activities from the appended particulars :

1. The Nuns of the Infant Jesus of Puy, which has, at present, several missionary establishments in Canada. It is accorded one house, at Le Puy, with 35 nuns and 50 novices.

2. The Sisters of Our Lady of the Apostles. It sends its members to work in the French colonies on the West Coast of Africa, and will have six establishments in France, with 80 nuns and 500 novices.

3. The Missionary Institute of the Christian Brothers' Schools, who are authorised to establish 16 houses in France and one in Algeria, with a total of 300 Brothers and 1,800 novices. Their principal work lies in primary, secondary and technical education in French colonies and Protectorates, as well as in foreign countries.

4. The Society of Missionaries of the Levant, whose widely diffused activities, placed unreservedly at the disposal of the French Government, are conducted in British Somaliland, Syria, Mesopotamia, Abyssinia, Constantinople, the Lebanon, British India, Canada, the Seychelles and Brazil. They will be allowed 19 establishments in France and one in Corsica, with 200 members and 400 novices.

5. The Association of Missionaries of Africa, known as the "White Fathers," who will have 26 houses in Algeria, and a small seminary at Lille, with 159 members and 500 novices, carries on important work in French North Africa and the Sudan.

6. The Missionary Brothers of the Sacred Heart and Perpetual Adoration, known as the Picpus Fathers, will be allowed six houses in France, with 70 members and 400 novices. The care of those afflicted with leprosy is a commendable feature of their work, which includes native education and the training of native clergy.

7. The Marist Missionary Brothers will have six houses in France, with 170 members and 900 novices.

8. The Lyons Association of African Missions will have 12 houses in France, with headquarters at Lyons, 71 members and 500 novices. To develop the beneficent influence of the Catholic religion and French civilisation is the avowed object of their work, which lies solely in Africa.

9. The French Franciscan Missions, whose work in the past has been conducted in Egypt, Palestine, China, Japan, Syria and Morocco, will have 10 establishments in France and two in Corsica, with 180 Friars and 400 novices.

None but members of the particular Order will be allowed to reside in its establishments, which will comprise headquarters, schools, noviciates, retreats, hospitals, orphanages, and convalescent homes. The *personnel* must be exclusively French, except for the teachers of foreign languages, who may not number more than one-tenth of the teaching staffs. The minimum age of admission for novices is fixed at sixteen years—a compromise between the fourteen years sought by the Congregations and the eighteen years favoured by the Radicals.

That many of the fears professed by the anti-clericals for the safety of secular education are groundless may be seen from the stringent conditions imposed upon the Orders. The Government has the right to revoke by decree the authorisation given to any Order to establish a permanent settlement in France should it abandon its missionary activities abroad. There is no question of the reintroduction of the Orders for general teaching, and such a contingency is strictly guarded against. Annually the congregations must send to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior a list of their *personnel*, an inventory of their possessions, and a statement of the year's accounts. No member of a congregation will be allowed to make over to it, by gift or by will, a sum exceeding £400.

It will now be interesting to watch the development of the situation created by the authorisation of these Orders. It is significant that no unequivocal denial has been made to the statement that they have been the subject of conversations between the French Foreign Office and the Vatican; but, as France has an Embassy to the Holy See for the purpose, one may presume, of discussing matters touching on the relations between the Church and the State, it is difficult to understand the dark insinuations of some mysterious intrigue that have emanated from anti-clerical sources. Common sense would seem to require either proof that the missionaries are useless abroad, or, if their services are appreciated, that they should be granted proper facilities. To anyone acquainted with the countries in which they labour, the answer must be obvious. At the same time, it is more than probable that the authorisation of the Orders is a definite concession to the Holy See, in return, maybe, for a Vatican intervention to soften the attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy towards the Government in Alsace-Lorraine. Although only nine Orders are authorised, it will be seen that they envisage the settlement in France of several thousand members and novices, to say nothing of the considerable amount of property involved. Another significant point is that the Government has refused to guarantee that it will not be necessary in future to grant authorisation to further congregations. Indeed, it is

difficult to see how it could be expected to give such an undertaking and escape the charge of favouritism. There is still a large remnant of former Church property in liquidation which might usefully be employed by the French missionaries, with no danger to the laws guarding against clerical influence in French secular education.

Speculation is now rife upon the position of the numerous religious congregations which were tacitly allowed to establish themselves in France during and after the war. They may find it desirable to seek authorisation by way of further Bills, or the Government may be forced to invite them to do so. The present Bills have not yet acquired the force of law, but it is unlikely that they will be further modified to any appreciable degree.

ROBERT W. COOPER.

MEDIÆVAL ECONOMIC THEORY IN MODERN BUSINESS LIFE.*

IT has often been said that the days of free competition are over, that we live in an era of New Mercantilism, which is widening out in many directions into some sort of more or less efficient State Socialism. I am not contesting these affirmations; but I want to inquire into another problem: are not some of the ideas underlying the theory and practice of modern business life far more akin to economically stationary mediæval thought than to the technically progressive conceptions of Mercantilism and State Socialism? The chief feature of mediæval economic theory is probably the conception of production as an art of turning out physical goods. The money value side of it is of no importance. In strict accordance with this conception distribution proper, outside physical transportation, is rather despised: trade is considered more or less parasitical. Price is a kind of simple computation of different costs; costs being equivalent to actual outlay and expense necessary for maintaining a status of living. The price is "just" when the return to the producer covers those elements completely; he has a kind of moral right to the replacement of the expenditure on materials and services bought, and of his personal expense on living. Capital, as a sum of money, is clearly unproductive, so interest is inadmissible.

Some of the ideas which to many of us seemed dead have lately revived. The scarcity of goods in many countries caused by the war brought the conception of physical production once again to the forefront. Inflation enormously strengthened this tendency. The less reliable the purchasing power of money was, the more important was the possession of "actual goods." Every seller thus was turned into a virtual monopolist, and the fear of scarcity which dominated the Middle Ages became prevalent once more. Price-fixing and usury laws were again invoked to protect the consumer.

This scramble for goods led to the theory that prices ought to cover not only the actual cost of production of the goods sold—reckoned in paper money—but their cost of reproduction as well. There is something to be said for such a theory, if nothing else is claimed than proper allowance for the depreciation of money. It has, however, quite a different meaning in business practice under a stabilised currency; monopolists are trying to sell goods at prices, including not only a fair percentage for writing off the existing capital, but providing them with a sufficient surplus for financing new plants from the past earnings. They are, on the other hand, not willing to accept this cost of reproduction theory when improve-

* This Address was delivered to the Economic Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at their Glasgow meeting.

ments render cheaper production possible and desirable. In that case they restrict the output so as to guarantee a fair share of the trade to enterprises saddled with high costs.

War and inflation have had a great influence on the fate of the purely mercantile classes. As the possession of commodities gave their owners real power in inflation days, a kind of "chain trade" sprang up, each purchaser of goods handing them on to the next man at increased prices. This expansion of distribution was truly parasitical. In the end, however, notwithstanding huge paper profits, trade as a whole and the banks as well lost most of their capital.

The depressed position of commerce proper enabled the producing element to expand a policy they had embarked upon much earlier: the ousting of the trader. Physical transportation apart, they considered distribution proper a parasitical business, on which no separate profit ought to be made. For that reason they have been trying to take it into their own hands. Many highly organised combines owe their success to their monopolistic control over distribution. They are not doing away with "trade" as a distributive function; they are only getting rid of the independent trader. The latter may go; but the problem of distribution remains—it is even greater to-day, in comparison to the cost of production, than it has ever been before. The difficulties of production in the technical sense have been largely overcome by modern technical improvements; the problems of distribution are only beginning. As production proper is often controlled by technically trained managers, not accustomed to financial reasoning, ousting the middlemen is often considered an adequate solution of the new problem of distribution. The tendency to overproduction, if not the actual overproduction, which is a common feature of most industries to-day, makes them look longingly to those intermediate profits flowing into the hands of middlemen.

The reorganisation of distribution can either be done by the creation of huge commercial selling agencies, as represented by the big stores. In this case competition is brought into play. Or it can be achieved by producers erecting their own agencies for distribution, in many cases as the result of voluntary cartellisation. Only where such combined selling agencies have been erected, the control of the market is absolute and cartellisation thoroughly efficient. A certain number of independent traders may be tolerated, provided they bind themselves to deal exclusively with the output of cartellised industries, their profits being limited to fixed margins. The results are by no means completely clear. We know the waste of the *existing* system of competitive commercial distribution. We compare it with the *possible* cost of systematic rational central distribution. We are naturally inclined to over-estimate possible

advantages and to under-estimate the dangers of standardised bureaucratic methods, which are bound to grow up. The elimination of the trader does not eliminate his function; it only eliminates his attitude. Moreover, a great deal of additional working capital is needed when industrial concerns are doing their own marketing. Where they are short of capital they have to borrow largely from the banks who may have to increase their control over them. The trader in money has to step in after the trader in commodities has been ousted.

It might be easily proved that the theories on money prevalent in business and bureaucratic circles whilst inflation ran its course were as crude as those prevalent in the Middle Ages during the worst days of the debasement of the coinage. But it must not be assumed, as is sometimes argued, that the leading business interests advocated inflation as a well-thought-out policy, though they may not have hindered it, and were quite willing to profit by it. As guardians of the capitalistic system, they did nothing to safeguard the rights of their fellow capitalists—the creditors. For in their opinion money debts were a burden on productive industry. The debtor to their minds was a producer, who carried out economically important technical functions. The creditor was a kind of leech sucking the life-blood of industry. These views, strengthened, no doubt, by short-sighted self-interest, were closely related to the mediæval conception of usury. They have not changed very much, though the fruits of inflation have turned out to be very bitter indeed. Many industrialists scarcely realise that the high rates of interest were caused by the destruction of that liquid capital they connived at through inflation, and through the suspicion of the creditor class, whom very far-reaching devaluation has greatly incensed. When discussing the high rate of discount to-day many manufacturers seem to imagine that discount rates can be settled more or less arbitrarily, without regard to the ebb and flow of capital. They believe that a low discount rate is not only a boon for the consumer (who really does not count), but for the producer whose costs of production are lowered, forgetting all the time that low discount rates are apt to raise the general level of prices.

In the days of free competition men were dominated by the conviction that low prices are a boon to society, and that economic progress is identical with slowly falling prices. The mediæval theory was the same, in so far as consumer's interest came first. It believed, however, in stability, as without such stability the functional income of the producer could not be maintained. The era of world expansion bringing within the reach of Europe's old-established society more fertile lands and far richer sources of supply for the extractive industries on the one hand, and the growth

of mechanical and chemical invention and modern business organisation on the other hand, made the policy of lowering prices a practical success. Free competition and free trade were supposed to be the never-failing engines to force technical improvement even on reluctant producers. Whilst generally useful from the consumer's point of view, they frequently played havoc with the producer. Often enough the capital value of his plant melted away, so to speak, not because it was badly constructed or inefficiently managed, but because better and richer sources of production were available in other hands and other lands.

Time after time the progress of the capitalistic world must lead to a wholesale destruction of existing capital values. In the face of more efficient competitors men must either write off completely the value of their plants or have them stand still. Bankruptcy, reorganisation, unemployment are unavoidable results.

So the comfortable creed of falling prices being beneficial to mankind was replaced by the belief that rising prices, by giving a stimulus to production, are the true engines of social progress. First came protection which tried to raise prices for certain selected privileged goods only, its advocates maintaining all the time that the general level of prices would not be affected. Then came inflation, with its spurious boom. Its final outcome has been the disappearance of liquid working capital, and its conversion into fixed capitals, into plants badly constructed and badly grouped, into ill-assorted vertical combines. After these not over-favourable experiences with wholesale inflation came the theory of homœopathic inflation, its advocates maintaining that by proper dosing of credit, a stabilisation of sorts can be secured. Prices must not be allowed to fall under any conditions.

The conception at the bottom of this theory of stabilisation of prices, which in its practical bearing is eagerly absorbed by business men who would not care much for its abstract meaning, is closely related to the mediæval view of maintaining a given social order and a fixed individual income. This can easily be demonstrated by looking at the practice of many cartels. The stage of wholesale mass-production, which the world has reached to-day, is going to stay. As long as it lasts, a huge plant working at full capacity can produce more cheaply under monopolistic conditions than several individual plants could do under conditions of free competition. But it is not clear why such a concern working its plant at top speed and enjoying a monopoly should be willing to be satisfied with the *low prices* corresponding to *low working costs*. Technically progressive monopolies have not done it so far. Rationalisation to them was the art of producing goods at lower costs and selling them at higher prices. The question to be discussed is not free competi-

tion or monopoly, nor small-scale versus large-scale production; it is the peculiar form of monopoly aimed at or achieved by some leading cartels. It is not the question either of more or less loose agreements, price conventions, regional agreements and so on, which are restricting the area of free competition without bringing about structural changes in the industries affected.

The essential feature of the cartel in question is usually an agreement enabling the individual works to trade their produce by some sort of joint selling agency and binding them to restrict their output if necessary. They either receive a fixed individual total, and are permitted to produce a certain percentage of this total, according to the percentage-changes jointly agreed upon from time to time, or they are assigned a fixed percentage of a total output, the size of which from time to time is varied by the association. The allotment of a quota guarantees each member the participation in the industries' total output, whilst the joint selling agency guarantees a sufficient price. Fines for overproduction and allowances for underproduction are provided for.

This sort of a combine is not based on any modern conception of efficiency. A central selling agency no doubt must reduce overhead expense considerably as far as distribution is concerned. Apart from this, inefficiency is standardising at the consumer's cost. For the object of increased efficiency in distribution is the maintenance of inefficiency in production, as cheapened distribution is providing an ample margin for them. Badly equipped or badly managed concerns can go on producing at a nice profit.

Trusts and cartels have often been compared, and cartels have come in for a lot of praise. The trust, it is said, has reduced the initiative of leadership to a single head, or to a small group of persons; the separate enterprises forming a cartel continue to be run by individual "captains of industry." As a matter of fact, these captains become mere technical managers of their individual concern. They are utterly divorced from the real business side of their job: the marketing of their goods. This is handed over to the men running the selling agency, who need far more capacity of organisation than for marketing proper and finance. For in a controlled market the trader's peculiar gift of instinctively feeling a business situation and cleverly adjusting himself to it, are no longer needed. Complaints about bureaucratisation are all too rife in most cartellised industries. The business man, no longer needed, is disappearing; his place is taken by a kind of distributing administrator. The owners of the individual concerns need not pit their minds any longer against the nimble wits of clever merchants; the trading capacity is at a discount, for business is supposed to be free from risk. Technical skill prevails, and with it that purely

materialistic physical attitude to production mentioned before.

The continuation of separate producing concerns is bound, moreover, to undo some of the good that centralisation on the selling side may have brought about. As far as the manufacturing side is concerned overhead costs cannot be reduced. Owners, managers, boards of directors must be maintained and paid for by badly equipped and badly financed concerns which can only work at half capacity. As the price fixed by the syndicate must be high enough to yield an income to badly organised works, running at half capacity (which really ought to be closed down), it must be far higher than the price at which even a rapacious trust could squeeze ample profits from the consumer. It has always been acknowledged that the price must be high enough to keep the worst works going.

This can only be justified on the basis of the mediæval theory of the "just price," that the price paid by the consumer must compensate the producer for his actual outlay and the cost of his customary standard of living, to which he is entitled. The consumer cannot be accommodated at the price at which the goods could be sold by other producers; he must pay the price the actually produced goods have run up to. In this way producers producing under favourable circumstances are allowed to pocket an extra profit in the shape of producers' rent, which is sure to be capitalised in some way or other. In the end the capital value of the favoured concerns is inflated to such a degree as to bring the yield on the inflated capital down to normal rates. Under this system the best concerns are not allowed to work at full capacity; their costs of production are higher than they need be. As the percentage output, which weak concerns are allowed to throw on the market, must yield them some profit, their costs of production are higher than they would be if they worked at full capacity. So the price consumers are made to pay is doubly raised: first, because the weak concerns are working at all; secondly, because they are not working at full speed.

During a period of depression when prices are lowered or when the total output allowed on a percentage basis is very small, the weak concerns cannot go on. They do not drop out by closing the works or by liquidating on the loss of their capital. They sell their quota to the stronger concerns. As the stronger concerns can only work at full speed if their quota is increased, they try to buy up quota, i.e., the right to produce all the time. Thus the right to squeeze a profit out of the public by an enterprise which ought to have disappeared long ago is capitalised and bought on the market. The greater the working capacity of the well-organised concerns and the greater the quota of inefficient firms, the greater is the market for quotas. It is a trade comparable to the trade in rent-charges and other rights practised in the middle ages. It is almost

a financial miracle. It is the science of capitalising a deficit, the art of drawing an income from the capitalised value of a loss. It robs the consumers of the benefit from lower cost of production, following decreased overhead expenses, as the purchasing price of the quota must be accounted in working costs. It is like running an over-financed trust which must earn a dividend on watered stock, thus losing the advantage gained by improved organisation, the absence of overlapping and the reduction of overhead expense.

A trust need not be overcapitalised—it is almost a law of nature that the concerns forming a cartel are. Cartel agreements have to be renewed from time to time. At each renewal the chief object of all parties concerned is an increased quota. The claim to a bigger quota can best be proved by productive capacity, very often due to the affiliation of works consuming part of the output—a blast furnace, for example, to consume part of the coke—as special consideration is usually shown for output which is not marketed. This double impetus to enlarge the plant and to annex subsidiary industries must result in an increased producing capacity for the entire industry, and in greatly increased capital investments of most works concerned. The cartel was started to reduce the output, as dividends on the existing capital were not sufficient. It has raised the capacity of output and the capital to pay dividends on.

So the struggle over the quota aggravates the evils cartels were formed to obviate in both directions. After difficult negotiations, after influential groups have threatened to break away, a new agreement is usually reached, with a rearrangement of quotas. The benefit of technical improvement and better organisation on working costs is lost by over-expansion, technically as well as financially. All the time weaker concerns are slowly squeezed out; they are closed by the new owners and their workmen are paid off or transferred, without the slightest benefit resulting to the public from lower prices. To-day the struggle for the quota is taking the place of old-fashioned competition, working as it did in the interest of the strong, with the difference that the weak masters—not the men—are pensioned off at the cost of the consumers who in most cases are manufacturers purchasing cartellised goods. Very often these national producers, buying at monopoly prices, are discriminated against in favour of foreign buyers who get goods at dumping prices.

In modern business life the value of an industrial concern is based on the yield—the actual yield, or the expected yield. Earning capacity is the starting point of the valuation of a business as a going concern. The mediæval conception, on the other hand, identified value with the initial capital outlay of the enterprise. The actual cost of the plant is not only the basis of calculations—as it is in modern accounting, of course—it partakes of the nature

of unchangeable "substance." The value of the capital spent entitles the owners to a stable income. A fixed revenue is an automatic function of a given capital outlay; the valuation of the capital on the basis of yield is not the function of the revenue. Whenever modern industry is ruled by "cartellist" ideas, it has tried hard to fashion its practice to these mediæval conceptions.

Moreover, these methods are not very different from those lying at the bottom of the mediæval theory of the "just price." By adding the cost of the different items incurred in production they reach a price which a consumer is supposed to pay, even if he could supply his wants at a much smaller rate elsewhere. They are really doing in the sphere of business what modern labour is often reproached for: fixing the price of labour according to what it has consumed, not according to what it has produced.* They are by no means mediæval on the technical side. Where "matter" is concerned, they are very progressive; as to value they are blind. They object to the whims of mere "financiers," who see everything merely through the "veil of money." They claim for cartels that they are the bearers of the gospel of rationalisation, in so far as they teach their members to rationalise "collectively"—raising an educational claim for their members, somewhat in the way in which mediæval guilds not only safeguarded monopoly to them, but created a corporate spirit amongst them.

I am not prepared yet to accept that claim. I am inclined to think that as a method of industrial progress the weeding out of backward concerns by competition, leading to a substantial writing down of overcapitalised plants, is a more efficient method than the mere teaching of technical progress by cartellised industries. I am willing to concede to a financially well-organised trust a great many of the claims raised by the cartel—though a good many of the advantages harped upon by either of them are due to large-scale production and large-scale selling, which are not identical with monopoly. But I am convinced that real economic progress in a capitalistic world is impossible without ever-recurring writing off, and I see in the cartels a well-thought-out system of maintaining inflated capital values. The right to profit, to rent, and even to unearned increment, which the capitalistic system has conceded to private enterprise, cannot be maintained, if it is not counterbalanced by a corresponding obligation to bear the loss.

M. J. BONN.

* "The serious position into which we are drifting is mainly caused by the fundamental error of having adopted a false standard in the assessment of wages. To fix a man's wages in accordance with what he consumes, instead of with what he produces, is an economic fallacy, which must lead to disaster."—Report of the Commission recently appointed by the Federal Prime Minister, Mr. Bruce, to inquire into the pastoral industry. (*The Times*, December 23rd, 1928.)

OLD AGE.

"Old Age and the wear of Time teach many Things."

THE flow and ebb of a man's life is imaged in that of the sea. The tidal flow of its waves advances in resistless force, overpowering all obstacles, hurling on to the shore spoils gathered in its victorious assault. Its tidal ebb crawls backwards, sucking up some of its scattered loot, but leaving behind hints of secrets hidden in its depths. Pebbles, shells, seaweed strew the beach; glistening rocks emerge from the waves bristling with the armour of barnacles and limpets, guarding pools beautiful with jewelled anemones. From among these fascinating marine treasure-heaps, the repulsive flotsam of human relics obtrude themselves: broken shards, bottles, boots, drowned dogs, wreckage, exposed brutally by the ebbside.

Undoubtedly the impulsiveness of youth resembles an impetuous flowing tide; but must we believe that the disclosures of ebbside are equally true pictures of the self-revelation of old age? of the personality hidden during active life beneath the rush of energy? of the self emerging at the end of life, showing "what a man has made of himself, and what God has done for his soul"? Does old age really reveal this or are its gleams the negligible exudations of flickering memories, dying passions, mechanical habits? However we answer this question, we must acknowledge that the vision granted us is limited to hints of a mystery, because the Maker of Man alone sees his entire personality as it really exists. This fact, however, has never deterred writers from offering to the readers of their books pretentious descriptions of old age: portraits out of drawing, false likenesses, brutal caricatures, conveying warnings and encouragements from critics entrenched in the serene complacency of youth or middle age.

The writer of this article has long ceased to occupy that vantage ground among the seated spectators of the amphitheatre. As an octogenarian, her place is in the arena, among the gladiators who are fighting their last round with Time, and she can therefore speak with the knowledge of fact, not with the conjecture of theory, on the weakness and strength, on the losses and gains of old age. She would place most prominently among its losses its sense of ebbing vitality. Although the mental powers may continue to operate as vigorously as in the prime of life, every old person is conscious of a slackening of his physical powers in one or other of the functions of his organs or his senses. Fatigue asserts itself and domineeringly interferes with his actions. Mercifully, in the majority of cases, the need of appeasing this tyrant of old age coincides with the abatement of the devouring restlessness of youth.

'Not always, alas! A craving for perpetual motion, for ceaseless travels, or social functions, or competitions, committees, crowds—various manifestations of the herd-instinct—survives in some natures to the end. Their victims haunt the scenes of their former activities to the disgust of the new generation, who scorn their pathetic efforts with the pitiless judgment of youth.

"Night clubs now are simply spas
For our young Methuselahs,—
So don't let's go to the dogs to-night
In case my Granny's there."*

The wise Methuselah recognises his limitations and patiently accepts his enforced tranquillity. The change in his aspect, the lines and wrinkles on face and hands, are rightly regarded by him as warnings of the unavoidable failure of his bodily machinery. Physical discomfort, deafness, lameness, blindness may one or all be awaiting him in the near future. If he faces this possibility bravely, the calm appearance which he presents to the world is a noble indication of a mind at rest. Unhappily, there is a false tranquillity sometimes taken by superficial observers for the calm of old age. It may merely indicate the icy placidity of selfish indifference. It may be a mask behind which the devouring passions of futile rebellion are raging.

"Old age, a second child, by Nature curst,
With more, and greater evils than the first,
Weak, sickly, full of pains in ev'ry breath;
Railing at life and yet afraid of death."†

To avoid sinking into such a hideous condition, the venerable sage knows that certain states of mind are necessary. First of all he places an unceasing watchfulness against any relaxation of his self-control.

Next, as the antithesis of the herd-instinct, he encourages the cultivation of the hermit habit, of the ability for being happy in solitude. To some degree, loneliness is his unavoidable portion. His group of contemporaries is scattered or dead. A new generation parades the stage where they once performed. Another crop grows in the field where they once flourished. He will be felt to be an intruder if he tries to join the present company of actors, if he waves his bearded barley-head above the blossoming clover. He recognises that these conditions are not unfair. He has had his turn and feels no grudge against the new generation for taking the place once occupied by himself and his contemporaries. This does not require him to remain immured in his hermitage. He is ready to leave it when occasion demands, to make friends with the

* From *She-Shanties*. By A. P. Herbert.
† Charles Churchill.

young people. Nothing helps an aged leader to abdicate his throne with graceful dignity like love and appreciation of his successor.

This noble condition can be reached by old people refusing to judge the young in a temper of jealous criticism. They can only do this when they really accept the fact that these newcomers must think, say and do most things differently from how their predecessors thought, said and did them. The focus of young and old eyes differs. The rose-coloured visions of youth may, after all, be truer than the blue-tinted ones of their ancestors. Indeed, some of the latter may have been colour-blind. Old people can extract delight as well as amusement from the exuberance and eager certainties of youth; and that helps them to judge its absurdities and impossible ambitions with tenderness. Did not they too, in the days of their twenty years, believe that they were called to do wonderful things? To rectify the mistakes of the previous generations? To furnish the world with a higher standard of ethics, social reform, government, art, literature? The fact that these day-dreams long ago faded in mirage should make them very gentle in their stricture on youth. They know well enough that discipline will tame the new generation as sternly as it tamed its grandparents. Youth, too, must drink the cup of life. Youth, too, in time, will prove the truth of the poet's description of that chalice:

"... Though the earlier grooves
Which ran the laughing loves
Around thy base, no longer pause and press?
What though, about thy rim,
Scull-things in order grim
Grow out, in graver mood, obey the sterner stress?"

With the pathos of that knowledge before him, age does well to offer fatherly love to them; a gift which reaps a rich reward of warm affection from the youthful throng.

Who could wish for a lovelier epitaph than that of the aged Miss Berrys, the ladies immortalised by the friendship of Horace Walpole?

"As generations onward came
They loved from all to win
Revival of the Sacred flame
That glowed their hearts within.
While others in Time's Greedy mesh
The faded garlands flung,
Their hearts went out and gathered fresh
Affections from the young."*

Such sympathetic characters, were they to reach a hundred years, would never know the misery of solitude in the midst of an alien

* *Epitaph on Mary and Agnes Berry*. By Moncton Milnes.

crowd. It is when they leave the crowd, when they return to their hermitages, that dreary loneliness may await them. Whence can they look for deliverance from that trial?

In the third remedy against a sad old age: in occupation,

"The mind to be kept in health, must be kept in exercise."

Those who have obeyed this law of nature through a long life may hope never to suffer from mental vacuity. Their over-burdened memories may occasionally play them false when required to recall names, figures, quotations. They may fail in etching the outlines of recollected events with the exact crispness of youthful execution. Concentration may not be as easily exercised as of old. But, except for such occasional lapses, the intellectual aged frequently retain their mental powers in an enviably keen and efficient condition. Occupation fills their solitary hours to overflowing. Literary labour and contemplation provided St. Anthony and St. Jerome with potent antidotes against the poison of evil thoughts. Present-day hermits find the same remedy as powerful now as it was in the fourth and fifth centuries. They represent not only a solace, but certain positive advantages of old age. Reading illuminates the quiet evenings with visions of adventures, achievements, drama. The wireless set floods them with harmony. Both magics can be enjoyed in the lonely hermit cell, independent of other people's arrangements and whims.

If the reader or listener tires of the intrusion of ideas from without, he can shut his book, lay down his headphone and substitute "the most pleasing recollections and inexhaustible materials of agreeable and salutary reflection," from the storehouse of his brain, coloured radiant or sombre as the spectrum of memory has retained them for him. The older the memory, the more interesting is the knowledge that such recollections partake of the nature of history. As a child, the writer used to hear from her grandmother of events connected with the French Revolution: of fishing boats landing escaped *émigrés* on Hastings beach; of French fashions of shingling the hair "*à la Victime*"; of Parisian beauties wearing pendants made in imitation of the guillotine instead of crosses. She remembers also how an elderly acquaintance described to her a visit which he paid as a little child to an old woman (a dependant of his family), bedridden in an Edinburgh garret, who told him that when a young bride she had been at the Battle of Culloden with her soldier husband. In more recent days, the writer heard how Dr. Sewell, the aged Warden of New College, refused to allow the Chapel bells to be rung at the Relief of Mafeking, because he remembered that they were not rung in honour of the Battle of Waterloo.

What changes does not memory record in matters of custom, opinions, views; of fashion, sport, education, politics; in changes of the countryside, in the devouring spread of towns and suburbs? All these phases of an inconstant world are recollected in a well-stored memory, and are full of interest to the younger generation, whose own personal records are inevitably slight and meagre. Our memories forge links for them with the past. As Smiles stated: "Generations six thousand years deep stand behind us, each laying its hands upon its successors' shoulders, and the living generation continues the magnetic current of action and example destined to bind the remotest past with the most distant future." Such is the momentous force of memory.

Side by side with memory stands experience. Experience ranks high among the advantages of age. It is the vintage of life, which has ripened through the long years into an elixir of fortifying courage and serenity. Courage that gives the strength of knowledge, that no trials or sufferings which the future may bring are unendurable if met bravely. Like Christian's lions, in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, they prove to be chained and powerless to kill, if the traveller meets them face to face. Serenity that has been acquired through innumerable changes and chances of this mortal life, which the sage has learnt to recognise as nothing unprecedented or monstrous, but as the inevitable condition of existence, as the necessary phase of a changing world that has never ceased to change since its creation millions of years ago.

The old proverb speaks of experience as a school. Like other schools it numbers fools among its inmates, who refuse to learn its lessons and to accept its discipline; but, when its scholars are docile, a mellowed ripeness and balanced judgment are produced, which transform the inchoate, infantile personalities into characters worthy of veneration, as each man's free activity and individuality gradually harden into habit; "habit, which at first may seem to have no more strength than a spider's web, but which once formed, binds as with a chain of iron."

Such is the human character at the end of life. During long years of health and activity, many traits may be successfully hidden from other men's eyes; but, as a man's power of self-control relaxes, gleams of an unrecognised personality pierce here and there through his loosened armour. They are, however (as was remarked at the beginning of this article), only glimpses, limited as are those grudging revelations of ocean treasures which we see on the shore at ebbside. While our "reputation is what men and women think of us, our character is what God and angels know of us." God's alone is the true knowledge.

"All the world's coarse thumb
 And finger failed to plumb,
 So passed in making up the main account,
 All instincts immature,
 All purposes unsure,
 That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the man's amount.
 Thoughts hardly to be packed
 Into a narrow act,
 Fancies that broke through language and escaped;
 All I could never be,
 All men ignored in me,
 This, I was worth to God, whose wheel the pitcher shaped."

This is the pleading of old age to His Maker.

"My times be in Thy hand!
 Perfect the cup as planned!
 Let age approve of youth and death complete the same!"*

The Christian realises that death is as necessary as life has been,
 for the fulfilment of all the unexplored latent powers of his being.
 For what, after all, is personality?

"Personality is the possibility of mirroring God."

LAURA E. RIDDING.

* From *Rabbi Ben Ezra*. By Robert Browning.

ORATORY IN THE BALDWIN - PARLIAMENT.

IS the art of Parliamentary oratory dying out? The rather exiguous reports of the debates at Westminster which appear in the daily press would seem to lend colour to this suggestion. One thinks of some of the famous speeches of the past. Where is the modern Sheridan to thrill the house? Who can supply again such brilliant invective as Disraeli in those memorable philippics with which he attacked Peel? Who can touch the heartstrings of our legislators with eloquence near to tears such as John Bright in his "Angel of Death" speech? Who can command now the majesty of phrase and the extraordinarily varied dialectical resources of a Gladstone or the sweet reasonableness and deadly persuasiveness with which Cobden hammered home his economic arguments?

Those who read our popular press must think that Parliament has sadly deteriorated. Proceedings at Westminster seem to have assumed something of the flashy, flickering quality of a cinema performance. The public reads of some incident in which a Clydesider is tearing a passion to tatters or a Mr. Jack Jones is being wittily offensive with a sort of four-ale bar frivolity at the expense of his opponents. What are called "Scenes in the House" are frequently the only things which are reported in the press of Parliamentary proceedings. All this makes amusing and light reading when served up with the marmalade and coffee, but it does not convey a really accurate picture of events at Westminster or do justice to the abilities and oratorical gifts of the modern legislator.

But apart from modern methods of reporting, the character of the political problems of to-day makes it difficult for the most eloquent speaker to soar upon the wings of poesy. You cannot perorate on a De-rating Bill. You cannot employ the polished diction of a Cicero in discussing hard economic problems. The fount of oratory is dried up in an uncongenial soil. Now and again, however, in the present Parliament there have been great moments, and the men with tongues of silver have risen and proved equal to them. One of these occasions was during the first debate on the Prayer Book in December, 1927. The Whips were taken off, everyone was free to vote as he pleased, and in seven memorable hours opinion was swayed this way and that with an almost uncanny skill that made one feel that oratory was one of the black arts. Among many notable achievements on that emotional night, Mr. Rosslyn Mitchell, the member for Paisley, who is known as the "pocket Rosebery," secured the most conspicuous triumph. He has the physical as well as the intellectual equipment of the

natural orator. He has a voice of wonderful range and a wealth of gestures, and he spoke against the new Prayer Book with a fierce burning Presbyterian scorn. I remember noticing Mr. Lloyd George looking on with admiration at a performance which even he with all his histrionic skill could hardly have surpassed.

Mr. Baldwin is not a great orator, but at his best he has delivered speeches which have all the effect upon his audience of great oratory. A clear pleasant voice with an emotional break in it, and a simplicity of diction which makes him understood by everyone, combined with a happy turn for a literary phrase, have enabled him more than once to capture the heart of the House. He is a sort of "russet-coated captain" of the Ministerial band, whose art consists in his lack of artifice. It is not for nothing perhaps that he has denounced rhetoric as the "harlot of the arts." He has, it is true, the additional advantage that words with a Prime Minister are something more than words. There is always a large and expectant audience waiting to catch the first indications of a new policy. Two speeches delivered by Mr. Baldwin during the present Parliament stand out in the memories of all those who heard them. The first was delivered on a Friday morning when Mr. Macquisten, a Conservative member, had introduced a Bill to deal with what was known as the political levy of the Trade Unions. Friday is generally a slack day at Westminster, but the House was crowded. It was a few months before the General Strike, and storm clouds were rapidly gathering in the industrial sky. On both sides of the House there were restive political "war horses" who scented battle. It was a private member's Bill, and much depended on the attitude of the Government. Before Mr. Baldwin rose the atmosphere on the Conservative benches was such that the Bill would have gone through. When he sat down the Bill was dead. He drew a charming Arcadian picture of a time when relations between employer and workman were more friendly, he spoke of the importance of cultivating the spirit of goodwill, and in a low voice charged with emotion he appealed for "Peace in our Time."

It was fated that events should make a mockery of that appeal, for not many weeks had passed before the storm burst. A General Strike had been proclaimed on a Saturday at a meeting of the Trade Unions in the Memorial Hall, and it seemed to those who came down to Westminster on the following Monday that in a phrase once used by Lord Rosebery, "the end of all things had come." Mr. Baldwin entered the House in an atmosphere of extraordinary tension, and the whole of the Conservative Party rose in their places, waving hats and order papers and greeting their leader with round upon round of cheering. Mr. Baldwin made a speech of great firmness and dignity, and closed with a beautifully-phrased

peroration expressing the hope that when the trouble had passed away it would be possible to re-establish the spirit of goodwill for which he had prayed and worked. It was the speech of a man who was disappointed but undaunted.

No speech delivered during the General Strike or for that matter during the present Parliament made so deep an impression as that of Sir John Simon. It was in its way an historic declaration, and the circumstances of its delivery were unparalleled in the history of Westminster. However much opinion may differ as to whether Sir John Simon made a correct interpretation of the law, his pronouncement exercised a profound influence on the course of events at the time. Some hours before Sir John spoke it was known in the Lobbies that he intended to launch a powerful projectile into the ranks of the Trade Unionists. There were men sitting on the Front Opposition Bench who had held high office under the Crown, and it is not surprising that they should have felt some reluctance to hearing themselves solemnly arraigned on a charge of illegality before the High Court of Parliament. At any rate they and their followers with one solitary exception did not wait to hear the indictment of their terrible antagonist. The Labour benches were empty, but every other part of the House was crowded to its utmost capacity. Sir John Simon in denouncing the General Strike spoke with extraordinary energy and passion. Always fluent and often eloquent, his speeches are sometimes impeded in their onward march by qualifications and parentheses, and there is often too great a labouring of small points which may be vital in a Court of Law, but are apt to have a dampening effect upon enthusiasm in discussing big issues of politics. On this occasion, however, the language was equal to the theme. It was the voice of an inspired lawyer with the majesty of Law itself as the client. Crash after crash of cheering, resonant and sustained, saluted the orator's periods. It sometimes seemed as though the cheering would never die away. . . .

In discussing Parliamentary orators at Westminster it is impossible to omit a reference to Mr. Winston Churchill. Mr. Churchill in his early years took immense pains with the preparation of his speeches. The speech with which he shattered Mr. Brodrick's Army Scheme in the early days of the century is said to have been written out by him six times and committed to memory, as all his speeches were then and sometimes still are. The brilliant young author of *The River War* had shown that he could write, but nature had not dowered him in a pre-eminent degree with the natural gifts and graces of the orator. There were defects of utterance such as a pronounced lisp making it difficult to pronounce the letter "S," which was important in those days

when the word shibboleth used to crop up in Free Trade controversies. The voice was harsh and metallic and the temperament was highly nervous. An acute observer described Mr. Churchill in those days as a "strange mixture of hypersensitiveness and rather ordinary placidity." Notwithstanding all these initial disadvantages, Mr. Churchill by sheer force of intellect coupled with remarkable qualities of energy and perseverance rapidly advanced to the front rank of Parliamentary orators. One quality Mr. Churchill possesses above perhaps every member of the House—command of language. He is the supreme rhetorician of his age. He took as his early literary models Burke and Macaulay, and the stately rhythm of their prose still lingers in his sentences. Judged as purely literary exercises, the speeches delivered in his early days were better than those he delivers now, but from the point of view of their immediate effect upon their audience, especially when that audience is the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill speaks better than he has ever done before. In his early days it was said of Mr. Churchill by Mr. Balfour that his verbal artillery was powerful but not very mobile. Mr. Churchill was too great a slave to his manuscript, and from a debating point of view the midnight oil was too conspicuous. He is now reaping the advantage of his industry in earlier years. The verbal artillery is extremely mobile as well as powerful. He has a spontaneous command of impressive language which fascinates his audience. There is no member of the Front Bench whose repartees are more swift and deadly.

Mr. Churchill is at his best late at night. About ten o'clock in the evening the House fills up, and it is never more crowded than when Mr. Churchill is on his feet. It may be that the evening has passed with a long series of bitter attacks upon his administrative record. Opposition members will bring down books of Mr. Churchill's speeches delivered in his palmy Liberal days which he used then to describe as "ammunition passed along the firing line," little thinking that they would be used against him many years after. Powerful and pungent sentences in seeming condemnation of his present political activities—far more powerful and pungent than most members of the Opposition could coin themselves—are gleefully read out amid a ripple of laughter and cheers from the Opposition. Mr. Churchill leans back his head and smiles. His head sinks into his hands as though he is crushed by the resonant echo of his own voice from the past. Suddenly he is on his feet. The swing doors that lead into the Chamber are constantly opening and shutting as members come trooping in from Lobby and Smoking Room. If the Opposition expect Mr. Churchill to be meek and apologetic they are swiftly disillusioned. What is vulnerable in his own record he skilfully evades. He repudiates

with scornful humour the charge of inconsistency by maintaining that it is others and not he who have shifted their ground. And then armed with damaging quotations he begins to pelt his opponents. Have not they been inconsistent? Where is the Capital Levy? Who declared the General Strike? Who was responsible for the McKenna resolutions? Or when he is attacked over his raid on the National Health Insurance Fund, he has a list compiled of the abusive epithets and the exact number of times each has been used against him in the course of the debate. "The word robbery has been used sixty-seven times, plunder ten times, theft three times, and cat burglar once." He runs through the list amid shouts of laughter from all parts of the House, and one seems to realise the Pickwickian character of Parliamentary vituperation. Before the Opposition realise what is happening they are on the defence. Mr. Churchill is attacking with an amazing and sometimes cynical audacity, but his blows are unmistakably going home. Why should he be ashamed of his record when his opponents show such inconsistency? Are they not equally the victims of changing events? Then come the flash of humour and the coruscating phrase which seem to illumine the whole course of the debate.

Effective for their immediate purpose Mr. Churchill's rapier play leaves no festering wounds behind. There is nothing of the cold and deadly incisiveness with which Joseph Chamberlain used to lash his opponents to fury. There is nothing of the sub-acid bitterness which characterises Mr. Snowden in his best abusive moods. As a master of exposition Mr. Churchill is unrivalled. There is something of the amplitude of Burke in his large and luminous survey of big questions. He is not perhaps the equal of Mr. Neville Chamberlain in handling large masses of complicated detail, but he is infinitely more impressive on the great questions which stir emotion and rouse fighting passion. So felicitous is his phrasing, so stately the march of his sentences, that one forgets the partisan orator in the intellectual pleasure of hearing what appear to be novel argument on well-worn subjects. One feels that big financial questions and economic problems will be handled in an objective way. No one can convey the impression of a "wise all-seeing" political philosopher so well as Mr. Churchill; no one can be less of the political gladiator when it suits his purpose. As Colonial Secretary in handling the Irish Treaty Mr. Churchill's gifts as a conciliator were shown at their best, but on several occasions in the present Parliament he has shown considerable adroitness and tact in extricating the Government from unpleasant positions. On the other hand, in a purely party debate, no one can capture the cheers of the Ministerial phalanx so easily and so effectively as Mr. Churchill. With so varied an intellectual equip-

ment anything seems still possible to Mr. Churchill, but the shadow of his past career lies heavily over his future. Everyone admires his talents, but he does not command the warm-hearted loyalties which lesser men receive who march along the straight path of party politics. Although he understands the "damn dots" better than his father, he does not give the impression of being entirely at home at the Exchequer. As a Parliamentarian he is supreme, and there may come a time at the end of May when Mr. Baldwin, fighting hard for his life at the polls, will stand in great need of the heavy oratorical guns which Mr. Churchill can swing into the fight.

On the Front Opposition Bench much the most picturesque and commanding figure is Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. He looks every inch a leader. Tall, white-haired, of grave demeanour and with a rich voice which runs up and down the scale from notes of tender pleading and almost melancholy softness to powerful full-volumed shouts of booming declamation and menace, Mr. MacDonald has many of the natural qualifications of a great orator. There are few men in the House more richly endowed by nature with the gifts of Parliamentary diction and dialectic; none who gives a greater impression that he might sound those deep organ notes of speech with which Mr. Gladstone delighted successive generations in the course of his long career. Mr. MacDonald has another point of resemblance with Mr. Gladstone—he deals in verbal qualifications and subtleties. But there the point of resemblance ends. Listening to a speech by Mr. MacDonald is like experiencing a thunderstorm in a mist—if such a natural phenomenon were possible. There is sound and fury, but it is never quite clear what it is all about. There is a majestic crash of speech, finding expression through involved and tortuous sentences in which there are so many niceties of phrase and so many refinements that by the time Mr. MacDonald reaches the end of a sentence his audience has forgotten how it began. It was said of Flaubert that he "beat himself to pieces on the rocks of an irreproachable style." Mr. MacDonald in his youth studied John Addington Symonds and other literary stylists, and there are traces of literary distinction in his speeches, but a fastidious literary conscience coupled with the necessity of thinking and speaking very rapidly on the platform and in the Council Chamber have produced a curious effect. Mr. MacDonald gives the impression of being a stylist who has gone to pieces; by straining too much and at too great a speed after precision he has impaired his powers of lucidity. Mr. MacDonald is a master of verbal intangibility, but if he safeguards himself from attack with the caution of a Scotch theologian, he damps down the enthusiasm of his followers by his obscurity. Sometimes in their enthusiasm they give him a

cheer, but it is never quite clear that they know what it is all about. When Mr. MacDonald was Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs he delivered a speech on reparations, and at the end of it Mr. Asquith (as he then was) remarked that the only thing clear about it was that the Prime Minister was going to Paris the next morning.

Quite a different style of speaker is Mr. Snowden. With a rather weak voice and a vocabulary much more limited than that of his leader, he is much the most effective debater on his side. Mr. Snowden's language may not be very distinguished and his invective is not very original, but he gives the impression of being a singularly clear thinker with the courage of his convictions. He has a shrewish tongue which is in marked contrast to a kindly nature, and he can stimulate enthusiasms and exacerbate hostilities by his own quality of cold restraint. In his influence over the Labour Party one thinks of the frigid detachment with which Parnell used to stimulate and dominate his more emotional followers. Mr. Snowden is popular in the House. When he first returned after the defeat of the Coalition in 1922 he delivered a speech which was warmly acclaimed by many Conservatives, and the "sea-green incorruptible" who had been the target of so much abuse during the war was exhorted to "go on" when he showed signs of resuming his seat.

On the two back benches below the gangway where the Irish Nationalists used to sit in years gone by there is a small band of men with a great tradition behind them who are still banking on a big future. Much the most interesting figure in the group and indeed in the whole House is Mr. Lloyd George. In the ordinary party skirmishes the veteran Liberal leader takes little part, but in big debates he is always in his place to voice the views of his party. On debates which affect trade and agriculture and employment he has been a persistent critic of the Government. So far as immediate oratorical effect is concerned he is in the position of having to address an audience which is largely hostile, and in a speaker who is so responsive to the emotions of those who surround him this is a big handicap. Rhetorical flourishes which in the spacious days of the Coalition would have been greeted with thunderous cheering are now received with quiet and decorous murmurs of appreciation from his attenuated followers. But he always commands the ear of the House. There are bitter enemies on the Labour and Conservative benches who are anxious to trip him up, and like Agag he has to walk with circumspection. But the agile brain shows no sign of having lost its quickness. The engaging but delusive aspect of innocence is still a trap for the unwary, who may find themselves crushed by some quick repartee or over-

whelmed by some devastating flash of humour. Mr. Lloyd George's mind is still a marvellous mint of picturesque phrases and vivid imagery, and having once said a clever thing he never repeats it. His incursions into debate still arouse admiration not unmingled with fear. "What's he up to next?" is the question which seems to be depicted on the faces of his political opponents. During this Parliament Mr. Lloyd George has given the impression of using Westminster mainly as a sounding board for his speeches in the country.

Among Conservative Ministers Sir Wm. Joynson-Hicks has kept most prominently in the public eye. He is a man with clear-cut convictions and a sharp staccato method of expressing them. During the debates on the General Strike, the Arcos raid, the Prayer-Book measure, and other big questions, the Home Secretary has taken a leading part. There are no subtleties or reservations in "Jix's" intellectual equipment. Because he shares some of the prejudices of his own back benchers he is the more readily able to command their loyalties. His contribution to the second debate on the Prayer-Book measure will stand out as his highest oratorical achievement during the present Parliament. Whether the Home Secretary was right or wrong in the line he then took, the burning passion with which he spoke, his wide knowledge of all the implications of the question and the influence which he seemed to exert over the doubtful voters stand out in the memory as a notable achievement.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, while he fails to "get across the footlights" in the same way as "Jix," has nevertheless made an increasingly favourable impression among his Parliamentary colleagues in recent months. He is gifted with a remarkable power of lucid exposition on the most complicated questions, and this gift was never more invaluable than during the debates on the De-rating Bill. He is fortunate in having a very able lieutenant in Sir Kingsley Wood, who has made a life study of the problems of local government, and is fluent, serene and imperturbable in debate.

Sir Austen Chamberlain has receded somewhat from the lofty pinnacle he occupied immediately after Locarno, but he is a master of diplomatic correctitude, and his statements on foreign affairs are always couched in measured and dignified language. Mr. Amery, who has a really encyclopædic knowledge of the Empire, suffers somewhat from diffuseness, and Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, confident in manner and resonant of voice, is one of the most brilliant speakers on financial questions in the House. The most promising of the younger Conservatives are Sir Reginald Mitchell Banks, K.C., Mr. Duff Cooper, Mr. Herbert Williams, Mr. Boothby, and Mr. Terence O'Connor.

On the Labour benches Mr. Maxton occupies the position held by Mr. Wheatley a few years ago. He is now the rising hope of

the "stern unbending" opponents of the "inevitability of gradualness." Mr. Tom Johnston, whose speech during the Savidge debates won general praise, is one of the "coming men" on the Labour side. Sir Oswald Mosley's career seems to have come to a temporary halt. He does not seem altogether happy on the Labour benches, and is often strangely silent. His invective is brilliant, but the coruscations are overwrought and savour rather more of the "prize boy," and a splenetic one at that, than of the mature orator. The Labour Party have been strengthened in their debating power by the accession to their ranks of Commander Kenworthy and Captain Wedgwood Benn. Captain Benn is a brilliant guerilla fighter and is often able to prove of service to his new leaders on points of procedure and tactics.

On the Liberal benches new talent is not very much in evidence. Mr. Kingsley Griffith is the most promising of the younger men, while Mr. Ernest Brown, who has the most powerful voice in the House, is pertinacious, vigilant, and well informed. Mr. Runciman, who speaks too seldom, is still one of the most polished speakers in the House, and on financial and industrial questions no one is more readily listened to.

As the curtain falls on the Baldwin Parliament the impression that remains is that the Government's large majority and the weakness of the Opposition have tended to destroy something of the drama of debate. Young men of talent on the Ministerial side have been too cautious or perhaps too loyal to their Party chiefs to do real justice to themselves. No new Parliamentary forces have emerged; no young Disraelis or F. E. Smiths have taken the forefront of the stage and captured and kept the limelight. The Labour Party have many capable speakers, but as a party they have not shown any real flair for debate. It is true that the questions that have come up for discussion have been mainly such as to require expert knowledge rather than eloquent advocacy, but the man of genius can always create his own opportunity. A new Parliament, with new men and a smaller Government majority after the next election, should lead to more vigorous dialectical clashes, more unexpected interventions, more surprising denouements. There have been high emotional moments in the present Parliament, but they have not been sustained. The orators have been too economical with their purple patches, the light of perorations has too often been concealed. Westminster at its best can provide the best drama in the world, but drama depends upon the element of the unexpected, and in the present Parliament procedure has been too much "according to plan."

WALTER P. POLEY.

PLAYGROUNDS AND PLAYING FIELDS.

IN the year 1904 I became associated with the Marchioness of Londonderry as an active member of her Irish Industries Committee in London. I was at that time a Government Inspector of Schools under her husband, who was President of the Board of Education, and once got into conversation with her on the subject of the physical education of the people, in which she took a deep interest, among the mining classes in Northumberland, where her husband was a large colliery owner. In the course of our talk she made this pointed remark: "I lay as much stress upon the physical education of women as I do on that of men; for a woman's frame is the envelope out of which man proceeds. Surely, therefore, it should have the best and fullest development. That is why I have taken great pains to secure good physical training amongst the daughters of my husband's workers." The Marchioness suggested my writing an article on physical education in primary schools for some leading English periodical, promising to ask the Marquess, if he approved, to allow me to sign it, adding my official title. The article was published in *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* for June, 1904.

At that time there was a proved physical deterioration of the masses, due to the congested conditions in the Metropolis and larger towns and the tendency to burn the candle of childhood at both ends, by sending children to school for 5½ hours a day and also employing them before, between, and after school hours in occupations over which legislation had not, up to that time, sought control. The playgrounds for elementary school children were either mere school-yards or, when of reasonable size, were not occupied for more than a quarter of an hour at a time during school hours. They were little used for organised games, hardly at all on the Saturday whole holiday, and only then owing to the enthusiastic co-operation of unselfish masters and mistresses, perhaps one-fifth of the whole number, and members of school missions in their neighbourhood. Moreover, the parks and playing fields, to which a limited number of children had access, were few and far between. Most notable of these enthusiasts was Mr. Corsie, the headmaster of Eltringham Street Boys' School, Southwark, an Orkney man, who, when he took charge of it, was so painfully impressed by the want of physique of his London scholars, as compared with that of the young Scots amongst whom he had been brought up, that he at once set to work as a physical reformer. As the result of a systematic bodily development through a carefully thought-out system of training he succeeded within six years in raising the average height of the boys in his football team from four feet

eleven and one-tenth inches to five feet two and a half inches, and their average chest measurement to the respectable figure of 31.6 inches. Moreover, though this school was attended by a poor class of scholars the training he gave them in organised games took them to the top of all the South London Cricket and Football teams and of the athletic competitions then annually held in the Crystal Palace grounds. But Mr. Corsie and his fellow enthusiasts were not in a position to create a much-needed crusade in favour of organised games, in spite of the humiliating fact that the physical degeneration of the people in congested areas had been proved up to the hilt by the small proportion of fit volunteers recruited in Manchester and other leading cities after the early disasters of the Boer War. The British educational authorities had been awakened to a consideration of this question and a Scotch Commission of Inquiry had led the way. Their report contained these memorable words:

"So far as physical training consists of systematic physical drill we think it should be an integral part of the school curriculum. But equally important for the development of a healthy body is the due encouragement of sports and games. The organised game is a characteristically British institution. Foreign countries envy us the splendid moral discipline of the cricket or football field and the debt, which we undoubtedly owe to foreigners as regards gymnastics, free and applied, we are now repaying with interest in teaching them our games. But the bulk of the school population of this country has never had the advantage of this institution. In higher class schools the position of games has reached a pitch which some people regard as dangerous; there is little fear that this will ever be the case in our elementary schools."

That organised games should intrude too much on elementary school subjects has indeed proved to have been an idle fear, for the obvious reason that the elementary schoolboy and girl have to go to work at the age of thirteen or fourteen and afterwards are lucky if they get the chance of playing organised games with their fellows now and again on a Saturday afternoon.

But the Scotch Commissioners further pointed out "that the school life of the elementary scholar should cover a larger part, not only of the school working time but of the recreation of the pupils. A larger provision of playgrounds was called for and educational authorities should have the command of medical advice and assistance in the supervision of schools." "Cases of insufficient feeding should be thus remediable and children physically unfit should not be over-exercised." Such medical supervision of schools by doctors and nurses is now being carried out, not so, however, the very important recommendation "that certificates of ability to instruct in physical exercise should be made compulsory on all teachers

and that institutions for physical instruction should be eligible for grants on the same conditions as the present training colleges." The question arose, as it arises now, who were, or are to be, the games-masters and games-mistresses in the elementary schools? The ordinary school teachers, or specialists of one kind or another? In the end the ordinary school teacher, I hoped and still hope, but meantime paid specialists where they are within reach, volunteer specialists where professionals are unavailable. With the country so full of cricket and football players and athletic experts of all kinds surely there should not be much difficulty in securing such professional and amateur help as would spread our national games right through the country. Why should not professional cricket and football players be told off to the elementary schools, as cricket professionals come in to coach our public school boys and ladies from our physical training colleges teach tennis and hockey to our high school girls?

I might add: Why should not the training colleges give certificates to their men and women students for proficiency in the organised games just enumerated, and why should not the Education Department accept, or at any rate confirm such certificates? Upon this plan there would always be a sufficient staff of teachers well qualified to keep up a high standard of organised games in the elementary schools of the country—an arrangement which, I understand, obtains in the high and elementary school training colleges in the U.S.A. But in putting forward these pleas in 1904, the very obvious reply was: "You must alter the education code so as to allow that reasonable time for playing organised games should be provided under it." I accordingly asked: "Are the rules of the Board of Education so rigid as not to admit of longer spells of play during school hours, or could not arrangements be made for a weekly or fortnightly half-holiday to be set apart for organised games?" I had hoped, owing to Lord Londonderry's interest in the question, that the Board of Education would have amended their code, and was disappointed, therefore, that the matter was not taken up. It was consoling, however, to receive a letter from the New Zealand Minister of Education, for it proved that my suggestion in *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* had found a home in the Antipodes and that my scheme was about to be tried in the New Zealand primary schools. Nearly twenty-five years afterwards, that is to say, quite lately, the New Zealand representative in London has assured me not only that these views of mine have prospered in his country, but that they have caused a marked improvement in the physique of the young New Zealander. I make no doubt, therefore, that the team spirit and love of fair play inculcated by

organised games have contributed in no small degree to his notable prowess in the Great War.

Then the unexpected happened. Mr. Augustine Birrell, on succeeding to Lord Londonderry, accepted an invitation to meet His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools at a dinner-party which we gave in his honour. I was seated next to him, and in the course of conversation he turned to me and said: "Well, Graves, have you any educational ideas which want airing?" I replied, "Yes, will you allow me to send you them?" Within a few days he wrote saying that he heartily approved of my scheme and was asking our Chief Inspector, Mr. Edmund G. A. Holmes, to consult with me about introducing an article into the new code dealing with the playing of organised games in schools. Holmes and I accordingly met and drafted an article of a permissive, not compulsory character, which, as I believed it would, has wrought a complete revolution in the physical side of elementary school life. For Mr. Birrell accepted the article and it became law and may be regarded as his most remarkable educational "Birrellism," to use a word which his personality brought into the English language. Here is the article in question, or rather sub-division (f) of Article 44 in the Elementary Schools Code of 1906, which provided that in the minimum time for reckoning an attendance there might be included: "A period occupied during the school hours, under arrangements approved by the local educational authority, in properly organised games for older children under competent supervision and instruction."

This new article of the code had been necessarily permissive and not compulsory, for the simple reason that by far the greater number of elementary schools were without playgrounds of a suitable kind or the access to playing fields. The question also arose as to how far elementary teachers, still under the anxious spell of the results system of education, would be ready to spare sufficient time from the ordinary school subjects to make the teaching of these games effective. But fortunately at the next Easter meeting of National Elementary Teachers, now the N.U.T., a considerable majority of those present supported the permissive introduction of these games into the school curriculum. The educational authorities followed suit and above all the London County Council, whose attitude on the subject was extremely generous, for not only did they set out to improve their school playgrounds in the right direction but they threw open the L.C.C. Parks for the use of elementary scholars, providing them with cricket and football pitches and tennis grounds. They even went so far as to find football posts and balls, cricket bats, balls, and stumps and other necessary apparatus for the games of boys and girls.

Children from more distant schools were conveyed to the playing fields by tram or 'bus at the Council's expense. As a result of this the Council's Parks soon swarmed all through the week with active young players; rotas being arranged between the different schools for the use of the grounds and the games' apparatus. At first such games were confined to the afternoon session; but not now. Mr. G. H. Gater, the London County Council Education Officer, to whom I am indebted for a great deal of valuable information, states that at the present time any teacher of a senior department who wishes may include organised games in the time-table, and it is estimated that the subject is taken in about 70 per cent. of such departments, which means in all the London upper-elementary schools. Still, however, more room was needed for this popular movement, and the Keepers of the Royal Parks consented to their use on the understanding that the grounds should be properly respected. This condition has been loyally adhered to. At the present time there are 215 football, 290 cricket, 145 netball, and 130 rounders pitches in the Council's Parks and open spaces, the Borough Council's playing sites and in the Royal Parks.

Apart from these playgrounds, arrangements have been made, by the courtesy of the clubs concerned, for school classes to have the use of pitches on the grounds of about a dozen amateur cricket clubs, for specified periods during the school week. Two boys' departments visit the Wembley Stadium for cricket and football and a football pitch at Hurlingham has been provided and reserved for local elementary schools. And here I copy from Mr. Gater's report on the organised games activities of the London County Council as follows: "An interesting development in regard to games out of school hours began in 1926. The Marylebone Cricket Club kindly arranged for facilities to be provided by which boys from elementary schools were enabled to receive instruction in cricket at the nets at Lord's during the summer evenings. This was followed up by a similar scheme organised by the Club Cricket Conference, operated in conjunction with the London Schools Cricket Association. About 50 clubs in and around London offered facilities for net practice to elementary boys, and in 35 of these London boys participated. Towards the end of the season two matches were arranged between teams composed respectively of boys from preparatory and public schools and boys from elementary schools, one match being played on the Private Banks ground at Catford and the other at Lord's. During the season between 500 and 600 boys attending council schools were receiving coaching in cricket on the grounds of private clubs, and keen enthusiasm was displayed in the scheme, which is expected to develop steadily."

Article 86 of the Education Code of 1921, which holds the field

as the authority for organised games, whilst it makes no specific reference to them, greatly amplifies the scope of Article 44 of the Code of 1906 and it will be noted, when studying it, that since 1906 other factors relating to organised games have come into being and have been recognised by the State. For the new Article not only provides for elementary school children, but for young persons over eighteen attending educational institutions and for playing fields, other than the ordinary playgrounds of public elementary schools, not provided by the local educational authority. What does this exactly prove? In the main that the elementary scholars, having reached adolescence, are eager to carry on organised games in their spare time and that therefore a great access of additional playing-fields would be necessary before they can do so.

Early in 1925 the Duke of York, who by his active interest in boys' clubs had specially qualified himself for the position, took the chair at a great gathering of people of all classes held in the Albert Hall, at which the following resolution was carried with acclamation: "That this meeting, recognising the vital importance of playing fields to the physical, moral, and mental welfare of the youth of the country, deploring the widespread and increasing shortage of recreation grounds, urges all local authorities, sports' governing bodies, societies and members of the public interested in the matter to co-operate with the National Playing Fields Association in order that by their united efforts the deficiency may be met." The Duke of York consented to become President of the Association and the movement has since gone on from strength to strength. For the Association's report for the year April 30th, 1928, shows it to contain a council representing:

(1) The governing bodies of the leading cricket, football, hockey, golf and athletic associations.

(2) Representatives of thirty-eight leading educational, local government, social, sanitary, open spaces, public amenities and co-operative associations.

(3) Representatives of nineteen cities and towns with a population of over 200,000 each—including London, Edinburgh, Cardiff, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, Plymouth, Nottingham, Leicester, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Portsmouth.

(4) Representatives of some forty county divisions in which, however, Scotland, Wales and Ireland figure very slightly. The Association possesses an executive committee of twenty-nine men and three women with Sir Arthur Crosfield and Sir Thomas Inskip as its distinguished chairman and vice-chairman. It has also financial, organisation, appeals and propaganda, grounds, and lay-out and allocation of grants sub-committees. A treasurer and

general organising and assistant secretaries complete an exceptionally strong and carefully constituted Association.

Amongst individual members perhaps the most important of those appointed were Colonel Mayes, that amazing athlete, who has so unfortunately been taken from us; and Mr. Chubb, the great authority on Commons Law, who may be trusted to keep the Association out of all legal embroilments. An eloquent broadcast appeal by the Prince of Wales, the blessings of the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and the universal support of the Press, resulted in contributions in money of over £164,000 and gifts of 535 acres of land towards the great object in view. His Majesty the King led the way by placing two of the Royal Paddocks in Bushey Park at the disposal of the Association "as a mark of his great interest in the movement that is being made to provide playing fields for children."

The Trustees of the United Kingdom Carnegie Trust made the largest contribution in response to the appeal, a sum of £200,000 to run from 1927-30, wisely guarding the great gift by this proviso: "Following our usual practice we shall make grants only to such local authorities as provide from public funds and private donors (either or both) a reasonable proportion of the cost of land and equipment, each application being judged on its merits, after consultation with your Association." The Ministry of Health, which, as well as the Board of Education, is showing a keen sympathy with the movement, sanctioned applications from local authorities in England and Wales for loans totalling £326,826 in respect of the acquisition of 1,326 acres for recreation. Indeed, to quote verbatim from the Association's last report: "The schemes actually completed during the year, so far as is known, have added a total of 4,151 acres to the playing fields of the country. That appeal has created widespread enthusiasm and hope and has resulted to a remarkable degree in offers of personal service and generous financial support, for which the whole community should be grateful." The Playing Fields Association has now been incorporated and is empowered to hold recreation grounds, on behalf of its county branches and otherwise; it has received the licence of the Board of Trade and has the approval of the Charity Commissioners.

Thus established on a business footing the Association has taken three interesting schemes in hand. The first initiated by them in conjunction with London and Greater London Associations relates to Sutton and Carshalton, where the London County Council is acquiring 870 acres for a new population of 35,000 and an area of 223 acres will be needed for their 12,000 children of school-going age. The second scheme relates to a great area of flat meadowland in East and West Ham and the local authority has agreed to

let the Playing Fields Association have a large acreage of this land to be used for organised games. This is an area of East London where the existing dearth of recreational facilities is deplorable and the intervention of the Association is therefore doubly welcome. The third scheme relates to Birmingham. Here the City Corporation has just acquired the Perry Hall Estate, of which over 100 acres will be available for playing fields at a cost of about £32,000. Towards this the Birmingham branch of the Association has given £3,000, three generous private donors £13,000 between them, while the balance has been contributed by the Corporation: "a splendid example," as the Association's report justly characterises it, "of a combination of enlightened corporate enterprise and generous individual initiative." I am not surprised that Birmingham should have thus got into early touch with the Playing Fields Association, considering how much that city had done to cultivate the physical activities of its young people. Special information, kindly contributed to me by its authorities, shows that the playing fields of its Education Committee alone represent about 160 acres and form an irregular circle round the city at an average distance of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the centre. They vary in size from six to seventeen acres, have a full-time groundsman and are fully supplied with the necessary games and athletic equipment.

Children from schools in congested areas are conveyed to these playing fields by tramcar or omnibus and in September, 1928, there was an attendance, in school time, of some 25,000 children on these playgrounds. A wide range of games has been established owing to the practice of holding, during the past eight years, a number of teachers' courses, run by the Education Committee and conducted by its two organising inspectors of physical training. A special and most valuable feature of these courses has been the actual playing by the teachers of the games to be subsequently passed on to the children. There is progression from the easiest to the most difficult team games, and there is a wide enough variety of them to cater for all physiques and tasks.

The cities of Manchester, Nottingham and Worcester have also been especially alert in the provision of playgrounds and playing fields and their use by young people, but Liverpool, as it has always done in matters of public education of all kinds, claims the first place as a centre of physical culture, according to the Playing Fields Association. For Liverpool is evidently the "city" with a population of 804,000 which has 1,615 acres of public open spaces, of which 800 acres are devoted to recreation, affording 156 football grounds, 88 cricket pitches, 23 hockey grounds, 115 grass tennis courts, 303 hard tennis courts, 71 bowling greens and 44 play-

grounds for younger children. In addition the city has approximately 800 acres of private sports grounds. It will be noted, however, that, in spite of this fine record, even Liverpool has much to accomplish before it can attain the standard which the National Playing Fields Association, after careful study of the problem, considers a reasonable ideal at which to aim; the reasonable minimum standard being, according to their view, "five acres of open space, of which four should be for recreative purposes, per thousand of the population. It may be added that in Liverpool these open spaces, as in London, are kept open for organised games under competent supervision even during the summer holidays.

Finally let us take Leicestershire as a typical county throughout which, radiating from its county town, special interest is taken in popular recreation. In this county there are some 146 senior schools using playing fields. Of these 103 are rented by the schools themselves, or are lent by farmers or other property-owners. Nine schools have fields, the rent of which is paid by the Education Committee, while some seven schools have playing fields as part of their school buildings. The field games of the remaining 27 schools are played on public recreation grounds and are, for boys, Association and Rugby football, cricket and rounders; for girls, hockey, tennis, rounders, netball and stoolball, a game that has come down from Anglo-Saxon times and is probably the crude original of cricket. The time given to field games ranges between a minimum of 30 and a maximum of 60 minutes each week. These games periods are usually in the afternoon and towards the end of the week, but their allocation is left entirely to the discretion of the head teacher. I comment that this minimum time for games is too low and that the games period should be in the middle of the week in view of the Saturday whole holiday; also it would be well to take advantage of fine weather, in our changeable climate, as I know is done in preparatory schools. The majority of senior schools in Leicestershire are now holding individual sports days, as well as sending representatives to compete in area and county final sports.

There are now 43 County Playing Fields Associations, a remarkable number to have been so speedily got together, and particulars of their individual efforts are given in the Association's report, where especial attention is called to the activity of Cornwall, Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Lancashire, Staffordshire, Surrey and the West Riding of Yorkshire.

This review of the recreational work in England may well be closed by these words of Sir George Newman, of the Board of Education, who is the leading health expert in the country:

While much has obviously been done for the young people, especially in recent years, very much still remains to be effected since it is known that only a small proportion of them have an opportunity of playing organised games in a playing field. For I am informed by the L.C.C. that for organised games only 44.6 per cent. of available football and 20.9 per cent. of netball pitches are utilised, largely because the bulk of the schools are not sufficiently near these pitches to take advantage of them. In view of the time taken on the journey (45 or 60 minutes each way) it is proposed that classes visiting the playing field shall stay there the whole day. The children will take haversack rations with them. There will be some simple provision for heat and milk or water at mid-day and necessitous children will be catered for at the Domestic Economy Centre attached to the adjacent school.

To this may be added a proposal of the London County Council, supported by the Playing Fields Association, to plant pavilions for the instruction of elementary scholars in the midst of playing fields, used for children taken there by tram from congested school districts. The young people would there be taught for one half of the day and play organised games during the other half, in good air and for full school time.

I had naturally supposed, when the Scots Commissioners led the way on this question in 1904, that Scotland would be found ahead of England in the Playing Fields Movement. But in the last published "Quinquennial Report" of the Scotch Education Department I read that after the cessation of hostilities in the Great War,

there were many evidences of a desire on the part of the authorities to provide increased facilities for physical education and particularly in the direction of outdoor games. But the reaction brought about by the financial situation led to a sudden arrest of these developments. The situation was regretfully accepted as inevitable. The loss of educational progress was probably greater than at first recognised and it is hoped that the set-back will not be permanent.

As a comment upon this statement it will be noted that there is no reference to specific games in the Scotch Education Code. But what does financial reaction mean in the Scotch report? For Scotland gets rather more than her share of the Parliamentary Educational Grant. I presume it implies a plea on the part of the local education authorities that they cannot afford the luxury of school playgrounds and school playing fields for the children of the people. No doubt the Scotch are a very provident people and members of the local education committees will say: "What was good enough for us is good enough for our children. We have got where we are without organised games and the money entrusted to our keeping might be better employed otherwise." Again, many Scotch teachers of elementary schools are not keen

about organised games, though ready enough to support indoor physical exercises and schoolyard drill. But there are striking exceptions to this attitude of the authorities and old-fashioned teachers; for not a few of the Scotch counties, as widely separated as Caithness, Clackmannon and Fife are supporting organised training in games in all their county schools, while in at least 25 out of the 33 counties a large proportion of the intermediate and secondary schools have playing fields of more or less adequate size. But the great bulk of the elementary schools, and many of the intermediate ones, are without playgrounds. This should not be so. Scotland led the crusade for playgrounds in 1904. She is eminently qualified to do so again, for she has in Fettes, Loretto, Merchiston and Glenalmond upper class schools quite as distinguished at football, considering their size, as the great English public schools.

And Ireland? The Irish, from time immemorial, were always good at games, whether in Northern Ireland or what is now the Free State. Belfast, which has formed a branch of the Playing Fields Association, may therefore be trusted to keep up the tradition of "Ulster Playboys," but in the Free State the playground and playing field question is in a difficult position indeed. For the only form of recreative exercise taught in its national schools is step-dancing. But as all these schools are without playgrounds their scholars can only learn organised games outside school hours. Yet this they have been doing, so the Secretary to the Free State Board of Education, Mr. Seosamh O'Neill, informs me, in some of the counties for 30 years past. "Many of the bigger centres, Dublin and Cork, for example, have had school competitions throughout the year in football and hurling. . . . Hence, no doubt, the national proficiency at football, which enabled Ireland to beat England at 'Rugger' the other day on the Twickenham ground. Surely the Free State has thus qualified itself handsomely for a solid slice of the Carnegie Trust Fund, wherewith to provide proper playgrounds and playing fields for Irish young people."

In conclusion I wish the Association's work God speed! It has been able to get as far as it has done largely through Mr. Birrell's action upon my article on a similar subject in this REVIEW twenty-five years since, action which I have been assured did far more to win the Great War than the playing fields of Eton did to win the battle of Waterloo. It remains for the Association to bring such active pressure to bear upon the English, Scotch, and Irish Boards of Education and Local Educational Authorities as will give a place in the playing field to every boy and girl in the United Kingdom.

ALFRED PERCEVAL GRAVES.

GOETHE'S HELENA.*

THE interest of Western Europe in the freedom of Greece was stimulated not only by the revival in the eighteenth century of an intensive study of her classical language under such scholars as Porson, but by the wide choice of Greek themes in art and letters. In this connection it is noteworthy that, in England at least, literature at the beginning of the century is governed by Latin models. There is a fashion for Ciceronian prose, and the best verse is satire written in the vein of Horace or Juvenal. Later on the field of classics became less restricted. Hellenic studies, comparatively neglected, opened up vast resources of artistic inspiration. The painting and sculpture of the Neo-Greek revival number artists like Flaxman and David. Among poets were enlisted such famous names as André Chénier in France, Landor, Shelley and Keats in England, and in Germany, Lessing, Schiller and Goethe. While the earlier Latin classical movement pursued form and good sense, this later movement cultivated a wider humanity and a fresher outlook on nature. The French Revolution is commonly credited with the re-awakening of literature in the so-called Romantic Revival, but anything more than a superficial view shows the Revolution to have been only one landmark in thought, and the romantic revival proves to be a classical revival as well. Goethe's allegiances to romance and classicism were determined more by his own pursuits, culminating in his visit to Italy, than by political happenings in France.

The period of fifty years from the start to the completion of *Faust* saw not only many rollings and unrollings of the map of Europe, but several readjustments of the balance of power in letters. The Classical and the Romantic fought out their quarrel, if not to a finish, at least long enough to become friends. The poems of Goethe's old age reveal a reconciliation of these competing tendencies, with a leaning towards the romantic, the national and the individual as against the classical, the international and the universal. The publication of *Helena* in the year in which Navarino was fought is a happy coincidence. It is the twilight dream of the greatest classico-romantic poet. As a Phantasmagoria—one wishes Goethe had chosen a pleasanter word—it is a complete poetic play. As a portion of the Second Part of *Faust* it is one of many purple patches in an allegorical drama. This is not however to relegate it to the shelf of unreadable books. Allegories necessarily suffer at the hands of Time. We all dislike stories "with a palpable design on us," but the *Faerie Queene*, the *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Gulliver's Travels* can still be read. So also, perhaps less easily, can the Second Part of *Faust*. In Hazlitt's phrase, "If you don't meddle with the allegory, it won't bite you."

* First published in 1827 and afterwards as the Third Act of the Second Part of *Faust*.

It should as a general rule be compulsory on writers of allegory to publish their own key or commentary simultaneously with their work. Such an obligation would doubtless limit the output of allegories, but it would save us from much extraneous note-writing. No work has endured so much as the Second Part of *Faust* from conscientious interpreters. The Germans have exploited its difficulty, in the mistaken idea that their greatest poet somehow becomes more oracular if his words have ambiguous and complex meanings. In this country the tendency has been to overdo the search for moral lessons. Goethe has suffered accordingly. Except to the few who have read it, the poem stands in England as a difficult and tedious text-book written by a prig. Such an estimate is, needless to say, unjust to the poet and his work. To-day we are not greatly, perhaps not sufficiently, exercised by the moral character of our authors. We are spared from taking part in the controversies which, in the early nineteenth century, surged round the personality of Goethe. Wordsworth and De Quincey were outraged both by *Faust* and *Wilhelm Meister*. They were joined even by Coleridge, who did so much to interest English readers in German literature, and who, with his genius for translation, might have done for Goethe what he did for Schiller. Only the black sheep like Byron and Shelley appreciated Goethe on the literary side. Carlyle's industrious campaign helped much to correct the estimate of Goethe's morality, but Carlyle's interests were rather in doctrine than in æsthetics, and in his eagerness to find texts to preach from he neglected Goethe's artistic gifts. Matthew Arnold's view was, as might be expected, more liberal and more comprehensive, but he also has left a picture of Goethe as a reformer rather than as a creator. Allowing for the fact that the *Faust* of Goethe's drama was originally a doctor of medicine, it is disputable whether Goethe himself is properly summed up in the lines

Physician of the iron age,
Goethe has done his pilgrimage.
He took the suffering human race,
He read each wound, each weakness clear—
And struck his finger on the place
And said—"Thou ailest here and here."—

And he was happy, if to know
Causes of things, and far below
His feet to see the lurid flow
Of terror and insane distress,
And headlong fate, be happiness.

One may turn the pages of Goethe in vain to find the prescription from which he administered medicine to an ailing Europe. Nor is his message adequately summarised in the apophthegm

Art still has truth, take refuge there.

Nor was he a recluse like Lucretius. His "detachment," greatly over-emphasised, was obligatory on an official of a small—a very small—German State. Granted the disinclination, he had little opportunity of plunging into the vortex of European politics. The Herr Geheimrath was also on the practical side a busy man. He had many unusual qualities and one which marks alike his defect and his greatness;—as a poet, he kept his head.

To summarise in a phrase the conversations and writings of Goethe is an impossible task. We may be content, with Arnold, to describe him as "Europe's sagest head." A few words on the Second Part of *Faust* may however remove certain misconceptions. The bargain struck with Mephistopheles in the First Part is that as soon as Faust declares himself happy, he shall lose his soul. With the object of putting earthly sources of happiness to the test Faust is to be shown both the "little" and the "great" worlds. Of the tragedy wrought by Faust and Mephistopheles' invasion of Margaret's little world the First Part tells us, amongst other things. But it leaves the story of the compact incomplete. Faust's soul does not yet belong to the Devil, and there is still the whole of the "great world" to explore. In the second stage of their strange journey the companions, human and diabolical, reach eventually the court of the Emperor, where much happens, and where Mephistopheles, by one of his conjuring tricks, materialises Helen of Troy. Before Faust is actually allowed to meet her, a great deal of ground must be covered, including a visit to the old study and the *Classical Walpurgisnacht*. There is no need to search far for an explanation of this transition to the classical world. The love of Faust for Helen is part of the old legend. Goethe's handling of it is of course new, but he had no choice except to use it as an episode in the career of his own Faust. The episode with all its colour is for the purposes of the story neutral in its effects. It was not so in the original version. As is pointed out in the *Faust* article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the Helen story was a cardinal factor in Faust's damnation—a damnation postulated by the mediæval legend. In the eyes of the Protestants—and Faust, it must be remembered, was a real person—the magician was irrevocably damned because the attraction of the *studium theologicum* proved insufficient to counteract the fascinations of the classical Helen. Lessing and the other eighteenth-century humanists postulated in contrast the ultimate salvation of Faust. Part of Goethe's difficulty was that he had to use the legend of the Middle Ages to carry the spiritual content of his own times, and Faust's fate could not therefore for Goethe be determined one way or the other by his association with Helen. When, in the last two acts of the Second Part, Goethe returns to ways of his own making, he brings about the redemption of Faust. The hero loses his wager to Mephistopheles, but he is absolved from the penalty by the manner

of his losing. His work for others in reclaiming land and planting colonists thereon, earns him a reward in Heaven. It is the Heaven of a mediæval Mystery Play, where he is reunited with Margaret and ascends with her towards the Mater Gloriosa "das Ewig-Weibliche." The key to Faust's redemption, "beneficent activity," is often lost sight of, largely through a misguided attempt to unify the underlying conceptions of the two parts of *Faust* by the use of the closing words of the second play without their context. The word "Ewig-Weibliche" has, indeed, been made by some to carry the whole burden of the plot. Over-freely translated as Woman-Soul, it was, for instance, used by Stephen Phillips and Comyns Carr in the version performed at His Majesty's to suggest that Faust was "redeemed by a woman's love." Had Goethe taken this rather sentimental conclusion the Second Part might have been compressed into its last wonderful scene, as in fact was done in the acting version referred to.

The *Helena* is outside the general scheme of *Faust*. Some balance there may be between the love-episodes in the two parts of the play, but the Margaret episode is reality, and the episode of Helen is a dream. To set the one off against the other would be mere literary formalism. Goethe originally called the "*Helena*" *Helena im Mittelalter. Satyre-Drama. Episode zu Faust*. He seems to have dropped the description Satyr-drama as inapplicable and styled it ultimately *Klassisch-romantische Phantasmagorie Zwischenspiel zu Faust*. Half a Greek play and half a modern opera (Goethe, by the way, was singularly susceptible to the operatic method), it stands alone in literature. The work was long in germination. Goethe apparently began it as early as 1780, after his prose-play of *Iphigenie*, six years before the visit to Italy, and while the First Part of *Faust* (published in 1808) was still far from completion. He mentions *Helena* in these terms in a letter to Schiller of 1800: "My *Helena* has actually entered on the stage. But now the beauty in the rôle of my heroine attracts me so much that I shall be disconsolate if I must at last (since the whole can only be presented as a spectral appearance) transform her into a grinning mask."

Goethe's craftsmanship was secure against this danger. As the modern stage has shown with *Mary Rose*, a dream character can be made capable of carrying conviction to an audience. The difficulty with *Helena* was more serious. A "classico-romantic phantasmagoria" may be one of two things, the juxtaposition of two parts otherwise unrelated, or the fusion of the parts into a harmonious whole. The case is similar to that of the griffin described by Ruskin in *Modern Painters*. The false griffin in sculpture, it will be recollected, is the joining of the body of an eagle with that of a lion. The true griffin is a beast, which, when viewed as a whole, looks like both a lion and an eagle. The task of the poetic drama-

tist is more complex than that of the sculptor. His art has the added factors of movement and narrative. But the analogy is applicable. As a drama Goethe's *Helena* is clearly a false griffin. Dramatically imperfect, the piece has nevertheless a haunting splendour, which reconciles us to the fact that its author did not write an independent Greek play with Helen for his heroine. The form and matter of Greek legend do not blend insensibly or even easily with the mediæval story which Goethe had made the basis of his world-poem. The transition from the ancient to the modern drama is achieved by what the Greeks call "peripeteia," and what we should call a "transformation scene." Modern stagecraft and the rapid scene-shifting of revue have led us to cultivate indifference to the unities of time and place. The fence which Goethe's contemporaries shied at could be taken more easily to-day, but the barrier between the two parts is still visible.

As a poem, the *Helena* attains unity by sheer grandeur of style, especially in the lyrics of both parts. Sustained lyrical power is Goethe's gift par excellence, and in the *Helena*, as in his other poetry, he ranks beside the masters alike of the ancient and the modern world. It seldom happens nowadays that a great lyrical poet is also a great dramatist. To the Greeks the union of the double gift was a matter of course. With *Iphigenie* Goethe more than held his own as a rival of Euripides. But in that masterpiece he had Greek originals to follow. With the *Helena* he was making an experiment in style and construction, bridging the stories of two ages in two supposedly irreconcilable styles. The first part of the *Helena* is the beginning of an orthodox Greek tragedy, in apparent continuation of Euripides' *Trojan Women*, where, it will be remembered, Menelaus has resolved to put his wife to death. But unlike Euripides, Goethe leaves Helen, and the Trojan captives with her, ignorant of their doom. From their arrival at Menelaus' palace in Sparta to the moment when Phorkyas reveals to the victims that they are destined for sacrifice the drama has all the slow, inevitable movement of a true Greek play. Both in the speeches and the choruses there is a classical austerity, a divine directness, as if we were hearing the old legend for the first time.

Helen's history has as many versions as that of Mary, Queen of Scots, but Helen at least has left to test her beauty no contemporary portrait nor even a complete word-picture. From Homer downwards the Greeks treat her physical beauty with a tender reticence, but, somehow, perhaps because in our boyhood we have fallen in love with her at first sight on the walls of Troy, her presence on the Greek scene holds us captive. She is the Great Lady, great even in the humility of her self-reproach. In her absence everyone speaks ill of her. She is "a Hell to ships, a Hell to men and a Hell to cities." When she comes before us she is the daughter of Zeus, with the dignity of a goddess and the gentle-

ness of a woman. Her enemies among the Greek poets, Stesichorus and Euripides, had to recant their evil-speaking. Goethe's presentation of her,

Helen, the much admired, the much reproached, enlists our sympathy in the same way as his Greek masters. For plot he takes the version that she was forcibly captured by Paris, the only version which makes the Homeric story credible. She is rescued by Faust from the threat of Menelaus by a magical "catastrophe." From this point onwards the play becomes an operatic masque, in which Helen, discovered by the keen-sighted watchman Lynceus, becomes Faust's Queen to rule over the Peloponnese. Her territory is parcelled out among various modern nations (of which England is not one) who are assigned subordinate duchies in the hegemony. From the marriage of Faust and Helen is born a child, Euphorion. This boy, rapidly springing to manhood, attempts to fly, "crashes" and is killed. Helen vanishes, and Faust, by the advice of Phorkyas (who now proves to be Mephistopheles), seizing her garments is wafted away; the chorus become nature-spirits, and the scene closes. Such is the operascenario, but when had opera such wondrous libretto as Lynceus' songs, Faust's recitative, the threnody for Euphorion or the splendid closing chorus? These alone would redeem from failure Goethe's daring experiment in literary art.

Without entrenching on the sphere of allegory, in which Carlyle has travelled quite far enough, a note on two of the minor characters may be permitted. Both Lynceus and Euphorion are drawn from Goethe's Homeric studies. Lynceus is the steersman of the Argonauts, renowned for his keenness of vision. He is mentioned in the pseudo-Homeric *Cypria*,

But Lynceus swiftly went
With speedy feet to Mount Taygetus,
Climbing its peak he traversed with his eyes
The whole of Pelops' island. . . .

It is from classical tradition that Goethe develops his longsighted watchman. To identify him, as Carlyle wishes to do, with a "schoolman philosopher" seems an unnecessary absurdity.

Euphorion was, according to legend, the son of Achilles and Helen united in marriage after death. To this union Phorkyas alludes in the early part of the *Helena*. The heroine replies,

I was a shadow plighted with a shadow,
It was a dream. . . .

By making Euphorion the son of Faust and Helen Goethe creates yet another dream, a dream of poetry having a double parentage in the traditions of Hellas and in the native woodnotes of modern literature. In the Greek legend Euphorion is killed by a thunderbolt from Zeus, whereas in the Faust tradition Justus Faustus, the

child of Faust and Helen, vanishes with his mother. Why does Goethe choose the more tragic end? The note on the Second Part, which Goethe prepared for inclusion in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, gives the history of Euphorion more fully and clearly and partly answers this question. The castle, the scene of this part of the *Helena*, is surrounded by a magic line, within which alone the half-real inhabitants can exist. Euphorion crosses the forbidden boundary into the real world. Mingling with peasants and soldiers he gets into trouble, wounds many of them and is himself fatally wounded. This story, as well as the elliptical version which Goethe finally adopted, may be a mere fairy-tale without much esoteric meaning, or it may hint that genius has its own prescribed limits beyond which it becomes dangerous to itself and to other people.

What is more interesting to the English reader is that Euphorion is in some respects a personification of Byron, for whom Goethe had conceived not only admiration but affection. These feelings were of long standing. They find their warmest expression in the letter in verse sent by Goethe to the English poet at the start of his last journey, and quoted in Mr. Harold Nicolson's recent book:

Wohl sey ihm doch, wenn er sich selbst empfindet,
Er wage selbst sich hoch beglückt zu nennen,
Wenn Musenkraft die Schmerzen überwindet,
Und wie ich ihn erkannt mag'er sich kennen.

The *Helena* is in effect a glorification of Greece. Goethe's love for the Homeric Hellas did not like Gladstone's translate itself into action in favour of the modern Greek peoples, but remained centred in art and letters. When, however, the Greek cause became that of Byron, Goethe was caught by the emotion that swept through Europe. Besides the private expression of goodwill, of which the lines quoted above form the conclusion, he wrote of Byron at this time the poem beginning

Stark von Faust, gewandt in Rath
Liebt er die Hellenen. . . .

It would perhaps be far fetched to suggest that the use of the words Faust and Hellenen in this close connection is more than an accident, but the coincidence is curious.

When the whole world was thrilled by the death on Greek soil of the exiled English poet who had set out to fight for Greek liberty Goethe wrote an epitaph:

Let the Ages tell his story!
Check your grief to-day!
His is an eternal glory,
Tears are ours for aye.

The dirge for the son of Faust and Helen is a threnody for Byron. It is peculiarly fitting that such an elegy should sound the final note of tragedy in Goethe's last Greek play.

Not alone! no heart forsakes thee
 Now thou art declared and known,
 Though swift darkness overtakes thee,
 Thou shalt not abide alone!
 Can we utter words of sadness?
 Can we sing a dirge for thee?
 Songs of thine in gloom and gladness
 Kept a courage fair and free!

Born to gifts of Fortune's choosing,
 Strength, nobility of line—
 Early staked by thee, who, losing,
 Lost that ardent youth of thine—
 Eyes to read the whole world's story,
 Heart to beat with every heart,
 Love to flame with Woman's glory,
 And a song, thine own, apart.

But a net with no untying
 Lay across thy chosen road;
 Headstrong, thou, restraint defying,
 Brok'st with every law and code:—
 Yet at last that high endeavour
 Gave thy stainless courage aim,
 Thou didst seek a crown for ever,
 But thy crowning never came!

Who achieves it? Why importune
 Stony Fate that answers not,
 When on days of black misfortune
 Nations bleed, nor moan their lot? . . .
 Bring to life new songs for singing,
 Stay not mourning overlong,
 From the soil new songs are springing
 Like the first eternal song!

The last lines of Euphorion's dirge are not addressed to the dead poet, but to the world at large. They may bear more than one meaning. Do they perhaps convey the truth that poetry is ultimately indigenous to the country of the poet, and a warning against over-anxious cultivation of the classics, such as was, for instance, practised by Grillparzer? Against them may be set the lines of the earlier Chorus, which Goethe's notes indicate as having been composed years before the *Helena* was finished:

Alles, was je geschieht
 Heutiges Tages,
 Trauriger Nachklang ist's
 Herrlicher Ahnherrn-Tage. . . .*

As a poem embodying Goethe's farewell to Greek themes the *Helena* is touched with all the beauty of a sunset afterglow. While the Greek scene fades away, many of us would gladly linger for the oncoming festival of Dionysus (described by Goethe in a colour

* All that occurs to-day is a sad echo of glorious days of our ancestors. . . . (i.e., the Greeks.)

suggestive of Titian's masterpiece) rather than accompany Faust on further journeys into a duller world. And who can doubt that, but for the exigencies of the plot, Faust in the Arcadian mountain scenery had found his spiritual home?

Across the mountain spurs the arrows cold,
 Sped by the sun, have caught the jagged height:
 Goats crop a scanty pasture as they hold
 Close to the rock, now green in morning light.

A spring begins, united rush the rills,
 Green shows each meadow, gorge and hanging deep:
 The broken stretches of a hundred hills
 Are spread afar with flocks of woolly sheep.

The horned cattle cautiously aligned
 Move to the crag, where Nature's rocky wall,
 A hundred cloughs embracing, has designed
 A shelter to enfold and guard them all.

Pan is their herdman! there in bosky dells,
 All fresh bedewed, the nymphs immortal rest:
 There tree with tree embraced its yearning tells
 For higher spaces, branch to branches prest.

Ye ancient woods! The mighty oak is there
 Twisting his gnarled boughs, a king of trees:
 The tender maple filled with juices rare
 Stands clear, her burden dancing on the breeze. . . .

Goethe had never visited Greece. He was seldom out of Germany, and rarely left Weimar. Yet parts of the *Helena* seem to spring direct from the soil of Hellas. How did Goethe recapture the Greek spirit? A conclusion to be drawn from this play is that in one essential of poetry, namely, love of nature, the classical and the romantic are not divided. The battle of the books may rage—is indeed still raging—on the connotation of these much-vexed literary terms. The writer of the present article was acquainted with an old man who, as a boy, lived over a bookshop in Kendal and frequently met and talked with Wordsworth there. "From that time," he said, "I could never shake off the impression from seeing him and other Lake writers so often at the shop that poets got their inspiration from books and not from Nature, as they pretended." This impression is widely spread, and in the case of some poets not altogether illusory. Goethe, one of the most "literary" of all poets, is at his best when he is writing from direct experience, and this he himself knew. He knew also that a close reading and sedulous aping of the classics could not constitute a man a classical poet, or a poet of any kind. Finally he was well aware, and this is surely a lesson conveyed in *Helena*, that the secret of Greece is a love of nature, animate and inanimate, and that where the spirit of Greece is alive, there is the spirit of nature and with it eternal romance.

HENRY BIRKHEAD.

ON THE DIAMOND DIGGINGS.

DIAMONDS! Vain little things that enhance a woman's charm but have so few really practical advantages. What do we not suffer to gain them! Vain, all vain. And vain, too, are many of the hopes of the thousands upon thousands of diggers from all parts of the world who gather on the various South African fields in the hope of making fortunes. For the few who do succeed, many hundreds fail. The changes that the discovery of diamonds can work in an area are truly remarkable. What but a few months before would have been barren veld, perhaps one of the most desolate scenes imaginable in a country where desolation is commonplace, would now be a township with a population of over 100,000. Every kopje, ridge and valley would be covered with huts, tents and rude shelters, and while those glittering gems can be scratched from the soil, these thousands will remain. Once all the claims are worked out, a desolation far more poignant than that which once ruled would descend again upon the scene.

The life of a diamond field is rarely long. There are, however, a few South African fields that have endured over thirty years of fairly consistent production. But a field yielding at least £500,000 worth of stones in its first month cannot be expected to do this indefinitely. The fall in the monthly output comes eventually, and, as this drops lower and lower like a sinking ship, diggers seek to escape disaster by hurrying to join in rushes at newly proclaimed fields, or, as the new regulations insist, enter their names for the balloting of claims.

Lichtenburg is the centre of the alluvial diamond fields. All around this one-time sleepy "dorp" lie such famous places as Baker's Treasure Trove, Elandsputte and others. Fourteen miles from here one ascends a hill, which affords a remarkable view of the row upon row of tin shanties and tents in which the diggers live. Over the diggings hangs a permanent cloud of dust and this is everywhere in the townships. Some diggers live in rough shanties of poles and sacking, some so low and restricted that one can only crawl in and lie down in them. A few diggers seem so short of building materials that their shanties are several inches too short, and they sleep with feet projecting outside, an unpleasant experience in the bitter cold of a Transvaal winter. Conditions on the diggings transcend in filth, squalor, and misery, those in the world's worst slum. It is a place of brutality and disillusion. Popular ideas are notoriously fallacious, and never more so than in the case of the diamond digger. The mind of the average, uninitiated person, like the web of the story-teller, skirts the privations and

difficulties and seeks only the glamour of reward and adventure. But diggers do thrive, and, contrary to popular opinion, few really dig. Most saunter about their claims directing the operations of their boys, watching them closely, so that they cannot secrete the diggers' stones. The theft of diamonds and the subsequent disposal of them to illicit diamond buyers is one of the curses of the fields, and, apart from the illicit liquor business, the most difficult to control.

It is against the rules for diggers to work their own claims, and whether they employ five or fifty natives, these must shovel and sort, while the digger supervises. He is never a romantic figure. Water being so costly, he rarely bathes, and to save that needed for the daily shave he grows an unkempt beard. The diggings dust covers his clothes and person, working its way into the skin. He is a gritty, untidy man. This rule has occasioned many hardships and many pathetic elements, which range from the midnight digger to the person who cannot in any way work his claims. Midnight digging is carried on by those poor fellows who have worked for many weeks without making a find. Capital exhausted, they dismiss their boys, and, to escape the pity of their fellows, work their claims in this way. On some diggings one hears the midnight grate of the spade, the rattle of the "cradle" in many parts, while in others only a few diggers carry on this work. And but a short distance away the merry-go-round blares monotonously, the big wheel turns and the showman challenges all to view his attractions.

Diamond digging to be carried out effectively must be regarded as a business, a fact that both individuals and the Government seem to have overlooked; but they are now coming round to this viewpoint, and their new regulations which allow for newly proclaimed fields to be apportioned by lottery are one expression of this, in spite of the fact that many regard the drawing of lots as a very unbusinesslike proceeding.

A long view on the question is perhaps gained by glancing at a few figures before regarding the position as it affects the individual digger. During 1926 and 1927, South Africa's output in alluvial diamonds rose from 239,000 carats to 2,318,000 carats, which is almost 1,000 per cent. increase, but, on the other hand, there was only a 300 per cent. increase in value, for this increased from £1,907,000 to £6,199,000. The 1927 figures showed an increase of 1,510,000 carats in quantity and £2,215,000 in value over the figures for 1926. This has had the effect of reducing the dividends paid by the mining companies without helping the individual digger very much more. Most of this colossal annual revenue from diamonds is made up by small stones, for to date the largest diamond

found on alluvial diggings was the 412 carat stone unearthed early in 1928 at the Elandsdrift Estate diggings, in the Barkly West district. The stone realised just under £5,000. Previous to this the largest alluvial diamond had been found at Gong-Gong, also in the Barkly West district, during 1921. This gem weighed 381 carats and was sold for £2,333, a price considered only about a quarter of the value of the stone. Prices per carat at present range from about 50s. to even as much as £200, depending upon the size of the stone. For a medium-sized diamond, £25 per carat is usual, while for gems of the "liquid blue" type as much as £400 per carat has been realised. This is, of course, for the cut stones.

The average businesslike digger should unearth sufficient stones each week to realise about £30, of which little remains when expenses have been paid. To get satisfactory returns, a digger must employ up to a score of natives, who are generally paid from 15s. to £1 a week, with special allowances for the headboy and he who works the gravitator. The cost of water alone averages £5 a week, and there are other unavoidable expenses, so that the only way to economise is to live cheaply. Some try to cut down expenses by employing fewer boys, but this only results in a reduced yield, so that it is not actually an economical step. The most fortunate diggers are apparently those who, although unable to afford the cost of digging, encourage independent people to finance them. They need not worry about water and washing costs or boys' wages, and, in addition to the £1 a week allowed them, they receive 50 per cent. of the proceeds from any finds. This is the most demoralising procedure. The digger shifts the responsibility upon other shoulders, which also provide him with a competency for which he need not work. These diggers in fact very rarely do work.

The method followed in the recovery of the stones is simple. While there is light, the natives shovel diamondiferous gravel upon dumps, and when sufficient has accumulated for a good wash, the digger negotiates for the hire of a washing machine or has the work undertaken on a one-third, "no stones, no pay," basis. This washing machine consists of a large pan below a shaft, which is turned by a fly-wheel. The purpose of the machine is to collect the diamonds and such heavy material on one side of the pan, while the light and worthless matter is washed out through an opening in the bottom centre of this pan. Some form of separator is required. It is provided by a score or so of rough teeth, arranged in echelon on a series of rods, which move the "wash" in the necessary direction. Beneath the point where the lighter material falls, a trough is set at an angle under a wire-mesh screen. The muddy water flowing through this is known as

"puddle." This is run back to a sump below the feeding trough, where it may be used for further washing. One of the crew of this machine serves as "puddler," baling the water from the sump and pouring it into the trough.

The "feeder" works near him. This man makes the wash into a gluey mess, which is fed to the machine. The "gravitator boy" works with the heavier material, dumping it in bucket-loads upon a Bebe sieve and gravitating in alternate barrels of water. Such heavy material as diamonds and bandam stones are thus drawn to the centre of the sieve below the lighter material, when it is dumped upon the table. The digger's only work now begins. The wet ground, dumped in a shady place, is examined, the diamonds generally being detected by the revealing flashes they give. For the same reason dry ground is placed in the glare of the sun for examination. The entire pile is afterwards sorted through by means of a triangular piece of zinc, in which way stray small carat diamonds are often found.

The people who benefit most on the diamond fields are unquestionably the tradesmen, the water-carriers, and the owners of the farms. The farmer is allowed 2s. 6d. on every claim licence taken out; he retains the right to sell bread and meat on the diggings; and invariably receives large sums monthly in exchange for the right to open shops, cafés, and other establishments (one café proprietor at least paid as much as £85 a month for his concession); and he is allowed, too, 6d. on every barrel of water drawn. Living on the diggings, however, is not particularly expensive, and in its main aspects little different from what obtains in other regions. In places like Baker's there are many barber's shops, outside which the legend runs: "Walk in. No waiting." Baker's is renowned for its long shopping street, perhaps the most amazing in the world. The buildings are wood and iron, while the cobble-strewn roadway has no pavement.

The restaurants serve excellent meals, considering the locality and circumstances, at prices averaging 1s. 6d. for breakfast, 2s. for dinner or lunch and grills. At most, ice-cream and fried fish are the chief "catch" lines. A remarkable amount of ice-cream and mineral water is used here. Very little, if any, of the ice-cream is made either on the diamond fields or in Lichtenburg, for big, specially built motor-lorries daily scurry over the 150 miles between here and Johannesburg with loads of ice-cream and mineral waters. A mineral water factory is busy at Grasfontein, but its rapidly increasing output does not meet the demand. These people, like the water-sellers and the "hot-dog" men, are making more profit than the diggers.

Water carrying is mainly carried on with the assistance of motor-

lorries. The large number of these operating on the fields is explained by the improved methods of distribution and the greater demands that has occasioned. At Treasure Trove, for instance, water engineers, of the opinion that they had tapped an underground river, constructed a system by which over 600,000 gallons of water were pumped up daily. This was distributed among a series of tanks, from which the lorries were supplied. Twenty or so pipes arranged round the tanks provided points at which the transport riders could pull up and fill their three or four tanks. In spite of these provisions, however, the process of getting water remained long and tedious. There is a ceaseless flow of traffic which it seems absolutely impossible to cope with. Order lies beneath the seeming disorder. Those twenty lines of lorries and wagons move forward steadily but also slowly—so slowly that the average rider, eager to show a profit, chafes at the inevitable wait. Delay means lowered revenue, unavoidable though it may be. These lorries have various capacities, their loads being sold by the barrellfull. At the washing machines there is a four-barrel tank and the two half-barrels for gravitating, and these have constantly to be refilled.

The other prosperous business man on the diggings is the diamond buyer, who in many cases represents a large syndicate, but often, too, he works on his own. His greatest asset is his ability to value. The gems in a "parcel" are laid out on white paper, and with tweezers in hand and glass to eye, he turns them about, the trained eye and keen brain soon gleaning sufficient knowledge for a profitable offer to be made. Waste likely to follow cutting must be taken into account; and, too, considerations like shape, colour, condition, and the number of flaws or spots. The buyer's judgment in relation to cutting needs of stones, however, is rarely required, except when dealing with spotted diamonds. Then he must calculate with some accuracy the likely percentage of waste, which in a few stones may be more than 50 per cent. The best gem, from the cutter's point of view, is the octahedron, in which very little has to be discarded.

But this is only one of the many conditions that determine prices. After size ranks colour. There are so many different shades of the hues common in diamonds that only the trained eye can appraise them at their market value in the disconcertingly ready way of the buyer. He is an astonishing man altogether. The half-dozen or so shades of white (which refute one's previous notion that nothing could be whiter than white) have no secrets from him. At a glance he can distinguish the equally bewildering shades of grey or brown, the blues and yellows, and those scores of nondescript hues—the bywater is one—that might be either brown or yellow.

The human element is conspicuous in these aspects of diggings' life, but they cannot really be classed as its human side. Much is written of the romance of diamond digging, but few actually engaged in the work there find it romantic—if there is such a thing as the glamour of romance in life more real than that of the cinema, which is certain presently to exploit the sham emotionalism of this field. The camera will ignore those devastatingly pathetic aspects, overlooking the sad sort of life the children are forced to lead. As the parents are always moving from field to field, rarely staying more than a few months at any place, the children cannot attend school. Many of the poorer diggers regard their children as a labour-saving device. They have, therefore, often to perform the work for which better situated diggers employ natives. Few of these children wear boots and stockings. Their principal food is mealie-meal porridge—"pap." Thus they grow up, unfitted for any other sort of life, poor little strivers on the edge of civilisation. A job diggers are fond of giving to little boys is sorting through the pebbles wet from the wash. Sifting through the whole pile with a metal scraper, they often find small stones missed in the wash. More often, however, many fruitless days are so spent. Little boys invariably lead the long spans of donkeys that haul the wagons. The animals are speeded up by a native with a long raw-hide whip, and when he miscalculates the flick of this, it frequently lashes the little fellow in front. Animals and their human guardians must suffer intensely in this feverish rush to get rich.

What housing conditions mean on the diggings is best explained by mention of the fact that the digger who adds a tiny outhouse to his shanty is regarded as an insufferable snob. The main run of dwellings on the alluvial fields are tin shanties. Many, too, are but roughly constructed frames over which sacks, cement bags and sheets of tin or iron have been fastened. Only those who have had lucky washes can afford the luxury of a one-roomed shanty. Many a digger brings his wife and three or four children from a farm-house, with some luxuries, to a home consisting of a wagon and sheet or two of tarpaulin. In this way, too, crude rooms are built and a modicum of privacy is assured—but privacy can often be made to bide its time when insistence upon it may reduce the chance of winning a fortune.

Turn this picture over. Now one realises that, for all its comforts, that farm was not so paying a proposition as the diamond diggings. They offer more than the pittance wrested from the land. So long as these fields yield the five or six pounds a week now earned by families that formerly had to subsist on two, they are going to remain here. It is, of course, folly to say that vanity is so empty

a thing that we should not grovel to its base charms, honouring it with so dearly won gems as diamonds. The South African diamond fields, therefore, are in little danger of losing support from those who have the money to buy the beautiful little stones. These fields are going to exist as long as the gems last out. Therefore, they cannot be abolished, but conditions upon them can be improved. The "how?" is a big question requiring a bigger answer.

Perhaps the most deplorable aspect of diamond digging to-day in South Africa is the changed status of the digger. He is not now entitled to the respect due to the old digger, who was always classed with the now-dead type of gold prospector. They were the pioneers, doing the rough work of civilisation, loving it, not so much for its reward, as for its freedom from the restraints of cities, and probably, too, the responsibilities, care-free and none too energetic, but likeable for all their faults. The rigid code of honour these men observed is not recognised to-day. An entirely different sort of person has appeared. In sweeping statements of this sort, one must define a class by the majority. The diamond digger to-day is a member of a rapidly deteriorating society of poor whites, some so by circumstances and others by breeding—a rabble squabbling over these highly-prized gems.

A few days' visit to the diamond fields is an enlightening experience. One re-sorts one's fascinating ideas about diamonds. All our images associated with them are entirely untrue. Fit things they are to hang around the neck of a prize pig. They should have no place on the fingers of a charming woman. But then, if we judged the fitness of most things by similar association of ideas, most of the articles valued for beauty or utility would have to be discarded. But the last impression is not one of the folly of our vanities. It is the note of impermanence seeming to hang over the diggings. It is an intangible something throbbing through the dust-laden air. It finds physical expression in the readiness of every person there to move on at the slightest hint of a fall in production. Production figures are the barometer studied most keenly by the business people. They are so sensitive for the need for mobility that at a day's notice they could move their entire property to a new field.

This ability to move speedily is the diggings' best apologist.

W. L. SPEIGHT.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

MR. CHURCHILL AND THE BALFOUR NOTE.

MR. CHURCHILL'S indignant defence of the Balfour principle went unchallenged in April, 1929. Therein we were given still another example of the shortness of political memories both at Westminster and elsewhere. It seems to have been forgotten—has Mr. Churchill himself forgotten it?—that the Balfour principle was deliberately abandoned by the British Government, on Mr. Churchill's own initiative, in 1925. By the very terms of the Churchill-Caillaux draft agreement of August 26th, 1925, the Balfour Note ceased to be an operative principle of the British Government's debt funding operations. I myself saw Mr. Churchill on that very evening; I asked him if it was right to deduce that the Balfour principle was now abandoned and he said it was—his answer being given for public use—and he added spontaneously that the circumstances which had produced the Balfour Note had changed. Even if Mr. Churchill had not himself confirmed that deduction, it follows arithmetically from the terms of the Churchill-Caillaux agreement, as anyone can work out for himself.

The point can be put simply. On the evening of August 26th, 1925, Mr. Churchill issued an official statement, with which M. Caillaux concurred, for publication in the following day's newspapers, giving the substance of the agreement reached. The passage which killed the Balfour Note was the following: "The position is, of course, further complicated by the impending negotiations for the settlement of the French debt to the United States, which is greater than their war debt to Great Britain. His Majesty's Government have from the outset made it perfectly clear that any arrangements must be governed by the principle so often declared that they must receive from France proportionate and *pari passu* payments to any she may eventually make to the United States in the settlement of her war debt. It would be no service to Europe, already so grievously stricken, if the sacrifices of one creditor of France merely conducted to the advantage of another. Any agreement which could be entered into between Great Britain and France at the present time could, therefore, in this respect be only of a provisional character, pending the outcome of other negotiations.

"However, His Majesty's Government, deeply concerned in the general revival and appeasement of Europe, and finding themselves in the presence of a sincere and manful offer from the Ally with whom they have shared so many tribulations, felt bound to respond to the new proposals. They have, therefore, authorised the Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer to offer finally, on their behalf, a settlement of the French debt to Great Britain on the basis in principle of 62 annual payments of £12,500,000 a year on the sole responsibility of France, subject to agreement being reached on various matters of detail, and subject also to the governing condition described above of the proportionately equal treatment by France of her creditors."

It was the subjection of the British offer to the condition that the *pari passu* principle should be vindicated that involved the overthrow of the Balfour principle. Exactly how that overthrow resulted may be explained in this way. By the Balfour principle the British Government demanded of Germany, France, Italy, and the rest, the exact equivalent of what Great Britain is liable to pay to the United States—say in round figures something over £30,000,000 a year. At the time of the Churchill-Caillaux agreement the British Government was receiving from Germany under the Dawes Plan some £9,000,000 a year, and if all went well with the Plan, that sum was due to be doubled later on. By the criterion of the Balfour principle it would be left, not to France only but to France, Italy, and the other debtors together to provide the remaining £20,000,000 odd, as an initial maximum, a figure which by that same Balfour principle would automatically decrease as the Dawes annuities increased. By the *pari passu* principle, on the other hand, Great Britain refused to accept from France a smaller percentage of annual interest on the debt to Great Britain than France might agree to pay the United States on account of her debt to that country. Virtually Mr. Churchill offered to France on August 26th, 1925, a 2 per cent. funding of the French debt. If France should ever fund her debt to the United States at a higher percentage—the debt is not yet funded—the condition attached to the British offer of August 26th, 1925, would automatically operate, and the British Government would automatically revise its own 2 per cent. into whatever higher percentage might be agreed on by France and the United States. Such an outcome would result in increasing the French annuity on the 62 years' average to a figure exceeding what France would have to pay if the Balfour principle were the criterion.

There is perhaps only a morbid interest in the foregoing analysis of the actual position resulting from the policy of the British Government, as established in 1925 and not amended since: but then the interest of the Churchill-Snowden exchanges in April, 1929, was equally morbid and equally unrelated to any practical circumstance. The only practical circumstance is that even the Balfour Note is a chicken before it is hatched. Moreover, it never can be hatched. Time being money, the British taxpayer for four-

teen years past—the French debt was contracted in 1915—has paid out of his own pocket the interest on the loans he made to our Continental allies, and before even the Balfour principle could be made effective the cumulative interest—compound interest—would have to be paid by those Continental debtors on the difference between what the British Government has paid to the United States and what it has received from Europe.

One quarter of the entire income tax paid by the people of this country, namely 1s. out of the 4s. in the £, is a burden directly imposed by the need of raising the interest on the capital sums lent to France and Italy alone. By the funding agreements, assuming that one day France will ratify her agreement, France and Italy together will take over the payment of 2d. of that 1s. in the £ and the British taxpayer will be left to pay the remaining 10d. in the £ for all time. In other words, Great Britain loses five-sixths of the money she lent to France and Italy, even on the basis of the agreement which France still refuses to ratify. When Mr. Snowden protests that the Balfour Note is not enough, he is abundantly right on the simple moral principle that a debt should be adequately repaid and would be adequately repaid by businesslike debtors. But by yearning for more than the Balfour figures he merely bays the moon, for the British taxpayer will never receive even those figures. If there were any commonsense in British politics, all the existing catchwords such as the Balfour principle and the *pari passu* principle would be buried, and in their place would be substituted the simple principle: "cut your losses, and in the future, if France wants money from Great Britain, let her ask for it gaily as a gift, not as a loan." Such a conception would no doubt exquisitely suit French policy—for the pride which characterises the French national spirit in her diplomacy hardly extends to her finance—but on practical grounds it would be impossible for a British Government to make gifts amounting to over £1,000,000,000. The argument used by some French writers that the British loan to France was morally a part of Great Britain's contribution to the war is tantamount to a French plea that French Treasury Bills are scraps of paper. A creditor could take that view, but not a debtor. Great Britain could not, consistently with her traditional sense of financial honour, argue about the American debt: she could only pay it. The moral for Great Britain, as a potential lender to Europe in the future, seems clear.

THE HUMOUR OF DEBTS AND THEIR PAYMENT.

The ethical principle which bids one judge not, lest one be judged, is rooted in a common experience of life whereby the more enlarged is one's outlook the less inclined one becomes to form

any judgment or even any opinion about anything. One can never understand the complexity of motives or conditions which determine the action of other people. Without any priggish reservation however it is possible to say a word or two on the subject of the French debt; for the matter seems to be so simple, and its simplicity is backed by so many years of consistent experience, that even if one were wrong, there would be some excuse for the venture, and the fun to be got out of it is not anyhow affected.

The latest phase of the fun was started by Mr. Philip Snowden, who on April 16th, 1929, being faced with the duty of finding something to criticise in the dullest of dull budgets just presented by the Government, and looking ahead no doubt to the double purpose his remarks might serve during the month of May, was driven to make an historical excursion backwards to discover grist for his mill. He travelled as far back as 1922, and discovered anew the famous Balfour Note. It happened that in the year 1924 he himself had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by all the accepted traditions of British Government he had assimilated and approved the doctrines of that Note. It was not till 1925 that Mr. Churchill, on behalf of the British Government, repudiated them. The year 1924 therefore stuck out as an impediment to Mr. Snowden's backward excursion: but no matter, he brushed it aside.

The resultant comedy was noteworthy for three things: one, that Mr. Snowden was misunderstood and the Labour Party was embarrassed; two, that Mr. Churchill, jumping at what he no doubt regarded as an electoral opportunity, forgot his own past and broadly contradicted most of what he had ever said before on the same subject; three, and by far the most entertaining, that certain important sections of French opinion, on grounds of passing expediency, began to wonder whether the policy of virtually repudiating the French debt might not soon be proved to be worse for France than a policy of paying the debt on Churchill terms. Those sections of French opinion therefore began to speculate on the advisability of an immediate ratification of the Caillaux-Churchill funding agreement of 1925. Whether that speculation led to action will be known probably by the end of May: but the speculation itself was of more interest than any action it might lead to.

What Mr. Snowden said on April 16th, in the course of an attack on the funding terms accepted by Mr. Churchill from the Continental debtors of Great Britain, was that "he had never subscribed, let it be remembered, to the principle of the Balfour Note, which he thought was an infamous Note." That sentence started the first serious hubbub of the General Election, and was immediately followed by certain unscholarly diatribes on the subject from all the political leaders, except the Liberal leaders, who had little

interest in the particular tactical situation thus produced. As soon as Mr. Churchill heard Mr. Snowden's sentence he jumped up and asked "The Labour Party?" to which Mr. Snowden angrily, and perhaps blindly, retorted, "The Labour Party certainly did not, and they would hold themselves open, if the circumstances arose, to repudiate the conditions of that Note."

It was the word "repudiate," falling from Mr. Snowden's lips, that constituted Mr. Churchill's triumph; and inevitably it was worked hard by the Conservative hoplites. There is little interest in the political manoeuvres which immediately followed. The Conservatives made the most of the alleged Labour threat, in case of a Labour victory at the election, to repudiate the debt-funding agreement, Mr. MacDonald trying to defend his party against the onslaught by protesting that Mr. Snowden had not said or meant anything of the kind; that the Labour Party would never repudiate national agreements; but that if circumstances ever arose when the other contracting parties would agree to a revision of the terms, the Labour Party would be ready to revise them. The only interesting incident in the episode itself was that in the House of Lords on May 2nd Lord Parmoor, the Leader of the Labour Party, attempted the difficult feat of supporting Mr. Snowden and yet of approving the principles of the Balfour Note. He moved an amendment containing the words "while approving the principle of the Balfour Note." His dilemma gave Lord Birkenhead an opportunity of launching some trenchant observations about the Labour Party approving what it regarded as an "infamous" Note.

What is more interesting, however, for those who take an historical view of politics and who feel some concern for the type of people who sit at Westminster and are invested with power for good or evil over the lives of the people, is the behaviour, under the stress of political emotion, of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In any circumstances a politician is fair game for comment; but in the present circumstance Mr. Churchill freely exposed himself to criticism, because on April 16th he prefaced his statement by saying: "I want to be very careful to pick my words." One has to assume therefore that he spoke, not as Mr. Cook—who never knows what he is going to say before he says it or what he has said when he has said it—but with full deliberation and a pretence at continuity.

Mr. Churchill proceeded to represent the Balfour principle as "the principle on which every forward step towards European reconstruction and peace has been taken." Later in the debate, his blood becoming hotter and hotter, and his memory shorter and shorter, he referred to Mr. Snowden's "strident assertion that he will insist if he has the power on

reclaiming more from ruined Europe, wring harsher terms from ruined Europe, from Germany, from all the other countries on the Continent, even over and above the sums of money that we have undertaken to pay in our duty to the United States"; he protested that "Ever since the Balfour Note was written this country has been able to go into any international gathering with clean hands and a good conscience"; he alluded to the "poor little countries" which "appealed in piteous terms for mitigation"; he committed the supreme gaffe of stating that "there is a recognition on the part of others, and an assertion on the part of this country, that the principles of the Balfour Note must be maintained, and above all we base upon it the proud principle that we ourselves will make no profit or advantage out of this."

Mr. Churchill, therefore, in his hurry to make party capital out of Mr. Snowden not only resumed his pre-1925 championship of the Balfour principle and confounded with it the debt settlements made by himself, but went to the length of arguing that to have exacted in the first instance anything more than the amount prescribed by the Balfour principle would have been an act of moral turpitude.

One's mind goes back to another debate in the same House of Commons (March 25th, 1926) when Mr. Snowden and Mr. Churchill were again the protagonists. Mr. Snowden exposed some of the injustice to the British taxpayer resulting from the principles on which the debt settlements had been made. "It could be freely quoted," he said, "to show that the loan which was given to our Continental Allies through us was a gift by the United States as a sort of compensation for her late arrival on the scene of battle. However (he added) the bond is there, and if the United States cares to insist on it, we must pay. That burden of £38,000,000 a year will have to be shouldered by the people of this country for nearly sixty years."

Now the interesting thing in retrospect is the effect then produced on Mr. Churchill by Mr. Snowden's analysis of the Balfour principle in its working effect. In the same debate he got up and started his speech by remarking that Mr. Snowden had indulged in some strictures on some friendly countries in which he (Mr. Churchill) might, in a private capacity, have some feelings of agreement (!), but with which it was impossible for him to associate himself while occupying his present office. He, Mr. Churchill, however, thereupon in the same speech proceeded to make some highly courageous observations of his own on the same subject in which he differed from Mr. Snowden only in the power and the polish with which he made substantially the same points, occupying "his present office" and all. "There has been from the beginning of these controversies," he said, "a marked difference of view

between Great Britain and the United States. We have never taken the view that shot and shell fired in the common cause and troops in the line of battle, and the cost of it, should be considered morally and sentimentally, whatever it might be legally, as on exactly the same footing as ordinary commercial debts. We were willing to obliterate, cancel, delete, and annul all debts owed by our Allies, provided we were treated in a similar manner by our creditors. That view did not commend itself to the Great Republic across the Atlantic, and there could be no question that the United States was entirely within its legal rights. We were then forced to adopt a different position, and we came to the Balfour Note, in the principle of which I have always been a sincere believer. The Government adheres to that principle, and, as far as possible, they are endeavouring to give effect to it. This country has undertaken to pay what the United States so insistently and incessantly demanded. That involves us in a charge of £33,000,000 (a year) at the present time, rising in eight years to £38,000,000. That is to say, putting it broadly, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his successors in a long line have to pay about £100,000 a day every day for more than three generations to the United States. To pass that immense sum continuously across a frontier, across an ocean, across the exchange, is one of the most stupendous tasks and burdens ever undertaken by any country in the whole financial history of the world. . . ."

After an equally impressive digression about the debts of Russia, France and Italy to Great Britain, Mr. Churchill ended by depicting still another aspect of American policy: "It is a very remarkable fact," he said, "that at the present moment the amount that the United States is receiving from Europe under arrangements which have already been made is approximately equal to the whole amount of reparations which Germany is paying. But the distribution of the receipts from Germany and the payments to the United States are entirely different. The bulk of the receipts from Germany go to France, which at present is making no payments on account of her war debts, and the bulk of payments to the United States are made by this country largely out of her own resources. But the day is coming, at no great distance, when this situation will undergo an obvious modification. When France and Italy have refunded their debts, both to this country and to the United States, and when other minor Powers have refunded their debts, it is clear that the United States will be receiving directly and indirectly, on her own account from reparations, from British sources, from French sources through British hands and from Italian sources through British hands, by far the larger part, at least 60 per cent. of the total probable reparations of Germany,

and the first reparations, the first 60 per cent., as it were, which are payable by Germany. It seems to me that an extraordinary situation will be developed, that by all these chains, and lines, and channels, the pressure of debt extraction will draw reparations from the devastated and war-stricken countries of Europe, and that they will pass in an unbroken stream across the Atlantic to that wealthy, and prosperous and great Republic. I believe that these facts will not pass out of the minds of any responsible persons, either in the United States or in Europe."

Such is the change that can be produced in so elastic a mind as Mr. Churchill's by the approach of a general election, and by the dialectical needs of party politics. There is much to be said for despising an electorate, for electorates do not cast their votes on any deeply understood principle or on any profound knowledge of facts: but Mr. Churchill as a politician deserves to have his past remembered.

As for the effect produced in Paris by Mr. Snowden's commonplace remarks of April 16th, 1929, the humour of it is likely to compensate the political philosopher for the hard things it gives him to digest. During the week following Mr. Snowden's speech certain realist political financiers in Paris hit upon a form of diplomatic speculation which appealed strongly to their sense of irony, but was not without its embarrassment. It was quickly recognised by them that the combined effect of Mr. Snowden's statement that a Labour Government would "hold themselves open, if the circumstances arose, to repudiate the conditions" of the Balfour Note and of Mr. MacDonald's explanation that a Labour Government would never repudiate an existing agreement, gave the clue to the vulnerability, if any, of the Anglo-French debt-funding arrangement. Its vulnerability lay in the fact that there was no funding agreement at all, the Churchill-Caillaux "agreement" of 1925 not having yet been ratified by France. Since the beginning of the financial year 1926-1927 the French Government has paid to the British Government the annuities that would have been payable under the agreement if the agreement had been in force, but the hand-to-mouth system of payment adopted since 1926 rests upon no juridical basis. Juridical bases mean a good deal to French minds when French interests are involved. From August, 1925, to April, 1929, the lack of a juridical basis to the Anglo-French debt-funding scheme was Great Britain's exclusive loss, because no hint had been breathed from London of any British intention to adopt any tactics except that of standing hand in hand to accept gratefully as a gift from M. Poincaré whatever he might choose to give.

Mr. Snowden therefore alarmed the French juridical mind. It immediately dawned upon that mind that if France should take the

precaution of ratifying the Churchill-Caillaux agreement before the end of May, that is before Mr. Snowden's chance could possibly arise of adopting new tactics, it would become a definite binding agreement, and as such sacrosanct in the British Labour, as in all other British, views; whereas if the ratification were postponed till after May, and if a Labour Government were returned to power in Great Britain, the new British Government could with full diplomatic propriety (even though with doubtful diplomatic wisdom) reopen the whole question.

It was also, and by the same token, now realised in Paris that from the French point of view Mr. Churchill was undoubtedly more agreeable than Mr. Snowden; but the embarrassing consideration arose that if the wind were taken from Mr. Snowden's electoral sails by a French ratification rushed through before the end of May, Mr. Churchill in his turn would be robbed of a valuable election cry against Mr. Snowden. The dilemma was delicate enough to appeal to the French sense of subtlety.

Within a fortnight of Mr. Snowden's speech the question of ratifying the Churchill-Caillaux (and by implication also the Mellon-Bérenger) debt-funding agreements had become a burning topic in Paris. Side by side with a pronounced correctitude which inclined French commentators to avoid any appearance of being drawn into party complication in Great Britain—a form of sensitiveness which need not be taken too seriously—there emerged a strikingly ingenuous perturbation about the practical expediency of immediate ratification. Although the motive was crude, the method of presentation was far from crude. The distinguished French economist, M. Jacques Seydoux, for instance, contributed to the *Petit Parisien* a long argument of which the point was to plead for an immediate ratification of the agreement. He conceded that "a considerable section of opinion in France, and even in Parliament, is not yet prepared to ratify the agreements" and that certain French authorities even regarded the war debts of France as "immoral" [meaning presumably the payment of them as immoral]; but he went on to submit the case for a French honouring of her pledged word. "For the moment," he concluded, "let us follow our own interest; it concurs with our plain duty." That concurrence was no doubt all the more impressive because, as M. Seydoux recalled, the existing funding terms of the French debt were "very favourable" to France, whereas (although M. Seydoux left this point to be inferred by his readers) alternative terms might easily be less favourable. The interesting thing for British opinion however was that for the first time since 1925 we heard and read the plea, made in Paris, for an immediate clinching of the debt agreement.

A word of caution is needed about the French use of such words as "immediate." On July 6th, 1926, M. Briand, speaking in the French Chamber on this same perennial subject of the debt to Great Britain, made this delightful observation: "it is the duty of a great country to look clearly ahead when it subscribes to such solemn engagements (i.e., debt fundings) because it intends to be punctual in their execution." At that time British opinion still took the view that in that particular matter it was never too late to be punctual, but the fact was that the debt had been incurred eleven years ago, it had been "funded" for twelve months, and still France had not begun "the execution." Three more years have now passed since M. Briand's solemn observation, and still the execution has not begun. Even Mr. Snowden had not driven Paris into action by the time this paper was written (May 15th, 1929).

The Paris discussion started by Mr. Snowden soon took a weird and devious course. By the third week after Mr. Snowden spoke, it had been carried to the stage of detail, and completely lost itself. It seemed now to have been forgotten in Paris that the original discussion had centred on the specific question whether the Churchill-Caillaux funding agreement of 1925 should be ratified by the French Parliament before May 30th. A suggestion was now put about from a serious French quarter (and interpreted in the *Echo de Paris* by "Pertinax") that the French debt settlement to Great Britain be immediately ratified, but on the unilateral condition that French payment of the annuities be dependent on *pari passu* payment by Germany of her reparation annuities. Memories are short, and the Churchill-Caillaux arrangement was now hoary with age; but if one took the trouble to remember precisely what that arrangement was, the new French suggestion would amount not to a ratification, but to a repudiation, of it.

It seems to have been forgotten that when Mr. Churchill met M. Caillaux in August, 1925, he at first asked for an annuity of about £16,000,000 for sixty-two years, a request which implied a drastic reduction of the debt, and which, moreover, contemplated that a proportion of the French payments be dependent on the yield of the French share of the Dawes annuities. M. Caillaux, however, rejected that suggestion, and, instead, offered an annuity of £10,000,000. The final arrangement reached was a compromise, of which the essence was that the annuity originally asked for the British Government be reduced from £16,000,000 to £12,500,000, but that, on the other hand, the stipulation about part payment being dependent on the Dawes annuities be abolished, and that the whole reduced annuity be paid, as Mr. Churchill expressed it, "on the sole responsibility of France." In other words, the drastically

reduced figure agreed to by the British Government in 1925 was expressly subject to there being no correlation of the obligation with Germany's reparation payment. If French opinion were now suggesting a ratification of the 1925 agreement on the renewed condition of a *pari passu* payment by Germany, it was suggesting the ratification, not of the existing agreement, but of something non-existent.

The discussion had now, therefore, reached the point of stultifying itself and defeating its object, because the latest suggestion, logically applied, would involve a reopening of the negotiation, such as was the original purpose of the discussion to prevent.

THE RENEWED DISCUSSION ON DISARMAMENT.

The sixth session of the Preparatory Commission for the League of Nations Disarmament Conference met at Geneva on April 15th in a somewhat weary spirit hardly conducive to achievement. The atmosphere however was quickly changed by a promise of collaboration transmitted by Mr. Hoover. Within a few days interesting debates were taking place at Geneva and pacific protestations were being made in the chief capitals of the world. The United States has it in her power to lead the world to disarmament; and just as her indifference in the past five years has been a decisive barrier against effective action by Geneva, so Mr. Hoover's new impulse has made a correspondingly decisive contribution in the constructive sense.

The Commission was attended by the same twenty-eight nations as before, and included the representatives of the United States, Turkey and Russia. The Chair, as before, was taken by Mr. Loudon (Holland).

The first few days of the Commission's activity were taken up, as is usually the case whenever the Commission meets, with Mr. Litvinov. He always gets off the mark promptly with a proposal for disarmament, but year by year his proposal becomes less extreme. On April 17th of this year he proposed a scheme for a proportionate decrease of armaments in each category of armaments. His proposal was not received enthusiastically, wherein history again repeated itself. He thereupon made a broadside request that the Commission should vote for or against the main principles of his proposal. The President piloted the Commission over that request by closing the meeting and giving to the delegates time to consider the matter in private. On the following day (April 18th) when the Commission reassembled, Mr. Litvinov and his proposal were again the centre of discussion, but he did not get either the vote he demanded nor any other satisfaction. He now adopted a circuitous instead of a broadside method of giving the several

members of the Commission to understand that unless his resolution were passed, the Soviet delegation would shake off the dust from its feet and never return to the work of the Commission. That intimation in its turn was not unparalleled in the history of Mr. Litvinov's relations with the Commission, and it failed to disturb the equanimity of his colleagues. It was before the next chapter could be opened in Mr. Litvinov's story that Mr. Hoover intervened through the voice of Mr. Gibson. It is true that an interval of three days elapsed during which Lord Cushendun (April 19th) tried to encourage the Commission by promising that the British Government would make great sacrifices to reach an agreement and Mr. Litvinov (April 20th), not to be suppressed, circularised the members of the Commission with copies of a statement he had drafted for their information. The point of the statement was that the past work of the Commission had been futile, and that all future work of the Commission would be futile unless and until his (Mr. Litvinov's) proposals were adopted.

It was on April 22nd that Mr. Gibson delivered his message. It did not come as an entire surprise, for some ten days earlier a presumably inspired statement had been given currency in the United States to the effect that Mr. Hoover's Administration was willing to meet half way any overtures designed to reconvene the tripartite naval conference which broke down at Geneva in 1927; and that statement had coincided with other developments of the like import. The news of General Dawes' appointment, for instance, to succeed Mr. Houghton as the United States Ambassador in London was confirmed in Washington just before the feeler above alluded to was put out from the same quarter. The substance of Mr. Gibson's message was that in the view of the United States Government (1) there could be no complete or effective scheme of naval limitation which did not limit all categories of war ships, including cruisers, destroyers, and submarines; (2) although the United States Government still believed that the best method to that end was by the limitation of tonnage by categories, yet it was now willing to consider other methods; (3) the important thing was to achieve the end, the particular method being of less importance. Mr. Gibson in presenting his new overture elaborated it by the general argument that effective progress towards disarmament could be achieved only by a genuine change of attitude by the nations of the world towards the use of force in diplomacy.

Such was his main thesis. Some of his textual passages deserve to be recalled. After repeating his Government's belief in the efficacy of "limitation by tonnage by categories," he proceeded: "The American Delegation has urged this view throughout the first reading, but in view of the inacceptability to some other dele-

gations of our unmodified thesis, my Government has sought in the various methods presented some solution which might offer the possibility of compromise and general acceptance. During the Third Session of the Preparatory Commission, the French Delegation brought forward a method which was an attempt to combine its original total tonnage proposals with the method of tonnage by categories. Under this method a total tonnage was assigned to each nation, and this total divided among categories of ships by specified tonnages. If I am not mistaken, certain modifications were suggested in informal discussions, so as to provide that the total tonnage allocated to any given category might be increased by a certain percentage to be agreed upon, such increase to be transferred from any other category or categories not already fixed by existing treaty. In the hope of facilitating general agreement as to naval armaments, my Government is disposed to accept the French proposal as a basis of discussion. It is, of course, the understanding of my Government that this involved an agreement upon the method alone, and not upon any quantitative tonnages or the actual percentages to be transferred from one category to another. All quantitative proposals of any kind should properly be reserved for discussion by a final conference. My Government is disposed to give full and friendly consideration to any supplementary methods of limitation which may be calculated to make our proposals, the French thesis, or any other acceptable to other Powers, and, if such a course appears desirable, my Government will be prepared to give consideration to a method of estimating equivalent naval values which takes account of other factors than displacement tonnage alone. In order to arrive at a basis of comparison in the case of categories in which there are marked variations as to unit characteristics, it might be desirable in arriving at a formula for estimating equivalent tonnage to consider certain factors which produce these variations, such as age, unit displacement, and calibre of guns. My Government has given careful consideration to various methods of comparison, and the American Delegation will be in a position to discuss the subject whenever it comes before the Commission."

It is not often that those who take an interest in international politics find reason for congratulation over a definite improvement in the spirit of those who conduct diplomacy. Mr. Hoover therefore created genuine pleasure among such people, all the greater for its rarity. Mr. Gibson's was the voice, alike in 1927 and now in 1929, that expressed the view of the United States Government. The difference in what he said then and what he has said now is the difference produced by the commonsense of Mr. Hoover. The entire difficulty between the United States and Great Britain

has been that the inelastic criterion of tonnage by categories, without reference to guns or to belligerent value, was in practice a travesty of naval disarmament. In the summer of 1927 Mr. Gibson obstinately refused to consider or even to recognise the British point about strategic values. Now on April 22nd of this year the same voice conceded that "limitation by tonnage by categories . . . does not constitute an exact and scientific gauge of strategic strength," and promised that "my Government will be prepared to give consideration to a method of estimating equivalent naval factors other than displacement by tonnage."

Mr. Gibson went so far as to say: "I am authorised to state that . . . we are willing to agree to any reduction, however drastic, of naval tonnage which leaves no type of war vessel unrestricted," and made the simple, sound point that the strategic value of armaments is necessarily relative. "The willingness of my Government," he said, "I may even say its eagerness, to go to low levels, is based upon the fundamental belief that naval needs are relative, namely, that what we may require for our defence depends chiefly upon the size of the navies maintained by others." And again: "Even if the danger of war is admitted, it could be guarded against just as well by the maintenance of relative strength at low levels as at high levels." He made the incidental plea that the Kellogg Pact should afford the needed new opportunity for renewing the work of disarmament. "It has recently been my privilege," he said, "to discuss the general problem of disarmament at considerable length with President Hoover, who has always been an ardent advocate of peace and good understanding. I am in a position to realise, perhaps as well as anyone, how earnestly he feels that the Pact for the Renunciation of War opens to us an unprecedented opportunity for advancing the cause of disarmament, an opportunity which admits of no postponement."

Lord Cushendun at once rose, and on behalf of the British Government welcomed Mr. Gibson's statement, reciprocated its "friendly, conciliatory and helpful spirit" and subject to a general reservation about the detail of any resultant proposal—"I cannot commit myself at the present moment with regard to any specific proposition"—he left no doubt of his sincerity in recognising the statement as creating a great new opportunity. He not only agreed with Mr. Hoover about the importance of the Kellogg Pact, but went further and said: "I do not think it has even yet been fully realised how important it is. . . . I believe that the signing of the Kellogg Pact has done more to promote the security of the world, on which disarmament must proceed, than any other event." He welcomed as "a very important matter" Mr. Gibson's reference to "equivalent naval matters": the importance of which needs

no elaboration for British opinion, for it opens the door for the first time to real agreement. On the general thesis propounded by Mr. Gibson, Lord Cushendun made this observation: "Another point on which I am in full agreement with Mr. Gibson is when he says that in naval matters we desire not only limitation but reduction; that is also the desire of the British Government, and we, like the United States, desire limitation and reduction to be applied to all classes of vessels. If in some negotiations which have taken place we have, provisionally at all events, consented to a scheme of reduction which left any classes of vessels outside, that was not because we considered that an ideal solution of the problem, but merely because in the interests of agreement we were willing to forgo some part of our ideal in order to get an agreement upon others. We have never concealed the fact that we desire, if we can get agreement upon it, limitation and reduction as applied to all classes of vessels. When one is speaking about reduction, I hope I may be allowed to remind the Commission that this time twelve months ago I publicly intimated that the British Government would be glad to see a further reduction of size of those categories covered by the Washington Agreement, and also the prolongation of their life, that is to say, a longer period before they could be replaced. We also intimated our readiness, if our colleagues would agree, to consent to the total abolition of submarines. Therefore, we have already shown our willingness to carry further the principle of reduction of which we have tentatively laid the foundation, and we are anxious to promote it to the fullest possible extent."

Speaking in the House of Commons two days later (April 24th) Sir Austen Chamberlain with equal warmth added to what Lord Cushendun had said, and in particular placed on record the Government's considered policy in these words: "His Majesty's Government equally with the Government of the United States desires not merely a limitation, but a reduction of naval armaments. They have indeed themselves made proposals for such general reduction and that the reduction should be applied to every class of war vessel. As between ourselves and the United States such difference as has hitherto existed has not been concerned with these great principles nor with the relative strength of our respective Navies, but with the determination of the categories into which ships of war should be divided. On this point His Majesty's Government have noted with much interest the new criteria suggested by Mr. Gibson. They attach great importance to the possibilities opened by the greater elasticity given by his suggestions for the adjustment of the agreed naval strengths to the different circumstances of the two Powers."

Mr. Gibson made his next contribution to the discussion by announcing that his Government had now decided to accept the French contention about "effectives" in considering the criteria for the limitation of land armaments. That decision was represented as a concession designed to help in the general progress towards disarmament. Memories were again short, and several commentators who ought to have had better memories expressed a hope that the British Government would now follow the American lead. The fact was that the United States was following the British lead, for the corresponding decision was reached by the British Government last summer. The most categorical emphasis was laid by official spokesmen in London last September on the fact that the Government had accepted the French point of view, not as part of a bargain, but as a separate, independent act. The dropping of the Anglo-French naval proposal did not affect it.

Even before the Anglo-French proposal was launched, 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 definite and binding. The motive that led to it was a recognition by the British Government that France could impose her will in the long run. Germany and the Scandinavian countries supported the 1927 "Cecil" contention (namely that "effectives" should be counted as men who could be placed in the firing line within a given short time from the outbreak of a war), and the United States was at that time sympathetic with the Cecil formula, but non-committal. The United States has now adopted the same policy as the British Government, and although Germany, according to Count Bernstorff's statement of April 27th, has not changed her view, the American decision had the effect of opening the door to renewed discussion of land as well as of sea armaments.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

May 15th, 1929.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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NAVAL OPERATIONS: JUNE, 1916— APRIL, 1917.*

The late Sir Julian Corbett's last volume closed with the Battle of Jutland. That great event was fully described and a definite historical stage completed. The loss that the history of the Great War suffered by the death of Sir Julian in 1922 was lessened by that fact and, as the continuator, Sir Henry Newbolt, also says in his preface, by the fact that the system which Sir Julian built up, and the work of the staff which he trained remained. In Sir Henry's three opening chapters the narrative is directly continued from June 1st, 1916. "As the mists of confusion and misrepresentation clear away, the result of the Battle of Jutland is plainly seen—the British policy and position are confirmed, and an imperative necessity is laid upon the Germans to abandon fleet action and go forward on the line of U-boat development." The Germans admitted that the destruction of the British fleet was not possible, that "Jellicoe did not for an instant surrender the command of the sea," that the losses sustained by the German Fleet were enormous, and that "on June 1st, 1916, it was clear to everyone of intelli-

* *History of the Great War Based on Official Documents by Direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence. Naval Operations: Vol. IV. By Henry Newbolt. Longmans Green & Co. Text 16s. net. Maps 5s. net.*

gence that the fight would be, and must be, the only one to take place. Those in authority have often admitted this openly."

The weakness of the English fleet was "the indifferent armour protection of the battle cruisers." Three British ships had exploded when hit. For the future the "post-Jutland design" guarded against that weakness, a weakness due to the desire to achieve a rate of fire inconsistent with the safety of the cordite cartridges. The gunnery standards of the British fleet were very high. During "the brief, interrupted action between the main fleets some fifty shells from the British battle squadrons struck the German battle cruisers," and during the same period "no fewer than twenty-six shells from Admiral Jellicoe's battleships found their mark in the leading ships of the German line. The surviving British battle cruisers were hit twenty times by large projectiles." "The battle thus caused no radical change in construction, fleet tactics, or administration. It caused every officer in a responsible position to make a thorough investigation of existing methods; but its results did not prove that we had been at fault upon any main question of policy or leadership." Jutland was a turning-point in the war. The German main attack had failed.

Sir Henry Newbolt carries on the story in *Home Waters* up to February, 1917, then turns to the Outer Theatres—East and West Africa, Mesopotamia and the Baltic—and the Mediterranean. The Mediterranean also occupies the fifth chapter during the period June, 1916, to January, 1917, and the eighth chapter during the period of January to August, 1917. The action in the Adriatic on May 15th, 1917, showed that the Austrians were fine fighters and resourceful seamen. One of the most interesting chapters in the volume is the account of the German raiders, the *Moewe*, the *Leopard*, the *Seealer* and the *Wolf*. "It may be confidently assumed," writes Sir Henry Newbolt, that "no British reader will withhold his admiration from the fine seamen who commanded the four Raiders, or fail, on the other hand, to appreciate the vast and splendid Admiralty organisation before which their efforts died away in futility." The stories are told in the most fascinating way, and full credit is given to the German seamen for their remarkable efforts in "a vast enterprise" entrusted to them by their Government "with hopelessly inadequate means."

The later part of this remarkable book, as remarkable for its judicial force as for its prose style, deals with the story of the U-boats and the adoption in February, 1917, of the unrestricted submarine campaign. The German failure at Jutland, the admitted incapacity to deal with the British fleet on equal terms, left the German High Command no alternative but unrestricted U-boat warfare. On July 4th, 1916, Admiral Scheer told the Emperor

frankly, "as English economic life depended on sea trade, the only means of getting at it was to overcome the fleet or get past it. The former meant the destruction of the fleet which, in view of our relative strength, was not possible . . . the U-boats, however, could get past the fleet." England in the autumn of 1916 with her fleet was blockading Germany, Germany with her U-boats was blockading England. Could the Germans force a finish to the war by the starvation of England? The crisis was reached by the gambler's throw of unrestricted submarine warfare, and the vivid account is carried up to the point when England was in great danger by the German defiance of all the laws of maritime war.

The volume ends at a moment which appeared at the time to be most dangerous and perplexing in our history: the reckless progress of the final German effort had brought us nearer to privation than we had ever thought to be. The situation is dramatically one of extreme tension; but every reader of our narrative will know already that in our next volume we shall see one of the traditional methods of the British Navy adapted to meet the new crisis with complete and final success.

It is pleasing to record that Admiral von Mantey, the Director of the Marine-Archiv in Berlin, has supplied to Sir Henry Newbolt a great deal of information about the movements of the German naval forces employed in operations described in this volume.

* * *

TITUS OATES AND THE BLOODY ASSIZE.*

Sir Edward Parry is so pleasant and learned a writer that it is a little unfortunate that he should have chosen so unpleasant and disputable a theme as the story of Titus Oates, Lord Jeffreys of Wem and the Monmouth Rebellion. Sir Edward admits that Oates was a liar and a perjurer, but believes that he did good sterling work. Without his help

it seems more than likely that Charles and his brother, with the money of Louis XIV and the generalship of the Jesuits, would have had time to complete their plans of establishing the Catholic religion in England. . . . It seems strange, indeed, that if Oates' statement was but a mere lying invention, he should place it in the hands of a gentleman of Godfrey's character . . . that Godfrey was murdered because he was dangerous to the left-wing plotters seems to me as reasonably proved as any other Crown case reported in the State trials. I have purposely left out of consideration the evidence given in the case by Bedloe, though I am satisfied that it was by no means wholly without foundation. We are only interested in the story of the Popish Plot as a link in the chain of circumstances which led up to the Bloody Assize.

* *The Bloody Assize*. By His Honour Sir Edward Parry. Ernest Benn. 27s. net.

Sir Edward Parry is ready to adopt any terms of abuse that have been invented for Oates, but "he did not invent the plot." Sir Edward classes him among "human vermin," but explains that the saintly William Sancroft used to invite him to Lambeth, "and it was fully expected that the man would ultimately himself receive a bishopric." The acquittal of Sir George Wakeman in July, 1679, was the end of the Oates' cult. The fact that he was a murderous perjurer could no longer be concealed. Sir Edward thinks that "the Plot" had taken another turn and the labours of Oates were no longer necessary. We are told that

in 1681 Charles had obtained an agreement with Louis XIV for a three years' supply and was able to defy the Whigs and dissolve the Parliament at Oxford. From that time the business of imposing the Catholic religion upon the country passed out of the hands of the left-wing Jesuits and other faithful and fanatical extremists, and was left in the hands of Charles and his advisers. Titus Oates was no longer a power in the land.

It is a curious defence of one of the most dangerous and terrible of "human vermin." The trial of Oates on May 8th, 1685, is ascribed to the vengeance of King James II. "Oates had undoubtedly unmasked the plot. He had discovered Coleman, the Duke's secretary, and brought him to justice, and had cleared the country of many Jesuit emissaries." But surely Sir Edward Parry would not have had Oates go free? Surely his trial was inevitable: a man who by the vilest perjury had done many men to death. He had a fair trial. Jeffreys treated Oates indeed with a respect that he did not deserve. That the punishment of flogging from Aldgate to Newgate and from Newgate to Tyburn was brutal there can be no doubt. But if flogging was ever justified it was justified in the case of a criminal whose perjured oaths had brought many innocent men to the gallows. Oates lived more than twenty years after these events, and after the Revolution he managed to get a reversal of the judgment (apparently on the ground of his "clergy" and the severity of the whipping) and marry a rich widow. He joined the Wapping Baptists and was expelled from that body in 1701 as "a disorderly person and a hypocrite." When he died on July 12th, 1705, the world was well rid of a monster in human form.

Sir Edward Parry judges Lord Jeffreys of Wem with a harshness that is certainly not justified. He was a very learned lawyer, and his extraordinarily rapid rise in his profession was entirely due to his own ability. He was esteemed by the great lawyers of his day, men such as Hale, and he played a great part in the building up of both the Common Law and Equity. There is evidence that he was a genuinely religious man. That he was a strong man and imposed his will on the courts when he argued or presided is not in

itself a cause of complaint. He was, as Sir Edward Parry admits, "a youth of exceptional ability, and had insight, business brains and push." When he was only thirty-three he was the leader of the Bar, and the fact that he was retained in the prosecution of the Whigs is not to his discredit. Why this should be called political hack work is not clear. Sir Edward admits that "like many a man of this type, when he was not engaged in hack work, and had for the moment no ulterior end to serve, he showed many good qualities in his conduct of cases, both at the Bar and on the Bench." One story in his favour is told, but in fact many could be told. He was not paltry. One of his first acts as Lord Chancellor was to give a good living to a clergyman who had abused him from the pulpit in the famous Western Assize. Lord Jeffreys would indeed have been handed down to history as a great judge had it not been for the assaults of the Whig historians, and especially of Lord Macaulay.

No doubt Lord Jeffreys and the Bench and Bar generally had the faults of the age in the way of violent invective and possibly excessive drinking. But Lord Jeffreys must have been a far better man than is depicted by Sir Edward Parry to have done the mass of professional and judicial work that is recorded. If shorthand notes had been taken of every word that fell from every judge's mouth a curious impression would survive of most judges. There are many shorthand notes of interjections by Lord Jeffreys that give a false impression of the man. But the main indictment is the conduct of what is known as "the Bloody Assize," the Assize that followed the suppression of the Monmouth rebellion. It appears that as the result of that assize in Hampshire, Dorset, Devon and Somerset—there were no convictions in Wiltshire—331 persons were executed, 849 transported, and 33 fined or whipped. The work was completed by five judges in about four weeks. Had Monmouth's campaign been prolonged the 331 deaths would certainly have been far exceeded. It was, however, a terrible Assize, and some mistakes must certainly have been made, but on the other hand it was essential that the rebellion should be rooted out and a lesson given that need not be repeated. The harshness of the judges was necessary, but it was child's play to the harshness shown by Cromwell some thirty years before in Ireland. That it was effective there can be no doubt; since the west of England was quite quiet in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. The rule of law had to be restored. It was better that it should be restored by the processes of law than by drum-head courts martial. Lord Jeffreys was a strong man and he carried through the horrid business in a fashion that was swift and horrible, and in certain cases there appears to have been injustice due to the swiftness of the Assize. In our day it is certain that very stern measures would be taken in similar circumstances and very little

mercy shown. Swift action was necessary, and that action at any rate was one carried through by the due processes of law. The inevitable hatefulness of the whole business has in a sense and for some minds damned a very great judge, but at any rate the "Bloody Assize" re-established the rule of law in southern Britain for good and all.

J. E. G. DE M.

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THE TRAGEDY OF RUSSIA.*

This intimate Life of Alexandra Feodorovna, Empress of Russia, and grand-daughter of Queen Victoria, by the Baroness Buxhoeveden, will be welcomed by many readers who are anxious to know the truth of those terrible times which it seems impossible to realise happened only a few years ago. Civilisation can be ended for a time by revolution. The letting go of all human restraints, moral and physical, which have produced the civilisation of a people or a race is an upheaval that can only end in tragedy, though civilisation will eventually re-assert itself. It is an eruption, like that of a volcano, sweeping with its lava both the good and the bad to destruction. Revolution, like Nature, knows no distinction. Whatever obstructs its path from cross to crown meets a like fate, however innocent the obstruction may be. Such was Russia in 1917-18, culminating in the massacre of its ruler and all his family, and millions of its population.

The Baroness Sophie Buxhoeveden is a Russian, and writes with no mere prejudice in favour of the Empress. She records the daily intercourse with a woman who had linked her whole being with her husband and his country, giving to both the love and allegiance with which her heart overflowed. Her family knowledge has produced this biography and vindication. The declaration of Ruth, chap. I, v. 16-17, which heads the preface to this book, applied to this ill-fated Empress, exactly describes her attitude to the bitter end. Mr. J. C. Squire introduces with his usual insight the causes which produced the revolution and brought Bolshevism into power: an autocracy out-heroding the autocracy of the Czars.

It is a sad and pitiful history which is told by a lady-in-waiting of many years' standing, and a continual eye-witness, almost to the hour of a tragedy which passes the imagination of a civilised world. We see a gradual decline from an exalted position to the lowest degradation, all borne with the utmost patience and submission to what they deemed was the will of the Almighty. We

* *The Life and Tragedy of Alexandra Feodorovna, Empress of Russia.* By Baroness Sophie Buxhoeveden, with an introduction by J. C. Squire. Longmans Green & Co. 25s. net.

are told that the Royal Family ever hoped and believed that the essential goodness and loyalty of Russia would conquer in the end, and that the country, which the Empress and her husband loved, would be re-born, and thus vindicate the lives of those who (the Baroness insists) were so cruelly maligned and traduced.

The mistaken faith in the peasant monk Rasputin by the Empress is here held to be wholly non-political. The agony she suffered in the knowledge of her son's malady made her cling to one who appeared able to stem the progress of his illness. This misplaced faith in a charlatan, and her natural shyness and apparent aloofness were partly the cause of her unpopularity. It was only to those with whom she was intimate, or who needed her help, that she was seen in her true light; the tradition and etiquette of the Russian Court bound her with a chain that was well-nigh unbreakable, strive as she would. The welfare and the betterment of the country to which she had given her heart and soul were ever her aim. The murder of the Royal Family was, as Mr. Squire says, the "Finis" of the old order.

The Baroness Buxhoeveden has written a book which presents the life of the Empress Alexandra Feodorovna in all the simplicity and great love, the tragedy of the closing years, the poignancy of the suffering which she and her beloved family endured at the hands of their enemies and murderers, in a manner that carries with it conviction. It is at any rate a document that must play its part in the final historical unravelling of one of the many tragedies, if that is the right term, that punctuate the history of Russia. The essential sadness, the great intellectual possibilities of the Russian people, the continuation of a tribal and a rural stage of life make anything possible in Russia, and not least the tragedies that haunted another tribal Aryan people, the Ancient Greeks.

S. DE M.

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THE VINOGRADOFF PAPERS.*

Mr. Fisher's Memoir of Sir Paul Vinogradoff included in these volumes has already been published and has been noticed in these pages. The volumes are issued in fulfilment of the strong desire of Lady Vinogradoff, expressed in her preface, that "various articles, written by my husband for periodicals both British and foreign, and only to be found with some research, should be republished in an accessible form." The result is a most valuable compilation which wisely and fortunately includes two chapters prepared for the third

* *The Collected Papers of Paul Vinogradoff.* With a Memoir by the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher. Two volumes: Vol. I, Historical; Vol. II, Jurisprudence. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 42s. net.

volume of Sir Paul's important work, the *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, and awaiting publication in draft form. These chapters are first an essay on the Mediæval Church and second an essay on "the Sources of Law," both important contributions to historical jurisprudence and both representing his latest and ripest thought. It is desirable to quote the opening passage of the essay on the Mediæval Church :

It would be difficult to overestimate the part played by the mediæval Church in the history of European civilisation. It preserved not only the remnants of the antique culture in sciences, art, literature, and philosophy, but, what is more, its ideals and habits of social co-operation. It prevented the countries of the West from lapsing into a state of crude barbarism and unbridled struggle.

The essay is a brilliant piece of thought in an historical setting. Another and probably the latest piece of work done by Vinogradoff is the paper (in French) entitled *Quelques problèmes d'Histoire du droit Anglo-Normand*, which was read for the author on December 3rd, 1925, to the Conference of the Société d'Histoire du Droit in Paris. He was ill at the time and died in Paris on December 19th, 1925. The paper throws much light on the post-Norman transformation of English law by means of the customs and tendencies and feudal society of the military class of Normandy. The principles of *Très ancien coutumier de Normandie* throw light on these complex issues. Apparently the Normans took little law to England, but in fact they took with them customs which we see in full later development in Normandy. Sir Paul insists on this point :

Quand je cite une décision du règne de Philippe-Auguste pour interpréter une règle contemporaine de Henri II, je n'entends pas dire qu'un texte du xii^e siècle dérive d'un texte du xiii^e, mais que ce dernier peut éclairer d'une manière suggestive le principe commun à tous les deux.

The two volumes contain some brief estimates of well-known masters of law, such as Maitland, Seebohm, Maine, Mitteis, a good many papers on technical early legal subjects in English, French, and German, such as Folkland, *Das Buchland*, and local questions such as the paper dealing with the by-laws of the Manor of Great Tew, Oxfordshire, a manor which is also dealt with as "an illustration of the open field system."

Then again we have stately essays such as those on "the Work of Rome," "Die Praxis der Englischen Staatseinrichtungen" (reviewing Laurence Lowell and Sidney Low), various papers on Greek jurisprudence, a number of essays on various aspects of jurisprudence, various theories of rights. Substantial essays in German including one paper on old Norwegian law and two papers

on Wergeld occupy a large part of the second volume. Sir Paul Vinogradoff thought and wrote quite freely in a good many tongues, and in these volumes French, German, and English are used with equal freedom and force. His forcefulness in all tongues that he used was one of the characteristics of this remarkable man. The volume concludes with a very useful chronological list of Sir Paul Vinogradoff's publications from 1876 onwards, and this is supplemented by a list of subjects treated in seminars at Oxford, a list of prefaces to eight of the nine volumes of the Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, a list of public lectures given in England and foreign countries from 1891 onwards, and a short list of critical reviews of his works. These volumes are indeed a key to many sides of the great Russian scholar's juridical activities, while Mr. Fisher's memoir reveals all other aspects of his wonderful life.

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THE FOLKEHÖJSKOLE.*

The Folk School of Denmark, "these short-term schools for young adults," to use Mrs. Campbell's neat definition of the system, was invented by that wonderful Danish pastor Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig, who was born in 1783, before the French Revolution, and lived on till 1872 working at the combination of religion, humanism and education till the end. To-day there are at least sixteen of these schools in Denmark, three in Norway, seven in Sweden, and eight in Finland.

We ought to have them in England, for both their spiritual and their material value. The heredity of the English agricultural labourer is curiously like that of the Danish peasant. Our labourer got out of the grip of unfreedom sooner than his brother in Denmark, but the break-up of the three-field system occurred in both countries about the same date, the end of the eighteenth century. Our economic system of farming, champion farming, lasted longer, but that was inevitable in view of the leasehold system. Yet we had no Grundtvig to supplement our parochial schools with that something which has made it possible not only to raise the standard of the small farmer but to make practicable that co-operative system which wrings from the comparatively poor soil of Denmark such remarkable results.

The *Folkehøjskole* has made all this feasible, and an American teacher, Mr. John C. Campbell, working in the Southern States, conceived the idea of transplanting the methods of Grundtvig for his own countryfolk. He died in 1919, but his wife has achieved her

* *The Danish Folk School: Its Influence on the Life of Denmark and the North.* By Olive Dame Campbell. With a Foreword by Paul Monroe. New York. The Macmillan Company. 8s. 6d. net.

husband's noble purpose by visiting Denmark and writing this excellent book that puts before the English reader the whole spirit of the conception that Grundtvig and Krislen Kold made practical between 1844 and 1864, and their theological followers who, in succeeding years, fixed the folk-school type. The school is filled from November 1st to April 1st by young men and from May 1st to August 1st by young women. There are now a few schools wholly for girls, while Askov, the extended folk school, is co-educational and has a six-months' term. Each school is, of course, stamped by the personality of its Principal, but in each there is the traditional morning song, the opening of each class with singing, the principal's special hour, the reunions of the students. All the schools are

based on two fundamental beliefs which, in the words of Karl Koch, a famous Grundtvig minister [who died in 1925], "stand out in Grundtvig's very varied and many-sided life: one his belief in the excellence of this life as it may be, the need to live it to the full; and the second his belief in life as a development and as such not ending here but continuing to perfect itself in immortality."

Dr. Paul Monroe, the famous American educationist, in his Foreword to this book, dwells on the essentially religious as well as cultural nature of these schools, which have their prime centre or university at Askov. He tells us that they have played a part in the re-creation of a national spirit and the expression of Danish rural life, while at the same time presenting lessons of importance for other nations. This is especially true for Great Britain, since to-day we are striving in many ways to re-create our national rural life through schools, branch libraries, institutes and village clubs. We ought to graft into our efforts the main principles of the Danish folk school. Indeed, the Cambridgeshire County Council in some ways, perhaps unconsciously, has already done so. This admirable book by Mrs. Campbell may be as useful here as in America, since she sets forth in detail a noble educational ideal.

J. E. G. DE M.

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SIR THOMAS MORE THROUGH GERMAN EYES.*

An age of Revolution is an age of Utopias. So it is in our own day, so it was in the days of the French Revolution, and so it was during the Reformation. The remarkable matter is that all Utopias seem to be the creation of men, not of women. Has any woman devised a land of dreams realised nowhere on earth now but realis-

* *Die Utopia-Schrift des Thomas Morus*. By H. Brockhaus. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner.

able hereafter? We know of none. Men dreamed their dreams in the sixteenth century, and the greatest dreamer of them all is the Lord Chancellor of England. It is not surprising that Sir Thomas More, in the days before heresy threatened the foundation of Church and State alike, planned his Utopia, and in planning it laid the foundation of modern Socialism. Herr Brockhaus writes his capable book with a careful regard for the background in which the Lord Chancellor lived his life. Accordingly, we have a fine account of the Lateran Council, the Council in which reform turned to revolution. It is not the least of the author's merits that he sees with the utmost clearness the connection between the failure of reform and the outbreak of revolution. Then comes a spirited survey of the writings of that memorable year 1516, and the reader should be much impressed by the fashion in which the background of the age is linked to a consideration of one of the most famous of all Utopias. Men tell us that Hegel wrote his *Phenomenology* undisturbed by the national uprising against Napoleon, and as he brought his manuscript to the publisher was beyond measure astonished to encounter the battle of Jena in progress. More was of a temperament far removed from Hegel's, for every line of his book reflects the temper of the stirring age in which his lot was cast.

To the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci More owes the form of the imaginary commonwealth he described twenty-three years later. He tells us that the traveller who had "joyined himself in company with Americke Vespuce" remained in South America with some four-and-twenty companions. They roam through many countries, and at length make their way westwards home by land and sea. Consciously or subconsciously, More placed his land of dreams on an island, and he did so in order to secure freedom from the fading conception of the Holy Roman Empire, a point of which Herr Brockhaus does not see the significance. Nevertheless, the author does see that More rids himself of the injustice and the inequality dominant in the Old World, and replaces it by the vision of the perfect State that would in many respects have satisfied the soul of Plato. More, the best man of his time, stands out against the background of eternal truth as he points the way to justice, which is supreme in his imaginary island. He longed, as Herr Brockhaus perceives, with intense earnestness to see a true community—not a rich and educated aristocracy existing side by side with poor ignorant peasantry—one people, prosperous and educated through all its different classes. This yearning for the weal of all humanity marks the advance of the Utopian ideal on the Greek. Progress is seen most distinctly in the growing recognition of the dignity of man and woman. On the other hand, the Athenian love of art, of beauty, is sadly wanting in the island. There is nothing better

in this book than the illuminating way in which Herr Brockhaus explores the place occupied by religion in the moral code of the islanders, and the references, here and indeed throughout its pages, enhance the value of the text.

R. H. M.

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ROMAN CATHOLICISM.*

This record of a hundred years of Roman Catholicism in England since complete political emancipation was achieved is fitly written by Mr. Gwynn as a sequel to his history of "the struggle for Catholic emancipation." In the century the Roman Catholic population of England and Wales has increased from about 200,000 to considerably over two million persons. In 1829 the Roman Catholic population "was still almost entirely dependent upon the old aristocratic families who had maintained their own chaplains and their private chapels through" what Mr. Gwynn calls "the centuries of persecution." This population "was suddenly invigorated by the accession of a great stream of converts through the Oxford Movement, and then, almost simultaneously, was overwhelmed by an immense and increasing immigration of poor Catholics fleeing from the famine in Ireland and from the conditions of destitution which followed it." This Irish dispersion had other effects: it also has made the Catholic Church the largest denomination in the United States, and it has established a Catholic hierarchy both in Australia and Canada.

Despite the fact that the vast majority of the Roman Catholics in England were of Irish descent until the end of the nineteenth century, the control remained almost entirely in English hands. Cardinal Manning, we are told, broke down the monopoly of influence of the small social dominant English group and gave a new unity to the various Irish groups, the old English Roman Catholics and the newest converts. Mr. Gwynn traces the whole movement towards unity. His hero is Cardinal Manning, though he fully appreciates the constructive work of Cardinal Wiseman, who died in 1865, three lustra after the dramatic five years from 1845 to 1850, when the effects of Newman's conversion were working out and the restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy was secured. It is a moving theme with which Mr. Gwynn deals. We see the old Catholics, the Oxford Movement, the conversion of Newman, the bitter outburst in the English Press and by the English Bishops at the restoration by the Pope of the English hierarchy on September 29th, 1850, the conversion of Manning

* *A Hundred Years of Catholic Emancipation* (1829-1929). By Denis Gwynn. With illustrations and a map. Longmans. 10s. 6d. net.

(not a product of the Oxford Movement) after the Gorham case in 1850. Certainly the influence of Cardinal Manning was enormous: he was a far more human person than Newman. Captain of the cricket eleven at Harrow and President of the Oxford Union, he was from the first the type that English people love. He had been a married man and had known sorrow in the loss of his wife after four years of great happiness. He was a man as humble in matters of faith and obedience as Newman, but he had powers of statesmanship that Newman never showed, though probably his actual intellectual powers were not of the same rank as Newman could (though he did not often) use. Manning could diagnose great social issues, could play a great part, as the dockers' strike of 1889 showed, in democratic problems. It may be doubted if the world has yet a true estimate of Newman, but it has certainly a just estimate of Manning, and Mr. Gwynn is right in making him the hero of his book. It may be doubted, however, whether Manning's forces ever could have had a chance if the ground had not been first broken by Newman, while on one point certainly Manning went wrong: the exclusion of Roman Catholic students from Oxford and Cambridge. It is a great story, but the modern developments are less moving than the days up to 1890. The future of Roman Catholicism in England is not doubtful. It has obtained a new foothold, and has a slowly increasing population for which it provides a sound education. But there can be no doubt that England is essentially Protestant. The Prayer-Book debates in Parliament in 1927-28 showed this. The "Conversion of England" will not take place in our time. J. E. G. DE M.

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DR. INGE ON PLOTINUS.*

We are glad to call attention to the publication of the third edition of Dr. Inge's Gifford Lectures on the Philosophy of Plotinus. They were originally delivered at St. Andrews in 1917 and 1918, and were immediately recognised, on publication, as a standard work on the system of the great Neo-Platonic philosopher. In his preface to this third, and, as he tells us, final edition, the Dean of St. Paul's states that he has read through the whole of the *Enneads* again and has revised his book throughout, making some hundreds of small corrections and alterations. This revision has been carried out in the light of the most recent German and French literature upon the subject, and of certain criticisms that were made when the book first appeared. The importance and out-

* *The Philosophy of Plotinus*. By William Ralph Inge, C.V.O., D.D. Two vols. Longmans. 21s. net.

standing greatness of Plotinus are increasingly recognised. The sublimity of his thought and his influence upon Christian thinkers in the immediately subsequent age make some familiarity with his teaching indispensable both to theology and to philosophy. Yet the difficulties of the *Enneads* are very great, and Dr. Inge has rendered inestimable service to students by untiring and sympathetic labours, which have brought the subject within their reach with such ample scholarship and such clearness of exposition.

J. S. L.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

No living English publicist is better worth reading than Mr. Alfred Zimmern, and *The Prospects of Democracy and other Essays** should not be overlooked by those who care for a brilliant and suggestive discussion of living issues. The longest essay, which gives its name to the volume, is placed at the end; but it is the most interesting of all. No one realises more clearly than the author that a modern State is no longer a detached and sovereign body, able to shape its destinies at will, but a member of a world community, the units in which are being squeezed ever closer together by a thousand factors and forces. This process of shrinkage—the dominant factor of the twentieth century—necessitates not only a radical revision of our ideas but the provision of new forms to meet new needs. "We live in an age of democracy," he writes, "but democracy has not yet discovered its appropriate institutions. . . . The world has been made safe for democracy, but democracy has not yet been made safe for mankind." The main instrument of this necessary advance is the League of Nations, which, either in its structure or in the ideas which underlie it, is the leading theme of the book. In a thoughtful essay entitled "Nationalism and Internationalism" the author bids us look forward to something much more subtle and spiritual than a mere contact between States, namely "a harmony of understanding established in a world of unassailable diversity." The theme is developed in the Earl Grey Memorial Lecture, entitled "Education—International Goodwill," which opens with a fine tribute to Mazzini, equally eminent as a nationalist and an internationalist. Contacts through travel, learning of languages, the reading of books are excellent, but they are not enough. We must establish relations with living men in other communities. "To know a few Italians of the younger generation is, just at this moment, a better passport to the understanding of Italy than to have Mommsen, Gibbon and Gregorovius at one's fingers end." One of the best features of the League of Nations is that it is a meeting-ground of personalities, official and unofficial, celebrated and obscure. Mr. Zimmern's deep conviction that the things which unite us are stronger than the things which divide us gives an optimistic tone to his eloquent and scholarly pages.

* Chatto & Windus. 12s. 6d.

*Catholic Emancipation 1829 to 1929** is a co-operative work, to which Cardinal Bourne contributes an Introduction. There are many, writes the Cardinal, who have no conception of the far-reaching changes which have taken place; and for such readers these essays are of great interest and importance. It is certainly a remarkable story of vitality and growth. The main outlines are summarised by Dr. William Barry, who pays his tribute to the succession of remarkable men who have presided over the English Catholics since Wiseman returned home almost a century ago. It is admitted that Manning was wrong in barring the approach to Oxford and Cambridge, but the mistake has now been rectified. Of the other essays that to which most care seems to have been devoted is Mr. Algernon Cecil's survey of the Catholic Church and Literature. Perhaps the most valuable feature of this contribution, written with the author's usual grave distinction, and covering wider ground than the title leads us to suspect, is the explanation of the Catholic view of the Bible, which few Protestants trouble to understand. In the chapter on science Sir Bertram Windle points out that the Church has made no formal pronouncement on the theory of evolution, and never accepted the quaint notion that the world was created B.C. 4004. Other essays deal with the Spiritual Life, Education, Music, Public Life, Philanthropy, and Religious Communities. The volume ends with a hard-hitting and characteristic essay by Mr. Chesterton, entitled *The Outlook*. Protestantism, he argues, which was dogmatically solid in 1829 has become liquid. "Anti-Catholicism remains . . . Protestantism is now only a name." We are, he believes, on the high road from Protestantism to Paganism, and in a few generations the Catholic Church "will be facing once more her first and her most formidable enemy." The whole book echoes with the sound of trumpets, as might be expected from a centenary volume. Whatever may be the defects and prospects of Protestantism, we can at least rejoice that in a Protestant country we are now allowed a free choice in our confessional attachments, and that every religious body has the opportunity to increase its following by argument and example.

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Under the title *Schools of To-day*† Mr. Bolton King, the late Director of Education for Warwickshire, writing out of twenty-four years' experience, deals with various present problems in English education. His book is addressed to parents and voters as well as to those who know the technical value of Mr. King's opinions from the professional and administrative side. The note of progress is struck at once by the statement that the better part of the community has realised at last that its children "are its most precious possession." The physical importance of the school has been realised and the doctrine of preventive medicine applied. A more healthy and thoughtful generation is appearing, and it is at this hopeful moment that the Hadow Report has also appeared and has advocated secondary education for all and the raising of the school age. Mr. King lays stress on the "immense gain—mental, physical, moral, especially moral"—of keeping the children at school for another

* Longmans. 10s. 6d.

† J. M. Dent & Sons. 3s. 6d. net

year. The possibilities of the Hadow Report are fully discussed and then Mr. King turns to the machinery of English education—the partnership between the Board of Education and the local education authorities and all that flows from it. The aims of the elementary schools and the difficulties of the village schools are adequately discussed. Mr. King declares that “there is very little difference between the religious teaching of Church and Council schools; the difference lies between one teacher and another.” The point is missed that the two classes of schools react on each other and on the standard of religious teaching. The problems of secondary education are also touched. The short secondary school life is a matter for urgent comment and the school certificate examination is subject to criticism which is perhaps not wholly deserved since the examination brings, or should bring, the university atmosphere into the school as a whole. Mr. King thinks it possible that the danger of the block grant in educational finance has passed. Surely de-rating finance has made the danger more pressing.

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The publication of the Sixth English Edition of *Wheaton's Elements of International Law*, “revised throughout, considerably enlarged and re-written” by Professor A. Berriedale Keith in two volumes, is an event of considerable importance in the world of international lawyers. The new edition presents an up-to-date treatise—the new status of the Vatican is duly noted—which will be used with equal good will by American and English lawyers. Our usual textbooks on international law are not especially favoured by American lawyers and, as the standing of Wheaton is excellent, an edition by an English lawyer of great repute is very welcome. Henry Wheaton was a diplomat, a jurist, and a man of letters. He represented the United States in various European Courts from 1827 to 1846, and during this period, in 1836, the first edition of his *Elements of International Law* appeared. Mr. Wheaton's final changes were made in 1847 and these duly appeared in the French edition in 1848 and in English in 1855. Mr. Wheaton's actual text was preserved in the fourth edition and edited in 1904 by Mr. Beresford Atlay, but in the fifth edition of 1915, by Dr. Coleman Phillipson, the text was that approved by the editor who, in fact, was really a co-author of the work. The new edition takes advantage of all the previous editions and wherever possible Professor Keith has adopted Wheaton's own exposition but in some matters of historical importance a divergence from that exposition is indicated. The original theory of law adopted was rationalistic and this has been discarded. Wheaton's method which “was in the main realistic and positive, and is in substantial harmony with the modern trend of opinion or inheritance, especially in the Anglo-American school” is adopted, and Professor Keith has based the new edition “on the practice of States, accepting as the only sources of law customs and conventions.” There are perhaps grounds for criticising this compromise and certainly there are other sources of international law than customs and conventions, but that is at any rate a definite school of thought and it may be that the law of nature can be excluded logically, though, in fact, it is a strong force in municipal law to-day. It is sound to rely on the practice of States rather than on the opinions of jurists since, after all, law is

based on practice, and practice can be properly reinforced by weighty decisions on international questions of municipal tribunals. Actual practice and actual decisions are a sound basis on which to build up a system of law, and no doubt in due course the decisions of the Permanent Court will create a great body of law which will have to rely to some extent on the Law of Nature. The existing doctrines of international law will be found presented in these volumes in a most useful and attractive fashion.

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Dr. Ernest Baker has followed up his admirable *History of the English Novel from the beginnings to the Renaissance* with a further section of the History of the English Novel entitled *The Elizabethan Age and After*.^{*} It is really part of a larger section since the next volume will only end with Defoe and Swift and the fourth will deal with the age of Richardson, Fielding, and their school. The present volume in fact makes a complete theme ending, as Dr. Baker says, in “a halting place in a period of revision,” the story of the writers of character sketches and of Utopias who have their proper places in any full history of the novel. The volume begins with an account of the Age of Translation, the age of experiment in literary form, the age when humble stories—the predecessors of the wit of Sancho Panza—moral speculation (such as *Euphues* presents), character drawing and didactic stories were all at work from foreign sources in making possible immortal English stories. Dr. Baker tells us much about the translations from the Italian, and every scholarly student of the history of English literature will be grateful. The Spanish and other foreign sources, going as far back as the Greek romances, are not neglected. With this beginning stoutly undertaken the student will be able to appreciate the schools of Lyly and Sidney and the transition to Elizabethan realism and to the imagination of Nashe and Dekker. “Dekker was also a poet, and not all his poetry was reserved for his plays. Touches of imagination in his cartoons of plague-stricken London, of pathos and lyrical emotion in his sketches of the poor and oppressed, and of moving eloquence in his prophecies of retribution for the age's sins, justify Lamb's remark that ‘he had poetry enough for anything.’” Dekker was, indeed, a great man. But the reader will meet many great men in this excellent book.

* * *

Professor G. M. Trevelyan has selected and edited *Select documents for Queen Anne's Reign down to the Union with Scotland 1702-7*,[†] in a volume of singular interest which, though produced for an academical object, has a very general importance. Home politics in these five years were indirectly but closely related to the war for the independence of Europe upon which Marlborough's great brain was set. Home politics in England is indeed always of importance since inept politicians can disturb the course of wise imperial and international policy. It is not always realised moreover that the Scottish Union was in effect a war measure to remove, as Professor Trevelyan says, “the grave possibility of Scotland declaring the Pretender King on the death of Anne, even if the demise of the

^{*} H. F. & G. Wetherby. 16s. net.

[†] Cambridge: At the University Press. 7s. 6d. net

Crown should occur in the middle of the war with France." The victory of Blenheim in 1704 not only saved Europe but saved Protestant England. The documents fall into six sections: the text of the great treatise of alliance naturally comes first, then home politics are seen through the eyes of Defoe, Swift, and Addison, a brief section is given to Gibraltar, the fourth section deals with Blenheim and Ramillies and includes the narrative dealing with the March to the Danube, written by Dr. Hare (Marlborough's chaplain), and supervised by Marlborough, printed (apparently for the first time) from the British Museum manuscript. This transcript is one of several hitherto unpublished from the same source, including manuscripts relating to Gibraltar and the description of Blenheim by Cardonell, Marlborough's secretary. The Blenheim section includes Marshal Tallard's apology for the defeat. The fifth section deals with the letters of Marlborough. These, "particularly those to his wife, are the best key we have to that very difficult problem of the character and motives of the great man whose action dominates the history of the time." The sixth and final section of a most attractive book deals with the Scottish Union.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Appointed by the National Housing and Town Planning Council, a Special Committee has been engaged for some months in preparing a complete and careful statement and report on the Housing and Slum problem, now published under the title "A Policy for the Slums."* Distinguished specialists and administrators from all parts of the country took part in the inquiry and have signed the report, while the churches were represented by the Bishop of Southwark and Dr. Scott Lidgett. The Committee was constituted on a non-political basis, and the report is entirely free from party bias. It should be carefully studied, for it contains a complete survey of the existing state of affairs, outlines a policy for doing away with slums throughout the country within a short term of years, and deals with the finance of the proposed policy. We know of no other publication on the subject which brings together so much valuable information within so small a compass.

Professor Karl Breul of Cambridge has edited "Goethe's 'Faust' translated by G. Anna Swanwick"† with an introduction and bibliography. Miss Sedgwick's translation of the first part of "Faust" appeared in 1850 and in 1878 the two parts appeared and were followed by a smaller edition in 1879 in Bohn's Standard Library. Professor Breul feels that much remains to be done in this field of study, but in the introduction he limits himself to supplementing and correcting to some extent Miss Swanwick's Introduction for the general reader and to providing a few hints for the more serious student with a reference to some of the best books. These of course include Sir Adolphus Ward's admirable *Marlowe's Dr. Faustus*.

* P. S. King & Son Ltd. 6d. net.

† G. Bell & Sons. 2s. net.

Mr. E. E. Kellett in his attractive volume on "The Whirligig of Taste"‡ declares that the variations of literary taste are due, among other things, to "the uncertainty of the standard of reference." These seven essays deal with the subject historically on the ground that literary taste "is the creature of the age, circumscribed by its limitations, stirred by its passions, warped by its defects." The difficulty of this view is no doubt the fact that here and there men rise above their age. Mr. Kellett stops this criticism by the assertion that there is in the strict sense of the term no spirit of the age. That is a matter of much doubt, but certainly, if there is, the greatest of men and women are capable of exorcising it. As we spring along with the bright spirit of Mr. Kellett from primitive and classical times to our English authors we see these problems dealt with. But was the fact of Shakespeare's accommodation to his own age the fact that made him "the poet of all times"?

Mr. J. B. Priestley's Book of Essays, entitled "Open House"† now in its second edition, would, if it were the sole survivor of modern English literature, give the critic of a thousand years ahead a shrewd idea of the twentieth-century world of London. It is described by a quick-witted tolerant observer with an easy capable pen, and with a capacity of character drawing that recalls Charles Dickens. The Thorlows who held "Open House" wherever they went are Dickensian to the core. These papers or essays are all very readable, and not least so when they do not deal with the distinguished people whom Mr. Priestley knows well but with the warm-hearted folk of provincial towns and countrysides that the author knows or perhaps loves even better.

Mr. S. C. Roberts in "Aspects of Biography"‡ has given the British public a version of M. André Maurois' lectures on the Clark foundation, delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, a year ago. The lectures were delivered in English, were translated and recast by the author in French for publication, and the revised version Mr. Roberts has translated into English. The volume, dealing successively with biography as an art, a science, and a means of expression, opens with a lecture on Modern Biography. As M. Maurois refers at length to Mr. Strachey's biography of Queen Victoria it seems strange that he should not place on record the fact that Lord Rosebery and Archbishop Davidson, who knew the great Queen in every aspect of her life, public and private, vigorously protested in *The Times* against Mr. Strachey's portrait. M. Maurois calls Mr. Strachey "the perfect painter of posthumous portraits, with just a touch—a very light touch—of caricature." That estimate certainly cannot be adjusted to the view that Lord Rosebery held of the full-dress portrait of the Queen.

Miss Constantia Maxwell is to be congratulated on her admirable edition of Arthur Young's "Travels in France."§ She has already

* The Hogarth Press. 3s. 6d. net.

† William Heinemann. 3s. 6d. net.

‡ Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d. net.

§ Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.

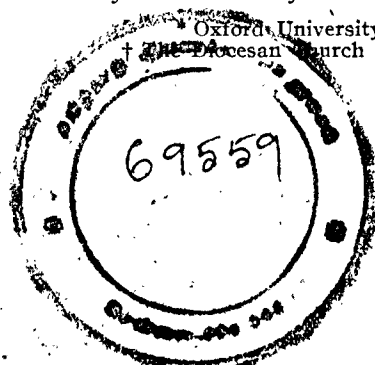
displayed her editorial skill and her exhaustive knowledge of the shrewd East Anglian farmer in her edition of the "Travels in Ireland," but the present work is even more worth the loving labour she has bestowed upon it. We can buy the "Travels" in "Bohn" and "Everyman"; but she has produced the first edition of the three journeys of 1787, 1788 and 1789, designed for serious students, and has added large sections from the "General Observations" which have not been reprinted since 1809. In the forty pages of the Introduction Miss Maxwell tells us just what we need to know, not only of the author, with his professional qualifications, his intellectual limitations and his reactions to a foreign environment, but of the economic structure and condition of France, so fundamentally different from our own. She points out that a detailed comparison of his descriptions with the contemporary records and *cahiers* of each locality would be needed to establish the exact measure of his authority. This has never been attempted; but there seems to be no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of a trained and cool-headed observer. Young visited France as a farmer, not as a politician or a pamphleteer, and it is precisely this detached approach which renders his testimony so welcome. The editorial notes at the end of the book are brief but informing, and the bibliography should be of real assistance to students of all ages.

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Madame Marie Busch has translated for English readers "Selected Austrian Short Stories" and these have been added to the World's Classics Series. Personal life in the old Empire has given rise to much literature but the difficulty of reproducing the dialect has, for the present, prevented Madame Busch from giving versions from Rosegger and others. The writers of whose work versions are used are Frank Grillparzer (1791-1872) the friend of Schubert, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach (1830-1916) Austria's most popular woman writer, a Galician with special local knowledge; Ferdinand von Saar (1833-1906); Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn (1852-1923) as well as Schnitzler, Bahr and Hahlbaum as representative living writers.

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A useful pamphlet entitled "Church Schools and Religious Education in the Diocese of Wakefield: a survey 1924-1928"† has been issued by Canon W. J. Brown, the diocesan director of religious education. It shows the considerable educational activity of this northern diocese, but it has a more general interest since it deals, from the point of view of an expert, with the facts and problems connected with the Hadow reorganisation of English education, and contains a very clear summary of the law relating to religious education.



† Oxford University Press. 2s. net.
The Diocesan Church House, Wakefield. 6d.

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