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THE GENERAL ELECTION.

I.

NONE of the three political Parties is likely to profess itself completely satisfied by the result of the General Election which is just over. If the Socialists are now the largest single Party in the new House of Commons, they have neither achieved that independent majority for which they asked nor have they secured all those millions of votes which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald demanded. Still less have the Conservatives reason to find pleasure in the result. They have lost their independent majority and Mr. Baldwin has been obliged to resign. The position is, so far, worse than it was in 1924. The Government neither met Parliament nor waited for an adverse vote in the House of Commons. We Liberals have equally little reason to rejoice in the result. Not only are our numbers fewer than we had hoped but the luck of the polls is once more against us, and the five and a quarter millions of votes given to us in the country are not represented by more than some fifty-eight members. It is easy to pile up proofs of the unfair way in which the voting has gone. While the Conservatives have over eight and a half million of votes they have two hundred and fifty-four seats, and the Socialist Party with some eight million three hundred and seventy thousand votes has two hundred and eighty-seven seats. The largest Party in the State, therefore, holds the second place in the House of Commons. How inequitably the system has worked is shown by some figures put forward by the Proportional Representation Society. In Wales, for instance, the Conservative Party polled more than half as many votes as the Socialist Party, but they only got one seat as against twenty-five seats for the Socialists. In London, where nearly two million votes were cast, thirty thousand more votes given to the Socialists presented them with thirteen more seats than the Conservatives, and three hundred and fifty thousand votes given to the Liberals secured them only two. The figures are:

Party.	Votes.	Seats.
Labour	784,646	36
Conservative	754,242	23
Liberal	353,737	2
Others	14,852	—
Total	1,907,477	61

It cost Liberals in London 176,000 votes for each seat won. The other parties succeeded at the average cost in votes of 22,000 and 33,000 respectively.

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It is not a new story. Attention has been called to it for more than twenty years. Even in 1906 the anomaly was great. The Conservative members in the House of Commons were not so many as the Conservative votes in the country would have justified.

With the advent of the Socialist Party the inequalities have become still more striking. The Liberal Party has had misfortune in 1924 and 1929. It is very evident that in the time to come other Parties may share—or even monopolise—the bad luck from which we have suffered. Many more striking proofs can be given of the present injustice.

The Socialist Party received two million eight hundred thousand votes more than at the last General Election, while the Liberals gained two million three hundred thousand more. Yet, while we only got eleven additional seats, the Socialists gained one hundred and thirty. The Scottish Universities and Rugby results are not at time of writing yet to hand, but excluding these, the results are :

Party.	Votes.		Seats.		Votes per Seat.
Conservative	8,609,849	...	254	...	33,900
Labour ...	8,331,298	...	287	...	29,000
Liberal ...	5,282,879	...	58	...	91,100

If the seats had been obtained in proportion to the votes, the Liberal Party would have had about one hundred and forty seats. It is obvious that this cannot go on. In many parts of the country many people are disfranchised, and it is no answer to say that because one section is penalised in one county, fairness demands that other Parties should be penalised in other counties. Electoral Reform was urgently demanded by the Liberal Party before the last Election. We shall not fail to demand it with even greater insistence in the future. This breakdown in the electoral machinery demands serious attention from all concerned. In the trains and in the trams it has become a matter of common talk. The man in the street has at last become aware that the matter is a practical one, indeed, it is urgent for other Parties besides the Liberal Party. Of the three hundred and thirty seats which are almost of an industrial character there are only fifty which are not now represented by Socialists. It seems unlikely that they will ever become Conservative again. If this is so, the Conservative Party must expect in the future that Socialism will be represented in these working-class areas, and there must be many of the more foresighted Conservatives who now regret that they took no action in the matter in the last Parliament. Electoral Reform was possible if the Conservatives had undertaken it in the last five years. Perhaps they will never have the chance of undertaking it in the future.

The *Nation* summed the matter up well on June 8th :

" Nothing could demonstrate the case for reform more forcibly than the figures of last week's election. It is not merely that the present system produces results which are manifestly unfair to the Liberal Party. It makes the issue as between the two other parties arbitrary and haphazard in the extreme. Most Conservatives just now are, it appears, highly indignant with the Liberal Party on the ground that Liberal candidatures have been largely responsible for their defeat. *The Times* goes so far as to declare that 'at least eighty (seats) were presented to the Labour Party by Liberal intervention.' This, of course, is grotesquely absurd. The notion that almost every Liberal voter would prefer Toryism to Labour is a complete delusion, though it seems impossible to extirpate it from the Tory mind. But let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that *The Times* is right. The Conservative Government had plenty of warning that the Liberals intended to run 500 candidates at the General Election. They could at any time during the last four years have safeguarded themselves against the consequences of which they now complain by the simple means of introducing the Alternative Vote. They did not do so: and we cannot recall that *The Times* ever urged them to do so. They preferred the gamble of the present system; and even to-day *The Times*, in the very article in which it attacks the Liberals with marked bitterness for 'presenting' Labour with eighty Tory seats, writes approvingly of 'the element of luck inherent—perhaps not undesirably—in our electoral system.'

" This is, surely, a remarkable observation. Desirable, or 'perhaps not undesirable,' that the question of what party is to be entrusted with the responsibility of government should be determined by luck! Well, those who take this view, and act upon it, must not blame others when the luck turns against them. We do not profess to know whether the 500 Liberal candidatures helped Labour or the Conservatives on balance. That question is not one which it is easy to answer confidently. The point is precisely that under our present arrangements the issue of our elections is largely determined by luck, and we cannot agree with *The Times* in thinking that this is a satisfactory method of settling the government of the centre of the British Empire."

Electoral Reform is a plank on which all real democrats ought to be able to unite.

With regard to the general question the Liberal Party has more reason for satisfaction. The objects with which it set out on its campaign have really been achieved. There is a majority of five million votes in favour of a progressive policy. The inertia of the last Government has been condemned, and we may look forward to action on the lines demanded by all Liberals. In the first place, we may expect with confidence a new spirit in our foreign policy. There will at any rate be greater support for the League of Nations, and Great Britain will be represented by people anxious to forward the energies of the League. The International Labour Office and

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the Economic Committees will receive better support from this country. The policy of Sir Austen Chamberlain has received not only generally, but in his own constituency more particularly, a remarkable condemnation. It was one of the most striking results, and illustrates forcibly the general opinion of Sir Austen's policy.

In the second place, Safeguarding has had a great setback. Indeed, one of the most remarkable results of the Election was the heavy vote in Coventry, the centre of the motor industries, in favour of Free Trade. This should be a great encouragement to Mr. Snowden, if indeed he needs encouragement, in sweeping away all these duties. Not only does every Liberal find satisfaction in this Election result, but the manufacturers of the country are much less likely in future to ask for preferences which are certain to be revoked at the following General Election. After all, trade does demand, irrespective of politics, some real measure of continuity and confidence which the violent oscillations of a Safeguarding policy will never give.

In the third place, the Socialist Government may be depended upon to take special action in regard to unemployment. Their plans are indeed more vague than those which we put forward, and Mr. Thomas will naturally be inclined to favour the railways at the expense of the roads. We remember only too well how the Socialist Government failed in this respect in 1924. They cannot afford to treat it so lightly now, for, if they do, they are less likely to receive from other Parties of the State tolerance for their neglect. We Liberals may at any rate be forgiven for believing that the pursuance of our unemployment plans would have been more successful if it had been carried by Liberals rather than by any other Party.

In the fourth place, even the Socialism which lurked behind the policy of the new Government has failed to receive the approval of this country. Not even the most extreme member of the I.L.P. can pretend that Socialism was an issue of this election, or that the people of this country have pronounced a verdict in favour of nationalisation.

On the personal side the Liberal Party has much cause for satisfaction. If our members are few they include some of the most effective Parliamentarians and statesmen in the country: Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Herbert Samuel, Sir John Simon, Sir Donald Maclean, Mr. Walter Runciman. Indeed, even now, small though it is in numbers, the Front Bench of the Liberal Party could produce a Cabinet far exceeding in abilities and experience the Cabinet of either of the other Parties in the State. They and those behind them represent a body of opinion which cannot fail to make a great mark in the deliberations of Parliament and to exercise an increas-

ing influence in the administration and legislation of the Government. The Party, moreover, will have the advantage of acting with unity, and the unfortunate spectacle, too often seen during the last Parliament, of Liberals in opposite lobbies, is not likely to be repeated. One surprising defection indeed we must deplore. Mr. Jowitt, K.C.,* elected on a Thursday as a Liberal M.P., became a Socialist before the next Thursday had arrived. The conversion of Saul of Tarsus was hardly more sudden than that of Mr. Jowitt, but if the subsequent life of the Saint was full of hardships, Mr. Jowitt's conversion is to be indemnified by the emoluments of the Attorney-General. The Attorney-General may perhaps be congratulated—Mr. Jowitt is not. Even *The Times* is moved to speak of the "ribaldry" with which his acceptance of office was received.

This consequence at any rate emerges from the General Election: that while on the last occasion the votes for and against Progress were nearly equal, now we may look forward to the prosecution of the common ends of a Progressive policy for which, for some distance at any rate, all Progressives can travel together.

Every effort was made by the Conservatives and the Socialists to kill the Liberal Party. It was against us that their heaviest artillery was aimed. In many ways it is remarkable that nearly sixty Liberals survived the destructive barrage which was directed against them by both Parties, who imagined that in the event of our disappearance they would reap the benefit. In spite of all, there were more Socialists to lose their deposits than there were Liberals. In many constituencies it was obvious that Labour had no chance at all and that the fight lay between the Liberals and the Conservatives. In spite of that the Socialists fought the seat, and as a result the Conservative was returned. If on another occasion Labour or Liberal were to abstain it is not unlikely that the Conservatives would lose every seat, and it is only by some reform in our electoral system that there can be any hope of any remedy. And it is interesting to notice that in thirty-one Divisions of this kind the deposit was lost by the Socialist candidate. But, of course, the right policy is that every constituency should have the choice (unless there is some special reason to the contrary) to vote for or against the three great policies of the three great Parties. As Sir Herbert Samuel has so well said:

"The voters should have the fullest opportunity of supporting any political view. Where seats are left uncontested, the maintenance of a party organisation is very difficult, and the hope of future advance is almost abandoned. And no one can tell which seats are hopeless and which are not; unless the opinion of the electors is constantly tested, no one can tell how it is responding to the tendencies of

* Now Sir W. A. Jowitt.

the time. For these reasons no party should be debarred or deterred from offering candidates anywhere. But if that is to be the rule, then it must follow that the system of voting should be changed, so as to prevent the election of members who, notoriously, do not represent the real mind of the constituencies. How that should be done—whether by the Alternative Vote, by Proportional Representation, or by the Second Ballot—is another question. The House of Commons should endeavour to come to an agreement upon that. It ought not to be made a matter of party controversy. But there is, throughout the country, a very general agreement that action should be taken, and taken now. If the new Government does not announce its readiness to move, it will be committing, at the outset of its career, a grave error of policy, and will be alienating a large and weighty section of public opinion."

The greater number of the Members of Parliament will enter the House of Commons although the majority of their constituencies have voted against them in favour of somebody else. Nobody can pretend that such a result is anything but a travesty of democracy or that the system is not in urgent need of reform.

BEAUCHAMP.

II.

None of the election prophets was very near the mark. There were unaccountable factors which prevented any accurate diagnosis. Youth, not only the young women but the young men, was not only the most imponderable but the most important of them. From the final result, which has far more distinct emphasis in it than was expected, some interesting inferences may be drawn.

Before examining policies and principles, attention must be given to methods and machinery, we might even say to devices and stunts. The lavish expenditure on the part of the two older parties, more especially the Liberal Party, on the accessories of electioneering far exceeded anything known in the past. Was the expenditure justified? Were Liberal votes won or saved by the vast sky-sign in Trafalgar Square or by the hundreds of thousands of pounds devoted to full-page newspaper advertisements? Did the ten-foot Conservative posters with which the hoardings were papered drive doubtful voters to Mr. Baldwin's support? The stacks of leaflets, temporary news-sheets and bogus magazines may have had some effect. But whatever the effect was if calculated in votes, it would be found to be out of all proportion to the money spent. As for the mechanical devices utilised by all parties—broadcasting, amplifiers, gramophones—they may contribute to the general excitement and amusement and help conceivably in some cases to draw crowds, but from the point of conversion and persuasion I am con-

vinced their influence is nil. The absence of the living being cannot be compensated for by the ingenuity of any mechanism whatsoever.

But some of the accessories did positive harm. The blatant extravagance of the Liberals only advertised the immense size of the Lloyd George Fund, greatly to the annoyance of a considerable number of Liberals themselves. In fact, it afforded an illustration used on many a platform of the unfair influence of money in elections. The large portrait of Mr. Baldwin on a poster, in itself quite inoffensive, bore the motto "Safety First." It would be pretty nearly impossible to have chosen a more inappropriate or a less stimulating motto for an election. Just imagine appealing to the youth of to-day whose love of adventure and contempt for tradition are so well known with this cautious warning! It may have been a timid motorist who supplied Conservative headquarters with this slogan, it was certainly not a psychologist.

I think the desire of youth for change, for seeking new pastures and treading new paths, had a very great influence in most constituencies. If there was a poster which struck the popular imagination and roused serious apprehensions it was the poster put up a few weeks before the election by the Miners' Relief Committee, headed "Sympathy is not enough" and declaring "A million of your fellow countrymen are in need of food and clothing." This was the most damaging indictment brought publicly and authoritatively against the Government in the whole election. There can be no question that the Government's record with regard to the miners lost them many votes.

So far as the Conservatives were concerned their former majorities were artificially inflated in 1924 by the use of the Red Letter, and there were many abstentions on the part of their orthodox supporters. Derating was difficult to explain, its future advantages problematic. Safeguarding here and there may have helped a little, but this was set off by the conviction in many more districts that Protection, even by instalments, so far from being a cure for our ills would only be an aggravation. The Government's very poor record on disarmament told heavily against them, and the unsatisfactory, not to say precarious, nature of our foreign relations revealed a policy of drift which was warmly condemned. Mr. Baldwin's personality and speeches helped to prevent a worse disaster to his party than actually overtook it. But the number of ill-equipped candidates in the Tory ranks handicapped the party even in making the best of a bad job.

Both the personality and capacities of a candidate count. An audience of British electors, even when inclined to be hostile, will listen to a well-reasoned speech and will appreciate pointed arguments. The number of Liberal leaders returned owe their

success, no doubt, more to their individual talents than to their policy, which entirely failed to carry the vast majority of their rank and file to the top of the poll. Mr. Lloyd George's unemployment proposals were so marred by the stamp of an electioneering stunt that it is doubtful whether they attracted any appreciable number of votes. The middle position must always be too nearly associated with the position derived from sitting between two stools to have any sort of electoral advantage. With a people who undoubtedly showed signs of impatience and whose eyes are turned to the future, appeals to glorious political achievements of the past can carry no weight whatever. The electoral map shows the Liberal Party being forced into the remote edges of our island. It is doubtful whether the other two parties, however great the anomalies in our electoral system may be, will bestir themselves to create means for the re-establishment of a party which appears to be so near extinction. On the contrary, a desire to return to the straightforward expedient of a two-party system is what both look forward to.

The votes won over during the three weeks' contest of an election are as nothing compared to the votes won over in between elections. Tory and Liberal make a brave show in season, but the ever-growing strength of the Labour movement is largely due to the indefatigable work done out of season. The weekly meetings in halls and picture-houses in every centre of population, the street corner meetings in summer and the interdependent work done by trade union branches, municipal candidates and Parliamentary candidates—not to speak of well-devised propaganda—all these bear fruit when the moment comes. Moreover, the Labour electoral workers driven by zeal for the cause, men and more especially women, are worth individually ten times more than the highly paid agents of the other parties.

Labour admittedly had an advantage in being the attacking party, and the very fact that the dice were so unfairly loaded against it in the national press seemed only to act as a stimulant. The swing of the pendulum, "give the other side an innings" and such-like superficial thoughts, may have weighed with a few. But mainly, I consider, the verdict was given in favour of a party peculiarly representative of all grades and sections of our national life and containing many who have had first-hand experience of the very social evils which are just now the main concern of Parliament; a party, moreover, which knows it cannot establish the basis of a new social order except in the positive and sure foundations of world peace.

Apart from the fact that there have been increases in the electorate in consequence of legislation in 1918 and 1928, the rise

during this century in the number of votes given in support of Labour is a significant fact. In 1924 the party lost numbers in membership in the House of Commons but increased nevertheless its electoral support, which therefore has not yet been influenced by the swing of the pendulum. The aggregate figure of votes all over the country must depend, of course, on the number of candidates who present themselves for election, and is not therefore an absolutely trustworthy guide. But it seems likely that the practice of running a considerable number of candidates will be maintained and if, therefore, after a few more elections augmentation of support continues, an unusual security may be obtained for Labour. Nevertheless, the test of a Government's accomplishments will remain. The disgruntled, whatever the cause of their grievance may be, will always register their votes against the Government of the day, whatever its complexion may be. All that can be said at present is that the sensational growth of the new party has so far only shown signs of continuing.

Comparatively little inroad has yet been made on the agricultural districts of the Midlands and more especially the South. Although a few seats in these districts were retained with a minority vote, on the whole they remain a Conservative stronghold. Concentrated work in these constituencies is a costly business. From its poverty the Labour Party is at a disadvantage here, and there are still many villages where Socialist doctrine is only known from the travesty given of it on Tory platforms. But a nucleus is being formed nearly everywhere. A little leaven may work wonders. However, as things stand, speculations about the next general election are premature.

ARTHUR PONSONBY.

III.

It is well to acknowledge frankly that the result of the Election has been not only a disappointment, but also a great surprise to supporters of the late Government. It was not bluff but the expression of a genuine opinion when they said that they expected that their party would have a majority of about thirty over the other two parties combined. Some in fact were guided in their action by that opinion.

Sufficient time has now elapsed to enable a fairly dispassionate answer to be given to the three questions: (1) What is the real nature of the verdict? (2) Why was it given? and (3), what is far more important, What does it show as to the mental and moral character of the nation and the changes which that character may be undergoing?

There are some points upon which responsible people of all three parties will be agreed, for example, in the feeling of satisfaction that the Communists have been defeated and most of their candidates forfeited their deposits. The rejection of the late member for North Battersea will be regretted by no one except those who regard hatred of the British Empire as a sufficient qualification for a seat in Parliament. As the numbers of both Opposition parties have increased very few of them have lost their seats. There have also been some useful additions to their ranks, for example, friends of industrial peace on both sides may welcome the return of Mr. Ben Turner to the House. On the other hand, among Conservatives and Independents who have failed to secure re-election are many who will be a real loss to the House of Commons on personal grounds as well as to their party. Certainly the members of the late Government who lost their seats did not do so on the ground of incompetence. Just to take two examples, it cannot be denied that Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland and Mr. Herbert Williams discharged their difficult duties last session with ability and fairness. Among private members some of the best are gone. It is one of the worst features of modern democracy that devoted, able, and unselfish service to the community appears to count for nothing. To take a very few examples of those who have been rejected. Has anyone done better service to London by years of devoted public work than Sir Cyril Cobb? Surely, too, everyone must deplore the rejection of Captain Ian Fraser, who so bravely and earnestly did everything possible in and out of Parliament to help the blind. It was not only sympathy, in which the House of Commons is never deficient, but also the ability of the speeches which he made, which secured attention whenever he rose. Another real loss to the House is that it no longer includes such an excellent member and Minister as Colonel Headlam, who in addition to arduous official duties has, with the help of Mrs. Headlam, done so much useful work in finding suitable employment for members of the families of distressed miners in the north. Merit seems to have little influence as regards failure or success.

It is well to notice that the division of parties has followed geographical lines—Wales, Cornwall, and the North of Scotland are mainly "Liberal"; all the mining districts and most of the great centres of industry, including even Birmingham and Coventry, as well as the West Riding of Yorkshire, have returned Socialist members; while the agricultural districts in England, not only in the Home Counties but also in the West and the Midlands, with some important exceptions in the Eastern portions, have given an overwhelming majority to Unionists. There are real dangers in this geographical division. No State can escape disaster unless the

workers in towns derive a substantial part of their sustenance from the products of agriculture in their own country. Workers in towns ought to recognise that the derating of agricultural land is almost as important for them as for those actually engaged in agriculture, and be grateful for it. One may be pardoned for recalling how, more than thirty years ago, supporters of the Unionist Government sat up sometimes all night in the House of Commons to pass the partial measure for relieving the burden of rates on agriculture which was then passed in face of strong opposition from the Liberal Party headed by its present leader, and how some of us urged the passing of a fuller measure of relief than that which the Government had proposed. One over-zealous advocate of this course was kindly rebuked by the Leader of the House when he remarked that the Bill was only a "makeshift." The reply came, "Why not say 'Modus Vivendi?' It sounds better."

The preservation of rural England in all its beauty is now being recognised more and more as a matter which vitally concerns the happiness of dwellers in towns. Fortunately there is reason to believe that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, as well as Mr. Baldwin, feels a real interest in this question. He expressed very strongly, for example, his condemnation of the scheme for destroying the quiet and beauty of the old Quaker sanctuary at Jordans Farm. It is satisfactory to find that the preposterous pledge to cure unemployment in a year without expense by the wholesale conversion of beautiful country roads into motor-racing tracks has apparently had little attraction for the majority of voters. They know that most of the unemployed who might be available are not suited for such work, that they could not be properly housed while it was going on, and that, when it was finished and the beauty and quiet of the country had been destroyed, they would be without homes and without work. Fortunately many working people still read Ruskin and believe in the truth of much of his teaching, whatever some professors of political economy may say.

Of the causes which led to the defeat of the late Government the first and most important is the fact that it is always easier to criticise than to perform. Hooker's statement is again proved true, that "He who goeth about to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they ought to be shall never want attentive and favourable hearers." The record of Mr. Baldwin's Government fairly considered was a very good one. In spite of adverse conditions—the depression in trade, for which they were in no way responsible, the injury caused by the General Strike, the chaos in China, the unsettled state of Central Europe, the loss of capital during the war—they faced the difficulties on the whole wisely, and there were signs that the honest policy which they pursued was already bearing

beneficial fruit. But as a rule it will be found that those who render real and difficult service do not receive recognition or gratitude. It is the simple, easy acts of kindness which cost little that receive that reward. The better and harder the work the less it is acknowledged. This may be true for parties as well as for individuals. All, too, must admit that political window-dressing is not the forte of Mr. Baldwin or Mr. Neville Chamberlain, and they do not practise the art of fishing for votes with a bait of specious promises or giving pledges which cannot be fulfilled.

Secondly, the action of a portion of the popular Press has again probably had some effect, though it may easily be exaggerated. What was said after the defeat of Mr. Baldwin's Government in 1923 is true again in 1929:

He fought under the disadvantage of being stabbed, perhaps one should rather say persistently pricked, in the back by a portion of the Press, which, while not openly coming forward to help his opponents, may, owing to the large circulation of certain papers owned by two Peers, have exercised some influence adverse to him. That influence will be admitted by responsible men of all parties to be wholly noxious.

In a paper owned by one of them someone has recently had the audacity to suggest that the other should be made Leader of the Conservative Party in place of Mr. Baldwin. Among those who sat on the Government side in the late Parliament it would be difficult to find three who would support such a proposal, and they could well be dispensed with. Nine-tenths of the party in the House would reject it as absurd—to use the mildest term possible.

Thirdly, it cannot be denied that in some departments the action of the Ministers in charge has not always been entirely satisfactory, or that some of them failed at times in their way of dealing with their subjects in the House of Commons. This is inevitable in any Government, and could have been cured by some reconstruction after the election. The amount of unrecognised ability on the Government side in the late Parliament was remarkable, and members who watched quietly inside the House of Commons learned how great it was. Fourthly, although the differences of opinion which existed among the supporters of the Government were small as compared with those which divide the members of both the other parties, and though the huge majority held together wonderfully, there were important differences of opinion at times and in some cases of general political outlook. Such differences are much more serious when they exist within a party in power than in a party in opposition.

The effect of the changes in the suffrage and wide extension of the electorate has also been important. There appears to be no evidence

that the admission of women to vote had an influence adverse to the Government, except in the case of the very young, but there is little doubt that the addition to the electorate of a great many young people under twenty-five has helped the Socialists. Most young men and young women in all classes who take a real and unselfish interest in social and political questions and think seriously about them are for a time Socialists, sometimes revolutionaries. An attack of measles in youth does not show that the patient is unhealthy. So, like a kind of distemper in many really fine animals, this attitude of mind passes away, if properly dealt with, before thirty, when the responsibilities of life and actual facts have had to be faced. It is to be noted that young people now usually appear to reach maturity much earlier, and, in fact, do so later than they used to do. It was most unfortunate that in equalising the position of young men and young women politically the age of voting was not fixed for twenty-five or twenty-six for both. Though one may reject much of the foolish criticism directed against "Flappers"—to use the disagreeable current slang—it does not follow that the power of the State should be so largely in their hands. A good wine may take longer to mature.

After all, however, such questions as these are subsidiary as compared with the really important matter: what is the tone and temper of the nation generally—is it changing, and if so, in what way? It is a good sign that the strenuous electoral campaign has been conducted on the whole in an orderly manner and has been fairly good-tempered, but there have been disgraceful exceptions. Rowdy meetings are quite natural, but there have been organised attempts by Socialists in some places to prevent their opponents having a hearing at all, and, what is far worse, serious injury has been threatened to candidates and, in one case at least, inflicted; the use of a razor as a weapon in a scuffle during an attempt to disturb a meeting has not been unknown, and, worst of all, there have been cases in which women who had devoted their lives to useful public services have been made the object of shameful attacks, and where women who ventured to support them have been in real danger. The existence of such brutality, though not usual, ought not to be ignored. There is no doubt that the defeated party have borne defeat with remarkably good temper, and those who have succeeded have as a rule refrained from utterances calculated to embitter relations between parties and their representatives.

The use of shibboleths and phrases to which no definite meaning is attached, and the tendency to substitute them for attention to actual facts, is no new thing and is not confined to political life. The extension of education does not seem to have greatly improved the position in this respect. Indeed, a great part of modern education

at all stages seems to consist in learning some special kind of jargon. Want of space forbids the enumeration here of examples which could be given. What then is the cause for greatest anxiety? Is not what is really to be most dreaded that a large portion of the nation may be losing its self-reliance, that so many are looking either to the action of the State, or to the mere chance to secure what they want, instead of to individual effort? There is a gambling spirit abroad, not confined to any one party or any class. The desire to get something for nothing. The chance of a win in some huge sweepstake generally attracts and honest work is often despised. The habit of expecting the "State" to do everything for us is demoralising. The words of Dr. N. Murray Butler in reference to a tone of mind and spirit which he fears to be prevailing in the United States might well be adopted as a warning to us also. "All that matters to them is immediate profits through Government aid." In our country for most people great or certain profits are not possible, but there is no hope even for subsistence if we think that State action can do for us what Englishmen have hitherto done for themselves.

No one can wonder, however, that those who want to work and can find none, who pray daily "give us our daily work as well as our daily bread" and hear of exaggerated accounts of wasteful luxury and expenditure, do often feel bitterly that no change could make their condition worse, that any change is better than none. The great misfortune is that when, after the worst years the country has gone through since the "hungry forties," there was a prospect of steady recovery by continuing and developing a sound policy, so large a portion of the nation should advocate a kind of Socialism which has failed, and must fail wherever it is adopted.

ALFRED HOPKINSON.

GERMAN REPARATIONS.

IF it be accepted that the purpose of the Committee of Experts was to draft a more workable plan than the one now in operation for continuing to collect from Germany the largest possible sums for reparations, their recommendations should receive universal approval.

The Dawes Plan, which also had this object in view, has been highly successful. Under it Germany has paid, with commendable regularity, annuities rising to £122½ millions per annum. But in doing so she has had the financial assistance of the international money markets, and it has been this assistance which rendered the task assigned to her within her powers of performance. The time is within sight, however, when it will be no longer desirable or possible for Germany to transfer her reparation annuities by recourse to foreign lenders in order to obtain the necessary supply of foreign exchange, and when it will become impossible for the Committee set up under the Dawes Plan to transfer "mark" payments into foreign currencies.

Consequently a new plan was called for which gave greater promise of enabling whatever annuities were demanded from Germany to be transferred into foreign currencies and thus effectively paid to the creditor nations. After several months of investigation and negotiation this purpose has at length been accomplished.

Under the Dawes Plan Germany has to pay for an unlimited number of years 2,500 millions of marks per annum, the amount to be increased according to an index of German prosperity. Nevertheless the payments were subject to a safeguarding clause which provided that the annuities were not to be transferred if their remittance imperilled the maintenance of the mark at its full gold value. This safeguarding clause rendered highly doubtful the payment in foreign currencies of anything like as much as the annuity specified. Conceivably it meant the payment in foreign currencies of no more than the proceeds of the deliveries in kind and of the Reparation Recovery Acts, which together yielded but a relatively small portion of the total.

Under the plan now proposed the annuities are substantially reduced. They amount to 1,708 millions of marks per annum in 1930-1, rising by stages to 2,429 millions in 1965-6. From 1966-7 to 1984-5 they are reduced to between 1,600 and 1,700 millions of marks per annum. In 1985-6 they fall to about 900 millions per annum. They do not cease altogether until the end of March, 1988, thus covering a period of fifty-eight years and seven months, and being conterminous with the allied debts to America.

But the important matter concerning these smaller annuities is that the German Government is to pay the whole of them in foreign currencies—not in German currency that cannot be transferred if the mark is at a discount as under the Dawes Plan.

It is true that for the first ten years the creditor nations are to accept deliveries in kind amounting to 750 millions of marks in the first year and declining to 300 millions of marks in the tenth year, and that the transfer of a part of the annuities may be postponed for a maximum period of two years and a smaller part for one year. But these concessions do not alter the fact that the German Government is to be entirely responsible not only for their payment in German currency but for their transfer to the creditor nations in foreign currencies. Thus the difficulties of transfer, which under the Dawes Plan might have proved insuperable to the Transfer Committee, are apparently overcome by the burden being placed entirely upon the shoulders of the German Government.

Moreover, with regard to a sum of 660 million marks per annum of the total payments, it is agreed that no postponement whatever shall occur. This sum is a direct charge upon the German railways and thus offers a special guarantee for any loan which the creditor nations may desire to issue on the security of their reparation receipts. The German Government is thus giving facilities to the creditor nations to commercialise without delay nearly one-third of the annuities due to them, and thus to redeem as soon as a loan can be issued something like £500 millions of their existing debts.

It should be noted that the unconditional annuity of 660 millions of marks per annum is to be charged with the service of the German External Loan of 1924. After this is provided for, however, it should be possible to capitalise the balance at the amount calculated.

In agreeing to this plan the German experts have given further proof of Germany's desire to do everything in her power to perform her obligations under the Treaty of Versailles and to afford no excuse whatever for the continuance of the existing foreign supervision of her financial policy or for the continued occupation of the Rhineland by foreign troops. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the acceptance of the plan by the Creditor and the German Governments will be at once followed by the restoration of complete liberty of action in financial as well as in other matters to the German people.

If the plan is to be successful there will require to be not only a large measure of co-operative action between Germany and her creditors but most strenuous effort on the part of the German nation. Indeed, the effort needed can be made only by a nation that is fully trusted to do all that is physically possible to meet its obligations.

From the standpoint of the statesmen who appointed the experts and gave them their instructions, the report is all that can be desired. On the one hand it will give the creditor nations the utmost they can hope to obtain from Germany, and on the other it will reduce the amount to be paid to a lower figure than the German people ever deemed possible having regard to the sum fixed at Spa or even to the sums agreed upon under the Dawes Plan. Its acceptance by the Governments of the interested nations may therefore be expected with confidence.

There is, however, a wider point of view than that from which the experts have approached the matter at the instance of their various Governments. Is it desirable that Germany should be required to pay the largest sums for reparation of which she is capable? Is it desirable in the interest of the creditor nations themselves, and more especially is it desirable in the interest of world economy and world well-being?

The creditor nations, together with the other nations of the world, are suffering from the disorganisation which the war has caused to world economy. Will the proposed settlement reduce or increase that disorganisation? If it will reduce it and will help the nations again to make steady progress as in pre-war days, then it is to be warmly welcomed. But, on the other hand, if it will increase the disorganisation and make the difficulties in the way of progress still greater, it is not to be welcomed even though it may appear to contribute to the well-being of a single country or of a number of countries.

One of the results of the war has been to stimulate the whole world to devote itself to manufacture in a manner never witnessed before. During the war the capacity of Europe to supply the rest of the world with manufactured goods largely disappeared and outside countries were compelled to manufacture for themselves. Since the war Europe has applied itself to the restoration and expansion of its manufacturing powers with feverish activity, and has borrowed large sums from the United States in order to accomplish its task with the least possible delay. Moreover, those European nations which in pre-war days were mainly agricultural have sought to become industrial.

The consequence of all this activity is that almost every nation is much more self-contained as regards manufacturing power than in pre-war days, and is seeking to increase its capacity by every available method, including the resort to high protective tariffs.

Were the disorganisation confined to this manufacturing development the situation would be sufficiently difficult, but when, in addition, Europe has incurred a heavy debt to the United States instead of being a creditor of that country for a very large sum,

and is able to meet her obligations not by the sale of her products but by fresh borrowing, the disorganisation is still more complete.

At the moment that the United States is showing signs of inability to make fresh loans to Europe either to enable the latter to purchase the produce it needs for the support of its dense population or to meet its obligations, and also of still greater unwillingness to buy Europe's products, a plan is devised which involves the sale abroad by the second greatest manufacturing nation of Europe of a greatly increased quantity of her products.

As the matter is one of far-reaching importance it is essential to arrive at some clear idea of what the new plan involves in this respect.

In 1928 the corrected figures of Germany's foreign trade show the following results:

Her imports were 13,715 million marks, her exports were 11,786 million marks. Her imports thus exceeded her exports by nearly 2,000 million marks or £100 millions. Beyond this she paid abroad for interest 735 million marks against which she received a net sum of somewhat over 200 million marks for shipping services and tourists. Her total deficiency was therefore about 2,500 million marks or 125 millions sterling. The sum payable for interest has since increased substantially. To this sum must now be added an annuity of about 1,700 million marks per annum for reparations, making a total adverse balance of upwards of 4,200 million marks. If allowance be made for 750 million marks of deliveries in kind against 658 million marks in 1928 the net sum to be provided to cover the trade balance and the reparation payments in foreign currencies would be some 3,500 million marks or £175 millions. If Germany could continue to borrow abroad on the scale of the years since the introduction of the Dawes Plan, these payments could be made with the same ease as they have been made hitherto. But are such further borrowings feasible having regard (1) to the capacity of the nations to lend to her, and (2) to the fact that the German Government will be liable for the reparation payments in foreign currencies on a gold basis, and no longer in German marks which have not to be transferred unless the foreign exchange is available with the mark at par?

If Germany cannot raise additional foreign loans to meet her payments for imports and reparations then she must reduce her imports or expand her exports or both. There can be no doubt about the German Government and the German people being prepared to take the measures necessary to enable Germany to meet whatever obligations they undertake. But will not such action on the part of Germany to meet the obligations imposed upon her increase rather than rectify world disorganisation? A contraction

in German imports will not only reduce the standard of life and the rate of wages in Germany, it will tend to create a corresponding reduction in the countries from which Germany is now buying or with which she is competing. On the other hand, an expansion of German exports to the required extent will further intensify the difficulties which her competitors as well as Germany experience already in selling enough of their manufactures to pay for the products they need to buy or the obligations they have to meet.

Thus, as matters stand at present, a plan under which the German Government will be under obligation to pay £85 millions a year of reparations in foreign currencies to commence with is likely to render the present disorganisation of world markets still more complete.

This disorganisation is entirely apart from that caused by deliveries in kind. The experts recognise the drawbacks to this form of payment, for they state it is "open to many objections of a practical as well as a theoretical nature." But it is evident they do not think it possible for Germany to pay the stipulated annuities during the first ten years without these deliveries. The truth is that these deliveries in kind are intensifying the disorganisation of the business of Europe in a manner that cannot easily be exaggerated. The goods are offered for sale under conditions that not only prevent other goods from competing with them but tend to render business quite impossible. Buyers are offered by the receiving Governments terms of credit and delivery so favourable that markets are completely demoralised.

Were it possible to induce the nations to remove their tariff barriers and thus to permit trade to expand as it does expand when unhindered, the difficulty of selling each year an additional £175 millions of German goods would largely disappear. But the knowledge that Germany needs to sell a greatly increased quantity of goods is one of the causes of the world's present tariff policy. It is most unlikely that that policy will be changed until the German reparation problem has been finally settled, not by theoretical plans and proposals, but by actual payments without the assistance of foreign loans, or by readjustments which would limit the quantity of German goods offered for sale in foreign markets to the amount that the world would willingly and freely buy.

The plan of the experts provides for the creation of a "Bank for International Settlement" into which the reparation payments in foreign currencies will be deposited for distribution to the respective creditors. The average annual sums to be received by this Bank on behalf of the Creditor Powers for the first period of 37 years from 1929 to 1965 are as under:

Millions of Reichsmarks.				
France	...	...	...	1,046.5
British Empire	...	...	...	409.0
Italy	...	...	...	213.7
Belgium	...	...	...	115.5
Rumania	...	...	...	20.1
Yugoslavia	...	...	...	84.0
Greece	...	...	...	7.0
Portugal	...	...	...	13.2
Japan	...	...	...	13.2
Poland	...	...	...	0.5
U.S.A.	...	...	...	66.1
Total	...	...	...	1,988.8

The purpose of the new Bank is to provide machinery for the removal of the reparation obligation from the political to the financial sphere. The authorised capital of the Bank is to amount to the round equivalent of \$100,000,000. It is proposed to issue the whole of this sum but to call up only 25 per cent., so that the paid-up capital will be \$25,000,000 or £5 millions.

The institution will take over such functions of the existing agencies as it may be necessary to continue, and will perform the whole work of external administration, including the commercialisation of those parts of the annuities which are susceptible of being commercialised.

This new institution will provide valuable machinery for the efficient working of the plan, and it may ultimately develop into a Central Bankers' Bank and so greatly facilitate the transfer of funds from one country to another without the shipment of gold. Nevertheless, its immediate purpose is to act as intermediary between the German Government and its foreign creditors.

The great value of the present plan is that it gives every possible incentive to Germany to pay and every possible hope to the creditor nations that they will receive the reparations. It may be found, however, that after the creditor nations have had experience of what these payments involve when they are paid by Germany's exports and not out of her foreign loans, another expert committee may be required in order to consider the question of how the annuities may be reduced to a much lower figure.

Probably the most effective method of securing the reduction of the annuities, and possibly their termination, in a much shorter period than nearly sixty years will be for Germany to carry out the proposals with the utmost determination in order that the creditor nations may fully realise the effect of their demands both upon German and upon their own welfare.

GEORGE PAISH.

LORD ROSEBERY.

IT may seem not altogether unfitting that a figure famous in the world of statesmanship, and in the opinion of many of his contemporaries hardly less famous in the world of sport, should have passed—"like a good mariner" to his haven and rest "after long navigation"—amid the stir of a General Election and the preparations for a Derby Day. To the last, detached as he was from party politics and withdrawn necessarily from the public eye, Lord Rosebery's vivid interest in the many sides of life survived. Few men of his day had received more from it. Few had tasted its joys and successes more deeply. Few perhaps had shown a readier inclination to lay those successes, once achieved, aside.

From his earliest years Lord Dalmeny had character and charm. One school contemporary has described for us the small boy of 1862, lounging under the porch of Hardisty's house at Eton, with a big book under his arm, and chaffing his school-fellows, as they passed in and out of the "sock" shop, with a wit which may not always have made for popularity, but which soon gathered round him admirers and friends. Others have recalled how much the boy owed to the kindly influence of his tutor, William Johnson (Cory), who from the first realised his quality and taught him how to read. Dalmeny grew up a fair scholar with a real interest in history and politics: the Pitt blood perhaps accounted for that. He was quick to master the names of British Prime Ministers. Mr. Baldwin's, he once said long afterwards with a flash of mischievous humour, was the only one that he could never recall. He had from the first imagination and a gift of words. "He will be an orator," his tutor prophesied, "and if not a poet, such a man as poets delight in." And though it cannot be said that his oratorical powers developed as quickly as those of some other illustrious Etonians—he was fined 5s. for his maiden speech in "Pop," and at Oxford he scorned the delights of the Union and left upon its story no record of his fame—the gift of words was all through life as marked in him as the union of other qualities rarely found allied, energy not incapable of relaxing into indolence, ambition not untouched with indifference, a strong instinct for popularity tempered by a sensitive and fastidious reserve.

At Oxford the lighter elements in his character seem to have prevailed for the moment. His inheritance came to him early and offered opportunities difficult to resist. Even the gentle discipline which Christ Church applied to young noblemen irked him, and Dean Liddell's majestic exhortations failed of their effect. In 1868 Peckwater Quad was suddenly exchanged for "a little band-box" of a house in London.

"Dear Mother,—I have left Oxford; I have secured a house in Berkeley-square; and I have bought a horse to win the Derby. Your affect., A.R."*

There is a delightful boyishness about the adventure. Ladas the First was not destined to attain the celebrity of his successor. But his owner persevered. He had steadiness enough of purpose when he thought it worth while. His friends were not wrong in surmising that the three notable ambitions which early rumour attributed to him would be achieved as years went on.

More serious interests followed Lord Rosebery's entry into politics. He was fortunate in falling early under the influence of a very great man. As Canning had turned with enthusiasm to Pitt, and Gladstone with young idolatry to Canning, so Rosebery found in Mr. Gladstone the inspiration which decided his career. Lord Beaconsfield's picturesque adventures in Imperialism made him all the more ready to follow Mr. Gladstone, though even in those early years there was a note of independence in the line he took. His marriage with Miss Hannah Rothschild in 1878 brought him the large opportunities of wealth. And the great Midlothian campaign proved to be not only a surpassing triumph for the leader under whom he had enlisted, but in its local aspects a personal triumph for Rosebery himself. From that time forward his influence in Scotland, and especially in the beautiful capital of Scotland, was second only to Mr. Gladstone's, and the warm popularity which he enjoyed there, and which his unfailing sympathy with Scottish interests, character and letters did so much to strengthen, must have been one of the lasting pleasures of his life. His first Ministerial appointment in 1881 made him, by what seems a strange chance now, Sir William Harcourt's subordinate at the Home Office—no mean equipment for one Department of State. But before Mr. Gladstone's Administration ended he had joined the Cabinet for a few months. And in the interval he had travelled round the world, had paid a memorable visit to Australia, and had returned with an enthusiasm for Imperial Federation, which he once declared to be "the dominant passion" of his political career. This interest gave him a distinctive place in the eyes of Liberals of a new school of opinion, prominently represented in journalism by Mr. William Stead, who were already inclined to turn away from the Manchester men and the ideas of Mr. Cobden towards different conceptions of Empire and new conceptions of social reform.

Home Rule broke into these prospects, and on Home Rule Lord Rosebery may always have had his reserves. But his faith in Mr. Gladstone held: and when Mr. Chamberlain passed definitely into

* I have ventured to quote from Lord Huntly's interesting letter in *The Times* of May 25th.

the ranks of Unionism, Lord Rosebery's place in the councils of Liberalism seemed to be assured. His first brief term as Foreign Minister showed that he could act with energy and prudence. His fine service afterwards as first chairman of the London County Council added both to his popularity and to his repute. There was something about him, men felt, different from the ordinary run of politicians. His prestige, his wealth, his charm, his eloquence, his comparative youth, his open-minded independence, made a wide appeal. He was always strongly drawn to non-political, non-party work. Few men did more to raise the standards of local government. The contented philosopher, he once told an audience, would always prefer work of that description to the turmoil and ambitions of politics. He advised his fellow-Peers to take to municipal duties "as their numbers and impotence increased." And though he failed to prevent party feeling from entering into local politics in London, he launched the new County Council successfully on its career.

In 1892 Lord Rosebery returned as Foreign Minister, and his second tenure of that office was certainly not less successful than the first. He fought steadily for the principle of continuity in foreign policy.

"Whatever our domestic differences may be at home, we should preserve a united front abroad; . . . foreign statesmen and foreign Courts should feel that they are dealing not with a Ministry, possibly fleeting and possibly transient, but with a great, powerful and united nation."

It would have been interesting to hear Lord Beaconsfield's comments on this doctrine in connection with the Midlothian campaign. But Lord Salisbury was an easier man to follow. Rosebery insisted on the retention of our authority in Egypt, though there were strong Liberal influences anxious to lessen our responsibilities there. He faced with firmness the provocative attitude of some French politicians, and in one case at any rate even faced the risk of war. Yet he knew the value of caution and restraint. There were moments later when his resolute prudence tried the patience of Liberals in whom the crusading spirit of Mr. Gladstone, when lofty obligations beckoned, still survived. "As to politics," wrote Mr. Gladstone on his eighty-eighth birthday, "I think the basis of my mind is laid principally in finance and philanthropy." Rosebery would not allow philanthropic aims to govern British foreign policy. British interests must be the first consideration. The risks of isolation, the need of maintaining the Concert of Europe, were strongly present to his mind. Both under Lord Rosebery and under Lord Salisbury British policy was largely directed to securing a closer understanding with Germany. Rosebery was quick to see the danger of entanglement in European complications which might arise from the

Entente with France. "It will lead straight to war," he once allowed himself to prophesy. But the rare warnings of "an indolent Cassandra" fell unheeded on the public ear.

Mr. Gladstone's retirement in 1894 raised more than one difficult problem. Grave questions between the two Houses were arising, and many Liberals were reluctant to choose a leader in the House of Lords. Lord Rosebery had long been a prominent advocate of House of Lords Reform, and many Liberals felt that the proposal to constitute a strong and active Upper Chamber was on the wrong line of constitutional development and might prove a serious menace to the authority of the House of Commons. Lord Rosebery's attitude, again, towards Imperial problems differed widely from that of many Liberals of the older school. And Radical opinion was strongly drawn to one impressive figure in the House of Commons whose great Parliamentary gifts and long and brilliant service to his party it seemed difficult if not ungrateful to forget. On the other hand, Rosebery's vivid interest in social and Imperial questions, the freshness of his mind, the width and vigour of his sympathies, the glamour which hung round him, the charm which made him a delightful companion, weighed heavily in the scale. Sir William Harcourt, for all his large kindness of nature, could be an imperious chief and an exasperating colleague. It is significant that John Morley, Harcourt's close political ally, felt that as head of the Cabinet Rosebery would be best. But none of these predilections had any influence on the Sovereign's decision. Queen Victoria intended to send for Lord Rosebery, and on this point she neither asked nor received advice from Mr. Gladstone. The facts, as stated in Mr. Gladstone's biography, are beyond dispute. When the retiring statesman went down to Windsor, the Queen sent Sir Henry Ponsonby to sound him, and the veteran constitutionalist was at once on the alert. Any recommendation as to persons was in his view "a most serious matter." His thoughts on that point were entirely at the Queen's command, and would be equally at Sir Henry's command "if he inquired of me from her and in her name." But otherwise his "lips must be sealed." On the general question, however, of the advisability of appointing a Peer to be Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone was willing to speak freely. He did not regard the views of a section of the House of Commons "as *in limine* disposing of that question." He had in fact—though he did not say so—determined to recommend Lord Spencer if his advice were asked. This conversation, reported by Sir Henry Ponsonby, probably convinced the Queen that the appointment of a Peer would not be resented. And, satisfied on that point, she did not, when she saw Mr. Gladstone, touch on the subject of his successor at all.

It would probably have been better for Lord Rosebery, it might

have been better for the Liberal Party, if either Lord Spencer or Sir William Harcourt had proved to be the Sovereign's choice. Harcourt not unnaturally found the disappointment hard to bear. Rosebery was proud and sensitive, and generous as both men were by nature, circumstances made it very difficult to lay their differences aside. Apart from the personal issue there were divergences on public questions. Lord Rosebery felt and fretted under the situation which grew up. He lost something of his happy certainty of touch. To an imperious colleague he too could show himself imperious. Criticism or disloyalty in his followers hurt him more than a public man should allow. The rift between him and some of his party widened definitely after his retirement from office. In 1898 he decided to throw up the leadership of the Liberal Party. And his attitude during the South African War made it almost impossible for him to resume it. Yet again and again he drew men's minds. Like Chatham, whom in some points he resembled, he would rather have stood aloof from political dissensions, a lonely figure, waiting till the nation called him in an hour of need. Like Chatham, he would not whole-heartedly accept the wisdom or necessity of the party system. "Efficiency," he once wrote, "implies the rule of the fittest; party means the rule of something else." And like Chatham, though ready and proud to serve on a great occasion, he was always inclined to fall back into majestic loneliness again.

But when the great occasion summoned he could do great service. The famous Chesterfield speech in 1901 contained some irritating phrases, but it did more than any other political "gesture" to lay the foundations of South African peace. The Free Trade issue, if it could not bring Lord Rosebery back into the fold of his party, at least enabled his own followers to be reconciled with their old friends.

In the great art of expressing opinion few men were happier with voice or pen. As a speaker Lord Rosebery at his best had no superior after Mr. Gladstone's death. He was not always quite at the same level. He could disappoint an audience: most famous speakers sometimes do. One recalls a large gathering at Plymouth when the orator arrived without his notes, and perplexed his hearers by dilating on the Garter recently conferred upon the Shah. And one recalls at least one occasion when Harcourt and Rosebery appeared together, and when the veteran from the House of Commons carried off the honours of the night. But Lord Rosebery had in full measure the orator's endowment. Voice, manner, language were at their best superb. There were passages in which there rang a note of grandeur, and there was nearly always a rare felicity of wit and fancy, a sure and graceful mastery of words. Orator of Empire in a special sense, he was a master also of the much more

difficult art of occasional speaking. His addresses on academic subjects touched the highest level. And when in talk on life or books he admitted us to his intimacy, touched on the disenchantments of experience, the remorseless passing of youth, gloried in his love of Scott or Burns, sighed over the dreariness of Richardson, confessed "in dust and ashes" that for him the joys of *Rasselas* were dead, or gave play to the half-mocking irony which only his abundant humour saved from being sad, he was quick to win his hearers' hearts.

His literary criticism was always fresh and independent. His historical writing revealed the width of his knowledge, the fairness of his judgment, the sureness of his taste. Chatham, Pitt, Napoleon, were all subjects which he had made his own. The little book on Pitt is singularly perfect. And what a biography he could have given us of Chatham or Napoleon, had time and circumstance allowed! One passage in which he compares the two Pitts, the great son and the great father—Pitt's mental powers, his extraordinary industry and understanding, his consummate Parliamentary and administrative talents, with Chatham's fitful genius, so difficult and at its highest so sublime—is not only a fine piece of literary eloquence but the work of a fine historical critic. "One was formed by nature for peace, the other for war." No country could have too many Pitts. But no country could afford the splendid luxury of many Chathams.

Did Lord Rosebery lose anything by diffusing his interests so widely? Who will venture to assert that he did? His many-sidedness was a part of the man, and to no small extent responsible for the wide popularity which he commanded. Politics, books, horse-breeding, racing, gardening, the pleasures of a great noble, the grave occupations of a man of affairs, all alike came naturally to him. Even theology entered in. Friends say that he more than once wrote sermons, for delivery by a well-known clergyman in London. Another well-known London clergyman, reporting at length on the completion of a serious project, received this brief acknowledgment: "Dear B— Hallelujah.—R." Few men could be easier or simpler, more indifferent to appearance or convention. Few perhaps had a larger capacity for affection, a stronger instinct to make themselves beloved. But this was not incompatible with a real reserve or with a very sensitive appreciation of the limits of fitness and freedom. To the last a certain happy boyishness of temper transfused and mellowed the deeper, harder qualities, the underlying consciousness of greatness and of power. *Palmarum sine pulvere!* Did he, as some thought, desire that? Effortless achievement is after all no mean ideal. And it is not given to many of us, in the dust and noise of the conflict, to seek or to merit so richly the rewards of fame.

CHARLES MALLET.

IMPRESSIONS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

HAVING spent the best part of my life in Russia, which I left for the last time just before the World War, it was natural that I should feel a strong desire to revisit the country. As a matter of fact I had been on the point of returning thither on two occasions since the October Revolution. First, in 1922, when Lenin had signified his willingness to see me, and the representatives of the Soviets in Berlin arranged that I should travel to Moscow in company with Krassin, Radek, and several of the stars of the new régime. But just on the eve of my departure, I learned that Lenin had fallen ill: I put off my journey until he should be well, and owing to his death postponed it definitely. A couple of years later I was again on the point of journeying to the capital with President Calles of Mexico, but this time it was he who fell ill and again the journey had to be postponed. Soon after I myself fell ill, and all possibility of realising my desire appeared to have vanished.

Last autumn, however, my longing to return to the country which I had known under three Tsars was so strong that it overcame the formidable obstacles which my failing health presented, and I set out alone for Leningrad and Moscow. My visit had no controversial object, no pet theory to demonstrate. The fact that I am a creditor of the Soviet Government, which confiscated nearly everything I possessed, did not enter into my calculations. I went to view things as they are and not as I might deem that they ought to be. For good or for evil the new order of things is established in the country that once was Russia but is now become the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics, and I am neither disposed nor competent to cast its horoscope.

The route I chose was via Finland, Helsingfors and Vyborg. The journey thence to Leningrad is really only a matter of some two hours, but since the war it consumes five owing to passport and luggage examinations. On the Soviet frontier the tests applied to the traveller are many and tedious. All foreign coin, cheques, etc., which he may have with him must be accurately declared, whereupon he receives an official paper entitling him on his return journey to take out of the country a sum not exceeding the amount he brought in. He next has to interview the representative of the State Bank, whose office is in another building, in order to exchange a portion of his foreign money for bank-notes of the Soviet Government, the rate of exchange being greatly to the advantage of the latter. It is worth noting, however, that the officials of every department are far more civil and obliging than those of West European lands.

When the signal to go ahead was given at last, I discovered that the train was conveying only two travellers to Leningrad: a Finn unfamiliar with the Russian tongue and myself. I now employed my time in looking out for remembered landmarks. Between the years 1877 and 1914 I had travelled from Vyborg to St. Petersburg and back scores of times, and had also spent months at various stations, so that I knew every rood of the country, which in those days was dotted over with wooden houses, most of them occupied by Russian families. And now I eagerly looked out for those which I knew best. But on the Finnish side of the frontier they had all gone, other and statelier villas having taken their places: at the close of the war the Finnish State had decreed that houses whose owners failed to appear or to keep them in repair would be taken over by the Government at a moderate valuation. In consequence, the entire face of the country is changed for the better; I was thus passing now through an unfamiliar land. The train pulled up at Leningrad, and I was soon standing shivering in a withering north wind outside the Finnish Railway Station. Four half-frozen chauffeurs shuffled up, each one in turn whispering in my ear an offer to take me and my belongings to the hotel for a sum about three times the pre-war price. I glanced at them reprovingly and repressed my feelings. Just then the hotel porter came up and told them: "It's no use to try it on with him. He speaks Russian and knows his way about." After this I soon came to terms with two of the four chauffeurs, to the disgust of the other pair, and, my Jehu having swung himself into the creaking vehicle, I was whirled along the street.

The cold was intense, especially when crossing the Neva, but it did not hinder me from taking stock of the sights and sounds that greeted eye and ear. I noticed that the streets were somewhat worse paved than of yore and their holes and hillocks caused the ramshackle old motor to jolt and jog insupportably. At last, blue with cold, I reached the Hôtel d'Europe, and to my surprise was recognised and welcomed by some of those newly-made citizens who in the unregenerate days of the Tsardom had been waiters, lackeys, or porters, and still continue to exercise their former calling, but with fitting limitations and in a more dignified spirit. They bade me welcome quite heartily and after the presentation and analysis of my passport, which is the most precious talisman a traveller can carry with him in this era of universal brotherhood, I was escorted to a spacious apartment in which I had sometimes stayed in bygone days, which commanded a fine view of the garden in front of the Russian Museum.

My memory filled with reminiscences, I soon sallied out to catch a glimpse of the dethroned capital, and within half a minute I stood

in the centre of the broad thoroughfare known to me as the Neffsky Prospekt but now called Prospekt of the 29th October. As I beheld the Town Hall, the fire-tower, the Arcades and Gostiny Dvor—all once familiar scenes but now enwrapped in a strange exotic atmosphere—I fell into a trance of meditation in which athwart the mist of years faded memories became bright and forgotten episodes retook concrete shape. And standing now in front of the Kazan Cathedral, contrasting past with present, I felt that no such amazing metamorphosis had been known even to legendary lore. To-day the Prospekt is structurally as it was fourteen years ago, but the impression it makes is no longer what it used to be. The middle of the street was so empty that you might fire a rifle, perhaps even a machine-gun, along the centre without harming any living being. A dreary air of desolation, intensified by the cold and rain, pervaded the noble thoroughfare, which in its palmy days used to be thronged with brilliant never-ending processions of the principal classes and masses of the Empire according to the time of day and night. Foreign visitors were delighted with the ambassadorial carriages and the gorgeous plumage of their chasseurs; with the Grand-ducal turn-outs; the smart *droschkies* with their fantastically-attired, long-bearded drivers; the graceful *troikas* skimming along the street; the becoming uniforms of the officers of the Guards, the picturesque raiment of Caucasian princes and of Far-Eastern visitors. The alluringly dressed shops on either side of the street with their cunning display of Oriental carpets, Indian cloths of gold, silks and brocades, silver filigree articles, jewelled walking-sticks and curious baubles from Persia, Bokhara and the Caucasus—in a word, most of the attractions that formerly made St. Petersburg the gayest and most imposing city in Europe—had vanished like a summer cloud. Ugly marks of the ravages of the civil war catch the eye and offend the æsthetic sense; broken plate glass, nailed-up windows and doors, scaffoldings used to screen ugly ruins. The once famous Dutch Church, in which sermons preached in German drew large crowds of cultured people, is now a shabby skeleton of an edifice in the hands of professional house-breakers. Lower down on the opposite side of the thoroughfare, the once imposing palace of the Stroganoffs needs thorough repair and has a mean neglected appearance.

It is fair to say that other causes besides civil war contributed to these unpleasant sights. The stucco of the buildings, many of which were erected by Italian architects and were from the outset wholly unsuited to the northern climate, is rapidly peeling off and for lack of repair imparts to the historic palaces and private houses an air of downright shabbiness. Here and there damaged

houses are still as they were left ten years ago by the guns; and the pavements and sidewalks are uneven. In short, despite the construction of several new and imposing edifices, the process of degrading St. Petersburg from its high rank as capital of an Empire to a provincial city inaugurated by time and the Soviets is in full swing, and evokes melancholy reflections in persons who, like myself, have still retained their feeling of attachment to familiar places.

On the other hand, there are many improvements to be noticed. One of the first things that claimed my attention was the almost complete absence of beggars, who in olden times were always and everywhere with us, and a deep impression was made upon me by the entire absence of public women in the streets. In former times the Neffsky Prospekt was infested with them. Now there were none to be met with anywhere. This must not be taken to mean that sexual irregularities have been eliminated from the cities and towns of Sovietdom as by the waving of a magician's wand. Very far from that, and herein lies the clue to the apparent miracle. It connotes a state of things that would have taken one's breath away in pre-war times, but is known as the new morality to-day. It is a direct consequence of Bolshevik legislation, which has struck all sexual misdemeanours out of the criminal code, and resolved that the State will never again take cognisance of any offences against sexual morality—denies in fact that there is any such thing as sexual morality. Incest, sodomy, abortion may be indulged in with impunity.

In Leningrad, and more especially in Moscow, I was struck by the vast number of bookshops—in the new capital these establishments are the outstanding notes of several of the streets. It was evident to me at once that books form the principal source of education and re-education of the people. Books in all languages and on all subjects are everywhere to be seen, and I must say that, making abstraction from Marxism—the dogma which inspires them all—I was very favourably impressed by the care, taste, and ingenuity expended on the new literature created by the Soviets. It is superfluous to add that to everything to which they put their hands the Soviets display a proselytising zeal which can only be compared to that expended on religious movements in all ages. And the notion prevalent in some foreign countries that the Soviets can be made to abandon their propaganda is inconceivable to anyone who has studied their methods at close quarters.

I noticed among the lighter changes that the soldiers of the Red Army wore uniforms much longer than those of the Tsarist days, so long, indeed, that some of them actually touched the ground, the object being to protect them more efficaciously against the

inclemency of the weather. For the Red Army men are objects of paternal solicitude to the Government. They and theirs enjoy many privileges denied to other sections of the population. The police, too, were well and warmly clad but they no longer sport the costly astrakan caps prescribed for them by Alexander III. Russian soldiers and policemen were always fine specimens of clean, healthy manhood, somewhat primitive and uncouth. Their former good qualities they seemingly retain to-day, despite the influence of famine, civil war and other calamities, and they have acquired others in addition. They look and are much more wide-awake than formerly, more brisk, sharp-witted and better capable of using their judgment with effect in cases of unforeseen difficulty. From these observations it would be unfair to draw conclusions as to the spirit or the training of the troops. On that subject I am no judge. It is enough to know that the percentage of peasants in the army is very considerable and that their capacity, endurance and other inborn and acquired qualities of the individuals will characterise the entire body throughout. The *mooshik* is a fixed quantity, so to say; his mind may be sharpened, his knowledge increased and his experience extended, but the groundwork of his character is unchanged and unchangeable.

In Leningrad and Moscow it is no easy matter to stand still or to saunter about the streets; the crowds pushed me forwards and backwards like a shuttlecock. Several trams rushed by, but the passengers on them were so numerous that they clustered in and around the waggons, hanging on like swarms of bees and looking so sour and aggressive—in consequence it may be of their cramped position—that no outsider would seek to join them unless constrained by dire necessity. The women conductors had the hardest time of all distributing tickets, collecting fares, answering all manner of questions, calling out the names of the halting places and protecting their persons from bumps and blows. The names of the streets and squares were nearly all new to me and enshrined the memory of various revolutionary leaders, martyrs or incidents.

The scenes on the streets were calculated to awaken my curiosity and hold my attention. The compact crowd that literally choked the sidewalks were not the pedestrians with whom I had been familiar. The individual types were wholly different. Nowhere in the foreground, for instance, was the young, dreamy, listless truth-seeker of Tsarist times to be discerned. All the men and women, aye and the very children, who were forging ahead to-day were brimful of life, enterprising, instinct with animation, veritable incarnations of self-consciousness in all its forms. Divided into groups, each individual attired in decent, unpretentious garments, many of them carrying satchels, portfolios, or well-thumbed

volumes, they chatted earnestly of sociology, foreign politics, natural sciences, of France, England, and Germany aloud, without heeding what was going on beside them. Now and again a member of a group would halt before one of the numerous fruit-stands presided over by a half-famished, scantily-attired pauper, hurriedly buy a few apples or pears, and take a bite in the pauses as he or she kept striding along in step and in conversation with their compeers. Others munched rolls, sandwiches, or sausages, enjoying many snacks in this unpretentious, philosophical way on their walk home from work or school. At many street corners there were newspaper stands at which one could purchase Russian and German dailies, reviews and books, and many were the hawkers of tobacco, cigarettes and other semi-necessaries.

It gave me undiluted pleasure to watch the finer specimens of robust manhood and womanhood visibly thirsting for action as they marched blithely forward with sure tread and overweening exuberance, heedless of those whom they encountered on their route. I, who meekly made way for them by way of atoning for my warm old fur coat, was often violently butted against and pushed aside, without compunction or evil intent. Analysing the traits, the accents, and the gait of those crowds I could see that they were not the Russians I had known; many of them, indeed, I guessed, and afterwards discovered, were not Russians at all, but naturalised Estonians, Lithuanians, Finns, Latvians, Poles, Hebrews, etc.—but one and all they were the successful elements of the population, those who had struggled and emerged, the survivors of the fittest, types of the proletariat triumphant, whose only nationality is fidelity to Marx and citizenship of the world.

Outsiders cannot realise the vastness of the upheaval effected by the October Revolution. One must have lived and worked in the land under the Tsarist *régime*, and one must have resided there again after the Revolution, in order to compare properly the two states. What happened in October, 1917, was not merely the substitution of one form of government for another, or of one set of institutions for another. It was a sweeping organic change in every branch of life, public and private, in the reciprocal relations of persons and social groups, in law, in ethics, in education, social aims, land-tenure and in the people's outlook upon life and death. And those startling innovations, not confined to local or national use, were destined for the entire universe, that being a characteristic of all Russian reforms—even of the crude projects put forward by the young generation when I was a graduate at a Russian university in the reign of Alexander II.

In the beginning, suasion, interest, and constraint quickly converted the bulk of the population into active apostles or passive

disciples of the new rulers. Among the peasantry the lure of the promised land was irresistible. The old order was dispelled as by magic. Even the Church had no effective weapons against such unprecedented temptations: pious worshippers in the fold of Russian Orthodoxy were won over, miraculously as it might seem, to aggressive atheism. It was as though they had been waiting for the opportune hour, and when it struck the sluice gates were opened and the floods carried them out to the shoreless ocean. God and the Tsar, who together had determined the course of things in Russia for better or for worse ever since the days of Vladimir, had now to yield their thrones to a board of plain men burning with unholy zeal for their own apostolic mission and animated with fervid faith in the saving doctrines of Marx and Engels. From the schools the deity was banished. Patriotism was systematically discouraged. A whole category of offences theretofore punishable by law was struck out of the penal code, and every man and woman became thenceforth free to perpetrate them to their hearts' content without fear of the consequences. Politics duly whittled down and befittingly regulated by Marxism was raised to the level of an independent educational discipline. History itself was Marxised. Children of seven, boys and girls, were solemnly called on to choose a political party, and warned that, once admitted to membership of Communism, they must strictly observe the code of regulations drawn up for their behoof, which determined the whole course of their lives, and woe betide them should they fall away or be cast out from their sodality.

The dynasty, the nobility, the aristocracy having been abolished by law or otherwise, the downtrodden peasants suddenly found themselves uplifted to the vacant high places and an object of regard and solicitude. At a stroke they were proclaimed arbiters of the Republic, and it is in their name that the Government destroys and constructs. The extensive estates once tilled by the upper classes, now known as "drones," passed safely and without expense into the hands of the *mooshik*, who, so long as it remains his, may do whatever he lists with his farm except sell or mortgage it, and even sales of land have clandestinely taken place in far-off districts. The end of the old *régime* was the beginning of chaos. Liberty having been promised to the masses, license was demanded, and when not accorded was taken, and no measures short of force availed to uphold an approach to discipline.

But the root problems that confronted the victorious revolutionary leaders were apparently beyond the powers of statecraft: to knead into one harmonious community some 150 million individuals including over-civilised groups and mere Troglodites, split up into 156 tribes and tongues; to make clear and attractive to all

of them the teachings of Marxism and to win them over to the changes involved by these, for instance, certain practices of quasi-religious altruism that run counter to the cherished notions and sentiments of the Russian people. In short, *mooshik* and workman had to be metamorphosed into Communists, the latter a willing convert, but the former obdurate and unyielding. The Bolshevik leaders, however, flushed with their amazing victory over powerful enemies and borne on the wings of a wild enthusiasm, had no misgivings as to their ability to grapple with the task. But they had no time for deliberation. It was necessary to rush the work precipitately, improvising everything, to defeat overt enemies in the field and to thwart the plots of secret wreckers, to educate or re-educate everybody despite lack of funds, of books, of schools, of masters and mistresses. It is nowise to be wondered at therefore that the entire social, political, and educational structures should bear unmistakable signs of haste and of imperfectly thought-out programmes. Naturally the political style of architecture, so to say, is unmistakable in them all. It is worth noting that this last trait marks every undertaking of the Soviets. Whatsoever they put their hands to, their eyes are fixed on Marxist ideals and their schemes are drafted for the purpose of realising these. Even the children must first be metamorphosed into Marxists before they can become citizens. To effect this transformation is the main function of education. "Our future seven-year professional schools," boasts one of the Communists, "will be extremely like the type of educational establishment sketched and lauded by Marx." Precisely. There we have the ideal without any turbid admixture.

In Russia, which is a republic of working men, the great majority of the people are peasants. Without the active co-operation or tacit assent of the latter element no constructive policy could be brought to a successful issue. To induce them to throw in their lot with the working men was the task to which the leaders dedicated themselves from the outset and have pursued with all the means at their disposal ever since. But these means, although many and formidable, were not wholly decisive, while the difficulties encountered were enormous. For one thing, the Russian peasant is not socially disposed by nature. On the contrary, he is a hardened individualist streaked with mysticism like the Celt and the Spaniard. This bias is inborn and to root it out is almost impossible. I have always looked upon the Russian peasantry as a race apart, the life of whose members, despite its apparent simplicity and transparency, has an opaque and mysterious background which few but they themselves can read aright. They are the enduring elements of the population, outliving political and

social structures, of which they take no account. Politics have never interested them. Their character, as distinguished from their meagre cultural acquisitions, has hardly been touched by the secular waves of change. Their slow movements have been marked in Russian history by the rhythm of inexorable fate. They can get intoxicated with an idea which they are incapable of grasping and cheerfully undergo a martyr's death for a principle which they are unable to formulate. Among themselves the peasants may fall out and quarrel over their individual interests, but once outsiders try to meddle in their affairs all their internal differences are forgotten and they present a firm, albeit wholly unorganised, front and invincible obstinacy to the marplot, whoever he may be. And these are their tactics in their differences with the Central Government without any understanding among themselves. Despite this fitful gregariousness, then, they never cease to be individualists, self-centred and self-composed. For example, they resent *a priori* legislation that clashes with their local concerns and when feasible they ignore it. Thus they disapprove the arbitrary division of the rural population into poor, middle and well-to-do, the last-named contemptuously termed *koolaks*. They chafe and growl at the treatment meted out to these because, for one thing, every peasant, however poor he may be to-day, cherishes the hope that he may scrape together the wherewithal to become a *koolak* to-morrow, and also because his nearest benefactor is precisely the money-lending, work-giving *koolak*. How then can he lend a hand to get rid of him?

Koolak is a word which etymologically means fist and figuratively usurer. The *koolaks* of the old *régime* were the successful rustics who acquired a little fortune, together with influence in their villages, irrespective of whether the means they employed were corruption, injustice, or hard work. If the former, they were hated by their fellow-villagers and when their behaviour became unbearable were discreetly made away with. To-day the obnoxious name *koolak* has been imposed on those enterprising villagers, who with a sharp appetite for a competence, work hard to acquire it, and incidentally by so doing raise the economic level of their village and district. Now this rise in the field of social well-being is regarded as a downright hindrance to the realisation of Marxism, but it is the goal of the peasant's striving, the source of his enterprise. For the traditional spirit of the Russian *mooshik* could hardly have undergone a fundamental change during the brief period that began since the war, when he was characterised by extraordinary powers of endurance, a firm belief in Fate, a strong dislike to co-operation, a fund of latent cruelty and the absence of revolutionary proclivities. It is worth noting that the peasants

always met wrongs with demands for redress only, not for revolutionary change, and having attained their end were accustomed to settle down to their humdrum existence with resignation. In other words, they sought to suppress certain symptoms of the evil without striking at its root. The bulk of the peasantry was therefore unripe for revolution. But when Lenin dangled the prospect of the coveted land before them they swallowed the bait. What they hoped for was full ownership as they knew it under the Tsars with acts drawn up by the public notary, seals, signatures and solemn formulas. This was the heresy from which they must be effectually weaned. Lenin's idea was that all the soil should belong to the community and be tilled by local co-operative groups, the Central Government acting as trustee of the peasants, buying the produce at low rates and selling it abroad at prices that would beat foreign competition. The two systems are obviously antagonistic to each other.

Such is the origin of the fateful discrepancy between peasantry and government, a discrepancy which may be characterised by an old Russian saying: "the scythe has struck a rock." The peasant, when defending his interests, is impervious to argument and his obstinacy is invincible. If he appears to give way it is only for the purpose of obtaining a truce to enable him to strengthen his resistance. And when exasperated he has recourse to assassination or any other drastic method of "direct action" within his reach, as in the case of the government correspondents, many of whom have been murdered. These crimes he commits with deliberation and thoroughness despite the risk of death to which they expose him. Sanguinary as this spirit is, it has little in common with idealism; it is of the soil—racy, realistical, primæval. In the meanwhile the Soviets, nowise disheartened, continue to preach Marxist orthodoxy undiluted, but the *mooshiks* appear to be almost as deaf as were Ulysses' comrades between Charybdis and Scylla. The Soviet doctrine is streaked with altruism and calls for material sacrifices. It also necessitates the unlearning of much that is commonly accepted by the rest of mankind. History has to be re-written and brought into accord with Marxist theories, tradition must be set aside, ancient institutions pulled down. In a word, the past has to be blotted out while the new dispensation—improvised and variable—is held up as an inexhaustible source of prosperity for the working population and the sheet-anchor of salvation for all. Stark materialism, one of the principal dogmas of the new era, is the correlate of Communism and the main substitute for religion. It is with the teaching of these latter-day theses that all the educational establishments—elementary, intermediate, and superior—are chiefly concerned.

As soon as ever they were able to size up the internal situation, and plan out a policy of their own, the Soviets organised a campaign against illiteracy. The crass ignorance of the masses they strove to dispel as by the waving of a magician's wand. The Bolshevik Master having issued the order on the ground that reading and writing are the first steps towards Marxism, the rank and file went to work with a will to execute it. Neither money nor exertions were grudged. As the State, however, could not shoulder the entire financial and pedagogical burden alone, the help of groups and individuals became indispensable and the question cropped up, Who could and should contribute to the work? Lunacharski, I believe, uttered the sentence: "Unless we can secure the co-operation of the proletariat, we are wasting words." That settled the matter. The appeal for co-operation called forth an instantaneous and hearty response. Workmen, professional groups and social organisations, allotted considerable sums from their own special funds, peripatetic pedagogues journeyed about the country blithely sowing the seeds of culture among adults who at first could not be made to comprehend why they should go to school at their time of life. Sunday campaigns were organised by bodies of juvenile culture-bearers whose zeal, fervid and touching, often outran their judgment. The results were rapid and encouraging but unstable. They often lacked finality. In a very short time hundreds of teachers had to be dismissed, hundreds of schools had to be closed; many of the grown-ups who had mastered their lessons by rote soon forgot them again and relapsed into the ranks of the illiterate, and the optimism of the preachers of the new Gospel was put to a cruel test. Every year the sun of enlightenment had to rise anew in the east and west simultaneously with reinforced vigour, improved methods and a heavier outlay. The "liquidation of illiteracy," as it is officially termed, is making perceptible headway, but there are still some eight million adults in the Russian Republic alone who are unable to read or write, and in the other republics a correspondingly larger percentage.

With the children the progress was remarkably rapid. The Soviets, despite their many cares, tackled the work adroitly, approaching the mind of the young generation from various points and employing every known method, every approved device, to imbue them with the new notions. And I know from the little that has come under my personal observation that much of the inspiration that sustains the genuine workers to-day was imbibed in those schools, consciously and unconsciously. One of the usual effects of this half-culture is to render those who receive it opinionated, intolerant and impervious to argument, but these are precisely the qualities that go to make a successful apostle and are

rated accordingly. The children are flattered by the importance attached to their choice of a political party, and by the praise bestowed upon them for quickness of apprehension which is often hardly more than a retentive memory; they become plastic in the hands of those who provide them with materials for independent research and encourage them to criticise their elders.

What the October Revolutionists have accomplished by these means in the sphere of culture is colossal in magnitude, questionable in quality and fateful in its consequences to the entire world. Call it a forward or a backward movement as you will, it connotes a root-reaching change the like of which for vastness and intensity mankind has probably never yet undergone, and the effects of which bid fair to impart a wholly new direction to the course of human history. For the Bolshevik ferment is continuously operative and its force, atom-like, is incalculable. It has not yet permeated all layers of the motley population: many even of the elect shake it off mechanically, and there are some Oriental tribes still indocile who blithely break the most sacred Marxist precepts and smile blandly, unconscious of guilt, when chidden for their fickleness. But the ferment, which is not quite the same thing as Bolshevism or Communism, is bound in the fulness of time to leaven in varying degree the entire mass of humanity, and bring about fundamental changes in social and political institutions.

To sum up, the Russia I went to see no longer exists. In fact it never existed. It was a gross deception, like the make-believe cities improvised by the Empress Catherine's Minister, Potemkin, in order to impose upon his imperial mistress. It was a vast mosaic of nations held together by violence, falsehood, and injustice. To-day in the country once miscalled Russia dwell Marxists, Communists, Ukrainians, etc. Russians of the old type have vanished. The unified laws for one and all have been to a considerable extent abolished, and each republic has now not only its own language but its own legislation from which, however, certain subjects are excluded. Centralisation is beneficially modified by local self-government. Everywhere people are thinking, working, combining, making scientific discoveries and industrial inventions. If one could obtain a bird's-eye view of the numerous activities of the citizens of the Soviet republics one would hardly trust the evidence of one's senses. Nothing like it, nothing approaching it in variety, intensity, tenacity of purpose has ever yet been witnessed. Revolutionary endeavour is melting obstacles and fusing heterogeneous elements into one great people—not indeed a nation in the old-world meaning, but a strong people cemented by quasi-religious enthusiasm. Will that new people with its dissolvent principles and aggressive action hold its own in the long

run against its enemies and stem the stream of capitalism? I am not qualified to answer this question, on which the leaders of the movement are themselves at variance.

All that the outsider can say with conviction is that if the Sovietists keep together and present a united front to the world, they will ultimately succeed in revolutionising it. If the anti-Bolshevik nations have failed in crushing inchoate Bolshevism by dint of arms and propaganda, in which latter art some of them were proficient, how will they fare when pitted against a new and energetic race of men trained to pursue their aims relentlessly, persistently, heedless of the restrictions, human or divine, that still fetter the capitalists? Nowhere in the world to-day can one discern constructive action or a great leader. Whatever movement there is peters out in words. Speeches, negotiations, treaties are the main products of politics, while socially the upper classes are wasting money and by their provocative follies are destroying the bough on which they are perched. Revolutions are usually brought about by those who fear them most.

The Bolsheviks have accomplished much of what they aimed at and more than seemed attainable by any human organisation under the adverse conditions that faced them. They have mobilised well over 150 millions of listless human beings and infused into them a new spirit. They have wrecked and buried the entire old-world order in one-sixth of the globe and are making ready to inter it everywhere else. They have shown themselves able and resolved to meet emergency and to fructify opportunity. Their way of dealing with home-rule and the nationalities is a masterpiece of ingenuity and elegance. None of the able statesmen of to-day in other lands has attempted to vie with them in their method of satisfying the claims of minorities. In all these enterprises they are moved by a force which is irresistible, almost thaumaturgical.

But all those achievements belong to the external order and would never have been realised had Bolshevism been but one of the occasional salient phenomena measured by the ordinary standards of historical criticism. It is more. It is a transcendental agency which took its origin from the unplumbed depths and its charter from Fate. And it is amoral and inexorable because transcendental. It has come, as Christianity came, not for peace but for the sword, and its victims outnumber those of the most sanguinary wars. To me it seems to be the mightiest driving force for good or for evil in the world to-day.

E. J. DILLON.

THE COMPLETION OF THE GREEK REPUBLIC.

WITH the election of the first Senate which Greece has had since the Revolution of 1862, and with the consequent election of the President of the Republic by both the Chamber and Senate sitting together, as provided by the Constitution of 1927, the Greek Republic is at last completed. More than five years have passed since its proclamation; there have been two "provisional" Presidencies and ten administrations during the interval; but it has been reserved for the comparatively long government of Mr. Venizelos, who became Prime Minister for the fifth time on July 4th of last year, to hold the long-deferred senatorial elections and to persuade the reluctant "provisional" President, Admiral Kountouriotis, to accept election by the two Houses of Parliament. He had been anxious to enjoy the repose of his beloved home, overlooking the harbour of his ancestral Hydra, after two Regencies and a more than five years' Presidency, broken only by the four months' usurpation of General Pangalos.

The day after the inauguration of the Senate on May 16th, the Council of State—which had existed from 1833 to 1844, was restored in 1864, but ceased to exist in 1865—was revived under the chairmanship of Mr. Raktivan, the former Speaker of the Chamber, in the "Palace of Ilion," built by Schliemann as the residence of the rediscoverer of Troy. Thus, as far as the machinery of Government is concerned, the Republic is fully equipped for the consideration of the problems which lie before it, and both the Senate and the Council of State are working.

But nowadays democracies in all countries are less interested than formerly in the machinery and more in the practical results of government. The Senatorial elections of April 21st evoked little interest and no enthusiasm. On the polling-day I visited with the Chief of the Town's Police, Sir Frederick Halliday (whose retirement this month after eleven years' impartial work under Venizelist, Royalist, and Republican Governments is much regretted), ten polling-stations; at all the same result was announced: about half the registered electorate had voted. In the whole of Greece for the ninety-two popularly elected Senators there voted only, 816,566, or 198,447 fewer than at the elections for the Chamber on August 19th, 1928. The reason of this indifference was obvious: the Greeks were weary of elections—indeed, for that reason the municipal elections have been adjourned—and the Senate left all but the future Senators cold. Some saw in it an "asylum for the aged"—for its members must be over forty years of age—others murmured at the additional expense of a Second Chamber; others, again,

thought that, like the appendix in the human body, it would be useless if passive and harmful, if active, by causing friction with the lower House. Greece, it was argued, needs not a check but a spur for her legislature.

Nor have the results of the Senatorial elections demonstrated that the Second Chamber is of superior quality to the First. Elaborate provisions were made to ensure the selection of the fittest: ninety-two members were directly chosen by the people from the thirty-five provinces, and from two special constituencies composed of the Jews of Salonika and the Moslems of Western Thrace, for a term of nine years, one-third retiring by lot every three years; eighteen were chosen for three years by commercial and professional organisations, such as the Chambers of Commerce, the Shipowners' Union, the Chambers of Agriculture and Labour, the Universities of Athens and Salonika, the Polytechnic and the Academy. When elected, these 110 were to meet in common sitting with the Chamber at the beginning of each legislature and elect ten more Senators, chosen "for their merits" (*aristinden*) from ten categories comprising ex-Premiers, ex-Ministers, deputies, governors-general, ministers in the diplomatic service, general officers of the army or navy, councillors of state and high legal officials, Professors of the University and Polytechnic, directors-general of the Ministries, and holders of the National Medal for Literature and Art.

Such was the theory; the practice, as always happens in politics, was different. The election for the ninety-two popularly-elected Senators was held on strict party lines, and was a second edition of the last election for the Chamber with an overwhelming victory for Mr. Venizelos, who obtained seventy-three of the seats, the others being won by ten Royalists, two Moderate Royalists, three followers of Mr. Kaphandares, one of Mr. Papanastasiou, the Extreme Republican Chief, and three Independents. No Communists and no Intransigent Royalists were elected, and the total Communist vote was only 12,468, of which only 2,084 was in Attica. But it was remarked that there were far fewer well-known men among these Senators than in the Chamber; indeed, of the Venizelist list for Attica, one man alone, General Gonatas, had been prominent in public life. The Universities, it is true, elected two distinguished professors, not party hacks (as they sometimes have in England), the Shipowners' Union a prominent shipowner, Mr. Empeirikos, and the Chambers of Commerce Mr. Stringos, the President of that of the Piræus, while the ten chosen "for their merits" included such well-known men as the ex-Premiers Zaïmes and Triantaphylakos, Mr. Philaretos, the "father" of the Republican Party (he was one of the five members of the Republican group in the Cham-

ber as far back as 1882, and is the author of a handbook to the Constitution of 1864; Mr. Athos Romanos, the eminent diplomatist, formerly Minister in London and Paris and twice Minister of Foreign Affairs, and that distinguished soldier, General Paraskevopoulos, who honourably refused to be Pangalos' Prime Minister. General Plasteras, the Chief of the Revolutionary Government of 1922-24, modestly declined a nomination, the report of which had aroused considerable Royalist opposition, and remains by his own wish a private citizen, the Greek Cincinnatus. But the persons elected "for their merits" were really nominated by the Prime Minister, one of them in the teeth of strong opposition from his own party and from the important newspaper which usually supports him, while, although his list included one or two members of the Royalist Opposition, it had no voice in their selection, and therefore abstained from voting.

It remains to be seen whether the Republican Senate will work well in practice—the only criterion of institutions—or will resemble the Athenian Senate which existed from 1844 to 1862. It has, at any rate, a very eminent man as its President in Mr. Alexander Zaïmes, who has been eight times Prime Minister during a whole generation from 1897 to 1928, High Commissioner in Crete and Governor of the National Bank, and comes from one of those "Revolutionary" families which count for something even in democratic Greece.

The Senate, thus completed, met together with the Chamber on June 3rd, and elected Admiral Paul Kountouriotis President of the Hellenic Republic for the next five years. He received 259 votes out of 309, 43 blank votes being cast by the Royalists and the followers of Messrs. Papanastasiou and Kaphandares, and the remaining seven being divided between Messrs. Venizelos, Zaïmes, Romanos, and (!) Sir Basil Zuckaroff. On June 5th the President took the oath before the Parliament. There is no age-limit in the Constitution such as Pangalos imposed for his own purposes at the Presidential election of 1926; but it is improbable that Admiral Kountouriotis will wish to retain much longer an office which he has long desired to abandon. Then the Republic will be faced with a difficult problem—the choice of a suitable successor. For Messrs. Zaïmes and Romanos, the two most likely candidates, are respectively 73 and 71 years old. Prominent and active politicians covet not the Presidency with its very restricted powers—for in Greece the head of the State is a French, not an American President—but the Premiership. There is no aristocracy from which to choose a merely decorative figure; the plutocracy, unless its wealth be accompanied by public services, lacks the requisite influence; the "intellectuals" usually keep out of public life;

the diplomatists, who may be expected to possess the tact and the social graces, are apt to have lost touch with their own country. There is another most important factor in the selection—that of a candidate who has a wife who would fill the position with distinction. Every Englishman who has lived abroad knows that more diplomatists have been made or marred and their country's interests advanced or retarded by their wives' than by their own merits or demerits, and the same is true of a Republican President. Happily, in Madame Kountouriotis the Hellenic Republic has a *Présidente* as to the manner born.

Meanwhile, in practice, everything depends upon the will and the health, now much improved, of Mr. Venizelos. The Prime Minister works thirteen hours daily, rarely misses a public function, speaks on all questions, and, in the last resort, decides all questions. Since he returned to the direction of affairs things get done. But this concentration of all decisions, even about details, in the hands of one man (even though he is now assisted by an Under-Secretary, Mr. Papadatos), has its disadvantages. No single brain can grasp all the technicalities, and a Greek Premier has not the British permanent Civil Service at his back, without which our vocal statesmen would cut such a meagre figure; moreover, if the omnipotent Minister receives praise for all that is successful, he will likewise receive blame for all that goes wrong, even when it is not through his fault. So far, the present Premiership has been successful, and that despite the fact that "the Almighty has not been a Philhellene" in the Corinth earthquakes, the *dengue* fever, and the Macedonian and Thracian inundations. Mr. Venizelos promises that in four years Greece will be unrecognisable; but four years are in Greece a long way ahead and prophecy a risky profession. Let us, therefore, examine what has been accomplished during the last six months.

Foreign policy is Mr. Venizelos' speciality, and here he and his Foreign Minister, Mr. Karapanos, have achieved the conclusion of the Greco-Yugoslav protocols regulating the "Serbian free zone" at Salonika, and the Greco-Yugoslav pact, signed respectively at Geneva and Belgrade on March 17th and 27th, and ratified by the Chamber on April 4th. Thus the cordial relations between these two neighbours and allies have been renewed and on terms far more favourable to Greece than those of the Pangalist proposals of 1926. The immediate result was the visit of a number of Serbians to Athens and of the Yugoslav fleet to Corfu, where it was saluted by the Greek squadron, and honour paid to the Serbs who lie in the war cemetery on the islet of Vido. Yugoslav unity was made at Corfu during the war; Greco-Yugoslav amity has been cemented there. Thus Mr. Venizelos has accomplished the difficult feat of

being the friend alike of Yugoslavia and Italy, with whom he concluded a treaty last September, and whose representative, Signor Grandi, received a markedly friendly reception in Athens in January. The incident of the Dodekanesian banner at Salonika on Greek Independence day and the visit of the King of Italy to the Dodekanese, as putting the seal upon the Italian occupation, did not affect the Greek Government's policy; a Greek squadron visited Taranto, and the Premier reiterated his Italophil programme to a Dodekanesian deputation.

The usually even tenor of Anglo-Hellenic relations was marred in March by the British Foreign Secretary's dialogue with Mr. Karapanos at Geneva. At a moment when Greece was menaced with the suspension of the share of the Bulgarian reparations due to her, Sir Austen Chamberlain peremptorily demanded that Greece should issue immediately bonds representing the indemnity payable to Bulgarian emigrants under the Kaphandares-Molloff agreement. In other words, Bulgaria was to be allowed to suspend payment of her obligations to Greece, whereas Greece was not to be allowed to defer her obligations to Bulgaria, just as, after the Greco-Bulgarian incident near Bemir Kapu in 1925, Greece was not permitted to deduct the indemnity payable to Bulgaria from the Bulgarian reparations due to Greece. The tone of Sir Austen Chamberlain gave almost as much offence as the substance of his remarks, for the Foreign Secretary, who has little personal knowledge of the Southern mentality, was unaware that, in dealing with Southern peoples, what you say is hardly more important than how you say it. His remarks achieved the unique triumph of uniting all the twenty Athenian daily newspapers against him and of irritating a friendly nation, which had made heroic sacrifices to pay its debts and had just undergone the triple visitations of earthquake, epidemic and inundations. Fortunately, since then the pending instalment of the Bulgarian reparations has been paid, while Greece on her side has paid £200,000 to Bulgaria under the Kaphandares-Molloff agreement, and the incident has been forgiven and the question adjourned till the autumn meeting of the League.

It is all the more important for Great Britain to be on the best terms with Greece, because that country has become since April 1st the link in the air-service between London and India. One of the most historic events in recent Anglo-Greek history was the landing of Sir Samuel Hoare at Phaleron on the first flight of the British air mail. The long visit of the British fleet in January was, as always, the best form of British propaganda, for our sailors often correct the mistakes of our statesmen. The departure of Captain Turle's naval mission is much regretted, for its chief was a man of wide culture and specially interested in modern Greek history

and all that related to the part played by Frank Abney Hastings therein. But it is satisfactory that a new naval mission under Captain Lyon is continuing the traditions of comradeship between the two seafaring peoples.

The private visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury in April possessed historic interest; for, although a Greek, who had been professor at Athens, Theodore of Tarsus, became Archbishop of Canterbury, a Primate of England had never set foot there. Dr. Lang stated that only lack of time prevented him from visiting Jerusalem, but the tardiness of this statement was an example of Bacon's saying that "a lie goes round the world while a *démenti* is putting on its boots."

Greek relations with Albania are normal; but Greek ecclesiastical circles resented the expulsion of the Greek Metropolitan of Korytsá owing to the Œcumenical Patriarch's protest against the creation of an independent Albanian Church in violation of the agreement concluded between the Patriarchate and the Albanian Government in June, 1926. If the Italians succeed in detaching the Orthodox Church in the Dodekanese from the Œcumenical Patriarchate and in forming it into an autocephalous Church, the much-diminished area of the Patriarchate's jurisdiction will be further curtailed. Orthodox circles have fears that the settlement between Italy and the Vatican may lead the latter to use Italian political influence as a means of furthering Roman Catholic propaganda in Greek lands. A Roman Catholic Archbishop has recently been appointed in Rhodes.

In domestic politics there has been a marked tendency towards reconciliation. The passionate feelings which animated Royalists and Venizelists have largely subsided, to the credit of both parties. Typical of this happy change was the courteous correspondence between Mr. Venizelos and Mr. Tsaldares, the Royalist leader, about the rumoured election of General Plasteras to the Senate. The Premier has paid a deserved tribute to the valuable, objective criticisms of Mr. Tsaldares in the Chamber, and the electors, at the elections for both Houses alike, showed plainly that they wanted no extremists whether Ultra-Royalists or Communists, none of whom sit in either Chamber. Thus deprived of his more intransigent followers, Mr. Tsaldares has been able to rely upon his own good judgment; while Mr. Venizelos, master of commanding majorities in both Houses, can afford to be generous, and realises that an Opposition is a necessary part of any Government.

The Greek people wants to get on with its work, and there is plenty of useful work to do. The improvement of sanitary conditions; the drainage of marshes in Macedonia; the sewerage of Athens; the covering of the Ilissos—which sounds so picturesque in Plato's *Phædrus*, but is in practice an open cesspool, where flies

breed to spread disease—the facilitation of communications and the stoppage of the trend of the rural population to the towns; these are questions far more important than what is the best form of government. Owing to the greatly increased cost of living—the index-figure at the end of last year was over nineteen times what it was in 1914—the struggle for existence is much harder, and a meeting of fathers of large families has been held to demand special fiscal treatment. In Greece, as elsewhere since the war, economic problems are the most pressing. Efforts are being made to restrict the output of doctors and lawyers from the Universities, and an official tourist office has been subsidised to enable Greece to obtain revenue from the visitors whom her ancient and mediæval monuments and her incomparable natural beauty should attract, if there were more and better country hotels and roads. An ambitious programme has been compiled for the celebration of the centenary of Greek Independence next year—an anniversary unavoidably postponed from 1921, but already partially commemorated by the Byron, Santa Rosa, Fabirer and Hastings centenaries, and by that of the Sortie from Mesolonghi.

Following the teachings of Plutarch in favour of kindness to animals, Mr. Venizelos abolished this spring the horrible institution of the *boja* (or “dog-catcher”) with its pincers, described by the leading newspaper, the *Hestia*, as “one of the most frightful survivals of barbarism,” and transferred the work of collecting stray dogs to the Society for the Protection of Animals. He has invited some of its members to suggest amendments to the existing law for the prevention of cruelty to animals (passed in 1917, but quite inadequate), and proposes to enlarge its scope when time permits.

The Premier has publicly proclaimed that the period of expansionist policy is over, and that the present is one of intensive development. He has announced that his “government intends to govern,” and on the eve of the Senatorial elections frankly told the electors that if they “desired a Prime Minister trembling to lose votes and bowing before the demands of people who sought to exploit him,” they should vote against the present Cabinet. This is not the language of a demagogue, just as that of Mr. Kaphandares was not that of a vote-catcher when, as Minister of Finance, he refused to raise salaries and reduce taxation at the risk of endangering the balance of the budget. If the unfortunate differences between those former colleagues could be healed and Mr. Kaphandares were invited, and could accept the invitation, to collaborate with Mr. Venizelos in equipping the new Greece which is rising, phoenix-like, from the fires of Smyrna, that would be a happy event. Meanwhile the Greece of to-day is more united, calmer and more hopeful than the Greece of the last few years.

WILLIAM MILLER.

THE LAST OF THE HABSBURGS.

THE Archduke Francis Ferdinand, whose assassination at Sarejevo in June, 1914, started the World War, possessed none of those characteristics which conferred a certain degree of popularity on other members of the Imperial family. He was cold, hard, and even brutal. But he possessed a powerful will and a tenacious purpose. He was the only man in Austria who dared to defy the Emperor Francis Joseph. More than this, he possessed in a remarkable degree that gift of statesmanship which has never been entirely wanting to the Habsburgs. Ever since the death of his father, the Archduke Charles Louis, in 1896, had raised him to the position of heir-presumptive, he had devoted much attention to the “Austrian” problem. That problem had its roots in the fatal compromise or *Ausgleich* of 1867, that had split the Habsburg monarchy in two, and in the persistent efforts of Hungary to establish itself as an independent State.

The *Ausgleich* was intended to secure the hegemony of the Magyar and German nationalities in their respective spheres. But so far from doing this it led, as Palacky, with the prescience of true statesmanship, warned its advocates it would inevitably do, to a strong and persistent agitation on the part of the Slavs, in both halves of the Empire, to secure for themselves the same degree of independence as had been accorded to Hungary. The agitation was more disastrous in its immediate effects for Austria. For while in Hungary, where in a representative assembly of 413 members the non-Magyar nationalities, forming 45 per cent. of a total population of nineteen millions, possessed only six seats, the Magyar oligarchy was easily able to maintain a dominant position in parliament; in Austria, on the other hand, where, under a more democratic constitution, the Germans were never able to command a working majority, parliamentary government, owing to the obstructive tactics of the Czechs, proved a sheer impossibility. For Austria the only way out of the *impasse* was the dissolution of the dual monarchy and its reconstruction as a federal State. But for such a solution Hungary was not to be had, and to Francis Ferdinand it was perfectly clear that, if ever it was to be realised, the power of the Magyar oligarchy must first of all be broken.

The details of his policy are not known, but there are good reasons for believing that his intention was, by a wide extension of the franchise, to effect a radical reform of the Hungarian Reichstag. So long as Francis Joseph, who had bound himself by his coronation oath to preserve the Hungarian constitution intact, lived, such a step was impossible; but for himself Francis Ferdinand was determined to take advantage of Article 3 of the Hungarian constitution of 1790-1, permitting an interval of six months to elapse between

his accession and coronation, not to allow himself to be crowned King of Hungary until he had put his scheme in execution. Unfortunately the opportunity was denied him, but something of his intention was known to Graf Tisza, "the uncrowned king of Hungary," who henceforward regarded him with such unmitigated hatred that even after his death, on receiving a deputation of the Bosnian-Serbian National Party, that had come to Buda-Pesth to express its detestation of the Archduke's murder, he could find no better words in which to cloak his feeling than: "God has so willed it, and we must be thankful to God for everything."

But with every reason to be thankful, Tisza was not sure that the danger was entirely over, as appears from the following anecdote related by Graf Polzer in his recent sympathetic and delightfully illustrated life of the Emperor Charles.* "During an audience I had at Schönbrunn with the Archduke Charles in the autumn of 1914, he told me that, a few days after the tragedy at Sarajevo, he had been formally interviewed by Graf Tisza, with the evident object of finding out how far he was initiated in his uncle's plans. But, added the Archduke, he went not much wiser than he came." Perhaps, however, Tisza had learned what he wanted to know. Anyhow, the breath was hardly out of Francis Joseph's body than he wrung a promise from the young Emperor to consent to his immediate coronation as King of Hungary. "Tisza," Graf Polzer writes, "knew very well what he was about. The Emperor Charles had announced his intention to use every means in his power to put an immediate end to the war. Fastening on this point, Tisza insisted that it was only possible by an economic agreement with Germany, to which the assent of Hungary was necessary and, as he could only legally sanction it after he had been crowned King of Hungary, his coronation was necessarily the first step to peace." "And so," adds Graf Polzer, "at the very beginning of his reign was the young Emperor's desire for peace misused by Tisza to rob him of the only means by which he could solve the problems of the dual monarchy to the welfare of all the peoples under his sceptre."

That Tisza with his "pussta-patriotism" was, as Graf Czernin said, the grave-digger of the Empire, hardly admits of doubt, but the verdict comes strangely from one whose vanity, arrogance and inability to pursue a consistent policy was no less responsible for this result than Tisza's obstinacy. The fact is that neither Tisza nor Czernin ever treated the Emperor with that consideration and respect to which his position entitled him. For them he was merely an inexperienced youth to be ordered about as they, in their superior wisdom, thought fit. Very characteristic of Czernin's overbearing attitude towards him is the following story told by

* *Kaiser Karl, aus der Geheimmappe seines Kabinetts-Chefs, Graf Polzer-Hoditz, mit 80 Abbildungen.* Amalthea Verlag, Wien, 1929.

Graf Polzer: "I was horrified one day—it was in the spring of 1917—to learn from the adjutant in attendance that Graf Czernin, whom the Emperor had ordered to report personally next day, had told him to inform His Majesty that he was going shooting next morning as he had already informed the Emperor." One wonders if Graf Czernin would have ventured to send such a message to Francis Joseph or Francis Ferdinand.

Much has been written to the disparagement of the Emperor Charles, and it may be at once admitted that he was not a man of strong character or commanding ability, but it ought to be remembered that it would have required the courage, experience and iron will of a Bismarck to overcome the difficulties that confronted him. Graf Polzer, who has taken upon himself the task of cleansing the reputation of his late Sovereign from the aspersions cast upon it by private malice and political animosity, had, as his life-long friend and political adviser for the better part of his reign, ample opportunities of gauging his character correctly. Charles was an honourable, straightforward, good-natured man, with plenty of physical courage. His private life was blameless and furnished no ground for the nasty stories which found too easy credence by a scandal-loving public. But his inexperience and his readiness to accept advice from all sides prevented him pursuing a determined line of action. He was not wanting in political sagacity. On the contrary, he saw perfectly clearly that Austria could only be saved by a timely capitulation to the Slavs. But he had not the moral courage to cut himself free from Germany. It is hard to blame him in this respect. The only time he ventured to act independently, as in the matter of the Amnesty, was followed by such an outburst of German ill-will as deprived him of what popularity he possessed. In fact, to understand the difficulties of his position we must constantly bear in mind that, with the outbreak of the war, Austria became the mere satellite of Germany. That this was not to the taste of many Austrians is perfectly true. One recalls Conrad von Hötzendorf's sarcastic inquiry regarding the German General Staff: "Well! How are our secret enemies getting on?" But in the general enthusiasm for everything German it was simply impossible to pursue an Austrian policy.

In nothing is this more apparent than in the question of the intensified submarine warfare that came up for discussion early in 1917. To be effective it was evident that the action of the submarines would have to be extended to the Mediterranean and that, for this purpose, the co-operation of Austria was necessary. Neither Tisza nor Czernin, who feared its effect on America, was in favour of the plan, but neither of them possessed the courage to oppose Germany, on the ground that a refusal would mean an end of the alliance. After the Council meeting, at which the German Secretary of State,

Zimmermann, and von Holtzendorff, the Chief of the German Admiralty Staff, were present, had separated, Charles, who during the discussion had expressed no opinion, took Holtzendorff aside and told him he would not consent to the proposal. Whereupon Holtzendorff, finding his arguments and threats useless, bluntly declared that it didn't matter whether His Majesty consented or not, as the order had already been issued that morning to the submarines, and that even with the help of the wireless it was impossible to recall it. Moreover, it was very likely that by that time a number of vessels had been sunk.

It was Charles's misfortune that from the very beginning of his reign none of his ministers was willing to give him a whole-hearted support in his endeavour to pursue a straightforward Austrian policy and, by a timely reconstruction of the State on a federal basis, to take, as he expressed it, the wind out of the Allies' sails. At the time of his accession the Minister-President was Dr. von Koerber, who enjoyed the reputation of being one of Austria's most capable statesmen. It was Charles's intention, as the first step in his programme, to put an end to the ex-parliamentary government that had prevailed since the beginning of the war, by summoning the Reichsrat. Koerber regarded the proposal with scepticism. Parliament, he said, won't work, and the Emperor will have to revert to paragraph 14. Paragraph 14, it should be explained, was a clause in the Constitution permitting the Emperor, in certain circumstances and under certain conditions, to govern without Parliament. "Perhaps the prudent Koerber is right," said Charles. "Perhaps Austria is too ill for anything but palliatives, but in the first year of my reign I can't admit it." So Koerber was allowed to go, to the dissatisfaction of the German Nationalists, and his place taken by Graf Clam-Martinitz. Graf Clam was prepared to make the experiment; but it was soon to appear that he had overestimated his strength. What Charles wanted was to call the Reichsrat together by a Manifesto, expressing his desire to concede equal rights of autonomy to the different nationalities and to leave the working out of a plan embodying his intention to the Reichsrat itself. But to such a proposal the German Nationalists would not listen. What they wanted was a ministerial scheme of reform which should leave them masters of the situation. The result was that not only was the Manifesto dropped, but when Parliament met on May 31st, the Speech from the Throne, instead of giving expression to the Emperor's desire to grant national autonomy, merely referred in vague language to the necessity there was of constitutional reform and, while preserving the unity of the State, of allowing to each nation full scope for its national and cultural development.

The inability or unwillingness of Government to pursue a decided line of action was all the more to be regretted, as just at this

moment the demand for parliamentary reform had assumed such dimensions in Hungary as only required an open declaration in favour of autonomy to have saved the situation. But the favourable moment was allowed to pass, and though Tisza was forced to resign, he still continued to rule in the person of his successor, Alexander Wekerle. Of Wekerle, who was notorious for saying the direct opposite of what was true, Graf Polzer has one or two characteristic stories. One day in audience with the Emperor Francis Joseph the latter asked him if it was raining. Wekerle replied that it was. The Emperor stepped to the window and looking out said: "This time you've made a mistake, Wekerle: it is really raining." Another time the Emperor drove to see what was supposed to be Attila's grave in Wekerle's company. On the way the Emperor said, "I remember distinctly some years ago being taken to see Attila's grave, but it was quite somewhere else. Which now, my dear Wekerle, is really Attila's grave?" "Whichever your Majesty is pleased to command," was the prompt answer. And this was the man to whom the government of Hungary was entrusted in the fatal year of 1917.

Though disappointed in his plan of appealing through Parliament for the co-operation of the Slavs in a reconstruction of the Empire, Charles still hoped to draw them over to his side. That he had the courage to override Koerber's opposition and put an end to government by paragraph 14 was one point in his favour, but the military rule of the preceding years of the war had been prolific in untold suffering for the Slavs, and particularly for the Czechs. Naturally with the outbreak of the war the question of what attitude the Slavs would assume towards it had become one of first importance. Would their loyalty to the Empire stand the strain placed on it by a war directed in the first place against Serbia and afterwards against Russia? That there was room for doubt cannot be denied, though, as it proved, the conduct of the Slavs at first furnished no justification for it. On the contrary, the enthusiasm for the war was as pronounced in Prague and Agram as it was in Vienna and Buda-Pesth. But as weeks lengthened into months and the victory of Germany no longer appeared so certain, their attitude underwent a visible change. Already in October signs of growing disloyalty were noticeable in Agram and Prague, and there can be no question that the news of the Russian advance on Cracow in November, followed by the desertion to the enemy of two entire regiments, was received by many a Czech with heartfelt delight. The situation no doubt called for severe measures; but to see, as the military authorities did, in every Czech and Pole and Ruthenian a secret traitor and to treat him as such, was only to make matters worse. The mischief was that the action of the military was not only condoned but warmly applauded by every pan-German

Austrian—and who in those days was not a pan-German? For them the war was in a sense a war of liberation. It marked, as the *Arbeiter Zeitung* put it, the dawn of the "German day," which was to set an end to the Slav terror and to establish German supremacy in Central Europe, perhaps, as Naumann in his famous book *Mittleuropa* expressed it, from Hamburg to Bagdad. Doubtless there were many Austrians who thought otherwise and had no desire to see the Empire sacrificed to German ambition. But they were comparatively few in number and unable to influence the course of events.

The stream of "patriotism," strengthened by the exaggerated reports of the success of the submarines, was still running high, when, in the summer of 1917, Charles launched his famous Amnesty. The Amnesty, which was intended to repair so far as possible the mischief done by the military executions and imprisonments, had received the approbation of Dr. von Seidler, who had succeeded Clam-Martinitz as Minister-President in June. There is no need to excuse it as a well-intended but ill-advised piece of generosity on the Emperor's part. On the contrary, it was a carefully-calculated step to recover the sympathies of the Czechs, and that it did not altogether fail in this respect is evident from the effect, we are told by Graf Polzer, it had on Professor Masaryk. Masaryk wanted martyrs for his anti-Austrian propaganda, and the Amnesty threatened to deprive him of his most effective weapon. Unfortunately its effect in this direction was almost at once neutralised by the storm of indignation it raised in pan-German circles, to which Graf Wedel, the German Ambassador, lent all the support he could. But even more mischievous than Wedel's open hostility was the equivocal conduct at this time of Graf Czernin, who, either because he resented the slight to his vanity at not having been consulted in the matter of the Amnesty, or because he wanted to stand well with his friends in Berlin, lost no opportunity of hinting his contempt of his sovereign's schoolboy politics. For Charles the result was most disastrous. From being a rather popular personage he became almost overnight little better than a traitor. But worse was to follow.

As we have said, it was Charles's ardent wish from the very beginning of his reign to put an end to the war. He had shown himself strongly opposed to the German submarine policy. He had no belief in the ultimate victory of Germany in view of America's attitude, and he was under no delusion as to the really critical nature of the situation. Already at the beginning of 1917 it was clear to him that Austria was rapidly nearing the end of her resources. Food, clothing and ammunition were growing dangerously short. The long queues of half-starved women and children waiting for their bread rations and the report of hunger-riots here and there told their own tale. But no one seemed willing to look

the facts in the face. Before America could interfere England would be hungered out. All they had to do was to pull the belt a little tighter. The lies the newspapers told were incredible. In February Charles had tried to induce them to moderate their language. The way they were misleading people, he declared, was little short of criminal. But the influence of the German Ambassador was too strong for him. The position was a painful one. Peace without the consent of Germany was impossible. But was it not possible to sound the Allies as to terms, which, if they proved reasonable might be used to bring pressure to bear on Germany? Graf Czernin he discovered was not opposed to the attempt, provided it did not lead to complications with Germany. But his very platonic offer, to raise no objection if Germany liked to part with Alsace and Lorraine, provided no adequate basis for negotiation, and acting on the advice of his brother-in-law, Prince Sixtus of Bourbon-Parma, Charles, without Czernin's knowledge, wrote a letter to the Prince desiring him to inform President Poincaré unofficially and confidentially that he would use all his influence with his ally in support of France's "just claim" to Alsace and Lorraine.

The scheme came to nothing, and the so-called Sixtus affair had lost all actuality when it was revived in consequence of a reference by Czernin, in a speech he made in April, 1918, to an alleged overture made to him by Clemenceau for peace some time before the beginning of the great German offensive in March. What possessed Czernin to reveal a State secret, unless it was his desire to stand well with Germany on the eve of its anticipated victory, it is impossible to say. But Clemenceau was not inclined to submit to the imputation of being the first to make overtures for peace, and he gave Czernin the lie direct. Czernin retorted, and in self-defence Clemenceau replied that the first overture had come from the Emperor himself. Knowing his own share in the Sixtus affair, Czernin should have drawn in his horns; but his veracity had, he thought, been called in question, and he returned to the charge. Thereupon Clemenceau published Charles's secret letter. To speak vulgarly, the fat was now in the fire, and it was up to Czernin to sacrifice himself. But instead of doing so, he forced the Emperor, under a threat of committing suicide, to disown his own letter. It was a fatal blunder, and we agree with Graf Polzer that it would have been better for Charles if he had said, "Yes! I did write the letter, and I am not ashamed of having done so. If I had succeeded in my object millions would have blessed me." But with the tempter at his elbow he had not the courage to take this step. It was his ruin. When the catastrophe came he stood quite alone, an outlaw by the verdict of his own people, and King George, fearing for his personal safety, sent Colonel Strutt to Eckartsau to protect him and see him safely out of the country.

ROBERT DUNLOP.

PROGRESS ON THE GOLD COAST.

ARTICLE 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations may rank as the Magna Charta of the coloured races! "The well-being and development of peoples not yet able to stand by themselves form a sacred trust for civilisation." The practical application of that principle in the Gold Coast Colony has led to severe criticism, but also to valuable progress. The ultimate result of the policy pursued during recent years can only be determined in the future.

Success or failure? It is not easy to say; for on the one hand a small body of educated Africans already clamours, demanding the self-government for which the bulk of the race is obviously not ready, while on the other a proportion of whites sees a colour menace in every concession and a false step in every attempt to teach the African to stand alone. Well-weighed counsels urge a forward policy tempered by discretion, the gift of true knowledge, instead of its pale reflection seen through Western spy-glasses.

The last Governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, summed up the general policy of Great Britain in a single phrase: "The Progress and Welfare of the People." That is the key-note. Trade extensions, road-making, hygiene and sanitation, education and medical work, and the more direct political efforts summarised as Native Policy—all these are means to an end. We aim at developing a healthy, intelligent, contented African people.

What is the record of the past? We have abolished slavery, we have swept away the horrors of human sacrifices, we have brought civilisation to the African's door; but we have not always seen the inevitable difficulties from his standpoint. Mistakes were almost unavoidable in the circumstances. Men capable of forming opinions have considered that we might have won the fine race of Ashantis to become our allies, and so have saved appalling bloodshed. It is difficult to say whether this idea is tenable. While they remained untutored savages, with the sturdy virtues and the repugnant vices and cruelties of a primitive people, it might have been beyond civilised ingenuity to find a common meeting ground. The argument of superior force they understood. Motives unintelligible to a horrified British public were clearer to the men on the spot, though they found it no easy matter to deal with their results. To take one example, the ancient line of Kings at Koomassie considered human sacrifices a sacred obligation. As in ancient Egypt, their religion demanded that no great man should pass into a new world unattended by a proper retinue of slaves to do him honour.

We once gave valuable lives in the attempt to capture the Golden Stool. It was a curious anti-climax that the jealously-hidden

treasure should be found by road-menders in 1921, and that certain Ashantis, including two chiefs, should have begun stripping off the gold for sale. The intimation that the Government laid no claim to the Stool, but were willing to leave it in African hands, was a wise stroke of policy. Some light was thrown on the workings of the native mind in a speech made by the late Queen-Mother of Mampon when she handed Lady Guggisberg a replica of her own Silver Stool as a wedding present to Princess Mary.

It may be that the King's child, Princess Mary, has heard of the Golden Stool of Ashanti. That is the stool which contains the soul of the Ashanti nation. All we women of Ashanti thank the Governor exceedingly because he has declared to us that the English will never again ask us to hand over that stool. This stool we give gladly. It does not contain our soul, as our Golden Stool does; but it contains all the love of us Queen-Mothers and of our women. The spirit of this love we have bound to the stool with silver fetters, just as we are accustomed to bind our own spirits to the base of our stools.

Whatever mistakes have been made, the past lies behind us. The present is a time of intense difficulty when a single false move may have far-reaching consequences; the future is one of unlimited possibilities. The Gold Coast Colony now includes Ashanti, the Northern Territories, and the narrow strip of Togoland administered under a Mandate, and many small, practically independent native States are within its boundaries. Savage races have been brought in touch with Western civilisation. Groping forward, like children playing at hide and seek in a dark passage, they are attempting to grasp something, perhaps they scarcely know what. One thing alone is certain, they will not go back because they cannot. Behind them is a driving power greater than themselves, the vast urge for knowledge, for progress. They are blindly struggling onward. The "sacred trust" demands that we, the civilised nation who have assumed their guardianship, should not fail them now. We are in the position of a grown man who sees a little child trying to imitate his every action, his walk, his mannerisms, his language. He asks himself—is he the desirable model? The African is a child in civilisation. He is a supreme copyist. Do we want him to achieve a caricature of Western culture? The present danger lies in the production of a type which dons European dress, acquires a smattering of education, then promptly scorns all manual labour and looks down on national traditions.

We have seen the result of what we may term half-baked educational schemes in the Indian unrest of to-day. The problems which confronted Lord Cromer in Egypt are repeated in a slightly varied form on the Gold Coast. He stressed the danger of creating too wide a gap between the higher and the lower classes, and of leaving

the ordinary native "intellectually defenceless in the presence of the hair-brained and empirical projects which the political charlatan, himself but half-educated, will not fail to pour into his credulous ears." Another point on which Lord Cromer was emphatic was the need to educate the women that they might be more reasonable companions for their husbands and more intelligent mothers, and so help to raise the standard of the race. On the Gold Coast the natives themselves are realising this. Witness the telling question put in the Legislative Council by Sir Ofori Atta, a recent visitor to our shores, in which he referred to "the serious deficiency in female education" and contended that the problem "brooked no delay."

The purpose of Sir Gordon Guggisberg's able little book, *The Keystone*, was to summarise Government plans in a form which might reach literate Africans in the "far, far bush." "Education is the Keystone of Progress: mix the materials badly, omit the most important, and the arch will collapse; omit character-training from education and progress will stop." That was the kernel of his argument. He confessed that it was difficult to define character-training, and dwelt on the need for inculcating the "simple virtues." In the Scout and Guide Movements he found the "practical application of principles of Christianity and citizenship." He seems to grope after a word or formula which will suggest religious teaching, without bringing in the red flag of controversy. I should venture to say that what the Gold Coast needs to-day is something akin to the broad yet fearless spirit which inspires *The Christ of the Indian Road* and its companion volume, *The Round Table*.

It is not easy to sketch in a few words the vast educational scheme which is now developing. Briefly, it aims at the extension of primary education, with the addition of instruction in local industries; at extended secondary education, and at the establishment of higher education, including a University course, which shall obviate any need for a journey to Europe, with its attendant disadvantages. "Fifteen Principles" have been clearly set forth, among them equal opportunities for girls, the provision of highly qualified teachers, and organised games as part of school life. The need for thoroughness in all branches is emphasised, and it is laid down that education can be neither compulsory nor free. A Sixteenth Principle, afterwards formulated, deals with trade schools, supplying a technical and literary education to fit young men to become skilled craftsmen.

The foundation stone of Achimota, the model for all other establishments, was laid in 1924. The opening was in 1927. It is divided into the Prince of Wales' School and the Prince of Wales' College. The school contains boarding houses for boys and girls, but boys

will be moved to the college at the age of eight. The college comprises a boys' upper primary school, a secondary school and a University. The University is intended to develop naturally in due course; first to London Matriculation, then to the two Intermediates in Science and Arts.

Much is confidently expected of the Trade Schools in different parts of the colony. Four of these were opened in 1922, and the whole-hearted assistance given by head chiefs, including Sir Ofori, speaks volumes for their appreciation of the need for technical training. They cleared the forest, put up buildings of mud-bricks and wooden tiles, and levelled the playing-fields. These boarding schools are run on Scout principles. Each class is a troop, divided into patrols, and the idea is to develop responsibility and leadership and to uphold the Scout standard of conduct. The lads are trained as carpenters, metal-workers, road-makers, and so on, and they also learn to grow their own food.

The enthusiasm with which technical training is welcomed may be demonstrated by figures. At the technical school first opened in 1909 there were three hundred applications for fifteen vacancies during the years 1925-1926. Future plans include a scheme in which Achimota and the Public Works Department will co-operate to arrange training in practical engineering.

Side by side with education comes the other great need—public health. Considerable strides have been made in sanitation and hygiene, and a number of hospitals, for Europeans and for natives, have been opened. Of the latter, by far the most interesting and remarkable is the Gold Coast Hospital at Accra, for its aims are far-reaching. It is the acknowledged centre of all surgical and medical work in the Colony, and boasts the most up-to-date appliances. Not only is it intended to maintain the highest state of efficiency, but it is to be the centre of the West African Medical School. The object ahead is nothing less than attaining a position in which it can urge upon the Medical Council the recognition of a Gold Coast Degree of Medicine. In the past the African who came to Europe to qualify was severely handicapped by the lack of clinical experience. Here he will be able to acquire it among his own people. African nurses are also needed, and in the wards these dark-skinned Florence Nightingales can train and qualify.

Infant welfare, the vital work begun a few years ago by a few devoted women, now receives government recognition and support. White women doctors have gained the confidence of the mothers and trained African women are assisting in their labours. The Children's Hospital at Accra, of which Princess Marie Louise laid the foundation stone in 1925, was opened in the year following. It is doing noble work in a country where the death-rate of infants

under twelve months old was four hundred in every thousand only seven years ago. During the first eight months after the doors opened over 8,000 little ones received treatment.

Needless to say, there are pitfalls in the way of employing qualified Africans. For instance, the appointment of Dr. Tagoe as medical officer at Dunkwa raised a storm of protest. His patients numbered about 2,000 Africans, but during the cocoa season some twenty whites were fated to seek medical assistance from far away or to accept his ministrations. Repeated protests did not lead to his removal, but the ill-feeling created was regrettable. The colour question remains an apparently insoluble difficulty.

Naturally these forward strides have become possible owing to prosperity. Gold is no longer the staple product of the Coast to which it gives a name, though it remains a valuable asset. The basis of wealth is agriculture; progress has followed a stupendous boom in cocoa. The Colony has leapt to the position of the greatest cocoa-producing country in the world. The record period was 1926-7. December, 1926, saw the largest shipment ever made in one month. After that came a drop, followed by another rise. The spending-power of the people has increased, well-constructed concrete buildings have arisen throughout the country, and new shops and business houses indicate optimistic beliefs in the future. Nevertheless, the enormous expenditure already undertaken and scheduled on a rising scale until the climax in 1936, makes economy imperative. This, coupled with the demands of fair play, has led to a scheme for increased employment of Africans. The political service is not open to them; but no other public department is barred. It is established that £500 per annum will be saved by every African employed. The European is absent six months in every two years, thus requiring many "reliefs"; he also has overseas and family allowance. There will be no compulsory retirement of whites; but the ultimate aim is to replace half the Europeans with Africans.

It is estimated that candidates from Achimota may be expected by 1936. Of course, the whole success of the plan must depend on the degree to which the natives take advantage of the educational facilities provided, and in the future promotion must go to the best man irrespective of colour. Just as a dark skin is not to be a bar, equally it cannot be made a sentimental excuse for undue advancement. Capacity, and capacity alone, must be the determining factor.

The measure of legislative representation granted in 1925 is a step towards native responsibility. On paper the changes in the constitution were excellent. In practice, certain flaws became apparent. The scheme had the merits of simplicity, fairness, and

a due regard for native institutions. This latter is a point to be emphasised; for history demonstrates that a loss of national ideals and customs heralds national deterioration. Our policy is to avoid interference with all traditions which do not war against humanity and justice and to support the influence of the chiefs. Of fourteen unofficial members of the Legislative Council nine are now Africans. Provincial Councils of Head-Chiefs have been created, which elect representatives for the Legislative Council, each province sending a number proportionate to its population and each member elected having one vote for every 10,000 or part thereof in his division or Stool. The idea of instituting vote by ballot was negatived, owing to the primitive condition of the vast majority. It is urged that no principle of democracy is violated, as the chiefs themselves are elected according to native custom. The African had his own theories of the sovereignty of the people long centuries ago. A chief is hedged round with constitutional safeguards. He is in reality the mouthpiece of his Oman Council, without which he can perform no executive or judicial act. As one of them expressed it: "When you are installed as a chief, you become the humblest servant of the State." There is a recognised method of deposing an unsatisfactory ruler.

The era of mutual ignorance appears happily to have been replaced by mutual understanding and a wish to co-operate with the white man. In 1918 most of the head chiefs of the Eastern Province met at Accra and discussed progress hitherto undreamed of, but since achieved.

The heaviest criticism has fallen on the Provincial Councils, which some have condemned as failures. May 17th, 1926, was the day of the first meetings. The Governor sent a message in which he said: "I take the opportunity of impressing upon you that well-weighed recommendations by you in matters which lie clearly within the range of native custom and tradition will be of the greatest assistance to me in coming to a just decision." He also begged them "seriously to consider if they could not arrange for their successors to be educated." In the Western Province, eight out of twenty head chiefs met, but elected no representative for the Legislative Council. In the Central Province half the possible chiefs assembled and elected two members. In the Eastern Province only one was absent out of twelve chiefs, and they duly elected their representatives. The Acting Governor had recourse to his power under Royal Order and nominated Nana Ofori Atta, C.B.E. The Western Province remained unrepresented. Municipal self-government, with rights of elective representation for Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi, arranged with high hopes, has had to be postponed owing both to opposition and supineness.

The Eastern Province "begged to place on record their deep sense of gratitude to H.M.'s Governor for the practical support given to the native administration which has culminated in the inauguration of the Provincial Councils," and the Central Province passed a similar resolution. African members of the Legislative Council have justified their presence. Their criticisms of the Forestry Bill were well-reasoned and valuable. Also the most striking feature of the first meeting of the new Legislative Assembly was a motion of Sir Ofori's. In a clear, temperate speech he showed that certain new diamond-mining regulations infringed the liberties and rights of native land-owners. A special conference was arranged, which he was asked to attend, and the matter was equitably adjusted.

The marked intelligence of individuals seems to indicate that the educated African can become a responsible leader of his people, and that Europeans and Africans can attain to mutual respect and understanding. The spread of this spirit is the hope of the future.

FEDDEN TINDALL.

POLAND AND HER NATIONAL MINORITIES.

THERE is no race against whom it is easier for their neighbours to conjure up righteous indignation and contempt than the Poles. It has been part of the policy of their enemies to traduce them; incapable in politics, casting a blight on trade and industry, a nation of plotters against themselves and their oppressors alike, Jew and priest-ridden—such has been the obloquy poured on this unhappy people.

Like the Irish, while possessing great personal charm and sometimes high culture, they tend to flood other lands with those of their race who most lack these virtues and seem to bring little but poverty and squalor. What wonder that admirers of either race have generally been found only among those who dwell at a safe distance across the sea or beyond the Rhine? Moreover, the friends of Poland have been the enemies of Germany or Russia just as the friends of Ireland have been the enemies of England. Friendship has been based on common political interest, or rather antipathy, and never on intimate knowledge or understanding. How easy it is to take King Henri d'Anjou's precipitate flight from Cracow back to France in 1574 as a warning against personal dealings even between French and Poles, and to conclude that it is best to praise Poland on a strategical chart of Europe as the divinely appointed buffer State without seeking any but a political acquaintance. Such is the mass of prejudice with which Poles, like Irishmen, have to contend. Can a State with such a record prove viable, the doubters query, her provinces racked by war and her sons hounded against each other by three Empires? Furthermore, can Poland succeed in ruling other nationalities when her history seems to prove her inability to rule herself? Many who after ten years spent in watching *Polonia Resurrecta* would dare to answer "Yes" to the first query, still shake their heads to the second, for if they can point to political progress at Warsaw and economic enterprise at Gdynia Harbour, there are no very evident signs of grace in Pommerellia and Upper Silesia, in East Galicia and the White Russian lands between Vilna and the Pripet marshes.

The old Poland, like all East European States, knew little of the principle of nationality. Her kings welcomed German settlers in the West and used their laws; the Town Hall of Posen still bears the mediæval inscription *Jure Teutonico*. You may deny if you will that it was Germans by race who lived under this dispensation, but the German *Laws* stand unchallenged. In the East the character of Poland was moulded by the Act of Union with Lithuania consummated at Lublin in 1569, which put the seal on two centuries

of common rule by monarchs of the Jagiello house sprung from the marriage of the Lithuanian Grand Duke with Queen Jadwiga, heiress of the former Piast rulers of Poland. It was my good fortune last July to wander among the crumbling brick and granite walls of a great castle on a lake-lapped island near the debatable frontier of present-day Lithuania and Poland. Here, at Troki, was the capital of the Grand Dukes in the fourteenth century. The language of their court was White Russian, for Lithuanian till yesterday, for all its kinship with Sanskrit, was a rude peasant tongue unknown to rulers. Their sway reached from the Baltic to Crim Tartary; to this day there dwell in Troki pure-blooded Caraites, an ancient sect of Puritan Jews whose ancestors the Jagiellos brought hither from their Crimean possessions as gardeners, a calling they still pursue. The Russian Tsardom, to which these lands fell, kept up this habit of bringing in foreign settlers deemed clever in agriculture or trade; the nineteenth century saw many a colony of Protestant German farmers interposed between Polish Catholic landlords and Orthodox Ukrainian peasants in Volhynia.

But Bismarckian Germany—best hated by the Polish Prometheus of the three Imperial eagles gnawing at his vitals—set the fatal example of colonising Poland by her own nationals as a political measure. If the Polish police have learnt too well the arts of bribery, of torture, and of thousandfold petty oppression from the Tsarist Okhrana, the Germans, now hoist with their own petard, have taught them how to set about undermining the position of other nationalities within their borders by economic and agrarian measures, by forcible expropriation and by the planting of unwanted settlers. Austria alone gave the Poles good gifts; from her they learnt the art of self-government and some measure of political and religious toleration. But dare to assert this to some Ukrainian zealot from East Galicia and he will retort that the Hapsburg rule, compared with that of Poland, was an Age of Gold. Polyglot Austria existed so long by playing off one nationality against another, on the principle of *Divide et Impera*: the Poles might have their Diet at Lemberg, but Ukrainian nationalism was fostered in their rear to keep their hands full. Now there is none to hold the balance; Ukrainian appetites have risen with the new consciousness of belonging to a race far more numerous than the Poles, and fear as ever stifles toleration and that politic generosity to other races which is rightly claimed as a virtue of Old Poland.

All Polish history points to the polyglot State; if in nearly every province from the Warta in the west to the Dwina and the Dnieper in the east the landlords were Poles, yet the peasants of the polyglot Great Lithuania brought to her by the Union of Lublin were rarely

so, and in the towns and villages dwelt Jews whose ancestors were expelled from Germany, as their names and Yiddish tongue prove. Why then, asks the objective critic of to-day, is there so great a discrepancy between theory and practice, between the principle of "live and let live" proclaimed at Warsaw and solemnly sealed in many a clause of Treaties for the Protection of Minority Rights, and the execution of those very clauses in the border provinces? It is not enough to reply that the Poles are suffering from swelled head and do not really consider other nationalities as deserving of so many "privileges" as these treaties are said to grant. The real reason lies in a confusion of thought. The partitions forced the Poles into a mystical patriotism which bound them to idealise their country in spite of all her faults in order that her spirit might live on. This patriotism had to find its expression in secret societies, plots and insurrections. The theory spoke of a Messianic race made pure by suffering for the healing of the nations, but the practice was too often based on the Jesuit principle of "the end justifies the means."

The revolt of 1863 failed because the Poles, while hoping for support from Napoleon III on behalf of the "principle of nationality," insisted on claiming from Russia the far-flung Eastern provinces of their old polyglot State. This confusion of thought as to the nature and aims of the Polish State still vitiates its policy and causes its servants to persecute minorities much as the Russian Tsardom did, with this significant change for the worse, that the Germans are not exempted from such harsh treatment as they were in Russia till the reign of Alexander III. The Treaty of Versailles, based ostensibly on the principle of nationality, decided in favour of a Great Poland; the Treaty of Riga in 1921 showed the Bolsheviks' willingness to abandon large tracts of outlying territory and gave back to the Poles a considerable slice of the old Lithuanian Grand Duchy partitioned in 1772 in which the landlords were Polish. To this was added by Zeligowski's *coup de main* in 1920 the district of Vilna, in which the majority of town dwellers is Polish and of peasants White Russian. The partition of Upper Silesia in the same year handed over to Poland a large German population together with a mass of Poles who had never been within the unified Polish State.

Thus economic necessity forced the Poles to annex German territory in the west, even beyond their historic claims to the Corridor and Posen. There was no such necessity, however, for the acquisition of vast Eastern provinces, only a sprinkling of whose inhabitants were Poles. These provinces were desolated by war, and included in the Pripet Marshes some of the poorest and most backward districts of all modern Russia. It is here in the

east that the Poles find the greatest obstacle, perhaps, to the building up of a truly Polish national State on lines so utterly different from those of 1569.

A frontier which cuts arbitrarily through White Russian and Ukrainian lands can hardly be made a *cordon sanitaire* against Bolshevism, whose influence is bound to spread among the peasantry on the Polish side whose land-hunger is still unsatisfied. The Minority problem thus becomes predominantly an agrarian one. The peasants of Kieff and Minsk may chafe against Bolshevik requisitions in kind, but their cousins in Poland see two attractive factors in their life: a generous grant of minority rights and a complete absence of landlords. Not long since, I was told, some White Russian peasants from the Polish side went to cut hay in a remote swamp near the frontier. Here they met a party from Soviet Russia on a similar quest, and had to serve as a butt for scornful sallies of which the following example gives the gist: "Oh, you poor backward folk, to think that you still have to give half the hay you cut on his estate to Prince Radziwill!" Little wonder that Polish officials see the Bolshevik spectre behind each White Russian agitator or village leader, and seek to withhold minority rights on the ground that the movement is dangerous to the social order and the State!

The White Russian minority is still in its infancy, and its intelligentsia in the first generation. Its political claims hardly rise as yet to complete independence from Poland. Far different is the case of the Ukrainians. Their married Uniate clergy reared generations of patriots till the Pope imposed celibacy on them a few years since, tightening his hold over these Catholics of the Orthodox rite. From its original home in East Galicia the movement has spread into Volhynia, but lately Russian, and claims to be part and parcel of the Great Ukrainian cause across the Russian border. This restless people is rapidly acquiring the "partition psychology" of nineteenth-century Poles and wondering if anything short of a European war can bring freedom. Since fellow-Ukrainians are included in Czecho-Slovakia and the Roumanian Bukovina they style themselves the victims of a fourfold partition. Like the Alsatians in France and the Irish before the Free State came into being, they spend their time denouncing the evils of centralised government. Some call for autonomy, others, the majority, curse the "Polish Occupation" and work for complete independence.

Of all the minority problems of Poland this is the most burning. Unless the Poles, greatly daring, grant a drastic measure of autonomy to their Ukrainian provinces they will not deserve to keep intact their Great Poland of 1921, which can only be ruled successfully on the old tolerant lines. Such autonomy ought to

include full protection for the Polish landlords and peasants (some 20 per cent. of the population in East Galicia) whose geographical distribution makes it impossible for them to form an Ulster or a Pale. The first step to this autonomy should be the immediate grant of a Ukrainian University in Lemberg, the only city in East Galicia which can provide the necessary libraries, hospitals and museums. This University should be fed by a network of elementary and secondary schools in which minority rights should not, as at present, be at the mercy of local officials who are often anxious to whittle them down to a minimum in order to further Polonisation. Ukrainian teachers should be allowed to teach in Ukrainian schools instead of being sent away to distant parts of West Poland. The attempt to plant colonies of Polish ex-soldiers on non-Polish lands should be given up as a measure tending less to the good cultivation of the soil than to the fostering of political hatred as in Cromwellian Ulster of old. These measures should be carried out under a new Charter of Minority Rights which should free the minorities of the present cumbrous procedure at Geneva. The League itself should have greater rights of remonstrance and investigation within the territory of a State Member.

Impatience and anger at Poland's non-fulfilment of her minority obligations are beside the mark. Poland's record since 1918 could hardly have been better *given the adverse circumstances*, but she has not yet found herself. The good and the evil in her past history are struggling for mastery within her soul. She is eaten up by the worship of sovereignty while still genuinely afraid of her German neighbours and full of memories of the Bolshevik invasion of 1920. Her officials cannot always cast off their inferiority complex and their conspirators' methods. What wonder that they still suspect every German of secret correspondence with Nationalist fire-eaters in Berlin tending to subvert the Polish State, or at the best to build up an economically and culturally superior unit capable of Germanising Poles within Poland? It is too soon, perhaps, to expect a full recognition of the part which loyal German minorities may play as of old in Western Poland. Till this recognition comes it is the duty of the League to intervene in order that a contented population may grow up along the frontiers protected from Polonisation at the hands of the majority. Sooner or later the Polish State will learn the lesson of history and thank those tutelary spirits from Geneva who were concerned to raise up the good within her and banish the evil.

JOHN S. STEPHENS.

RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND REALITY.

PHILOSOPHY is the interpretation of life, and no man can avoid the issue. He may be like Shakespeare's shepherd, knowing that the property of rain is to wet and fire to burn; that good pasture makes fat sheep, and that a great cause of night is lack of the sun. Yet we agree with Touchstone that such a one is a natural philosopher, and quote Corin as a true representative of the philosophy of experience. "I earn that I eat, get that I wear, owe no man hate, envy no man's happiness, glad of other men's good, content with my harm, and the greatest of my pride is to see my ewes graze and my lambs suck." Every man may substitute his own equivalent for the ewes and lambs; it may be an engineering plant, a rose-garden or a library, but if his attitude towards life is not far removed from that of Corin, he has already the elements of a theory of reality, and our argument would be that he is immeasurably the richer for it.

More especially is this true when contact with the facts of life has been deep enough to become religious experience, for a personal knowledge of religion carries with it a very definite metaphysical implication. In the songs of the great religions which have become standard utterances there is a poetic interpretation of life which is nothing less than a philosophy. Similarly the verified utterances of personal religion convey a peculiar certainty about the nature of reality and value. Apart from questions which arise as to the origin and meaning of this certainty, there is the fact that in the great moments of the religious consciousness there is an apprehension of ultimate reality before which the perceptions of sense fade into insignificance, if not into dust and ashes. The witness of religious experience is unanimous and unvarying that there is a light that never was on sea or land, and that by it all the problems of life and conduct are illumined. Sometimes, and for certain temperaments, this spiritual light is so intensely realised that it blots out the landscape of ordinary life. Every type of experience has its extreme and exaggerated forms, and the fanatic's vision of God blinds him to the beauties and the duties of nature and common humanity. Yet it is one of the antinomies of normal faith that by moments of high religious vision all other modes of apprehension are heightened in their intensity, so that your true man of God is the spectator of all time and all existence, but he sees it *sub specie æternitatis*.

We have been told that the facts with which psychology is concerned are as real as a rose or an opera, and it is equally true that the facts of experience with which philosophy is concerned are as real as the fire and rain, the ewes and lambs of Corin. The

imperishable interest of the subject resides in the conviction that when we come to discuss degrees of reality, it is the entities of religion which have the quality of everlastingness. To the man who has the sure grasp of reality which is characteristic of the Fourth Gospel, for example, all the streams of philosophical thought and all the events of history and daily life are tested by the touchstone of permanent meaning and value, or, in the phrase of the apostle, Eternal Life. Truth, beauty, goodness, or whatever may be regarded as essential values, are the fruit of obedience to the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Those who in some blinding flash of self-revelation, or in the quiet progress of spiritual obedience, have experienced this illumination, have no doubt thereafter about the ultimate meaning of life and the purpose which is at the heart of creation.

"Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure."

In any attempt to set forth the verifiable human experiences which are indicated by the word evangelical, with a view to correlating them with exact metaphysics, there is always the probability mentioned by Bradley that we are simply finding bad reasons for accepting what we believe on instinct, or elaborating a philosophical verification of what we really take for granted. The danger will only be avoided if it can be proved that there is a real correspondence between the search for truth in discursive thought and the grasp of truth in evangelical religion. No risk of sophistication must be used as an argument to deter us from thinking out the totality of the universe as it enters into our experience. For many minds the hunger after a final unity in the last reaches of thought is a hunger as for daily bread. The ultimate spiritual authority of the Lord Jesus Christ for the devout Christian, the presence felt by *natural piety*, in Alexander's phrase, and the reality pursued by the metaphysician, cannot be kept in perpetual isolation one from the other. Not from any desire to buttress religion with philosophy, but from the urgent need to clarify our thinking, and in devotion to the cause of truth, do we follow the gleam, with the strength of the conviction that truth is the supreme religious interest.

When we discuss experience and reality we soon learn that experience manifests itself at different levels and as containing logically different forms, which in turn indicate degrees in the aspects of reality. If once we recognise this principle of variety in the structure of knowledge, we shall be prepared to seek light from all ranges of experience on the problems of philosophy, and the metaphysician will be indebted to evangelical religion for some of his concepts, as he is already indebted to biology and physics.

And religion and science in turn will insist on those wider interpretations of their facts which are the fruit of disinterested metaphysical speculation. The philosopher's task is not really remote from that of the devout believer who seeks, in obedience to the apostolic injunction, to give a reason for the hope that is in him, for both metaphysician and Christian disciple are devoting themselves to the quest of the Holy Grail of truth amid the contradictory facts of human experience.

What do we mean by evangelical religion? If the area of experience to be explored is limited by these terms, it is imperative that they should be defined. At the outset, religion may be defined generically as the response of personality to spiritual environment, but we must add that, in our view, that environment is the final reality of life. It is what Bosanquet called "the whole thing that calls forth the whole mind." Within the range of experience so described, there is a distinct type indicated by the adjective evangelical, which, like the word lyrical, has a close relation to personal emotion and sentiment, and is often defined negatively, in terms of what it is not. Evangelical religion is not fundamentally sacramental, nor is it primarily ethical. It is both in so far as it finds expression in organisation, accepting the forms and formulas of historical tradition, and working out its own ethical implications in the activities of ordinary life. Yet the root of evangelicalism is in the evangel: salvation by faith is the central experience. Neither sacraments nor good works are regarded as having primary or saving efficacy: they are the means of grace and the fruits of grace, but they are not the grace itself. No ethical idealist can excel the evangelical Christian in passion for righteousness, but when the moralist asserts that ethics is the heart of the matter he misses the whole significance of personal religion. While your moralist sees only one issue, that between right and wrong, the man of God pursues all the higher values of life, and takes morality in his stride. It is not morality touched with emotion that constitutes religion: rightness with God is at once the dynamic of morality and the metaphysical basis of ethics.

Immediate communion with God, which is the heart of evangelical experience, is co-extensive with Christianity, and is not limited to any one of the great historical communions. At the same time there is an attitude denoted by the word evangelical which is clearly distinct from that which characterises other well-marked forms of religious life and activity. The idea of the corporate Church, with its sacraments and its hierarchy of priests, dominates the Roman Catholic Church, and gives it all the majesty, not to say tyranny, which it has inherited from the Latin genius. Similarly, there are other branches of the Christian Church in which

the sacrificial functions or supernatural powers of the ordained priesthood are regarded as the indispensable *media* of vital religion. And where neither of these systems determines the practices of the religious life, there are many groups in which the elaborate symbolism of church worship has in practice become the principal avenue of approach to God. The evangelical Christian, on the other hand, maintains that the essence of the gospel is personal faith in God and communion with Him, and that this experience is marked by a creative moment usually described as conversion, and by forgiveness of sins, assurance of salvation or religious certainty, and other evidences of a Divine relationship. Although experiences of this type are not unknown in sacerdotal communions,* the emphasis at least distinguishes the evangelical from correlative forms of Christianity.

Evangelical religion is personal and individual, although it is by no means individualist. In this it may claim to be one of the higher forms of religion, and a form of permanent value. Primitive religions deal with the individual simply as a member of a clan, tribe, or race.† One of the distinctions of Old Testament prophecy is its challenge to this authority of the collective conscience or mind. The beginnings of religious individualism are seen most clearly in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and in the Book of Job, but it is when we turn to the New Testament that we meet the real initiator of spiritual autonomy for the individual, in the person of Jesus Christ. Paul makes the care of individual souls his chief concern also, but the idea of the Church as the guardian of the individual becomes of increasing importance in the later apostolic age. A combination of Roman imperialism and European feudalism moulded the mediæval church for better or worse, until the Protestant Reformation reasserted the principle of personal and individual religion, and substituted in evangelical fellowship a spiritual for an external bond.

The revolt of Hobbes and his followers against excessively social theories of human nature established the individualistic point of view which dominated the English Empirical School and the Scottish Common Sense School of psychologists in the eighteenth century, and it is not difficult to see a reflection of this in the emphasis laid by the Evangelical Revival in England on the idea of personal salvation. A wave of humanitarian sympathy and social passion followed upon this Revival, and swept over Western Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with a corresponding tendency towards social reform and a deepened sense of corporate

* See De Sanctis, *Religious Conversion, a Bio-Psychological Study*, a competent study of conversions in the Roman Catholic Church. By the Professor of Psychology in the University of Rome.

† Malinowski, Bronislaw. In *Science, Religion and Reality*, pp. 52 ff.

responsibility, incidentally leading to the building up of a closely-knit organisation of the evangelical churches. But before this wave had spent itself, individualism again found its prophets in Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, in Ibsen and Thomas Hardy. The present generation is deeply concerned about the inalienable right of the individual to a social and religious order which will enable him to develop to the full his own capacity and endowment; and evangelicalism is in line with the most fruitful modern thought when it aims at the salvation of the individual soul, and regards this as the root of social regeneration and the first function of religion.

Empiricism in philosophy was under a cloud at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but it has steadily recaptured its place in the sun through the movement towards the Method of Values, and the whole of this tendency gives an added significance to the appeal to experience which is the generic idea of evangelical religion. Yet we are left at times with the uncomfortable feeling that Fact and Value have been frequently confused. It may be true that, as Sorley said, "the appreciation of moral worth, or of value generally, is as true and immediate a part of our experience as the judgments of perception, and that it, as well as they, forms a part of the data of metaphysics.* Yet unless our appeal to experience is to something more than values, we cannot escape ambiguity. Höffding's faith in the conservation of values may lead us to postulate a power and a will that conserves them, but a postulate is not on the same level of experience as a religious conviction. An empirical philosophy which is to give us an exact metaphysic must do more than trace the bearing of ethical ideas upon the theory of ultimate reality.

A view of the universe which has for its standpoint an evangelical experience is not limited to a theory of values ethical, æsthetic, or intellectual: it includes all these, with an admitted weakness on the æsthetic side, but sees them as comprehended in an experience which is prior to them, both logically and causally.† The angle of vision is wide enough to include both fact and value: we cannot hand over the facts to science, and values to religion, as Canon Streeter seems to do in *Reality*, nor can we build up a Supreme Reality out of the sum total of values, as Pringle-Pattison does in his *Idea of God*. And, while the concepts of activity and meaning have given a new authority to the argument from design, we cannot follow the Archbishop of York when he makes teleology the prime factor in solving the problem of the nature of the universe.‡ It is

* Sorley, W. R. *Moral Values and the Idea of God*, p. 7.

† For evidence of this in Methodist experience, see Dimond, S. G., *Psychology of the Methodist Revival*, pp. 204-7; 213-218.

‡ Temple, William, *Christus Veritas*.

not the category of purpose, but that of love, which is at once the ground of all values and the principle self-revealed in the facts of experience. Canon Raven's *Creator Spirit* and Dr. Wheeler Robinson's *Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit* both approach this question from a point of view at once philosophical and scientific, and their argument would be that biology and psychology bear witness to love rather than to will as the ultimate meaning of life, and that a wide survey of the facts of both scientific and religious experience leads us to a Christ-centred view of the universe.

From the wealth and variety of evangelical experience three characteristic features may be selected to illustrate our thesis, and modern literature, both poetry and prose, will afford abundant material upon which the reader may draw for concrete and dramatic instances of each type. The idea of conversion is central, but the term conversion covers a very wide range of spiritual processes, and it is preferable to limit our study to what may be called the doctrine of the creative moment, the new sense of moral values, and the spiritual supremacy of Christ. It really looks as though conversion and philosophical speculation alike ought to produce alert and candid minds, accessible to new ideas, and quick to respond to the calls of truth; and there is ample proof that this is actually the case, in spite of the fact that glaring examples could be cited from both sides to prove the opposite.

From the metaphysical point of view the significant fact is the "profound conviction of the reality of God," which not only characterises the experience of conversion, but which constitutes a "turning point in spiritual history." This experience can be made the basis of a two-fold inference, and the wide literature of conversion provides abundant evidence that this inference is typical of the characteristics of evangelical religion. In the first place, the perception of reality in that critical moment is made the basis of future activity, and from this fact a certain degree of validity may be inferred. The close connection between belief and activity is apparent in all the everyday concerns of men and women, and it has not only been argued that reality goes before action, in the sense that "If a thing is real to me I act upon it"; but it has been claimed that the relation is closer: that action goes before belief. Bain would say that belief in reality simply means that you tend to act upon it, and the logical issue of this is the pragmatism of James and Schiller: we make our own reality by our selective activity: the truth is what we have stored up for action. This brings us to the value problem over again. Truth is value. We shall be wise if we admit at once that we are here faced with a level of experience which does actually indicate a certain degree in the manifestation of reality.

Our second inference goes further. Truth is value, but for the very simple reason that it is true, that thereby we are really in relation with reality. It is the apprehension of the reality as real that is the basis of action, and the test of reality is not limited to a pragmatic question; it is to be found in the systematic nature of things. The reality of the mature consciousness is always systematic, and the immediate awareness of God which distinguishes the moment of conversion is an apprehension of the whole which, for the constructive intellect, becomes the basis of an increasingly systematised world of experience and of a thoroughly developed view of reality. The intellectual and spiritual freedom which Professor Webb* claims as the outcome of this religious moment is an instance of the way in which the developing inner life finds its fuller capacity when the perception of objective reality carries with it a co-ordination of all the varied aspects of perceptual experience, and at the same time yields a basis for a systematisation of the world of objects as that world is presented by ordinary apprehension.

In his account of the evangelical experience which provided a creative moment in his life, Professor Webb omitted any reference to moral issues, since they were beside the mark for his immediate purpose. Yet one of the distinctive marks of this type of experience is the startling clearness with which moral values stand out; right and wrong, good and evil, are drawn with the sharpest lines of definition. One of my correspondents, a University student from a religious home, writes, "I was awake all night, facing the fact that I had done wrong. All my ideas of my own character were shattered by the fact that I had allowed a lower influence to master me. The thought of God was with me, but He seemed remote from the actual conflict in which I was engaged. After a short, broken sleep, as with a flash of lightning, there came an instant in which the whole universe seemed to be summed up in a terrific sense of the holiness of God, and of the intolerable dereliction of falling short of his purpose. From the foundations of the universe seemed to come a blaze of illumination upon the nature of moral choice. Compared with obedience to that light, everything else in the world was dust and ashes." That is a twentieth-century experience, and it is a comment on Browning's doctrine of the moment

"When the spirit's true endowments
Stand out plainly from its false ones. . . .
There are flashes struck from midnights."

This quickened sense of moral values may be the result of a revolt of the higher self against lower levels of thought and action, but the self-estimate is determined and conditioned by a vision of

* Webb, C. C. J., *Outline of a Philosophy of Religion*, in *Contemporary British Philosophy*, Second Series.

God. In any case, as soon as it is made the starting point for new decisions, it is the act of personality breaking away from its past as a preliminary step in ethical progress. The apprehension of the Infinite and Holy as the ultimate reality of the universe; the consciousness of being arraigned before the final moral order of the world; these are the ground of penitence (*metanoia*), and the "seeker after salvation" presents us with another level of experience which indicates yet another degree in the perception of indubitable reality.

In Christian experience the release from an intolerable weight of self-condemnation is identified with a new and overwhelming sense of the love of God, and this love is incarnate, it is manifest in a presence so real as almost to convey a sensation of touch. The spiritual experience is interpreted in the light of the whole range of Christian truth, and frequently the language of the New Testament is adopted for its description; but "percepts without concepts," as Kant remarked, "are blind," and the vocabulary and metaphors of religious experience express facts and relations which are none the less real because they find their most adequate expression in the phrases of the Bible.

In the last resort, these experiences are a living process, and do not lend themselves to definition and analysis, yet they carry with them their own evidence that they are rooted in the nature of reality. To build a system of thought upon an intimate individual experience is a perilous proceeding, yet there is no disputing the fact that the evangelical tradition has made a real contribution to the interpretation of life. There is something to be said for the philosophy of those who have entered into a conscious spiritual experience, personal and social, which they find identified with the Jesus of the Gospels. The classic voice of the New Testament record, the inner imperative of the moral judgment, the spiritual environment which is identified with the immediate influence of the Eternal Christ, unite in claiming absolute allegiance. The man who has experienced this has a *given* with which thought can deal: he has data out of which he can construct an order and a systematic view of life. Instead of saying "I think," he might well say, as Mr. Bertrand Russell suggests in quite another connection, "It thinks in me," or "my world in me takes the shape that." The very form of the phrase is reminiscent of the vivid utterance of Saint Paul, "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." At its heart and core, evangelical experience consists in an immediate personal communion between man and his Saviour, so deep, so vital in its ethical and intellectual issues, that it may claim to be grounded in the very nature of the universe.

S. G. DIMOND.

A LOTHARIO OF THE DOWNS.

IN the cold, white light of a breathless night he sought the trysting-place. It was a night of music. Music of a kind that is sensed rather than heard. Music conceived by the witchcraft of a virgin Luna, born in a velvet silence pricked by the pipes of Pan; subtle music woven beneath the spell of such mysteries as are wont to walk abroad when creation lies at rest. Above, the incredible firmament sprinkled with arpeggios of pearls, the age-old line of yews that marched like a phalanx of thunderous bass chords into the faintly-streaked horizon, and on all sides swelled the triumphant chorus that ever rises to herald the eternal miracle of Spring.

One there was who received the call that mad March night. And arose as a giant rejoicing in his strength, hasting to the fulfilment of Nature's will.

But it behoved him to go warily. Granted that men and dogs might be out of action for the moment, yet there was one who would assuredly be hot upon the warpath, his appetite at razor-edge just now with four or five months of comparative leanness to make good.

On sped Lothario through the dimly-lit spaces, long, sensitive ears pressed flat against his back as flying feet flung behind him plough or pasture, hill or dale, the effortless ease of the stiffest climb an odd contradiction to the laboured tacking course necessitated by each descent. For Nature has fashioned those preposterous hind legs of his for taking up-gradients at express speed, and it is no uncommon thing to see a hare overbalance altogether when forced to take a sharp down-grade full tilt, perchance even to topple over and reach the foot in a series of undignified somersaults. But nothing lives that can give him points on a straight trek uphill!

On—on—and ever with him the insistent dread lest he arrive too late; arrive, that is, to find another at the trysting-place before him, some rival from the hills beside the river, or maybe from the plains across the Weald, one who had likewise hied him forth in response to the call of this magnetic night, heedless alike of any claim beside his own, scornful of any creed that proclaims not the Gospel of Self—Number One first, and let any old devil take the rest. . . !

For of such is the kingdom of Pan.

On—on—until at length the great funereal pile of the Wendlesham Beeches loomed ahead in the dim religious light, a thousand naked stems already tingling with the rise of sap, though all too meagre cover still for roosting pheasants. 'Twas here that Reynard the relentless had his tabernacle pitched, this the danger-zone that must needs be negotiated ere he could make a certain wind-swept

stretch of open downland, where his unerring instinct whispered that the charmer would be awaiting the answer to her call.

And 'twas here, sure enough, that the first check awaited him. Just the ghost of a low, strangled cry, scarcely audible no doubt to human ears, but, to the keener senses of the wild, a very patent token of the terror that walketh in darkness! The terror engrossed within a long, red, sinuous form, which had evidently that moment snapped up some feckless wanderer a bare half-dozen yards from his very path.

Staggering shocks are as much a part of the general scheme of things in the kingdom of Pan as lightning action is a second nature. Instinctively Lothario shot round and doubled on his tracks, bearing off presently at a tangent to make for lower ground. Reynard himself would be safely occupied for a space, but it was always on the cards that his vixen might be out in the same direction. As, indeed, she was. A breath of her unmistakable effluvium struck him at the moment of reaching the river that wound corkscrew-fashion through the valley, and no doubt even that dauntless heart must have missed a beat when he found himself suddenly enclosed within a triangle of which two sides were broad, deep water, and the base covered by a swift runner thirsting for his blood! Truly a quandary before which the stoutest might well flinch. River to right of him, river to left of him, river in front of him—and behind. . . . And the voice of Spring exultant in the air! No, he must not die! He could not die! And why should he die?

At the same time he was quick to realise that this was a very different proposition from being chased by that pack of harriers from Stonegate. Time and again had he succeeded in fooling those well-meaning, though too credulous, animals, by the simple device of suddenly doubling back on his tracks for a short distance, and then taking a mighty leap at right angles when they were almost upon him; after which all he had to do was to lie grinning to himself as the entire string of them streamed forward on the original trail like a flock of silly sheep. Naturally their quarry was half-a-mile away in another direction when they reached the end of that cul-de-sac of scent so ingeniously prepared for their undoing!

Occasions could be recorded, too, upon which he had owed his salvation, when hard pressed by hounds, to an almost ludicrous stroke of bluff. Chancing one day to stumble upon another hare crouching in its "form" behind a clump of sheltering bushes, the brilliant inspiration had seized him to eject his relative and appropriate its place. Since then the ruse had never failed to work. Hounds would observe their hare disappear from view, they would

observe a hare emerge and cut off at right-angles before their very eyes—and how should they suspect that their quarry had changed his identity while retaining his outward form? Canine psychology could scarcely be expected to rise to the point of noting the fact that the hare which emerged was many degrees fresher than the one which had disappeared for that infinitesimal space of time, and it was not in their nature to bother about observing the precise letter of the trail so long as their prey remained in full view!

That was all very well, however. The dilemma that confronted him now was of a far more serious character. Reynard and his ilk knew how to use their wits as well as their physical senses, and occasions will arise when an ounce of gumption goes further than many pounds of blind obedience. Cunning begets cunning; and, wits pitted against wits, it is only he that can outwit the other who scores the odd trick—and a singularly odd trick it will have to be to score off such a veteran at the game!

Without an instant's hesitation Lothario took the water; for his race, although not exactly swimmers from choice, can render excellent account of themselves under stress of necessity. And he purposely took off a clear six or seven feet from the actual brink, on the assumption that his pursuer would interpret the abrupt cessation of scent as an indication that he had funked the water, and consequently waste a few seconds casting about before ultimately deciding to cross. (Let it be here put on record that, of all the flagrant misnomers that flesh is heir to, "hare-brained" might well be chosen to head the list.)

Once in the water, the "little grey cells" soon showed the stuff that they were made of. His natural course would have been to steer a direct line across. But would not the tell-tale scent inevitably be resumed at the moment of landing? Likewise the idea of swimming down-stream for a minute or two before landing was rejected as far too amateurish, for all that this ruse had more than once served him well with those painfully unsophisticated harriers! It behoved him to remember that in the present case he had a foe worthy of his steel, one who would be up to dodges of that description, a pursuer who, instead of wasting precious time casting about for scent upon reaching the opposite bank, would as like as not come tearing down-stream at full speed with the object of heading him off while still in the water.

The one thing essential was to devise some means of definitely destroying that incriminating scent of his. A mere temporary break would but postpone the hour of doom. The line must be broken in a fashion that would admit of no repair. And to effect this object, he must not only meet his pursuer on her own ground, but he must go one better. 'Twill not always serve merely to

counter a move—there are occasions when the only chance is to keep a move ahead.

Lothario came not of a race that lets either grass grow, or water flow, over-long underfoot. The sound of a sharp staccato yap-yap at uncomfortably close quarters served to accelerate the decision brewing within that alert brown cranium, and the next instant he had turned and was striking out with the desperation of one who knew that there was not a second to lose, and the confidence of one who knew that he was without a peer in the arts of subterfuge. For it might take a fox to guess that his quarry would have the wit to swim down-stream for the purpose of breaking scent, but it takes a hare to anticipate that brain-wave, and double-cross the Prince of Craft by deliberately choosing the path of most resistance and proceeding to swim *up-stream*!

It has been said that the gods help those who help themselves, but surely the very stars in their courses must have been ranged upon the side of Lothario that night! Barely two score yards had he covered, his powerful hind-legs making easy way against the gentle current, when he came to a broad belt of waste land studded with stout furze bushes, the nearest of which straggled down to within a few feet of the water's edge. Here a rudely-fashioned raft of logs floated at the end of a cord, and the twinkling of lights showed where the cottage of one of the Wendlesham wood-cutters nestled under the lee of a dense spinney.

What a stroke of luck! Provided, of course, that the distance between the raft and the nearest bush should prove within the scope of one of his colossal leaps. Full well he knew that scent must have something to cling to. The vixen would be running with nose glued to earth, and the last thing in her mind would be to seek for clues among the upper branches of a furze bush! Which is how it came about that, some moments later, a disgruntled red beast, returning from a fruitless race down-stream to try the vague chance of a cast higher up, actually passed without suspicion the very spot where a lithe brown figure had sped through the air but a few seconds since!

As may be imagined, it had proved a comparatively simple matter for one of Lothario's natural agility to scramble upon the raft, though every ounce he could muster was required for the leap which forthwith landed him squarely on the summit of the nearest furze bush without touching earth. From this to the next bush was but a skip, and from that point onwards it was merely a question of hopping from one to another, as though upon a series of gigantic stepping-stones, until eventually he found himself within an easy spring of the quick-set hedge that enclosed the woodcutter's garden. And here indeed was a heaven-sent opportunity for increasing the

break in his scent to a degree that might well remove any further cause for anxiety! Thus it fell out that the woodcutter's wife, pacing an upper room with a fretful infant, and glancing through the window at that identical moment, might have wondered to this day whether she could have been "seeing things," had not her good man, seeking solace with his pipe downstairs until the brat settled off, also chanced to witness the unwonted spectacle of a magnificent hare sprinting along the top of the garden hedge until it disappeared from view round the back of the cottage.

And so again the hunted became hunter, as, speeding forward once more with no thought but to obey the call of this glad, mad night in March, he presently came racing across the broad, wind-swept stretch of Cranleigh Down.

Could it have been that she whom he sought had sensed his coming? Certainly it looked as though there were a distinct air of expectation about the attitude of a bright-eyed brown figure, whom he suddenly came upon in a declivity between some clumps of burnet-roses. Reared up to her full height, the sensitive nostrils twitching significantly, cocked ears spread open like the blades of a propeller, she gave the impression of one with every nerve and fibre of her being on the alert for some momentous happening. On his approach, however, she dropped to earth again, as though seized with a sudden fit of coyness, and began to strip the bark from a seedling oak with a display of nonchalance that contrasted almost comically with the eagerness of a moment since.

Thus did Lothario meet the bride for whom he had braved the perils of the night. And, having won through, what was there to prevent him from then and there claiming his own? Nothing—apparently. A good deal—actually. The force of inherited instinct is proverbial, and the would-be suitor needed no reminding of a certain time-honoured little piece of ritual that had to be disposed of ere he could feel free to consummate the desire of his heart. Even in the kingdom of Pan the wedding ceremony often entails a function of considerable account. Lothario had found his Dulcinea, but etiquette would not be satisfied with that. She was not his yet. And who knew what might not transpire in between, with Spring in the air, and rivalry and danger stalking hand in hand?

And so the game began. Dulcinea had made the first move in pretending not to see him. Lothario immediately responded in like fashion. Ostentatiously he turned his back upon the fair one, and set to nibbling anything that came to hand. This exquisite rudeness endured for some moments, but at last Dulcinea seemed to find some cue, and made a couple of springs which landed her a pace or two in front of him, having contrived in passing to administer a scarcely perceptible flick with one of her hindlegs. His attention

thus arrested, she proceeded to amble leisurely forward on a course that represented an imaginary circle of some thirty or forty yards in diameter, of which he was the centre. As though to emphasise her complete indifference, from time to time she would pause to nibble, or suck a drop or two of moisture from the dew-bespangled herbage.

Lothario sat watching—precisely as though he were a judge putting her through her paces—until she had described the complete circle. This may have been the cue for which he in his turn was waiting; at any rate, it was at this point that he appeared suddenly galvanised into life. With a couple of tremendous bounds he had dropped into line a few feet in the rear as she was in the act of starting forward to repeat the course, and the next instant saw him lolloping leisurely along behind, pausing obediently when she paused, nibbling when she nibbled, consistently keeping the same distance, and generally playing the rôle of a detective trailing a suspect, or the obsequious suite of an Eastern potentate, rather than that of the ardent suitor yearning to pour forth the vials of his adoration before the lady of his choice!

Four or five minutes, maybe, this grotesque game of follow-my-leader had been in operation, when something occurred that was evidently not on the programme. Not on Lothario's, at any rate, although how far the keener feminine intuition was capable of anticipating him in this respect might conceivably be open to conjecture. Be that as it may, it came about that barely half a circle had been completed before the leader pulled up with unpremeditated abruptness in the very act of skipping over an ant-castle that lay in the course. Her companion immediately followed suit, and an instant later the pair of them were standing reared up to their full height, every sense on the *qui vive* to give warning of whatever the night should bring. The lives of their kind are made up of sudden alarms. Maybe the fitful rustling of a breeze or the crackling of a twig—at times no more than the falling of a leaf or the passing of a cloud across the moon—will suffice to send these timorous sprites scurrying off in unreasoning panic. Creatures of the wild cannot afford to take chances. They hold the ninety-and-nine that are safe to be well lost for the one that is not.

Followed a moment or two that palpitated with suspense, ere a sudden coquettish frisk on the part of the lady, as she relapsed into her natural posture, suggested that she at least had read the symbols of the night—and viewed therein a prospect which to her at least appeared the reverse of distasteful! Lothario, on the contrary, still remained rooted to the spot, but his long, muscular form had begun to quiver all over, the great luminous eyes to gleam like living moonstones in the eerie light. . . . Could it be possible that

rivalry was about to enter the field—that the one had sensed its coming, and, woman-like, rejoiced; while the other, warrior-like, instinctively prepared to array himself for battle? Or was it, after all, only in the natural order of things that some other knight-errant should also have chanced to pick up the S.O.S. broadcast across the countryside this mad March night?

At first the bare suggestion of a shadow that came flying at an amazing speed over the ridge—gradually gathering substance as it tacked across the slope in a cloud of scattered spray from the reeking grass—then vanished for a space behind a group of briars. . . . And the next instant Lothario found himself confronted by a gigantic buck-hare of the breed that grew in the plains across the Weald.

For two or three breathless seconds the rivals crouched facing one another, murder flashing from the eyes of one, the other twitching from head to foot in a fury of indignation that any should dare to dispute the claim of one who had so unquestionably been first in the field. Then, all in a moment, as though acting upon some given signal, the pair had simultaneously sprung to their feet, and, reared erect to their utmost capacity, were solemnly revolving round each other after the manner of prize-fighters manœuvring for an opening. It was not long before one of them saw his chance, and struck with lightning swiftness; the other parried with equal skill, and an instant later four muscular little forepaws were going like flails, battering away at each others' faces with a strength and velocity almost incredible in creatures of such comparatively insignificant proportions.

But it was not all straightforward work by any means! Was it for nothing that Lothario had earned a reputation for cunning that could give points even to that pastmaster of subterfuge from whom he had just escaped? So now, one or the other would suddenly turn about and feign retreat, inciting his opponent to pursue that he might seize an auspicious moment to swing round and fall upon him with a shock that no doubt derived an added force from its unexpectedness. Occasionally one of them would leap high into the air for the chance of getting in a surreptitious body-blow, for no Queensberry rules obtain in Nature's ring, and those powerful hindlegs are capable of a kick that would easily rip up the recipient from stem to stern.

And so for a space the battle raged, strategy to the rescue whenever breath ran short, strength gaining fresh impetus from fury at the failure of strategy. The newcomer had a nasty trick of suddenly bolting into a dense clump of something or other, knowing that his adversary would pursue, so to lie in wait as children do when playing hide-and-seek, and thus get a chance of inflicting

cruel punishment as the latter struggled out through the hampering twigs. He tried this on once too often, however, for Lothario turned the tables rather neatly by racing round the obstruction instead of following, then, crouching low while the other emerged, took him in the rear with such deadly effect that thenceforward this particular trick went rather out of favour. From time to time, some especially violent kick, skilfully dodged, would cause the kicker, impelled by the force of his own momentum, to subside flat on his back, with the opponent swift to leap upon him, thus to grapple and roll over together in a maelstrom of whirling limbs, clouds of spray, and flying tufts of fur.

And what of the fair charmer meanwhile? How did Dulcinea comport herself while valiant knights were striving to tear each other to ribands on her account? Too much to expect, no doubt, that she would go so far as to take any definite part in the contest, but surely she might, for very decency, have contrived to work up at least some sort of mild interest in the proceedings? Even the timorous hind will stand and watch with keen concern while stags do battle for her favour. One would have thought that, even as the human champion in tourney, sport, or love, has ever fought the better for the plaudits of the fair, so would the combatants in Nature's ring derive some additional stimulus from the presence of a sympathetic gallery. And the very last thing one would have expected would have been for the gallery to turn its back with an air of complete detachment, and address itself to the dissection of a dandelion root!

The only marvel is that, in face of such criminal indifference, those two splendid fellows should have considered her worth fighting for! Or—Is it possible—Aha! Can that be the reason why?

Yes! can it be possible that some such element had begun to work in the mind of the challenger, that after a while it seemed as though half the sting had gone from his blows? Or was it entirely through the superior prowess of the challenged, that ere long the latter contrived to break through his opponent's guard completely and send him spinning head over heels into a tangle of bracken and whin-bush? May it be regarded as even remotely conceivable that it was disgust—rather than exhaustion—which eventually turned the scale in that momentous contest, and this with such effect that it required but a single repetition of the same drastic treatment for Lothario to find himself a moment later left unchallenged in the field? Or is it utterly beyond the pale of probability that the spectacle of yonder languorous, lackadaisical, lukewarm lump of passionless passivity, phlegmatically munching dandelion roots while blood, fur and fury flew as spray on her behalf, could have

begotten a sudden conviction that the game was hardly worth the candle?

Passing strange are the ways of Nature! Advance the course of the seasons by a quarter span, and behold that supposed incarnation of passionless passivity transformed at one touch into a veritable Amazon—the touch of an interfering human who had accidentally stumbled upon the hiding-place of one of her precious leverets. Again and again did the plucky Dulcinea return to the charge, tearing and slashing with tooth and claw at the figure which she had found stooping over her little one, until his hands were in such sorry state that he was forced at length to desist while she snatched it up and dashed away to safety!

Could that doughty champion from across the Weald have probed the unforeseen, who knows but that our gay Lothario might not have come into his kingdom after all?

H. W. SHEPHEARD-WALWYN.

HISTORY IN THE LONDON STREETS.

THE street names of London reek of history, walk where we will. Fire has destroyed most of the houses and mansions, and fanaticism, ages since, laid low the monasteries and priestly colleges. Many streets have been widened, some lengthened, some built over, others cut in half. A curious example of the last process is Crooked Lane in Cannon Street, which belies its name by being perfectly straight. But before London Bridge was built a century ago it was really crooked, forming an elbow as it turned south-east to join Fish Street Hill. There is little indeed left to us now but the names of the streets, the undying repositories of London's history. Perhaps "undying" is the wrong word, for even here the vandal has been at work changing ancient names. It was doubtless pardonable to alter Stinking Lane to Butcher Hall Lane (now King Edward Street), but what a pretty bit of history was spoilt when Scalding Alley, where the butchers of the Stocks Market dressed their tripe, was changed to St. Mildred's Court, or the attractively named Conyhope Lane nearby to Grocers' Hall Court. In that lane stood from the thirteenth century to the Reformation a chapel of Corpus Christi known as St. Mary de Conyhope. Another change that seems quite unnecessary was that of the street known as Old Bethlem, commemorating the site of the first Bethlem Hospital, which was renamed Liverpool Street early in the nineteenth century after Lord Liverpool, the then Prime Minister.

In the course of building large blocks of offices and business premises hundreds of old courts and alleys have been altogether obliterated, and it is for this reason that the number of taverns commemorated in street names is so small in proportion to their old-time ubiquity. Until the nineteenth century the City abounded with alleyways, the ancient approaches to inns, named after Red Lions, Black Bulls, Blue Boars, and all the other favourite festive titles, but few of them are left to-day. Curiously enough, although the dozens of Red Lions have left scarcely a trace, there are at least three Plough Courts in the City—in Barbican, Fetter Lane, and Lombard Street—a tavern name comparatively rare. However, we still have some picturesque reminders of ancient inns in Lily Pot Lane, Hen and Chickens Court, George and Catherine Wheel Alley, Green Dragon Court, and Half Moon Passage.

Among the most interesting names in this connection is Panyer Alley in Paternoster Row, where the old sculptured sign of the naked boy sitting on a pannier or bread basket can still be seen let into the wall of a house. The Panyer Inn is mentioned in 1430, and in 1527 it belonged to one Isabel Smyth, who bequeathed it to the Fraternity of St. Charity and St. John of "pape," whose little

burial ground can still be seen in Camomile Street, Bishopsgate. They had not long to enjoy the gift, for they were swept away at the Reformation eleven years later. The origin of the stone sign seems to have some connection with the neighbouring cornmarket of St. Michael le Quern, held in the middle ages by the corner of Paternoster Row and Cheapside. It has even been suggested that the boy and pannier was first set up in memory of a grant by King Alfred of a town house hereabouts, together with market rights, to the Bishop of the Mercians.

Equally interesting is Three Cranes Lane in Thames Street, the site of the famous Three Cranes mentioned by Machyn the diarist in 1552, and leading to Three Cranes Wharf, a favourite starting-off place in the sixteenth century for the new Lord Mayor when he took his barge to Westminster to be sworn in. It was also a landing place for passengers going down the river from Westminster, who would ride to Billingsgate and re-embark there in order to avoid the necessity of shooting the bridge. Cardinal Wolsey is recorded to have done this. In Three Cranes Lane was the "Mansion House" of Henry Picard, the fourteenth-century Mayor, where he feasted four kings in one day, as pictured on a panel in the Royal Exchange. Pope's Head Alley in Cornhill is another site that tradition says was connected with kings. It is first heard of in the reign of Henry VII, but is said to have been owned by the Crown as far back as the time of John.

Because in the middle ages taverns sold only wine, while ale was served mainly at the breweries where it was made, the latter were much more numerous than the former. Nevertheless, it seems probable that only one brewery is remembered in a street name. This is Cross Lane, a little alley connecting Suffolk Lane and Bush Lane in Cannon Street. It was the site of the "Brewhouse of the Cross," and was owned in the fourteenth century by John Northampton, alderman of Dowgate and Mayor for two years, 1381-1383. His was a time of great discord between rival factions, and Northampton, posing as the friend of the poor, caused £80 worth of farthings to be coined at the Tower so that anyone could buy a farthingworth of ale or a farthing loaf.

The names of many other City streets are more directly connected with the famous men of the past, such as Philpot Lane, the home of the redoubtable fourteenth-century alderman of Cornhill, and Mayor in 1378. Sir John Philpot was knighted with Sir William Walworth at Smithfield after the death of Wat Tyler. During his year of office he fitted out a fleet at his own cost to free the seas of a noted pirate, John Mercer, who with fifteen ships was making havoc of shipping round the coast. Mercer was captured with all his ships. Philpot died in 1384 and was buried in the

Greyfriars' Church in Newgate Street. Sir John Pulteney, several times Mayor earlier in the same century, has left his name in Laurence Pountney Hill. Here he lived in the Manor of the Rose on the west side of the hill below Suffolk Lane, a house which he obtained the King's permission to fortify. Before the century was out it passed to the Earl of Arundel and afterwards to various members of the nobility, whereby it was several times forfeited to the Crown when they were attainted of treason. In 1561 its gatehouse, courtyard and chapel were purchased by the Merchant Taylors, and here they started their grammar school, which remained on the same spot until its removal to the Charterhouse in 1875.

Many streets and lanes commemorate the town houses of the nobility, bishops, abbots and priors. Among them are Suffolk Lane in Cannon Street, with Ducksfoot Lane—the Duke's Foot Lane—leading to it; Northumberland Alley, Fenchurch Street; Bevis Marks, the house of the Abbots of Bury; Bridgewater Square; Devonshire Street and Cavendish Court in Bishopsgate; Oxford Court in Cannon Street; and many more. Among the most interesting of them is Warwick Lane in Newgate Street, named after Warwick Inn, the house of the earls of that name. Here in 1458 Richard of Warwick the King Maker lodged with 600 followers dressed all in red jackets marked with his cognisance, the ragged staff. At the same time the various contending lords, Yorkist and Lancastrian, marched on London with their followers and camped at several spots within and without the City, such as Baynard's Castle, Coldharbour, and around Temple Bar. In face of this menace to the capital the Mayor raised five thousand citizens well armed, and daily made the round of the City until the King arrived and made peace, persuading them all to join in a solemn procession to St. Paul's in token of amity.

The associations of another street—George Lane in St. Botolph's Lane—give us a glimpse of the domestic conditions of the fifteenth century. George Lane takes its name from the church of St. George, now demolished, but perhaps it is not stretching imagination too far if we suppose that the great fifteenth-century house known as the George at Billingsgate also derived its name from the church. Fortunately an inventory of its contents, taken in 1531 and still preserved, enables us to form some conception of a mediæval house and its appurtenances. The George possessed a hall, a parlour, shop, counting-house, buttery, four bedrooms and two garrets. Most of the beds were equipped with tester, celer, and curtains. The master's bedroom had an altar for his private devotions, a crucifix, an image of Our Lady, and a pax or kissing-box, besides cupboards, stools, candlesticks, and tables of cypress

wood. The walls of the rooms were hung with tapestry and the floors covered with Kentish carpets. The windows were hung with curtains, and hanging in the hall was a "pageant of Jesus"—a religious picture. The parlour had tables for dice and hazard; chairs, forms, and cushions of Nantes work, while on the wall were halberds, poleaxes and bucklers. The buttery possessed fourteen brass pots, a "freter chaffir," and wine measures, chargers, platters, dishes, porringers, and kettles. The form of the kitchen fireplace is indicated by a pot-hanger and pot-hook. There was also a great stock of napery, plate, and clothing for the master and mistress, all which is given in minute detail.

Former aspects of city life and physical conditions that have long passed away are remembered in the names of the wards and many of the streets. It is needless to dwell on such obvious examples as London Wall, Fleet Street, and Fleet Lane, whose sharp descent shows the great width of the ancient river bed, or Holborn—the Holebourne—one of the variant names of the Fleet River. Portsoken, with its meaning of the "City Liberty," indicates the earliest suburb of London, dating from Saxon times, while by the middle ages there were suburbs all round the town. The Knightengild, the body of knights who first held Portsoken, is thought to be remembered in Nightingale Lane, East Smithfield. Moorfields, the great marsh outside the walls, has given us the street of that name and Moor Lane, which skirted its edge. The street now called Moorfields was one of the fashionable "Walks of Moorfields" when it was laid out in gardens in the seventeenth century, and became the recreation ground of London. Barge Yard in Bucklersbury marks the great house, at one time called the Barge because shipping used to ascend the Walbrook to that point, of the family of Buckerel, who gave their name to the street in the thirteenth century. Bird in Hand Court, not far away, is a corruption of Bordhawelane, derived from a bordel, or stew. Boss Court in Upper Thames Street reminds us of the time when water was obtained largely from springs, which were conducted to the surface of the street by a boss or vent. Formerly there were several Boss Courts and Boss Alleys in the City.

Old Jewry in Cheapside and Jewry Street in Aldgate keep alive the settlement of Jews in London before their expulsion about 1290. The former is of especial interest; it was sometimes called Colechurch Lane from the church of St. Mary Colechurch at its southern end, and sometimes Sakfrerelane from the Friars of the Sack near the other end. Their house, which appears to have stood where is now the cul-de-sac known as Old Jewry Chambers, was the Jews' synagogue up to the thirteenth century. After their expulsion it was given to the Friars of the Sack, or Penitential Friars, who

habitually wore sackcloth and lived entirely by begging, in return for sixty silver marks contributed to the upkeep of London Bridge. In the reign of Henry III Lord Fitzwalter, whose house adjoined, prayed the King that the friars might assign their chapel to him, or in plain terms that they might be expelled. Afterwards two Mayors—Robert Large and Hugh Clopton—held their mayoralties there, and by the sixteenth century it had become the Windmill Inn, celebrated by Ben Jonson in *Every Man in his Humour*. Eventually it came into the possession of the Grocers' Company.

Tower Royal in Cannon Street takes us back to the thirteenth century, when the foreign wine merchants lodged and traded in the district, for in those days it was customary for merchants to accompany their goods abroad. After them it was called La Reole, from a town of that name in Gascony, of which "Royal" is a corruption. "Tower" was added on account of a great house there belonging at one time to the Crown. In 1331 Edward III granted it to Queen Philippa for her wardrobe, hence it was sometimes known as the Queen's Wardrobe.

Shoe Lane has nothing to do with shoes; it is named after an ancient well called Showelle at the Holborn end, but where the well got its name is not apparent. Staple Inn in Holborn was formerly called Staple Hall or Stapledhall and is the last of several so named. The most usual application of the word staple—a wool market—is not likely to have originated Staple Hall; it was more probably a hall built with pillars as a prominent feature, or with "stuples" or posts outside to mark its boundaries. Tokenhouse Yard in Lothbury is where farthing tokens were issued in the seventeenth century. Turnagain Lane in Farringdon Street indicates an ancient cul-de-sac; in former times there was another near Allhallows the Great in Thames Street, under the name of Wendegaynelane. Our familiarity with the Mansion House usually prevents us from realising what a peculiar name is this for the residence of London's chief magistrate. Yet it is but another relic of conditions long passed away, when each new Lord Mayor used to hire some great house, such as a company hall or the mansion of a merchant prince, in which to pass his year of office. Because it had to be spacious to accommodate the great functions inseparable from the office it came to be known as "The Lord Mayor's Mansion House," and is so referred to in official documents as early as 1586. When a permanent home was built for the mayoralty in the eighteenth century the old name was transferred to the new building.

Shaft's Court in Leadenhall Street is reminiscent of another aspect of mediæval life, and incidentally explains the name of the neighbouring church of St. Andrew Undershaft. The shaft or maypole was erected outside the church on May Day, when the

population danced round it and made merry with morris dancing, hobby horses, giants, Robin Hood and Maid Marian, George and the Dragon, and black-faced Moors, and pelted each other with oranges and squibs. When the games were over the maypole, so tall as to be difficult to dispose of, was suspended on iron hooks along the fronts of the houses in Shaft's Court. So it remained until 1550, when the inhabitants, after listening to a sermon in which all such things were denounced as idolatrous, took it down and sawed it up for firewood.

As might be expected, modern street names give us many reminders of ancient handicrafts, markets, and commerce. The ward of Vintry is where in old times great supplies of wine were landed and sold for distribution all over the kingdom. Bow Lane, the former Cordwainer Street, the name still remaining in Cordwainer Ward, was the home of the Cordwainers, or Shoemakers; Foster Lane of the Fusters, or makers of wooden saddle-bows; Budge Row of the Skinners, budge being lambskin with the wool dressed outwards; Cannon Street of the Chandlers, or makers of wax candles; Idol Lane of the Image Makers, a prolific trade in Catholic times; Billiter Street of the Bellyetters, or Founders; Godliman Street from a kind of leather originating at Godalming in Surrey; Hosier Lane in Smithfield where the Hosiers lived until they removed to Bow Lane when the Cordwainers left; and Pudding Lane, the home of the English Pudding. The English Pudding was famous far beyond the bounds of the country, so much so that in the middle ages visitors from abroad were enjoined not to leave without testing its qualities. It gave rise to the popular expression "Pudding time," meaning the lucky hour. This gastronomic wonder was made from the paunches and entrails of pigs, and its manufacture was largely in the hands of women. In 1569 we find mention of pudding wives and tripe wives. Some of them, indeed, achieved fame and fortune, as, for instance, Mother Mampudding, whose shop was in Leadenhall Street, and Mistress Cornwallis, whose pudding so pleased Henry VIII that he gave her a fine house to live in. Its only modern representative is the black pudding we see in the pork butchers' shops.

Of the ancient London markets, vanished long ago to make room for offices and business premises, only four appear to have left their names behind—Cloth Fair, where Bartholomew Fair was held; Cornhill, a very early corn market; Gracechurch Street, the old grass market; and Cheapside, derived from the Anglo-Saxon *ceap*, meaning to bargain, the chief market of the City. All the way down Cheapside, from St. Paul's to the Carfax at Leadenhall, the stalls were arranged down the middle of the street, each trade having its appointed station. Bread Street, Milk Street, Wood

Street, Honey Lane, Ironmonger Lane, and the Poultry, all give us an indication of the part of Cheapside where those commodities were sold, while other parts whose names have not survived were the Saddlery and the Goldsmithery at the west end, the Stationers around the Great Cross, the Cutlery near Old Jewry, and the Frippery, or old clothes market, by the Royal Exchange.

Old Change was the king's exchange, where bullion was brought by those who had it to be exchanged for coin of the realm. The first Stock Exchange was in Change Alley, Cornhill, in the time of Queen Anne, before it removed, first to Threadneedle Street and afterwards to Throgmorton Street. Stockbrokers and jobbers first made their appearance when regular government loans were started in the reign of William and Mary, as intermediaries for transferring stock from one holder to another at the bank when the principals were not present. At first business was transacted in the coffee houses of Change Alley—Jonathan's, Baker's, and Garraway's—and here was the scene of the mad excitement of the South Sea Bubble. Garraway's was one of the first places where tea was sold, at from 16s. to 50s. a pound. From Jonathan's was issued the earliest advertisement of a stockbroker, published in the *London Gazette*, November 14th, 1721.

Of the many monasteries in the City before the Reformation most have left behind them some memory in modern streets or districts. There is still a district known as Blackfriars, and in it Friar Street, running through what was the Prior's garden. St. John's Gate and church show the position of St. John of Jerusalem; Crutched Friars was the house of the Friars of the Holy Cross; Austin Friars in Broad Street was a monastery extending from London Wall to Coleman Street at a time when there was no Moorgate Street intervening; on the left of the Minories, going down from Aldgate and outside the City wall, was the convent of the Sisters of St. Clare, or Minoresses; St. Katherine's Dock by the Tower was dug on the site of St. Katherine's Hospital, founded by Matilda, wife of King Stephen; Cartwright Street nearby, a corruption of Churchyard Street, is the last vestige of the Abbey of St. Mary of Graces, which stood on the site of the Royal Mint. The monastery of the Whitefriars is remembered in Whitefriars Street and Carmelite Street; their great gate was at the entrance of Bouverie Street from Fleet Street. Spital Square and Spital Yard mark the site of the Hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate, while Spitalfields were the open fields adjoining their churchyard. Here in the sixteenth century the gunners of the Tower used to shoot, and the City militia to practise archery, a fact remembered in the name of Artillery Lane. College Hill and College Street are named after Whittington College, founded by the famous Mayor at

the church of St. Michael Paternoster Royal, around which lived in times still more remote the makers of paternosters, or rosaries. Monkwell Street, Cripplegate, takes its name from a well belonging to the hermitage of St. James in the Wall at the north-west corner of the street. Sure enough, a well was discovered under their crypt in 1872.

Other ecclesiastical conditions have survived in street names from a time when religious observance held as important a place in the routine of life as trade and commerce. Rood Lane in Fenchurch Street was named after the great churchyard cross at St. Margaret Pattens, smashed in 1538. Most City churchyards contained these, which were open-air pulpits as well. Priest Court in Foster Lane reminds us of the time when the numerous chantry 'chapels within the churches necessitated the services of so large a body of priests that buildings were erected nearby where each could occupy his separate chamber. There used to be a Priests' Alley in Great Tower Street and another in St. Mary at Hill. Trinity Court in Aldersgate Street was the site of Trinity Hall, the meeting place of the Guild of the Holy Trinity of the parish of St. Botolph. Many such guilds, formed to carry out the dictum, "When two or three are gathered together in My Name," existed in all the parish churches, forming brotherhoods for worship in common and mutual service. Perhaps the most interesting of these pre-Reformation vestiges are the streets to the west of St. Paul's Cathedral, taking us back to those processions of clergy in their copes of silk and gold tissue, carrying bejewelled silver crosses and candlesticks, which were such a frequent sight in the London streets of the middle ages. As the long line of priests took their way down Paternoster Row they recited the Lord's Prayer, or Paternoster, reached the amen at Amen Corner, chanted the Hail Mary in Ave Maria Lane, and the Credo while crossing Ludgate Hill by the end of Creed Lane.

The great dignity and high standing of the City of London were clearly recognised from early times. As long ago as 1326 it was described as "So good a City, which is a mirror to all England," and the reason for this follows in a proclamation bidding "all men of London (to) warn their households so to behave towards denizens and strangers that the City may be honoured by their good manners." How good it is then to know that the memory of that ancient life has not perished, but that its every aspect, social, personal, domestic, commercial, and religious, may still be called to mind by the street names that daily confront us as we walk its pavements.

CHARLES PENDRILL.

SPOIL FROM THE ENGLISH MONASTIC LIBRARIES.

THE great Dick Whittington founded in the fifteenth century a library on the south side of Guildhall Chapel for the use of "students in Divine Scripture," and others. That library flourished till 1549, when its precious volumes were stolen, or scattered to the winds of heaven. Centuries after, in 1828, the library was revived. At the centenary dinner, celebrated by the Corporation a year ago, it was announced that of the original treasures of the library only one book remained, a thirteenth-century MS. containing the *Aurora* of Petrus de Riga. This had only recently been recovered, but "it was hoped that it might soon be followed by others."

This depletion of "a fayre and large library," far from being exceptional, is, in essence, the story of a large number of the accumulated stores of learning founded in mediæval days. Owing to the survival of but few of the great Abbey catalogues it is now difficult to estimate the vast quantity of volumes housed four centuries ago by religious houses. Their dimensions are best understood by reference to the noble library, happily still remaining, at Westminster. This is possibly the most wonderful collection of monastic documents in the world to-day, for the Abbey appears to have taken remarkable care of its archives as they piled up year by year, and very few escaped to any other place. In addition to more than 100,000 single documents, there is a large collection of court and manorial rolls, the two great cartularies of the Abbey, six huge registers, and the cartularies of St. Martin-le-Grand, London, and Luffield Priory, Northamptonshire. Abbey libraries possessed, of course, in addition to their purely literary volumes, large numbers of devotional books—missals, *heures* and offices—and documents associated with business routine, pilgrimages, journeys made to Rome by the Abbot, care of the sick, title-deeds, and disputes over properties.

"In every abbey," writes Isaac Disraeli, "the most able of its inmates was appointed to record every considerable transaction in the kingdom. . . . These were set down in a volume reserved for this purpose: and on the decease of every sovereign these memorials were laid before the general chapter. . . . Besides these meagre annals were Leiger Books. In these registers or diaries they related all matters relating to their own monastery and its dependencies. . . . Here were descents of families, and tenures of estates: authorities of charters and of cartularies: curious customs of counties, cities, and great towns."

Among the great institutions which vied with Westminster in the splendour of their collections were Glastonbury, Peterborough,

York, Crowland, Reading, Abingdon, Hereford, Malmesbury, Winchester, Canterbury, and St. Albans. The two libraries of Canterbury and St. Augustine possessed as early as 1330 some 1,850 volumes, the titles of which (as more books than one were often bound up in the same volume) amounted to over 4,000. At the time of the Dissolution the MSS. alone must have numbered at least 3,000. Reading Abbey possessed 228 volumes as early as the thirteenth century. At St. Albans and elsewhere the monks, not deeming a written catalogue, which might be seldom opened, sufficiently attractive to remind them of their treasures, inscribed verses on their windows to indicate the books they held, over which were placed the portraits of their authors. In the lesser monasteries the library was smaller and less varied, yet even among such the monastery of Bretton, which owing to its isolation was among the last dissolved in 1558, could boast of 150 distinct works. Stringent regulations were adopted to enforce the return of borrowed books, for the dearness of parchment and the slowness of the scribes made manuscripts only purchasable by princes. Records survive of the rules in force at the Abbey of Crowland regarding "the lending of their books, as well the smaller without pictures as the larger with pictures," and excommunication seems to have been held up as a deterrent. Royal personages sometimes borrowed from religious houses, and history shows that King John gave a receipt to Simon his Chancellor for "the book called Pliny" taken from the library of the Abbot and Chapter of Reading.

In the early stage of book-making volumes had not always titles to denote their subjects. Hence the emphasis laid on sizes, shapes, and clasps, but, more important still, on the covering and colours, which should convey to the practised eye of the librarian the subject within. The beauty of the binding, too, is often due to the fact that some books were the growth of centuries, and not the work of any one artist: an eleventh-century tablet carved with scenes from the life of Christ might be made into a cover for a precious tenth-century missal, the whole encased in a richly jewelled metal frame, with the result that that joint work is of surpassing loveliness. Possibly illumination also had its origin in a utilitarian rather than an æsthetic sense. In days when pages were neither numbered nor headed, indexed nor divided into chapter and paragraph, there was a very real need of a picture or of a large capital letter to point the way. Some volumes did not bear the names of the library to which they belonged, and hence only the specialist with his knowledge of coats-of-arms, saints revered in different places, special bookmarks of the abbeys, can speak as to their origin. Illustrations in point were quoted recently by Dr. M. R. James, Provost of Eton. His attention was called on one occasion to a MS. book of

prayers, the origin of which was obscure. Looking at the Calendar he was able to say that the book came from the Nunnery of Amesbury in Wiltshire, "chiefly because he saw the name of a certain Saint Melovius in red, and he knew that he was not honoured anywhere in England except at Amesbury." Again, some time later he was engaged in examining a large beautiful Bible of the twelfth century (in one of the Cambridge libraries). There was no inscription, or bookmark, but on turning over the pages the Doctor noticed that one had been mended with a little slip of parchment on which had been written the words "Here. Here." This made it clear, for he recalled the legend of the finding of the body of King Edmund, and was able to say that the Bible was written at the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury.

The value of the Abbey libraries at the Dissolution was such that this alone might reasonably have given them immortality. Even authorities who regard the changes in the monastic system in the sixteenth century as inevitable have nothing but withering scorn for the waste of books which it involved.

"It would have been perfectly easy," says one,* "and very inexpensive, to have collected the ancient books of the greater houses into a Royal Library of unrivalled value. A half-hearted attempt was made in this direction, for the King sent John Leland to visit the abbeys with some such notion in his mind. Something, but not much, resulted, but even Leland's bare records of what he saw are of great interest to us now. . . . Impossible as it may have been to preserve buildings, painted windows, and vestments, books at least could have been saved. . . . Had Henry the Eighth retained in 1539 any of the interest in literature which as a young man he seems to have possessed, he would have given orders that the whole of the library (at Glastonbury) should be transferred to one of his palaces."

What became of all the libraries? It is perfectly clear that no systematic effort was made to preserve them on the spot, and that they were passed on to the grocer-shop and bonfire as "undesirable monuments of monkish learning." But if the State was at fault so was the Church. Scarcely any attempt was made by abbots or priors to safeguard for posterity their marvellous treasures. One case is recorded, however, by Dr. James, that of Prior Richard Hart of Llanthony Abbey (Glos.). The Prior when he gave up his key is said to have removed the greater part of the library to his private house. On his death they passed to his sister, whose husband sold them at the formation of Lambeth Library. At least one hundred are preserved there, and some may be traced among other collections.

* See *Abbeys*. Dr. M. R. James. Pages 14, 25, and elsewhere.

No such good fortune befell the larger libraries. That of Canterbury was dissipated so completely that of the MSS. now in possession of the Dean and Chapter only twenty remain from the Cathedral library, and six from St. Augustine's. But this grand collection suffered even more after the Dissolution, for Archbishop Parker robbed it of at least forty-seven books to enrich Corpus Christi College (Cambridge). Archbishop Whitgift purloined fifty more for Trinity College (Cambridge) and Dean Neville thirty others. The vast Glastonbury collection (which Leland deemed marvellous) was so completely ruined that barely anything remains to-day. The library of Malmesbury Abbey* was dissipated with such wickedness that Aubrey tells of a certain rector of the village of Yatton Keynell who stopped up the bung-holes of his "special ale" with parchment manuscript from the spoil of the great church, swearing that there was nothing to equal them for the purpose. Abbeys such as Gloucester and Chester appear to have saved their muniments only at the King's whim by being converted into Cathedrals. Where abbeys were mutilated into parish churches their libraries invariably vanished.

When Parker attempted to build up a library some score of years later there were but miscellaneous and scattered fragments remaining. Collectors of rare books were sent out, somewhat after the fashion in which antique-dealers scour country villages. In and around the big towns many a priceless book was saved; but long distances from the highroads, where little priories had been dissolved, scores of documents must have perished from sheer ignorance and neglect. If the statement be true that the monks of an earlier age tore out of their fine leather bindings the works of the great classical writers to cover some ignorant mediæval composition or legend, history did but repeat itself when the Stationers' Company and others bought up the spoil from the English monastic libraries for the sake merely of their bindings and parchment. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the destruction of abbey libraries ended with the sixteenth century. More than two centuries later, at the Church of St. Thomas-the-Martyr at Bristol, an ignorant churchwarden was tearing beautifully illuminated pages from a priceless book-of-hours to cover a common account book.

Among the books saved out of "the great pillage" the following, preserved in some of our great collections, are selections merely :†

Trinity College.—Fourteenth Century Chronicle (Abingdon Abbey); Chronicle (Margam Abbey); MSS. (Cerne, Buildwas, Canterbury, and St. Augustine).

* Four MS. books (a Bible Lectionary) are now in the possession of Mrs. Lovell, of Cole Park, Malmesbury.

† The first six are all at Cambridge.

University Library.—Anglo-Saxon Homilies (Tavistock Abbey); Prayer Book of Bishop Aethilwald of Lichfield (Cerne); Ecclesiastical History, Bede.

St. John's College.—Colloquy of Aelfric Bata; MSS. (St. Dogmael's Abbey).

Corpus Christi College.—Rule of St. Benedict (Bury St. Edmunds). Saxon Chronicle. MSS. (Canterbury and St. Augustine's).

Peterhouse.—Letters (Abbey Dore).

King's College.—Roll (St. Michael's Mount Priory).

Bodleian.—Latin Gospels (Abbey of Barking); Book of St. Dunstan (Glastonbury Abbey); Anglo-Saxon MSS. (various).

Lambeth.—Twelfth-century Florence of Worcester (Abingdon Abbey). MSS. (Reading, Buildwas, Hinton, Llanthony (Glos.), Abbeys).

British Museum.—Worcester Chronicle. Durham—Lindisfarne—Gospels (Durham Cathedral). Chronicle (Abingdon Abbey). Glossed Psalter (Monastery of St. Augustine). Bede, Commentary on St. Luke, twelfth century; Catalogue of Library and Calendar, with famous ronde "Sumer is icumen in" (all from Reading Abbey). Psalter of Robert de Lisle (East Anglian School of illumination). Leaves from English Psalter 1150/1200 (Bury St. Edmunds). MSS. (Cerne and Pershore). To this collection there has been added lately the Cartulary of Ely Cathedral (late thirteenth to fifteenth century).

In addition to the above selections there are known to exist elsewhere the Register, Cartularies, and Chronicles of Evesham Abbey; Service Books of Muchelney Abbey; MSS. of Reading, Sarum, and Buildwas Abbeys; together with miscellaneous illuminated and early printed volumes in the great Cathedrals (as Worcester, Truro, Exeter, and Hereford, in which latter are 2,000 chained volumes); in public libraries (as the "John Rylands," Manchester), the Victoria and Albert Museum, and in many private collections. Volumes are represented out of England, notably in the Bibliothèque Nationale and in the Pierpont Morgan Library.*

Despite the passage of close on four centuries English monastic books still come up for auction at Sotheby's. In 1925 the relatively small sum of £160 was paid for "an early fifteenth-century English Book of Hours," *ad usum sarum*, with eighteen full-page miniatures and eight smaller ones, and with thirty-two painted initials, on 130 leaves of vellum. An English twelfth-century MS. of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus' *Concordia Evangelistarum* on 177 leaves with a fine initial "U," fetched £700. And a late fourteenth-century English MS. of the Bible in the vernacular, 286 leaves, brought £245. In 1927 *Bede: Life and Miracles*, an English twelfth-century MS. on 158 leaves, finely illuminated, sold for £360. Of exceptional interest to students of early art in England was the sale in the same year of the MS. of Cassiodorus' *Historia*

* The Battle Abbey Charters have recently been sold to America.

Tripartita, finely written, as its inscription states, on 157 leaves by an English scribe for the Canons of the Order of St. Austin at Gysburgh (Cleveland) Priory in Yorkshire, circa 1129/1200, with a fine initial and large decorated initials, five in number, which fetched £280. At the recent sale of the famous Whitchurch Parish Library, an English fourteenth-century MS. of *Opuscula Varia* of Saints Bernard, Anselm, and others, on 136 leaves, sold for £82. In 1928, when the library of Petworth House was dispersed, among the most important features of the sale were two illustrated MSS. of great value. One, a Book of Hours, *ad usum sarum*, was the work of an English scribe on 183 leaves quarto, with thirteen beautifully-painted miniatures, and in the old vellum binding with the badge on the sides of Henry, ninth Earl of Northumberland, early fifteenth century; and the other, entitled *John Lidyate's Dreame of the Pilgrymage of the Soule*, with twenty-six fine miniatures, was a superb example of English work of the same period. It is a sad fact that practically all these one-time church documents passed by sale into secular hands, though a spirited bid on the part of interested ecclesiastical authorities would, almost certainly, have procured them for all time for the actual churches or counties to which they originally belonged.

Occasionally, however, a manuscript comes back by purchase to the Mother Church which produced it. Such a case occurred in connection with Westminster Archives some years ago. The present Bishop of Worcester when a Canon at Westminster saw in a bookseller's catalogue the offer of two parchment rolls relating to a manor in Hertfordshire, which proved to be rolls missing from the records of the Abbey. A bid was made for them immediately, but they had already passed from the bookseller to a library. By negotiation, luckily, the Rolls were restored to the Muniment Room. It sometimes happens, too, that an unsuspected manuscript is discovered among a cathedral archives. In 1926 there came to light at Hereford Cathedral (in preparation of a descriptive catalogue of the famous library's treasures) a version of the story of the Nativity by an unknown writer of the twelfth or thirteenth century, copied from a portion of the Gospel of St. Peter. An important case of gift is that of an interesting fifteenth-century MS. Psalter at Romsey Abbey, which after a lapse of centuries came back to the building where it was originally housed. The Calendar shows the obit days of some of the abbesses and nuns, and October 27th, the feast of St. Elfreda, the famous Abbess, is marked in red.

Happily, examples in which the church is itself the offender in the sale of ancient documents are few and far between. In 1927 a library which had been housed for over one hundred and sixty years in the "porch chamber" of the fifteenth-century church of

Shipdham in Norfolk was brought to public notice. One of its noblest books was an early thirteenth-century MS. Psalter on vellum of exquisite decoration and caligraphy, and of especial interest as having been written for the monastery of Campsea Ash, in Suffolk, still in its original binding of rough leather over oak boards. *The Times*, in pleading for a better fate for the library than common auction, stated that "the books belong to Norfolk, and it seems just that Norfolk should be given the first option to possess them." Public opinion would support the plea that Suffolk, even before Norfolk, should have been the final resting-place of the rare monastic volume. The claim put forward by the Rector to the Norwich Consistory Court was that there was a real need of church funds which made the sale of the old library almost imperative.

Whether in the far away future church authorities may consider it a feasible proposition to bring back into church hands their dissipated manuscripts opens a wide controversial field, but one not without its interest. The movement now on foot to restore to ecclesiastical use buildings secularised at the Dissolution (as in the case of St. Bartholomew's at Smithfield) may insensibly result in a desire to replenish the old libraries. Such a pardonable desire will not be without its pitfalls. Though it may be a happy plan to give back to Cathedrals books which they owned in the dim past, or, where abbeys are destroyed, to place such books as they are known to have produced in the keeping of the nearest Cathedral church, it is difficult to see how books, given in perpetuity to public libraries or museums, can be restored. Certain it is that many a rector would not care to have added to his already large responsibilities the care of manuscripts of great value; nor could the problem of free access of students to examine illuminated missals be so satisfactorily solved at a church as in a public library. Judged from a sentimental standpoint only, there can be no argument against the plea for a restoration of the spoil from the monastic libraries. Meanwhile, till some arrangement is arrived at, there must remain anomalies similar to that at Bristol, where a Public Library and a Cathedral stand a stone's throw from each other; the one possessing a book executed by the Black Canons centuries ago, and the other with a depleted library lacking that same book which morally should, and in pre-Reformation days did, belong to it.

FREDERICK C. JONES.

GRAZIA DELEDDA.

WHEN the news was announced that the Nobel Prize for Literature for 1927 had been accorded to Grazia Deledda, there was a general movement of stupefaction. More than one critic had never even heard her name, and very few people have read her works. Yet there was method in the apparent madness of Sweden, for Grazia Deledda not only worthily represents the literature of a country, she herself possesses to a high degree all those qualities that are needed to make a writer of mark and a successful teller of tales. Thanks to her realism, her psychology, her gift of description, her power of language and her wonderful word-painting, Sardinia has become something more than just an island belonging to Italy, a half-savage country where picturesque people and costumes are still to be met. And perhaps the secret of her success as a novelist is this—that she herself is a pure-blooded Sardinian, that she can conceive of no other country so worthy to be described, that she loves her own land and her own folk with that deep passion sometimes felt in the works of certain French and Scottish novelists, and that she concentrates with all the force of her intellect and heart on this beloved island. With the result that Sardinia lives in Grazia Deledda's books as it has never lived before, with its vast landscapes, its picturesque hiding-places, its savage rocky mountains, its not yet wholly civilised inhabitants, those simple country-folk, proud but hospitable, superstitious but kindly hearted. All this and more has been painted for our delight by its loyal daughter, whose talent can conceive of no dearer joy than that of using her pen to glorify her native land.

Grazia Deledda was born in Nuoro, a little town in the Nuorese, which is sometimes called the Switzerland of Sardinia, a district where old customs and primitive fashions are prevalent, though Nuora itself combines a fair amount of modern comfort with its opportunity to study ancient ways and wonderfully brilliant costumes. Its people are real flesh and blood, and passions run high amongst these highland folk, religion and education being barely strong enough to check them. All these peasants, and ploughmen, and shepherds, are familiar types to Grazia Deledda. Her own childhood and girlhood were spent in their midst, and her own father was a typical Sardinian of this part of the island, who cultivated his own land and sold its produce wholesale, as is so often done in the Nuorese. Life was no strenuous thing for his daughter, who led the usual unsophisticated existence of her fellows, with no great luxury, though in comfort and plenty of an old-world kind. The girl had the ordinary education of her class, but in addition the privilege of learning French and studying Italian literature, and her taste for letters was shown by her thirst for reading and her

love for anything literary. Amusements were few; Sardinia is the country for religious fêtes, and these, together with an occasional pilgrimage and a country holiday-making, formed the chief distractions in her life.

But before Grazia had had time to find such an existence monotonous for a young woman, she was transported into the realms of fancy, for in reading various modern novels that had been placed between her hands she had awakened to the intoxicating knowledge that she too could write, that the fairy gift of the teller of tales had been bestowed upon her. In secret she had set to work to write her first novel, in fear and trembling she had despatched its pages to a fashion-paper in Rome, and, enraptured, she had received the incredible news that *Sangue Sardo* was accepted for publication. The news was received with dismay in the family circle of the young authoress, for old-world prejudices were strong in Nuoro, and it was considered scandalous that a woman should enter a profession hitherto considered in Sardinia as man's sole province. Grazia Deledda had to endure the reproaches of parents and neighbours, who could not forgive such unwomanly conduct, and it was not until the Rome periodical sent the sum promised for *Sangue Sardo* that public opinion veered round in her favour. Hard cash brought conviction in its train that the awful end predicted for a girl who used her pen to write novels was, at any rate for the present, postponed, and the good people of her little town began to take interest in her further literary efforts.

Her first book, a collection of short stories, *Racconti Sardi*, appeared in 1893, and this was followed by her first novel, *Anime Oneste*, in which it is permitted to catch a glimpse of her own father's portrait in the character of Paolo Velenà. From that time on she has never ceased writing, and the list of her works, so highly appreciated in Italy and by all who are interested in Italian literature, is long. Every volume bears the stamp of the writer's individuality; each and all are marked by the keen-sighted psychology, which is one of her characteristics, and by the vivid presentment of men and things that gives life and colour to her pages. Her work is never scamped, the smallest detail is faithfully recorded, and nothing that can truthfully describe people and places in her beloved province is considered too trivial to be noted. The scenes are nearly always laid in Sardinia (with but one or two exceptions where the story has Rome for its setting), for Grazia Deledda is essentially racial in her tastes and point of view, and concentrates all her efforts on making Sardinia known and loved, at any rate that part of the island she knows and loves so well.

In an age when family life and its affections play so insignificant a part in fiction, it is somewhat curious to note that the pivot upon which turns the whole action in these Sardinian novels is either

the one or the other subject, and that sometimes the two together are called into play. Other sentiments are not ignored, but their rôle is always subordinate. This is strictly logical, seeing that the author has deliberately chosen as the canvas whereon she embroiders her vividly-pictured tale a country where habits are still what they were hundreds of years ago; whose home life is almost patriarchal; a land where the existence of the great outside world was practically ignored until the War brought Sardinia into closer touch with Italy, and revealed to this strange people, whose very origin is as shrouded in mystery as that of the Etruscans or Basques, the feelings and ways of nations hitherto unknown to them. Linked as she is by every fibre of her being to her own people, it is natural that Grazia Deledda should consider the family as the supreme ideal of social unity.

It might be supposed that so limited a horizon would give but little scope for interesting authorship, but so far this is not the case. Two factors in her books ensure continued interest on the part of the reader, and perhaps these two factors go far to explain the success of her works—one is the witty simplicity with which every character, principal or secondary, is painted, even the household pets, a dog, cat, lamb, or little pig, standing out in sharp relief. The other factor is the immense importance she attaches to Love. It enters into all her novels, sometimes as the homely feeling binding together the family circle, sometimes as the idyllic sentiment that gives rise to a happy little tale, sometimes as the mad overwhelming force that sweeps all before it, leaving wreck and devastation in its train, sometimes as the peacemaker and purifier. For whether in that fantastic story, *Di Notte*, one of her first, or in her later novels, *Dopo il Divorzio*, *La Regina delle Tenebre*, or *Cenerei*, in which one traces the gradual perfecting of the writer's art, she invariably uses Love as the powerful lever of action.

Though Grazia Deledda has been married since 1900 to a clerk in the War Ministry, and has in consequence lived in Rome for more than twenty years, the Eternal City has never exercised upon her that charm so strongly felt by many other writers. She is as completely aloof from its ancient history and its modern cosmopolitan life as she was when first she left Sardinia to take up her abode in the capital; her beautiful serious face is as typically Sardinian under its thick grey hair as it was when that hair was raven black. She may use Rome as a setting for a novel: it will be Sardinia inspiring her pen, for Sardinia fills her heart as well as her mind. And there perhaps lies her weakness as well as her strength; by dint of passionately devoting herself to her own folk and her own province, she may end by incurring that terrible reproach—death-knell of an author's popularity—the reproach of monotony.

E. EALES.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

THE magnificence of his work in 1925, when his sustained belief in the possibility of a European reconciliation became a decisive factor in the creation of the Locarno treaties, and the wise moderation and progressive motive of his Chinese policy, are the two bases on which is founded the pleasure with which one looks back on Sir Austen Chamberlain's office of Foreign Secretary. The pleasure is a little chilled by his subsequent record in Europe. His weakness towards France became a real tragedy, for it had the effect of mocking even his cherished Locarno treaties. He remained in office for three and a half years after the treaties were signed. Their purpose was to restore the status of friendly equality between Germany and her former enemies; yet he handed back his seals to the King before he had withdrawn his troops from German territory. France tolerated Locarno because of the British military guarantee. When, having obtained that guarantee, France refused to honour the other side of the bargain, Sir Austen weakly, blindly, obstinately acquiesced. The recurrent expression of his "desire" to see the Rhineland evacuated only shed a light on his failure to have them evacuated. He danced to the tunes of the Quai d'Orsay, and alienated both Germany and the United States. In China, where he did not feel the influence of France, he did well; but in Europe and in the United States, where French influence dominated him, he did less than justice to himself. He will no doubt suffer the crowning irony of seeing his successor in office redeem the Locarno pledge, which he himself did not redeem.

THE REPARATION EXPERTS.

The new investigation of Germany's reparation liability was finished within twelve months of the date when the project was conceived. The real date of its conception was August 27th, 1928, when the "Kellogg" Pact was signed in Paris, and when Herr Stresemann again suggested that the Rhineland be evacuated. Those who have followed the story of the triangular relationship of the Western European Powers since the Locarno treaties were signed in 1925, are aware that whenever Herr Stresemann or Dr. Luther has suggested that the Locarno idea be honoured in Paris and in London, M. Poincaré has suggested that Germany should pay for Locarno.

To honour the simple idea of the Locarno treaties it was necessary for the French and British Governments to evacuate German territory, the idea being the restoration of a friendly equality of status

between ex-enemies and ex-allies. On August 27th, 1928, when Herr Stresemann had patiently weathered three years' experience of the Locarno treaties as operated by London and Paris under M. Poincaré's unified command, and another pacific treaty was being signed, among others, by the same three Powers, Herr Stresemann took the new opportunity. He did not produce the evacuation of the Rhinelands. He did produce a renewed examination of Germany's capacity to pay reparation.

Within a fortnight the representatives of Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan, who were assembled at Geneva on League of Nations business, began exploring the project of a new experts' conference. On September 16th those representatives issued a statement in which they announced their agreement on "the necessity for a complete and definite settlement of the reparation problem and on the constitution for this purpose of a committee of financial experts to be nominated by the six Governments."

For the next five months M. Poincaré, single-handed, kept the six nations at bay by one of his characteristic exploits. It was necessary to settle the committee's terms of reference. M. Poincaré wanted the members of the committee to be appointed, not by the Governments of the six Powers, among whom Germany was one, but by the Reparation Commission, on which Germany was not represented. He made no attempt to conceal his maxim that in reaching an agreed settlement with Germany, Germany should have no voice, except a consultative voice. He thereby was defeating the common object as effectively as he defeated the common object during the long preceding years when he concentrated on a contortionist's notion of making Germany pay and making her incapable of paying at one and the same time. Nor was his repertory thereby exhausted. Having agreed, in principle, to the constitution of an expert committee, he was next concerned to deprive the experts of their expert quality, and proclaimed in advance what he demanded that the experts should do. In one of his Sunday speeches, delivered at Chambéry on September 30th, he postulated that any reparation settlement must yield for France (1) an indemnity for the war damages suffered by France, as computed by France; and (2) such a sum as would further indemnify France for the entire obligation of her debts to the United States and to Great Britain. An impossible claim: but how could experts investigate a practical settlement as experts, if they were told in advance what result they were to arrive at? M. Poincaré moreover left nothing of his mind unsaid. The result postulated must, he claimed; be embodied in a general agreement, to which the United States should be a party, and France must receive adequate

guarantees that she would be paid the Poincaré figures. Then, and then only, he said, would he consider the question of evacuating the Rhinelands.

M. Poincaré in short was consciously or unconsciously preventing the meeting of the experts. In capital figures, the French Government's estimate of the sum still needed to repair the "devastated provinces" of France was something like £850,000,000, although the same Government in 1924, through the mouth of M. Clémentel, announced as an inducement for a further American loan to France that "the recent development of France's export trade is in large measure due to the return to productivity of the great industrial centres devastated during the war." In addition, the capital sums owed by France to the United States and to Great Britain were something like £800,000,000 and £650,000,000 respectively. M. Poincaré was therefore postulating in advance a substantial increase of the Dawes annuities as Germany's revised liability.

As a result of M. Poincaré's exercises, the other Powers concerned in the Geneva agreement resigned themselves to a prospect of extended stagnation, London being pre-eminently content to leave matters to Paris. Berlin was not so negative in its attitude. On October 2nd the Federal Prime Ministers met to consider the Geneva resolution, with special reference to its bearing on the Rhineland, and two days later the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Reichstag passed a resolution urging the Government to pursue its efforts for the relief of the Rhinelands and for general disarmament. Berlin and Paris wholly disagreed about which was the horse and which the cart in the order of proceedings.

It soon emerged that the other Powers were not content simply to concede the whole initiative to M. Poincaré, even though they knew that he had it in his power to obstruct the meeting of the experts for some months to come. Mr. Parker Gilbert, always keenly active whenever reparation is a subject of discussion, visited London, Paris, and Brussels; Signor Mussolini commissioned Signor Pirelli to go to London and to Paris to exchange views; Mr. Churchill on October 19th went with Mr. Parker Gilbert to see M. Poincaré in Paris, to beard the cunctator in his den. All they succeeded in doing was revealed in an official statement which they issued after the meeting, and which merely stated that they had discussed the constitution of the projected committee. They further stated that "an interchange of views will take place in the near future," in other words that they had not moved M. Poincaré one inch. Mr. Churchill, it was understood, informed M. Poincaré that the British Government would not make any more sacrifices below the level of the Balfour criterion, and M. Poincaré, it was also understood, reaffirmed the principle that the

French Government would not fall below Chambéry. The two principles were mutually destructive. It seems fair to deduce that M. Poincaré's main concern was to prevent anybody from doing anything. He even went to the length of issuing on October 21st a warning against anybody's being in a hurry to carry out what had been decided on more than a month earlier, and elaborated the warning with the explanation that "Only when the Allied Powers have been definitely acquainted with the German offer will they be able to give an opinion. Only the position of the British and French Governments is as yet known, as it has been definitely laid down by the Balfour Note, on the one hand, and on the other by M. Poincaré's speech at Chambéry. The German Government has not yet given expression to its views." To wish that M. Poincaré had a sense of humour is merely to wish for something that cannot be. The contemplation of M. Poincaré and his dull works makes one's heart warm even to Sir William Joynson-Hicks.

During October various spokesmen of the interested Powers made various platonic remarks about the work in hand. Mr. Churchill spoke at Chingford on October 22nd and explained that the object of the impending conference was "to restore to Germany power to manage her own financial affairs without foreign control, and to let her know for certain what is the total of her reparation debt," and reminded his hearers that Great Britain, already making the greatest sacrifice of all the Powers, could not do more in the rôle of victim. The Belgian Government, on October 23rd, informed Mr. Gilbert that it would maintain its claim for repayment of the 6,000,000,000 marks, the equivalent of £300,000,000, which it had been forced to take over at par after the Armistice. At the end of October the German Government made known its views. The German Ambassadors in the five other capitals, London, Paris, Brussels, Rome, Tokio, on October 30th broadly broached one of the cardinal questions at issue, namely, whether the experts should be independent or politically controlled. The German suggestion was that the experts be financiers of international standing, competent to represent their countries' interest, but free from political instruction; that the United States should be invited to send a delegation; that the Reparation Commission should be invited to express its views.

October 30th was a Tuesday; and two days earlier therefore was a Sunday, the day reserved by tradition for M. Poincaré's oratory. Foreseeing or foreknowing what was in the mind of the German Government he took the occasion of a speech delivered on that day at Caen to counter the German suggestion before it was made. He repeated what he had said at Chambéry, but added another formid-

able bogey to those he had already raised. He had apparently been looking far ahead into the story of reparation as yet unfolded, and had discovered that by the operation of the sinking fund the railway and industrial bonds provided by the Dawes Plan for the payment of the annuities would be paid off in 1965, only 37 years ahead; in his speech at Caen therefore he was anxious to point out that thereafter the German Government would have to provide the full annuities out of its budget. M. Poincaré was by now acting as an expert committee, all in himself. In an official statement he conceded that the experts should be eminent financial authorities (a concession that begged the point) but doggedly refrained from expressing any view about their competence.

During November some undisciplined manoeuvres took place among the politicians in a bargaining spirit. The German politicians made it known, for the benefit of Mr. Churchill, that they would not commit themselves in advance to the principle of the Balfour Note; the Italian politicians contributed to the dossier a sort of second Balfour Note by making it known that Italy would not accept any settlement that did not give to Italy the equivalent of what she had to pay in settlement of her foreign debts; the Belgian politicians made the reservation that they would not accept any reduction of the Belgian share of the existing annuities; Herr Stresemann in the Reichstag stipulated that "it will be possible to talk of a real solution only if it falls within the economic capacity of Germany to pay . . . without endangering the nation's standard of living" (November 19th); and the French politicians began a sort of auction sale of the value to France of her devastation. Even M. Poincaré was outbid. He had put the figure at £850,000,000. His Minister of Public Works now put it at £960,000,000 by adding accrued interest and an estimate of what was due to be added by the difference in the value of money to-day and in 1919. Speaking as chairman of an investment trust company in London on June 11th, 1929, Sir George Touche remarked: "If there were no politicians in the world, the outlook would be clearer, and our hope would be surer." There certainly appears to be ground for the argument that politicians in the mass do harm to the normal security and decency of life; and they say and do things of which they do not seem to realise the practical implication.

The French politicians in this case did more harm than all the others. Their unpractical financial claims added to the mischief of their persisting refusal to agree to the granting of a practical latitude to the scope of the experts' work. On November 23rd the German Government again submitted to the other Governments that the experts should be independent experts not circumscribed by political instructions. Thereupon the Paris politicians, instead of

answering that submission, merely reverted to an old thesis, namely, that the experts should be appointed by the Reparation Commission.

It was not until Christmas Eve that an official statement could be issued in London and in Paris to the effect that the members of the commission were to be independent of their Governments, and not bound by instructions. M. Poincaré had prefaced that statement by announcing to all and sundry that the Governments would not be bound by the experts' recommendations; an unnecessary timidity on his part, for such an implication followed from the independent and advisory status of the experts. The December 24th statement further announced that it would be "highly desirable in the common interest" that "nationals of the United States" should take part in the work: a hint that was taken the same day by the issue from the State Department at Washington of an announcement that the United States would have no objection to sending a delegation, provided that the experts were nominated by the Governments.

It has been a feature of the last ten years that M. Poincaré's fears have often lent themselves to Pickwickian treatment. He was so treated by M. Millerand in 1923 when he somewhat petulantly resigned the Prime Ministership on an irrelevant issue. M. Millerand, in refusing to accept his resignation, explained away in a delightfully Pickwickian manner the affront that M. Poincaré imagined he had received from the Senate, and M. Poincaré contentedly withdrew his resignation. So now, M. Poincaré having demanded that the experts be appointed by the Reparation Commission, and the United States having demanded, in common with all the other parties concerned, that they be appointed by the Governments, it was pleasantly arranged that the Reparation Commission should "appoint" the members nominated by the five Governments. M. Poincaré was happy, and all was well. When the names of the experts were published on January 8th they were announced as having been "chosen" by the various Governments; and two days later the Reparation Commission, to redress the technical irregularity, issued a communication containing the delightful formula that "At the meeting which it held to-day the Reparation Commission, at the request of the Belgian, French, British, Italian and Japanese Governments, . . . nominated . . ." the persons whose names had already been published by the Governments. Such light touches are welcome in a dull story.

The committee being appointed, it seemed inevitable that the committee would meet, in spite of M. Poincaré's eleventh-hour confession, made on January 11th, that France had nothing to gain from any revision of the Dawes Plan. The committee as appointed consisted of Sir Josiah Stamp and Lord Revelstoke for Great

Britain; Herr Schacht and Dr. Vögler for Germany; M. Moreau and M. Parmentier for France; Signor Pirelli and Signor Suvich for Italy; M. Francqui and M. Gutt for Belgium; Mr. Kengo Mori and Mr. Takashi Aoki for Japan; and Mr. J. P. Morgan and Mr. Owen Young for the United States. Political forces seemed to be eliminated as effectively as they can ever be, and it was a matter for congratulation that the banks, which must have the whip hand in any reparation settlement, were well represented on the committee. Both the British experts were Directors of the Bank of England, Herr Schacht President of the Reichbank, M. Moreau Governor of the Bank of France. Industry was also well represented, Mr. Owen Young being Chairman of the General Motors Corporation; Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan a Director of the United States Steel Corporation, as well as a partner in the famous J. P. Morgan and Company of New York, London, and Paris; Sir Josiah Stamp President of the Executive of the L.M.S. Railway; Dr. Vögler President of the Ruhr Steel Trust and a member of the board of several engineering concerns; Signor Pirelli a former President of the International Chamber of Commerce.

Dr. Vögler, who was destined to become one of the stormy petrels, began expressing his views before the committee met. At Cologne on January 12th he made a speech in which he protested that Germany would not be able to sacrifice the protection afforded by the transfer clauses of the Dawes Plan unless the new annuities to be recommended were of a dimension to be more easily borne than the Dawes annuities by a people which was becoming poorer and poorer. Naturally it was the German tactic to plead poverty, even though one or two of its exponents went perhaps a little too far. The leader of the Nationalist Party, for instance, Herr Hugenberg, in a speech made at Dresden, even coined the epigram that progress in the solution of the reparation problem could lead either to the destruction of the Versailles Treaty or to the Bolshevisation of Germany, but to no other end.

The Committee met on February 11th in Paris, five months after the Powers agreed to constitute it. Mr. Owen Young was elected Chairman. The main case for a revision of the Dawes Plan was that finance and trade would benefit by an exact knowledge of what Germany was to pay, and what the creditor Powers were to receive, in a fixed scheme of reparation. The indefiniteness of the 1924 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 Dawes annuities were fixed on an ascending scale, culminating in the standard annuity of £125,000,000, now this year for the first time payable.

The experts sat continuously in Paris for seventeen weeks, and in the end signed a unanimous report at six o'clock on Friday, June 7th. They had succeeded in their object "of drawing up proposals for a complete and final settlement of the reparation problem." Those seventeen weeks had been taken up in hard bargaining, the details of which are neither elevating nor interesting. The shortsighted and the ill-disposed commentators put about occasional rumours of deadlock, threatened rupture and the like: but those who retained their sense of proportion remembered that it was Herr Schacht's business to hold out as long as possible for the lowest possible figures; and they noticed, as justification for their confidence in ultimate achievement, that Herr Schacht was consistently determined, as each new difficulty arose, not to break off the negotiations. Herr Schacht, moreover, is a serious person. He knew that as a result of the conference Germany's burden would be lightened; was he therefore likely to acquiesce in a failure of the conference? The creditor Powers too had much to gain from a settled, finite scheme of reparation. Where the interests of both parties were engaged in success, and where both parties would lose by failure, it was a reasonable probability that they would succeed. Probably none of the delegates ever contemplated the contingency of failure, it being an unwritten understanding between them that, success being taken for granted, they had all the more time in which to bargain: but each side from time to time and for obvious tactical reasons encouraged the more dull-witted commentators into gloomy prognostications of failure.

In the course of the bargaining four events took place which deserve to be recorded. On April 19th Lord Revelstoke died suddenly in Paris, as result, it was believed, of his ignoring an illness of his own and of giving his reserve of strength in an attempt to remove one of the obstinate difficulties of the conference. He died as he had lived, an idealist international financier in the best, most constructive, most beneficial sense. As a young man he had passed through his family disaster of the Baring crisis, and had seen at close range the immense power for good or for evil of high finance. All his life he worked for international finance as for a supremely good cause. Canada, the United States, Japan, the Argentine, have each been helped through financial crises by his power and vision. His last enterprise, the settlement of a problem which constituted a standing danger to finance and trade, conformed to his type, and he died in harness.

The second was that Dr. Vögler could not stay the course and resigned from the Committee on May 23rd. As an industrialist deeply engaged in the Ruhr steel industry it did him no harm to have acted in a manner which to his fellow industrialists would appear

in the guise of a high-minded protest against the imposition of excessive burdens on German industry: but there was no serious significance in his resignation, and his place was quietly taken by Herr Kastl.

The third event was that in the first week of May Mr. Owen Young thought to cut short the bargaining by proposing a solution of the conventional sort, whereby Germany's indebtedness would be cut down handsomely, and the almost exclusive honour of financing the loss would be assigned to Great Britain. Great Britain, being already weighed down with honours of that sort, firmly, roundly and quickly rejected the proposal, and the conference was thrown back into its former condition.

The fourth event, or series of running events, was that M. Poincaré maintained his Sunday commentaries with undiminished vigour, and with unchanging matter. While the experts were conducting their negotiations, to take one random example, M. Poincaré delivered a speech in his native Bar-le-Duc. He made three points: (1) that he clung to his Chambéry programme, whereby Germany was to pay for French reconstruction and for French debts; (2) that the German delegates were ruining the conference; (3) that in the event (the happy event he might almost have said) of Germany's succeeding in breaking up the conference, France would be content to revert to the Dawes annuities. There would be something attractive in M. Poincaré's simplicity if it were not hitched to destructive ends.

It appeared from the Report, when published, that the new annuities had been based on a sliding scale designed to meet the Balfour criterion, the amount varying with the British obligation to the United States, and the Dominions receiving their full quota. It even emerged that the last three British annuities were prefixed by a minus sign (— 414,100,000, — 414,100,000 and — 372,100,000 marks) in honour of the prospect that in those three years (1985-6, 1986-7, 1987-8) Great Britain's war debt receipts would exceed her payments by those amounts. Few people will have a vivid enough imagination to become excited about the prospect, two generations ahead, of the Balfour principle overreaching itself: but the experts translated the prospect into terms of millions of marks.

The experts' recommendations will have to be submitted to the six Governments, the German, French, Belgian, British, Japanese and Italian, and also, by virtue of the fantasy above described, to the Reparation Commission: but not to Washington. Although the United States contributed their experts to the work, as they did in 1924 to that of the Dawes report, they will not be a formal party to the new agreement, for they did not sign the Treaty of Versailles.

The new report consists of twelve chapters and nine appendices, the whole amounting to some 16,000 words. It first sketches the economic condition of Germany as the basis on which Germany's liability should be fixed. The experts state in chapter 4 that :

"As a substitute for the present system of transfer protection, with its semi-political controls, its derogation from Germany's initiative, and its possible reactions upon credit, we are recommending a scheme of annuities appreciably smaller than the Dawes obligations and subject to new and elastic conditions . . . it carries with it welcome freedom from interference and supervision, and it is provided with adequate safeguards against any period so critical as to endanger Germany's economic life."

Chapter 5 analyses the nature of the problem as the experts established it, and deduces certain principles on which a final settlement must be based. The chief of them are (1) that as the settlement involves "certain banking functions" a central banking institution be set up for the purpose; (2) that the annuities payable be divided into an unconditional and postponable part; (3) that deliveries in kind be continued for a few more years.

Chapter 6 outlines the functions of the proposed international bank, which "justifies and makes logical the liquidation of all political controls and provides instead machinery essentially commercial and financial in character, which carries with it all the support and at the same time all the responsibilities that economic engagements imply. The process of removing the Reparation problem from the political to the financial sphere, which was begun in the Dawes Plan, will thus be carried a step further. In general terms, the institution will take over such functions of the existing agencies as it may be necessary to continue, and will perform the whole work of external administration, such as the receipt and distribution of payments and the commercialisation of those parts of the annuities which are susceptible of being commercialised." The capital of the bank is to be the equivalent of \$100,000,000 (£20,000,000).

The experts further indicate that the bank may become a factor of wider benefit to international finance. They submit that "As a stabilising factor in the foreign exchange its advantages are obvious"; and again, that "In the natural course of development it is to be expected that the Bank will in time become an organisation, not simply, or even predominantly, concerned with the handling of Reparations, but also with furnishing to the world of international commerce and finance important facilities hitherto lacking. Especially it is to be hoped that it will become an increasingly close and valuable link in the co-operation of central banking institutions

generally—a co-operation essential to the continuing stability of the world's credit structure."

Chapters seven, eight and nine deal with the cardinal question of the actual annuities. "We are proposing," say the experts, "a series of total annuities which should be paid with the regularity of the coupons of ordinary marketable bonds." The calculations are made on the hypothesis that the Governments will terminate the Dawes Plan on August 31st next, and that the new plan will begin to operate on September 1st. There will be thirty-seven annuities payable in the new scheme.

The first will be for a broken period of seven months, September 1st, 1929, to April 1st, 1930, so as to allow the annuity periods to coincide with the German financial year. That first broken annuity will be for an amount of 742,800,000 marks (£37,140,000). The first full annuity (April 1st, 1930, to April 1st, 1931) will amount to 1,707,900,000 marks (£85,395,000) and the succeeding annuities through thirty-six German fiscal years will gradually increase until, in the year 1965-1966, when the sum will be 2,428,800,000 marks (£121,440,000). The average annuity is of £102,500,000 as contrasted with the Dawes annuity of £125,000,000, to which figure would be added some further £10,000,000 by the operation of the Index of Prosperity.

There will follow a further series of annuities, beginning in 1966-1967, and ending in 1987-1988, of a smaller amount decided by special provisions.

It is stipulated that the funds for the service of the annuities should be derived from two sources, the German Railway Company and the Budget of the Reich. As for the security of the assets, the Committee "desires to record its view that the basis of security for the payment of the annuities is the solemn undertaking of the German Government, to which no further guarantee can add anything whatsoever. The Committee accordingly recommend that the creditor Governments should take steps to release all controls, special securities, pledges or charges which may remain in their hands."

As a measure of safeguard, the experts recommend, "in order to protect Germany against the possible consequence of a comparatively short period of depression which might, for internal or external reasons, put such a severe strain on the exchanges as would make the process of transfer abroad dangerous, that the German Government should have the right, on giving ninety days' notice, to postpone transfers for a period not exceeding two years. . . ."

Although the experts on principle disapprove of the method of deliveries in kind, they recognise that the immediate discontinuance

of that method might damage "the export trade of Germany, which might be injurious to her capacity to transfer," and they therefore recommend a series of annual payments in kind on a decreasing scale and extending over ten years. The first year's amount is 750,000,000 and the last 300,000,000 marks (£37,500,000 and £15,000,000).

The main changes effected by the new recommendations in the working practice of reparations as functioning under the Dawes Plan are the following: (1) The variable Index of Prosperity is abolished, as also is the scheme of increasing annuities of an unspecified number. The new programme is for a definite number of fixed annuities. (2) Germany becomes financially autonomous. The Dawes transfer arrangement involved a measure of external control. The new arrangement leaves "to Germany the obligation of facing her engagements on her own untrammelled responsibility," although adequate safeguards are none the less provided. (3) The system of deliveries in kind ceases, but by a gradual non-disturbing process. (4) The new annuities are cast in a form lending itself to mobilisation. (5) The new banking arrangement is wholly non-political, and has a potential value internationally over and above its reparation function.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD COURT.

It is always a matter of importance when a link is forged between the United States and Europe. Such a link was forged on March 18th, when a draft Protocol on the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice was adopted by the Committee of Jurists. The Committee had been constituted to consider the revision of the Statute with a view to America's joining the Court. It seems likely that the new Protocol will ensure America's becoming a member of the Court.

Thereby a controversy dating from President Coolidge's Message to Congress of December, 1925, seems at last to be disposed of. It was in that Message that Mr. Coolidge proposed the addition of the famous fifth reservation to the four reservations already formulated. The four were: (1) The United States shall not assume any obligations under the League of Nations; (2) It shall participate on an equal footing with other States in the election of judges; (3) Congress shall determine what part of the expenses the United States shall bear; (4) The Statute creating the Court shall not be amended without the consent of the United States. The fifth reservation proposed by Mr. Coolidge was that the United States should not be bound by advisory opinions rendered without its consent. Provided that the five reservations were respected, Mr. Coolidge was keenly in favour of the United States joining the Court. "We can contri-

bute greatly," he said, "to the advance of our ideals by joining with other nations in maintaining such a Tribunal." Senator Borah led the obstructionist crusade in the Senate, protesting against American participation either in the work of the Court, or in any work connected with the Geneva League of Nations. His fear was that such participation might prove to be the thin end of the wedge of American domination by the League of Nations. In spite, however, of Senator Borah's prestige as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, the Senate on January 27th, 1926, by the substantial majority of 76 to 17 voted in favour of the United States joining the Court, on the condition that the five reservations were made effective. Proposals for still further reservations were one by one defeated.

At the beginning of 1926 there was a general hope, and in the United States it was even taken for granted, that the United States would promptly join the Court. At that time it did not seem to occur to any American politician or commentator that the reservations were likely to raise any difficulty in Geneva; for it is one of the contemporary characteristics of American political thought to take it for granted that any offer of American collaboration in "European" affairs will be accepted gratefully, blindly, uncritically. On that occasion, however, the Secretariat of the League convened a meeting of States members to consider the implications of the American reservations. The surprise and the shock occasioned in the United States by the mere news of the step thus taken, combined with sundry other misfortunes that befell the friends of the World Court in the United States itself, had the effect of lengthening the prospect of America's ever joining the Court at all. Early in May of that year Senator Borah even felt bold enough to introduce a Motion for the reconsideration of the Senate's decision of January 27th: he was defeated, but his doctrine fell on less stony ground than it had fallen on four months before. During the summer of 1926 American opinion reacted more and more against the World Court, with the result that in his Armistice Day speech of that year delivered at Kansas City, President Coolidge declared that the question of America's joining the Court was now a "closed incident." Throughout 1927, moreover, there never appeared to be any likelihood that the incident would be reopened. President Coolidge's declaration of November 11th, 1926, was regarded as all the more significant because the conference called by the League Secretariat to consider the implications of the American reservations had by that time already met, and its results were known to Mr. Coolidge when he made his statement.

That conference met at Geneva on September 1st, 1926, and was representative of thirty-nine out of the forty-eight

Signatories of the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Court. It came to the conclusion that the fifth reservation (namely, that the Permanent Court should not "without the consent of the United States entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest") would in practice produce some difficulty, and that to meet the difficulty it would be necessary to conclude "an appropriate agreement" between the United States and the Signatory States. It was at the same time suggested by the conference that a draft Protocol be drawn up for that purpose, and that an exchange of view be opened with Washington. Mr. Coolidge's dismissal of the matter as a "closed incident" therefore came as a cold douche, especially as he further elaborated his view in these words: "I feel warranted in saying that I do not intend to ask the Senate to modify its position. . . . Unless the requirements of the Senate are met by other interested nations I can see no prospect of this country adhering to the Court."

The "incident" in fact remained closed till November last (1928) when it was reopened by Mr. Coolidge himself. He then made it known to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate that he was now disposed to reopen the question forthwith. Fortunately that modification of Mr. Coolidge's attitude followed on a decision of the last Assembly (September, 1928) to the effect that the Council of the League should institute an inquiry into the problem whether unanimity or only a majority vote should be necessary in the Assembly or in the Council before a question could be submitted to the Court. That problem lay at the root of the fifth reservation—for that reservation merely demanded a power of veto for the United States—and therefore of the main difficulty standing in the way of America's joining the Court. The League Council which dealt with the Assembly's request (December, 1928) decided to refer the whole question of the United States and the Court to a special League Committee of Jurists, which had already been studying the revision of the Statute. Senator Elihu Root, who had helped to draft the original Statute of the Court, and who already had accepted the League's invitation to become a member of the committee of jurists, came to Geneva with certain new proposals. Before the committee met, the Secretary of State set an identical "round-robin" to all the Governments signatory to the Court Statute to suggest that it might after all be possible for the United States to sign the Protocol. The note submitted that the interests of the United States, which the former reservations had been calculated to safeguard, "may be fully protected in some way or by some other formula. The Government of the United States feels that such an informal exchange of views as is contemplated by the

twenty-four Governments should lead to agreement upon some provision which in unobjectionable form would protect the rights and interests of the United States as an adherent of the Court Statute, and this expectation is strongly supported by the fact that there seems to be but little difference regarding the substance of these rights and interests." Before Mr. Root left for Europe it became known that he had obtained Mr. Kellogg's approval of the scheme he was about to propound. If a way could be found by Geneva of accepting the substance of the five reservations, it would then be possible for the United States to join the Court without again running the gauntlet of the Senate.

On March 17th, 1929, the Committee met to consider a revised text of the Statute which had been submitted jointly by Mr. Elihu Root and Sir Cecil Hurst. The new text was approved on the following day. Its purpose was simply to enable the United States to join the Court. There is a certain amount of red tape to be negotiated in the meantime, but it seems safe now to assume that all will be well. The "Draft Protocol Adopted by the Committee of Jurists, March 18th, 1929," would have to be submitted to the League Council at the June meeting, and then, when approved (as it doubtless will be approved), submitted to all the States members of the League and to the United States. As it satisfies the Senate's reservations, the President's ratification may perhaps be taken for granted, the more so because Mr. Root received full support for his scheme before he left for Europe. Mr. Hoover and Mr. Stimson endorsed the support already given by Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Kellogg; and even Senator Borah gave his agreement. It will now remain for the Assembly in September to give the final approval, and the Protocol will then be thrown open for signature. The Protocol contains eight articles, of which the first and the eighth contain the kernel of the agreement. The first article stipulates that the signatories of the Protocol "accept the special conditions attached by the United States in the five reservations. . . ." Article 8 describes the machinery to be adopted to give effect to the fifth reservation. "With a view" it runs, "to ensuring that the Court shall not without the consent of the United States entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall, through any channel for that purpose designated by the United States, inform the United States of any proposal before the Council or the Assembly of the League for obtaining an advisory opinion from the Court, and thereupon, if desired, an exchange of views as to whether an interest of the United States is affected, shall proceed

with all convenient speed between the Council or the Assembly of the League and the United States.

"Whenever a request for an advisory opinion comes to the Court the Registrar shall notify the United States thereof among other States mentioned in the now existing Article 73 of the Rules of the Court stating a reasonable time-limit fixed by the President within which a written statement by the United States concerning the request will be received. If for any reason no sufficient opportunity for an exchange of views upon such request should have been afforded and the United States advises the Court that the question upon which the opinion of the Court is asked is one that affects the interests of the United States, proceedings shall be stayed for a period sufficient to enable such an exchange of views between the Council or the Assembly and the United States to take place.

"With regard to requesting an advisory opinion of the Court in any case covered by the preceding paragraphs there shall be attributed to an objection of the United States the same force and effect as attach to a vote against asking for the opinion given by a member of the League of Nations in the Council or in the Chamber.

"If after the exchange of views provided for in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article it shall appear that no agreement can be reached, and the United States is not prepared to forgo its objection, the exercise of the powers of withdrawal provided for in Article 8 hereof will follow naturally without any imputation of unfriendliness or unwillingness to co-operate generally for peace and goodwill."

When on March 20th the Secretariat of the League issued the report of the Committee of Jurists, it expressed the view that when the "happy result" of the Protocol being signed by the United States had been achieved, "it will be possible to feel that further progress has been made in establishing the reign of law among the nations of the world and in diminishing the risk that there may be of a resort to force for the solution of their conflicts."

GEORGE GLASGOW.

June 15th, 1929.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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WITH ALEXANDER TO THE INDUS.*

Sir Aurel Stein, in this profusely illustrated record of his latest journey in the almost unknown and closely locked regions of the valley of Swat, traces "the scenes of that arduous campaign of Alexander which brought the great conqueror from the foot of the snowy Hindukush to the Indus, on his way to the triumphant invasion of the Panjab." It was a task that probably only Sir Aurel Stein could face with some hope of success. In 1904-5 he had undertaken archaeological survey work in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, and in 1911-12, after his work of exploration in Central Asia and Westernmost China, he had drawn up the archaeological survey of the frontier circle of India.

The problem that the great explorer set out to solve at the end of 1926 in the Swat Valley cannot be understood without a word or two as to the progress of Alexander towards the north-west of India. Alexander III, the son of Philip II of Macedon and Olympias, was born in the summer of 356 B.C., and succeeded his father in 336. He died in Babylon at sunset on June 13th, 323, in his thirty-third year, after a reign of twelve years and eight months. It is not ridiculous to think that he was the greatest man who ever lived. He had only one failing, the tempestuous temper which it was his life-long habit to control, but which escaped

* *On Alexander's Track to the Indus; Personal Narrative of Explorations on the North-West Frontier of India carried out under the orders of H.M. Indian Government.* By Sir Aurel Stein. Macmillan. 21s. net.

him from time to time—he was very young and men were very stupid or wicked. His body was under his complete control. This, says Mr. W. W. Tarn, in his admirable estimate of Alexander in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, “is the key to his attitude towards women; apart from his mother he apparently never cared for any woman; he apparently never had a mistress, and his two marriages were mere affairs of policy.” Possessing terrific force of character, he ruled the very great men whom he gathered round him with an ease that was incomparable, and as a leader of armies he may not have had an equal. He was a romanticist; he was “a great dreamer . . . to be mystical and intensely practical, to dream greatly and to do greatly is not given to many men; it is this combination” (says Mr. Tarn) “which gives Alexander his place in history.”

It was a man of this superb calibre who took up in the spring of 334 B.C., at the age of twenty-two, the inherited task of invading Persia, and crossed the Dardanelles with some 30,000 foot and some 5,000 horse, which together formed a combination of arms of a unique kind. The siege train and the engineers were destined to play a great part in the advance to the Indus. In October, 333, the battle of Issus ultimately settled the fate of Persia, and on October 1st, 331, the hardly-contested battle of Gaugamela threw open the gates of Babylon and, from Susa, Persipolis and Pasaryadæ, gave the fabulous treasures of a conquered world to the new Lord of Asia.

India was the next goal, and in the winter of 330 B.C. the army of Alexander was settled in Seistan, and in the early spring of 329 they moved into Afghanistan and founded the city that we call Kandahar. In the winter of the same year, by a feat of extraordinary endurance, Alexander descended from the snow-deep passes into the valley of Kabul. In the early spring of 328, after building two cities in the valley, he crossed the Hindukush into Bactria and Bukhara and completed the conquest of the Persian Empire. That task took Alexander a year, and it was in May, 327, that he again crossed the Hindukush southward, set upon the conquest of India. He had already made terms while at Bukhara through envoys with the Raja of Takshacila, and when the Macedonian army reappeared in the Kushan Pass the native princes west of the Indus were compelled to meet the Lord of Asia in the Kabul valley. But Mr. E. R. Bevan in the *Cambridge History of India* points out that the chieftains of the valleys of the Kunar, the Panjkora and the Swat were not prepared to recognise an overlord and had to be subdued. The army, therefore, was divided. One part commanded by Hephaestion and Perdikkas moved direct to the Indus, probably by the Khyber Pass, while Alexander himself dealt with the hill tribes.

Mr. Bevan says that “it is impossible to follow the track of Alexander over these hills with any precision. We hear of little mountain towns stormed, of others abandoned by their inhabitants. But their sites cannot be identified.” There was terrible fighting on a large scale against apparently an Indian race, the Açvakas, who were called by the Greeks Aspasioi in the Choes Valley and Assakenoi in the Swat Valley. At one place which the Greeks called Massaga a number of Indian mercenaries were massacred. Mr. Bevan tells us that “we know only that it was situated east of the Guraeus river and apparently not far from the stream.” The resistance centred at Massaga under an overlord, Assakenos, who was signally defeated and killed. “A town called by the Greeks Arigaeon, which apparently commanded the road between the Kunar and the Panjkora Valleys, was selected for recolonisation.” After some months’ fighting Alexander came down to Pushkalavati at the lower end of the Swat Valley and garrisoned it. In the meantime the division of Hephaestion dealt with the lower Kabul Valley and garrisoned a place called by the Greeks Orobatis, and Alexander moved about, reducing a number of small towns between Pushkalavati and the Indus and undertook one special and Herculean labour before crossing the Indus, the reduction of the famous citadel of Aornos perched on an isolated rock or mountain some 7,000 feet high. Where is this place? “It has so far been impossible to fit the Greek description of Aornos to any rocky height noted in the country to-day.” The Greek description places it not far from the modern Amb and states that the south side was on the river Indus. The Greeks were very proud of the storming of Aornos in the spring of 326 B.C. Mr. Bevan plainly thinks that the account is partly imaginative and that the place cannot be identified.

It is necessary to see what light Sir Aurel Stein throws by his investigations in the actual area on those problems of identification. Hitherto historians have had to rely on the Greek records only. It has not been possible to fix the position of the places taken by Alexander “so long as the greater portion of that extensive area remained inaccessible to antiquarian research.” Such research has now been made possible by the goodwill of that very enlightened potentate Miangul Gul-Shahzada, the independent ruler of the Swat Valley. Sir Aurel Stein believes that the site of Massaga was in Lower Swat, though its exact location is still lacking. He locates Bazira with confidence “at the ancient stronghold marked by the ruins on the Bir-Kot hill.” When Kornos failed to capture Bazira Alexander left a containing force and proceeded up the Swat Valley to the attack on Ora, a place which Sir Aurel identifies with the ruined stronghold above Ude-gram in the Upper Swat Valley. Ude and the Greek Ora, an almost identical sound to the

European ear, since the cerebral consonant *d* has a full *r* sound. The defeated tribesmen at Ora fled to the impregnable Aornos. With the fall of Ora the campaign was over, and Alexander turned south into the Peshawar Valley, thence conquered Aornos, established his junction with Hephaestion and crossed the Indus to win the decisive battle of the Hydaspes.

The explorer's search for Aornos began, after a great march along the steep slopes of the valley which runs from the Swat watershed to the Indus, from the village of Upal some 5,000 feet above sea level. Moving along the crest of the ridge, "the best I could hope for was to find a ridge or plateau which by its size, position and configuration would account for the character of the operations that brought about the conquest of the 'Rock.'" Ruins of heathen times had been reported from Upal on the little spur of Chat about 1,000 feet above the village. This was climbed, and not only were Buddhist remains found but a prehistoric bronze bracelet. On the way Mahmud the guide talked about the high ridge of Pir-sar and mentioned Mount Una, which he said was the highest peak on the range from the pass of Upal to the Indus and, just below it, in the direction of the great river lay Pir-sar. Now Sir Aurel Stein at once felt that Una, "pronounced with that peculiar cerebral *n* which represents a nasal affected by a preceding or following *r* sound," would be represented in Greek by *Aornos*, and the only point was whether the topographical conditions supported the philological implications. A tremendous journey landed the travellers in the dark at the end of April, 1926, on the high northern extremity of the long Pir-sar ridge, a conical detached height. The party remained on this height for three days with clear weather and fully surveyed the region, and Sir Aurel was at last convinced that "in this remarkable ridge of Pir-sar we have indeed the long-sought-for rock fastness of Aornos." The level top portion of this ridge extends at an average elevation of about 7,100 feet for over a mile and a half and dominates all other spurs. It is certainly possible and even easy to recognise "in the local features of Pir-sar and its environs all the topographical details of Aornos as they appear from the account of Alexander's siege." Sir Aurel describes the route of attack that first the advanced guard under Ptolemy and then Alexander himself used, and illustrates the whole wonderful engagement from a collation of his survey map and the Greek evidence. There can be little doubt that Aornos is at last identified. The actual data of the siege is very ingeniously given as about April, 326 B.C., from the scarcity of snow in that special area in that time of the year and from a reported expedient devised by Alexander for the preservation of snow for drinking purposes.

J. E. G. DE M.

THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC SCHOOL.*

The Professor of Philosophy in Dalhousie University has written an extremely interesting and in many respects important book on Anglo-Catholicism, reviewing and criticising its history from the time of the publication of the first of the *Tracts for the Times* on September 9th, 1833, down to the recent Prayer Book controversy. The interest and importance of his survey is in certain ways increased owing to the fact that his book "is the work of a Presbyterian born and bred, one content with the Church in which he was brought up, and conscious of no tendency whatever to change it for either the Roman or the Anglican communion." Hence he holds a detached position which, however, does not prevent him from taking up a sympathetic attitude towards the movement. Indeed, while his judgments are candid and outspoken his dissatisfaction alike with "Evangelicalism" and with "Modernism" both in the Anglican Church and in the Free Churches increases his sympathy with the courage and fundamental consistency of Anglo-Catholicism. "He sees in the High Church at least a resolute championship of that common faith which should belong to all Churches alike, but which some of them—for ignoble reasons—have allowed themselves to compromise or to forsake." From this standpoint he discusses the meaning of Anglo-Catholicism and the provocative causes of its rise.

Professor Stewart gives a careful account of the movement from the time when Keble preached his celebrated "Assize Sermon" on July 14th, 1833, down to the secession of Newman in 1845, following this up by a chapter on the contemporary criticism of James Anthony Froude. In subsequent chapters he traces the succeeding history from the *Tracts* to *Lux Mundi* and from *Lux Mundi* to *Essays Catholic and Critical*. He deals with Dean Inge as the most formidable assailant of Anglo-Catholicism, and gives an estimate of his work which combines admiration of his thought and scholarship with outspoken criticism of the drawbacks which are attendant upon his brilliance and vehemence as a controversialist. In the concluding chapter Professor Stewart sums up the gains and losses of the movement as he sees them, and ends by dealing with the Prayer Book compromise and the result of its rejection by the House of Commons. While he considers that this Parliamentary decision was mistaken, he criticises the Bishops for minimising the importance of the changes proposed, particularly in the Communion office, instead of representing them as a courageous recognition of historic differences within the Church of England, the demands of which

* *A Century of Anglo-Catholicism*. By Herbert Leslie Stewart. J. M. Dent & Co., London & Toronto. 10s. 6d. net.

should be satisfied within the comprehensiveness which is the outstanding mark of the Anglican Church.

The book is one which merits careful attention. It is the result of painstaking study, and the results are presented in an arresting way which is sometimes suggestive of Mr. Lytton Strachey. At times Professor Stewart seems to press the distinctiveness of Anglo-Catholicism to the point of isolation, as, for example, when he treats the common judgments of Anglo-Catholic and Protestant scholars on Biblical criticism as a case of "parallelism," where indeed they are due to common sources, to inter-communication, and even to collaboration. Occasionally also he seems to fall into the error of which he finds Dean Inge guilty, that of criticising Churches and Movements by their less worthy and representative adherents, rather than by those that are highest and most characteristic. These blemishes are, however, incidental, and do not seriously detract from the value of a book which should be studied by all parties to the great controversy with which it deals. J. S. L.

* * *

THE REMINISCENCES OF MISS SMEDLEY.*

Miss Constance Smedley's "Reminiscences" will doubtless prove of special interest in this year of grace 1929 when women have come into their own by the realisation of their equal rights with men on the franchise question. The war proved the wonderful adaptability of woman, and gave a reasonable demand for fuller privileges, though many older folk have doubts as to the early age at which the vote is acquired, and the enormous advance in the numerical strength of the electorate. Every effort is being made on all sides to educate the young voter in the knowledge of her country's needs. A vote, like all possessions, is a responsibility, and carries with it either a blessing or a curse. The need for education in citizenship is great, both for men and women, for without it who can be fit to elect the government of the nation whether young or old?

Pioneers like Constance Smedley, and the women who gathered around her, whether in art, literature, or science, felt the need of proclaiming to the world the power of their sex, which they felt had been passed over and in a sense ignored. They felt, and felt strongly, that women, given clubs and the many advantages that men possessed, would lose their singularity and become a force and power in their country when brought together by aims and interests which only clubs could foster and promote.

* *Crusaders. The Reminiscences of Constance Smedley* (Mrs. Maxwell Armfield). Duckworth, London. 15s. net.

The Lyceum Club in Piccadilly was the beginning of a new phase in women's public life. It is mainly a club of professional workers, and the first notices of election were issued in March, 1903, but not until a year later was it possible to find premises. It started with nearly 1,000 members. The qualification for membership was strict and firmly adhered to, over 1,200 were rejected on account of "insufficient qualifications." For many years it was conducted under a certain loss. Miss Smedley's father made himself responsible for the deficit, which amounted to a large sum; in later years the members entered into a share of the financial responsibilities. The Lyceum was the first woman's club to enter Piccadilly, and curiously enough, for twenty-five years it has held its ground there as the only woman's club in that very favoured spot in Clubland. Later, 128 Piccadilly was sold, and the Lyceum moved into 138 Piccadilly, a beautiful and historic home. Lady Frances Balfour was the first president and she served the club for fifteen years. A goodly list of the "Provisional Committee for Great Britain and Ireland" is given in full, representing literature, journalism, and music. The offshoots of the Lyceum Club are many and world-wide, as the author shows. The founding of women's clubs is the main concern of these reminiscences, while the personality of the writer, and the cause which she so ardently espoused and strove and worked for, and the many notable people with whom she came in contact both at home and abroad in literature, art, science, and music, add great interest to her book.

To-day, it is the many of Constance Smedley's sex who, by emulation and education, proclaim various powers and abilities. In the past it was the few, the outstanding few! But it is well to remember that the world has never been without its "Judges in Israel" and never will be. The fear of the present is the outnumbering of men voters. Will the women rise to their privileges and responsibilities and see with a clear vision both the small and large issues of life? Has she so used the five or ten talents, with which she is endowed, in the family and home parliament that she is fit on her admission to the electorate to help to send representatives to rule over "Five or ten Cities"? Time alone can prove.

Miss Constance Smedley has the faith in herself and her cause which alone can remove mountains. Her book is full of interest. Her youthful accomplishments in novel and play writing, the people of note whom she came across, the people she mesmerised to her views, her unflagging energy in any cause she had in hand, all tended to her success in the establishment of women's clubs, both at home and overseas. One can but ardently hope that they may help to bring peace on earth. Does the author advocate women being admitted to the Councils of the League of Nations? S. DE M.

BEFORE THE BLUESTOCKINGS.*

"The Ladies"—to quote the style of their day—who form the subject of these delightful essays are a little group of gentlewomen of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, who, in face of disheartening obstacles, had gained learning themselves and desired the better education of their sex, that "most neglected part of the World as to all Real improvement," as Mary Astell, the best known of them, says. Mrs. Graham Wallas, in her Foreword, contrasts the lack of general recognition accorded them with that won by the "Bluestockings" of the following generation. She quotes one striking exception—the great Locke's eulogy of his friend and pupil, Lady Masham: "She is so well versed in theological and philosophical studies, and of such an original mind, that you will not find many men to whom she is not superior in wealth of knowledge and ability to profit by it. Her judgment is excellent, and I know few who can bring such clearness of thought to bear upon the most abstruse subjects." And one is glad to learn that the University Library, Cambridge, lent an Anglo-Saxon MS. to Elizabeth Elstob, whose scholarly translations from that tongue are the most surprising achievement of all.

But the prevailing attitude toward feminine learning of the society here depicted was very different. Lady Masham herself considers that parents fear "that, should their daughters be perceiv'd to understand any Learned Language or be conversant in books, they might be in danger of not finding Husbands." "You can come into no company of Ladies and Gentlemen," writes Mrs. Elstob, "where you shall not hear an open and vehement exclamation against Learned Women." How one sympathises with the exasperation of the girl who writes to Steele that she enjoys conversing with "Men of Sense," but is "cut short with something or other about my bright Eyes. There is, Sir, a Language particular for talking to Women." Steele himself, as the final Essay reminds us, was the first to recognise "women as an integral part of the reading public"—hence largely the immediate popularity of the *Tatler* and *Spectator*. This Essay, and, indeed, the whole book, especially the charming quotations with which it is sprinkled, recalls the atmosphere of *Esmond*, while the aspirations and problems of these pioneer women remind one of those of the last century: the author warmly sympathises with both. She writes with refreshing humour and delicate distinction of style, and is evidently steeped in her period.

"The Ladies" vary considerably in their fortunes and attainments, from the statesmanlike Mary Astell, with her well-thought-

* *Before the Bluestockings*. By Ada Wallas. George Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d. net.

out scheme for a women's college, and vigorous language on the subject of mercenary marriages, to the "early sprouting Wit" of Lord Halifax's little daughter, for whom he shows a tender concern that makes this Essay perhaps the most appealing. (He can, alas, offer her no better advice for marriage than to accept as inevitable the infidelities, drunkenness, or ill-temper of the spouse who may be allotted her, making for herself such alleviations as she may.) Bookish as "the Ladies" were, they do not despise dress, and excel in the housewifely virtues; this is especially the case with Hannah Woolley, who also practises successfully as an amateur "chirurgien," though she has skill in "Shell-work, Moss-work," and in making "all manner of Pretty Toys." Several have children, and hold views on their upbringing which are much in advance of those current in their day, while the education they covet is partly as a training for the mind, partly that they may help their children with their studies. One is tempted to quote indefinitely, but must be content to refer readers to this fascinating book.

* * *

JOSEPH ESTLIN CARPENTER.*

Professor C. H. Herford has edited a memorial volume to the late Mr. Joseph Estlin Carpenter, and the volume includes the editor's memoir, recollections of Carpenter at Manchester College, by the Rev. I. H. Weatherall, an account of Carpenter's denominational and international activities, by the Rev. Copeland Bowie, an estimate of his work on the Old and New Testament by Professor A. S. Peake, and an essay by Dr. L. R. Farnell (formerly Rector of Exeter College, Oxford), on Carpenter's work in the Indian field of comparative religion.

Joseph Estlin Carpenter was born on October 5th, 1844, of a well-known Unitarian stock. His father, William Carpenter, was a famous physiologist, and it is curious to-day to recall the fact that his pronounced Unitarianism "twice prevented his election, though supported by the whole Faculty, to the Chair of Medicine at Edinburgh." William was the son of Dr. Lant Carpenter, a Unitarian minister at Exeter and Bristol, who had education at heart in the early days of the nineteenth century and was a supporter of reform in many fields, including Roman Catholic emancipation. Young Estlin was educated at University College School, University College and Manchester New College. Among his fellow students and life-long friends was that great philosophic thinker and Dante scholar, Philip Henry Wicksteed. He never lost his Unitarian faith, and we are told that "the spiritual theism which Martineau

* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 10s. 6d. net.

won by a complex evolution was in its elements his by instinct," though he went through a period of doubt due partly to the bald teaching of Alexander Bain founded on the sensationalism of Hume and Mill. In 1866 Carpenter settled as a Unitarian minister at Clifton and was inducted by Martineau. In 1869 he passed to Mill Hill Chapel in Leeds in days when the North Country movement in favour of colleges of University rank was becoming very active.

At this time he was developing his groundwork of scholarship, and added German and Dutch to the tongues in which he could work and carry on research. But his Church was the centre of his work, "a centre from which radiated not religious propaganda only, but a keener sense of human fellowship, and of the power of men to uplift one another by intercourse—in this he was both a commanding force and a pioneer." His lectures became a feature of the intellectual North Country, and he was already giving time to the study of comparative religion. In the field of religious thought he held that "reasoning cannot bring God into the conclusion if He is not first found in the premises": a very modern thought. But his faith *was* in the premises and of it. "To many it will seem sufficient and final justification that in its inspiration he lived the rich and beautiful life he did, and became and continued to the last to be the heroic spirit he was."

In February, 1875, he was elected to the Chair of Ecclesiastical History, Comparative Religion and Hebrew, in Manchester College, London.

The little band of spiritual thinkers and teachers who now welcomed Estlin Carpenter as their colleague, stood in most points, apart from their religious faith, on the common ground of cultivated Liberal Englishmen. Martineau alone in this respect showed some of the incalculable paradoxes of genius. Senior by many years to all his colleagues—almost forty to Carpenter—he had gone through a more complex development than any of them. Starting from the necessarian faith of Hartley and Priestley, he had shaped a path by way of German idealism to the transformed Unitarianism which, far from rejecting the doctrine of the Incarnation, held it to be true (in Martineau's words) "not of Christ exclusively, but of Man universally and God everlastingly" (*Essays* ii, 443). . . . Martineau was deeply perturbed by phenomena of the time which clearly menaced all forms of religious faith. "He is hopeless," Carpenter wrote, "about the growth of science and atheism." Carpenter, who had grown up in a home where scientific enthusiasm and religious faith were harmonious co-mates, was fortified against such doubts. His own faith could certainly call to its support no such phalanx of philosophic argument as Martineau's; but it had the bell-like clearness of natural optimism.

Carpenter set to work to make himself fit for the research which was essential to his Chair, and his "critical and scholarly powers

steadily grew to the measure of the vaster tasks now before him." He had not the advantages of an Oxford common room. There were only four professors in Manchester College, but these men were all of high intellectual rank. His marriage in July, 1878, to Alice Buckton, added to his intellectual, humanistic and human powers. It was the beginning of a union of nearly half a century and was all the while "a benediction for all who knew them." His students and fellow scholars were friends as well, and Carpenter's house at Borrowdale in summertime was filled with them. Dr. Martineau was once a guest, and at the age of eighty climbed Scafell "with perfect ease." Humanism flourished once again in the Lake District: the Lake poets, the Arnolds, the Carpenters formed a significant succession.

The transfer of Manchester College to Oxford in 1889 was a noble venture, and the new Oxford begotten by Green and Jowett made it possible for Anglicanism to live with Unitarianism. Martineau, though he was a close friend of the Master of Balliol, opposed the move, but it justified itself. Carpenter loved Oxford. In other circumstances he would have been perhaps an Oxford man in the technical sense and would have adorned the old University. He did adorn it in the sense that Manchester College was a centre of humanism, and at the centre was Carpenter himself, producing work of the first quality in abundance. From 1906 to 1915 he held the Principalship, and after he retired he gave his Harvard Lectures on the History of Religions, his Jowett Lectures on Buddhism v. Christianity, while in his eightieth year he delivered the Hibbert Lectures on Theism in Mediæval India. Of all this and other work the volume before us gives ample account, and reflects, so far as a book can reflect, a personality in which great capacity, great learning, and great teaching powers were concentrated. He was working to the last, till 1927. The published work that survives appears in the classified list of Carpenter's writings compiled by Mr. Raymond V. Holt, the Librarian of the College. But the volume of published work does not measure the influence of a teacher, and probably it will be as a teacher that Estlin Carpenter will go down to history.

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THE BRITISH EMPIRE.*

This important work is planned in eight volumes; three relating to the general history of British overseas expansion and imperial policy, two dealing with the history of British India (edited by Professor H. H. Dodwell and being part of the *Cambridge History*

**The Cambridge History of the British Empire*. General Editors: J. Holland Rose, A. P. Newton, E. A. Benians. Vol. I, *The Old Empire from the Beginnings to 1783*. Cambridge: At the University Press. 35s. net.

of India, a form of overlapping of series that remains to be justified from the point of view of the publishing industry), and three with the history of the self-governing Dominions. This composite undertaking is a timely one and it is good to know that the volumes on the Dominions are, for the most part, to be written by scholars of the Dominions since, as the editors rightly say, "without close touch with the historical scholarship of the Dominions these volumes could not well have been undertaken."

It is somewhat unfortunate that the preface to this volume opens with one of those dogmatic utterances of Lord Macaulay which arouse the curiosity of admirers of that eminent man: "Nothing in the early existence of Britain indicated the greatness which she was destined to attain." So far from that being true the British Emperor Constantine in the beginning of the fifth century, reduced practically the whole *Præfecture* of Gaul, that is to say France and Spain, into possession, while exactly six centuries later Cnut saw very clearly the infinite possibilities of Britain as a world power, and made it the central point of his vast Scandinavian Empire. Another five centuries passed and a new oceanic expansion began, and the present work deals with this expansion which started with the Tudor Age. Four centuries have passed since the discovery of the New World gave new scope to old dreams, and though in the last century and a half, indeed from the war of 1753, a host of imperial and political problems have arisen in the heart of what Queen Elizabeth's statesmen called the Empire of England, yet the editors of this work say truly that "the British Empire is still in the long process of its growth." Indeed, when that process ends the Empire itself will end.

In that connection it is well to reflect that the story of the birth of the eldest daughter of England, the United States of America, comes within the scope of this volume. Mr. Cecil Headlam (the author of five substantial chapters in this volume), dealing with the American Revolution and British Politics, declares that the seceded colonies gave Great Britain a lesson in Imperialism. He writes:

Whether the secession of the thirteen colonies was a good thing for them or a bad thing for Great Britain are questions upon which historians have differed. But the subsequent development of the United States has an inspiring lesson to offer to the second British Empire which has grown up since that event. By its progress, its adhesiveness, its solidarity, the Union of American States has demonstrated that an Empire need not necessarily fall to pieces when it has become great. It has by its growth shown that Turgot's dictum, which its birth seemed to prove, is not necessarily true; that colonies need not fall off when ripe, but that an indefinite number of States may be held together in a union which has not the radical defects of the old colonial system.

But this lesson of polity was surely not learnt from the United States of America. It is a fact that the British Empire has demonstrated, in the course of its normal or abnormal growth, but we did not learn to apply it from a conglomeration of technically sovereign States continually growing in number by processes of annexation and conquest, a conglomeration only kept together by physical force, as one of the bloodiest wars in the history of the world, the North and South War, testifies, a conglomeration in which the freedom of the separate States has been steadily sacrificed, and especially since 1865, on the altar of Central Imperial Power. The very policy that, in a sense, led to the secession of the thirteen colonies has been the policy, the policy of centralisation that dominated the ancient Commercial Empire of the East, of the United States of America. The exact reverse of that policy has been the one that has kept together what is in this book called the second British Empire. The British self-governing Dominions are not technically sovereign States but are free, the States of the American Union are technically sovereign States but are not free. Great Britain has freed herself of "the radical defects of the old colonial system," but the example of the United States of America, except by repulsion, has had nothing to do with our wise drift of policy.

It is not indeed clear that there was any startling change of policy as a consequence of the secession. The late Professor H. E. Egerton, in what seems to be the most brilliant chapter in this volume, dealing with the literature and social life of the old empire, rightly declares in this connection:

Everywhere, then, we recognise that in the field of social and intellectual, no less than that of political and economical, life, the stars in their courses were moving in a direction hostile to the permanence of the British connection.

Dr. J. A. Williamson points to first an indefinite and then to a deliberate imperial policy of immigration into the plantations which, though it was pursued in the days of the old empire with harshness, and especially in the disastrous emigration of slaves from Africa, and in the second or later empire with the monstrous doctrine of transportation of convicts, still was a policy and, in a very different form, is the most urgent policy with respect to the Empire to-day. It may be that the decreased population in New England was viewed with indifference. The permanence of the British rule probably was not anticipated or possibly even in earlier days desired. But an economic imperial policy certainly was in the air from comparatively early days before the time of Cromwell, and Dr. Williamson specifically tells us that "for good or ill, the policy of the Interregnum confirmed the foundation of imperial unity upon an economic basis."

Successive chapters illustrate the growth of such a general policy and it is three centuries since we began to build up, to use Professor A. P. Newton's phrase, "a general imperial control over the Colonies." This volume provides abundant material out of which that policy can be isolated, so to speak, and made clear above the innumerable political, constitutional, mercantile, legal and international law problems fully dealt with in this book which, by their very complexity, confuse students of the history of British imperial evolution. The guiding principles of polity have been probably continuous from 1654 up to this hour, but the application of those principles necessarily varied with varying environments and the various claims upon the ministers and administrators of the Crown. That polity is and was essentially economic, but it is and was also the polity of the great Roman administrators, the polity of local freedom of development and of the scabbarded sword, coupled with an intense sense of and belief in patriotism and the *Pax Britannica*.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

JUGOSLAVAKIA.*

The author of this book was from 1903 to 1914 the Belgrade correspondent of the Vienna Telegraphic News Agency, and was, therefore, as he says, in a favourable position to follow the course of events that led to the rupture between Austria and Serbia. His account, unfortunately, leaves much to be desired in the way of impartiality. Possibly, the lesson of the war is that disturbers of the peace ought to be subjected to the same treatment as the germs that give rise to epidemic diseases. But for the historian observing things from a detached point of view the difficulty is to determine who the disturbers of the peace, as, e.g., in the case of Austria and Serbia, were. To insist, as he does, that Serbia was the lamb in the fable and that Pašić desired nothing more than to maintain friendly relations with the Empire is not likely to convince anyone who has carefully considered the drift of Pašić's Greater-Serbia policy.

Pašić's whole policy was directed to make Serbia another Piedmont, with the object of driving Austria-Hungary out of the Balkan Peninsula. We have nothing to urge against that policy except that it necessarily entailed a war between the Empire and Russia. How carefully Pašić played for this end is evident from the curious story Lončarević tells about the difficulty the Serbian Government experienced in framing a suitable reply to the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum, owing in the first place to the sudden death a few days

* *Jugoslaviens Entstehung*. Von Dušan A. Lončarević, mit 70 Abbildungen. Amalthea Verlag, Wien, 1929.

before of the Russian ambassador, Hartwig. The Ultimatum was handed in by Giesl, the Austro-Hungarian ambassador, at six o'clock on Thursday evening, July 23rd, and the answer was due on Saturday at the same hour. Saturday midday had come and no reply had been received to the pressing telegram sent to the Czar for advice.

In its dilemma the Government prepared two replies—the one accepting the conditions of the Ultimatum, in case the Czar's answer was unfavourable or did not arrive in time: the other (the one actually given) containing a veiled refusal, in the event that the Czar was prepared to stand by Serbia. In the meanwhile Lončarević had an interview with Giesl, whom he found busily engaged in preparations for his speedy departure. To Lončarević's astonished inquiry why the hurry, Giesl replied that it was quite impossible for Serbia to accept the Ultimatum. But, said Lončarević, Serbia can't make war alone on Austria and we don't know what the Czar's intentions are. We shall see, replied Giesl. An hour or two later it was known in Belgrade that orders had come from Petersburg for the instant mobilisation of the Serbian army. Of the making of Jugo-Slavia the author has really very little to say, and that little rather misleading. The Jugo-Slavs did not emerge from the war a united people. Jugo-Slavia was from the first a compromise between Pašić's Greater-Serbia plan and Radić's scheme to secure autonomy for Croatia and Slovenia. On what insecure basis the new State stands the present dictatorship shows. The fact is that with better treatment on the part of Hungary the Croats and Slovenians would never have thrown in their lot with Serbia. It is only necessary to add that the carefully-selected photographs of the chief actors in the drama give a special interest to the book.

R. D.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Dr. A. E. Clark-Kennedy in his fascinating volume entitled *Stephen Hales, D.D., F.R.S., an Eighteenth-Century Biography*,* tells the story of a famous Cambridge worthy, a divine as well as a scientist of the first rank, Stephen Hales, who was born on September 17th, 1677, at Bekesbourne in Kent, a scion of a very ancient Kentish family, and died at Teddington, with which he had been associated as Minister or Perpetual Curate since 1709, on January 4th, 1761. He was admitted at Bene't College (Corpus Christi), Cambridge, in 1696, at a time when the College, under the Mastership of Dr. John Spencer, was very flourishing. Even before Hales' time the College was famous for scientific studies, and the students of all grades worked hard, as can be seen from the diary of William Stukeley,

* Cambridge University Press. 15s. net.

Hales' great friend, dealing with the year 1704. The students in Hales' years "all gave some time" to classics, science, and mathematics. Hales specialised in theology and gained his fellowship on that ground. The first chapter of Dr. Clark-Kennedy's book gives a vivid picture of Cambridge collegiate life in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Isaac Newton (who entered Trinity College in 1661) was still at Cambridge when Hales came up, and in 1700 Richard Bentley was appointed Master of Trinity, and though a classical scholar of the first rank, developed the Cambridge school of natural science that Newton had founded. In 1703 a professor of chemistry, John Francis Vigani, of Verona, was elected Professor of Chemistry, and Bentley provided him with a laboratory, the first, probably, that Cambridge saw. The study of natural science was in the air and that fact and the influence of William Stukeley determined the course of Hales' work. His experiments on blood pressure are famous, and he anticipated by fifty years Whytt's description of reflex action by his experiments on frogs. He did not give up experimenting when he left Cambridge, and shocked Alexander Pope (of all people) at Teddington. The book contains accounts of Hales' work on the physiology of plants, the flow of sap, their growth, on the distemper of the stone, on the ventilation of ships and of prisons. To him there was no conflict between science and religion, and it could be said of him when he died full of years and with an international reputation for scientific learning, in words that the author of this book adopted from John Wesley, "How well did science and religion agree in this man of sound undertaking." He was a great pioneer; he constructed firm bases upon which both botanists and physiologists could build, and it was well that there should be given to the world a book to celebrate the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of one of the noblest figures of a strange period in English history.

* * *

The "Leslie Stephen" Lecture delivered at Cambridge last May by Lascelles Abercrombie gives the reader both pleasure and cause for reflection. "Progress in Literature" is the title.* Progress, if it means movement, or development, expressing the life of any art, is a necessary condition. Life cannot be static. Movement in whatsoever direction is not only a necessary but a continuous state. Nothing that has movement is dead. Language may be called dead, simply from non-use, but it usually has fulfilled its purpose by passing on its life to other and living languages, and in that sense it still lives in its literature and its descendants. Language being the medium of literature it reflects its period, it is the mirror of its time in common with all other arts. Its movement may be a backwater, but seeming backwaters often lead into new channels.

Forward, backward, backward, forward, in the immeasurable sea
Sway'd by vaster ebbs and flows than can be known to you or me. . . .
Forward then, but still remember how the course of Time will swerve
Crook and turn upon itself in many a backward streaming curve.

Literature may "halt on palsied feet" and the movement of which history and civilisation are the main springs may seem to falter, and progress, meaning development, may change her course, but not her

* *Progress in Literature*. By Lascelles Abercrombie. Cambridge University Press, 1929. 2s. 6d. net.

goal. Mr. Abercrombie's definition of *unique* is apparently less satisfactory, since the unique of to-day may be the manifold of to-morrow. "Unique merit" is surely something more than individuality, "It is an attribute to God himself" which the created may strive after, but never fully attain, at least in this world. The second part of this lecture deals more directly with poetry, and the author approaches it by comparing or contrasting poetry and philosophy—"All art consists in expressive communication by means of symbolical technique"—and he proceeds to show that language must be the handmaid of both philosophy and poetry. Philosophy claims and wants a language so rigid that it can be confined to a "strict exactitude of logical meaning" which would and could express reality. Poetry occupies a reverse position. The poet soars in higher air, but he is forced to construct the medium of his reality, an extremely complex one called poetic diction, a form of language arrived at out of his own language, not by adding thereto, but by management of forces, the rudiments of common speech. His meaning "comes to life as the thing itself whenever his technique operates. His meaning, in a word is creative."

* * *

Professor D. G. E. Hall, the Professor of History in the University of Rangoon, is responsible for the first of the *Rangoon University Publications* with his wholly admirable book entitled *Early English Interchange with Burma (1587-1743)*.* This very young and very energetic university has "from its inception generously aided and stimulated research work in the various fields afforded by the great province it serves." There is much to do in the field of research in this region and perhaps notably in the little-worked area of customary law, but it is essential at first to have an authoritative treatise illustrating the first phases of the British connection with Burma up to the date of the temporary withdrawal of the Resident of the East India Company in the beginning of 1744. The period from 1583 to 1743 was a purely commercial one so far as the English connection was concerned, and perhaps the same may be said of the activities of the East India Company. It is very important to have full information concerning this period which, by various chances, had been unwritten in any effective fashion until the appearance of this extremely competent book, a work of real research. Like most research innumerable documents, apparently fruitless, had to be gone through in the "Original Correspondence" of the Company in the India Office Archives, and elsewhere. The calendar and printed collection of documents covering the activities of the Company up to the middle of the reign of Charles II were in fact more fruitful as were the printed Fort St. George records issued by the Madras Record Office and the manuscript "Madras Public Proceedings." The Company lost interest in Burma from the end of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, and the fact "resulted in an unfortunate decrease in the number of references to Burma during that period, although the connection between Fort St. George and Syriam was by no means unimportant." The initial date 1587 is chosen because it was then that Ralph Fitch, the first English recorded visitor, was in Burma. Fitch's account was not original, but there seems to be no reason to doubt that he visited the country. His account and

* Longmans. 12s. 6d. net.

that of Cæsar Fredericke aroused interest in England before the foundation of the East India Company in 1600. But the Company did not open up direct trade with Burma until 1647 when the Syriam factory was established. The whole commercial period of which Professor Hall treats shows British commercial enterprise in a naturally cautious phase. The speculators were intent on Persia and Japan, and Burma was not on any main route, while the chaotic conditions in Burma itself and the efficient work of the Dutch traders made private English merchants very cautious. But there was some enterprise, the Company leisurely followed suit, and by the year 1700 made Madras the chief centre for Burmese trade. In 1724 a Resident was appointed by the Company at Syriam instead of the post of "Chief of the Affairs of the English Nation at Syriam" held by a Madras merchant. In 1743-4 a change in Burmese politics necessitated the creation of a political side to the trading with Burma. The story is told in eleven chapters and it forms an illuminating footnote to the early history of the East India Company. The later history of English intercourse with Burma is, we are told, "fairly known in outline." Readers of this volume will be tempted to ask for a further instalment of Professor Hall's careful work.

* * *

Zaka Ullah of Delhi,* by C. F. Andrews, is a work of rare value to all who are interested in the political life and spiritual atmosphere of modern India. The position the author has won for himself as an interpreter of India is unique, and this brief biography shows us that he can enter into as close an intimacy with a saintly Moslem scholar as with Gandhi and Tagore. The portrait of the old professor drawn in these loving pages is very attractive. If anyone thinks that Islam breeds only hard, intolerant types, here is proof to the contrary. But there is a more than personal interest in this volume, for we are presented with a sympathetic picture of Old Delhi and the Moghul Court seen through the eyes of a long-lived survivor. India before the Mutiny seems as far away as England before the Reform Bill; but it comes to life again in these chapters, which contain a good deal of information not easily to be found elsewhere.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mr. Henry S. Salt, an Assistant Master at Eton, under the title "The Story of Æneas,"† attempts again the oft-attempted task of translating Virgil's *Æneid* into English verse. Mr. Salt boldly declares in his interesting preface that "in subtlety of mind, and in varied melody and rhythm, the Greek bard cannot be compared with the Latin, whose stately and sententious lines, rich in thought and still richer in the haunting beauty of their music, are indeed one of the greatest achievements of literature. And, after all, it is achievement, not 'originality,' that is the final test in art." The truth is that comparisons between works of art are very dangerous, since there is no certain standard of relation. The most that can be said in any

* Heffer & Sons. 7s. 6d.

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

comparison between Homer and Virgil is that if there had been no Homer there could not have been any Virgil as we understand him. Virgil possibly would have turned to drama, at any rate he would have realised himself, but not in the way we know. Mr. Salt achieves a pleasing measure of success with an irregular sequence of lines, mostly rhyming but not always, and this eclectic attempt to succeed where even great poets have failed must be noted. It is especially successful in the difficult sixth book, and in the more than difficult last meeting of Dido ("with unuplifted eyes") and Æneas.

* * *

Mr. Nathaniel Lloyd composed this noble volume entitled "Building Craftsmanship in Brick and Tile and in Stone Slates"* in the hope that "it may prove helpful to that daily increasing section of the public, lay and professional, which appreciates good craftsmanship." Mr. Lloyd declares that "there are buildings which charm us: others leave us cold." There is a third section, and a mighty one, that fills us with disgust. Greater London is an amorphous brickfield in which occur examples of fine craftsmanship, both new and old, such, for instance, as the old Trinity Hospital in Greenwich and some modern garden city work. Trinity Hospital is a domestic building of almost unique charm. But how is the charm of such a building to be communicated to the young architect of to-day, to the builder, to the layman who is to live in the building? "For each and all of these, this book has been written" with a great number of the most admirable illustrations which should show the architect, the builder, and the layman what is best in the way (*inter alia*) of tiled roofs, dormers, leadwork, and combination of material. This book should have a large sale in days when building is going on through the breadth and length of the land.

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In his volume "The Custom of Couvade"† Mr. Warren R. Dawson strives in a scholarly essay to explain, to some extent, from the material compiled by very numerous actual observers of the custom and from more or less authoritative statements concerning it, the fact that in many scattered areas the father of a child "at or before its birth, and for some time after the event, should take to his bed, submit himself to diet and behave generally as though he, and not his wife, were undergoing the rigours of the confinement." The distribution is strange. It is certain—despite denials by modern writers—that the custom existed in the matriarchal Basque regions; there are traces in Cyprus, Corsica, the Balearic Islands, Bèarn, England, Scotland, Ireland. There are some rare traces in Africa (but not in Egypt), in India, and other parts of Asia (apparently matriarchal areas), in the Islands of the Pacific, Greenland, California, South America. Strangely enough, Mr. Dawson thinks that it originated in Egypt. There have been many attempts at explanation. The custom seems to be associated in some way with matriarchy, and the origin may possibly be traced to South East Asia, but, on the other hand, it may have originated in marital affinity.

* Cambridge University Press. 15s. net.

† Manchester University Press. 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Arthur Bryant in his little volume "The Spirit of Conservatism"* deals with the Conservative instinct in human nature which makes men desire to create permanent habitations for themselves and their descendants in a transitory world. The best illustration of this would be the English Common Law which has preserved itself by enriching itself through every successive change. Mr. Bryant deals successively with justice and liberty, with our ancient political institutions, with the relationship of Conservatism and Industry, and finally deals with the outlook on the world by a political Conservative in the region of empire development, foreign policy, and national defence. Lord Melchett welcomes the book as an endeavour to restate the spirit of Conservatism, as he feels that "nothing could be more useful than to lay down the fundamental principles which underlie the origins and progress of political parties." In his preface Colonel John Buchan declares that "Conservatism is, above all things, a spirit. It is not an abstract dogma, for it is always close to fact." The book merits full consideration.

* * *

Mr. Andrew Reid Cowan in his volume entitled "War in History: Suggestions for Students"† has "framed such a *co-ordination of old ideas* as may virtually amount to a *new synthesis* covering the whole field of history in a fashion which no other volume known to me succeeds in doing." In this co-ordination of new ideas we see man as "the tool-using, weapon-wielding animal constructing life by the mechanism peculiar to himself, and at the same time maiming it by the malignity equally exclusive to his kind." This creature we see in a series of "prehistoric zigzags" and "primary civilisations" when "the people" were always anxious to fight. Next we are taken over the "westward course of empire." We see Jews, Hittites, Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, the Barbarians of the East and West, Saracens, the Holy Roman Empire, Vikings, Crusaders, Mongols, Tartars, Turkey, Russia, Central Europe, the Oceanic Powers, and the closing note is one of seeming despair, but Mr. Cowan makes clear his belief that Peace is a "biological imperative" for transcending War. This is a true and hopeful doctrine.

* * *

The "Outward Bound Library,"‡ edited by Mr. Ashley Gibson, is an excellent and timely series that takes the would-be colonist to the place where he or she would be, Australia, New Zealand, Egypt, the Mediterranean, Malaya, and so forth. Mr. Gibson's own volume on "The Malay Peninsula" is particularly interesting, with plenty of local colour, to which Miss Barbara Shaw adds with her excellent illustrations. The would-be traveller learns the history of Malaya—fascinating enough—sees at close quarters the Malays, Indians, Chinese, Eurasians, and that very rare specimen of the human race the Asiatic negro, called in British Malaya the Negriti or Semang. Indeed, hardly any Europeans in Malaya have any idea that this tiny forest negro exists at all. From the races we pass to legends and folklore, to flora and fauna, to rubber, agriculture, and mining, and then Mr. Gibson gives details of "the Englishman's day" before he goes on to describe the islands of the Archipelago.

* Methuen. 2s. 6d. net.

† Longmans. 6s. net.

‡ J. M. Dent & Son. 5s. net.

PRESIDENT HOOVER AND EUROPE.

THE first half-year of an American Administration cannot provide much evidence as to the ability and character of a new President. Congress as a rule does not assemble until the winter after the inauguration, and if, as this year, the Houses should be convened in special session, the events that ensue are in all probability too peculiar to afford a basis for generalisation. Mr. Hoover's position, in any case, has been exceptional. Every one who knows him would have said that he is the kind of ruler who would wish, and expect, to be left alone at the outset; to be allowed, that is, the full constitutional interval, without the embarrassment of Congress, for moulding his Cabinet, surveying the departments, and preparing his policy. To a President who is merely a creature of the political machine this interval of nine months has no particular value. To Mr. Hoover it must have seemed inestimable: he would have made better use of it than any recent President save Woodrow Wilson. But he had deprived himself of it in advance by a hasty and unnecessary pledge given in the election campaign at the instance of Senator Borah who is always an uncomfortable ally. Hence it happens that the first President of a new order, as I have called him, the first who has added a scientific training to a proved talent for administration, is also the only President of our time to begin his term of office amid conditions which virtually compelled a dispute with the Senate. This is a piece of ironic ill-fortune.

The power of a Chief Executive of the United States is a peculiar thing, and, notwithstanding the written Constitution, it is indefinable. No one knows what the President can do with Congress until he tries, and there are times when we seem driven to the conclusion that, roughly speaking, there are no limits to that power save those set by his own personality. In dealing with international affairs the President is, of course, severely handicapped if he is on less than cordial terms with the Senators, and his relations with them depend, more often than not, upon the course of domestic legislation. That is the chief reason why the position of Mr. Hoover should first be considered in the light of the controversies attending the special session of Congress which was suspended at midsummer. They are important as affecting his standing, especially with the Senate.

The decision to summon Congress, so unfortunate for the new President, was based upon the urgency of relief legislation for the western farmers; but the occasion was seized, as all except the very simple knew it would be, by the great industrial interests of the East and Middle West for a general raising of the tariff.

In regard to the question of farm relief Mr. Hoover's position was relatively strong. He had been opposed to the Bill that was passed by Congress in 1928 and vetoed by Mr. Coolidge, and he would not compromise over the provision, known as the debenture plan, which the Senate inserted in the Administration measure during the special session. The Republican majority in the House of Representatives is a tame majority. It accepted the Bill as it stood, and the President, although without a trustworthy majority in the Senate, stood firm against the western senatorial bloc and succeeded in keeping out the debenture plan. The Farm Bill, consequently, is roughly as the President wanted it, but no one could describe it as a victory for the kind of economic statesmanship which the world would prefer to associate with Mr. Hoover. At the best it is a cumbrous and ineffective substitute for the remedy which, in large part at any rate, the western farmers might achieve by means of determined co-operative efforts.

As for the Tariff Bill, which Congress treated as the main business of the special session, it affords a painful illustration of the methods of Big Business after a political victory. The great industrial corporations consider themselves to be the architects of Mr. Hoover's success at the polls. They contributed on the usual lavish scale to the Republican party funds, and, unfortunately for the President and the mass of the American people, they look upon Mr. Hoover as in a special sense their representative in the White House. In Warren Harding's inglorious day these same interests carried the Fordney-McCumber Tariff, which the post-war world thought of as the extreme of protectionist enterprise; it was held to be almost inconceivable that any modern legislature would dream of going beyond it. But the new American Congress met for precisely that purpose. In his election speeches Mr. Hoover had not fallen far short of the high-tariff doctrine; and so universal is protectionist opinion believed to be in America that his opponent deemed it worth while to renounce the traditional doctrine of the Democratic party and to swallow the tariff. Mr. Hoover, however, is not an extreme Protectionist according to American standards. He stands for "adequate" agricultural protection (which is unimaginable) and a reasonable revision of the tariff schedules in the interest of such manufactures as are manifestly suffering under the existing system. But the tariff as envisaged by Mr. Hoover has little to do with the tariff as understood by the Manufacturers' Association of Pennsylvania, whose leading spokesmen demand a crushing impost, if not an embargo, upon every product that has its counterpart in American manufacture. From the House of Representatives working in an atmosphere reminiscent of the McKinley epoch, the Bill emerged

with increased duties upon nearly one thousand commodities, amid a chorus of dissent from the Press, and with some two score foreign Governments submitting protests against the unreason and injustice of the new schedules. The Tariff Bill falls mercilessly upon the farmer, who is supposed to be getting relief, and it puts Mr. Hoover into a most awkward position, since it intensifies the unpopularity of the United States and creates an atmosphere in which friendly discussion upon various matters in which the President is especially interested is made more difficult. Public opinion, doubtless, would be largely with Mr. Hoover if he were to resist the measure as framed; but that resistance would involve a conflict with the Senate such as no President cares to risk in his first year.

Writing of Mr. Hoover in this Review on the morrow of his electoral victory last November, I said that he could be relied upon to use the great influence of the Presidency in favour of a final settlement of Reparations, a free Rhineland, and the abolition of all removable barriers that are holding up the return of Europe to normal conditions of work, production, and trade. That prediction has been justified. In existing conditions, it will be agreed, the American President must act with extreme caution towards Europe, and his immediate achievements must be relatively small. The appointment of Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, formerly Secretary of State, to the International Court of Justice, was one excellent move. Much more significant was the President's action at the crisis of the Young Committee's deliberations. Hitherto the technical position of the Washington Government has been that the United States had no direct concern with Reparations or their apportionment, and that the problem of Reparations must be kept separate from the problem of War Debts. Mr. Hoover has taken the first decisive step away from that position. He called into conference the Congressional party leaders and won them over to the view that the share of the United States in the reparations payments should be modified in order that the Young Plan might be completed. The adjustments were small; it was the precedent that was important. Mr. Hoover has his own method of dealing with European Governments. He has no fear of facing those questions of European policy in which the United States is involved; and it is in respect of such questions that he will be prepared to cut through the abstractions which, during the two preceding Administrations, have hypnotised the American business public and the Washington officials. It would, for example, cause little surprise if, within the next twelve months,

there should be a change of attitude in the State Department towards Russia.

Mr. Hoover's mind upon the main international issue of the hour was revealed early by his quick action in the matter of naval policy. When he entered the White House in March the atmosphere in Washington, and in America generally, was anything but favourable to renewed overtures upon Peace and Disarmament. The events of 1927-8 had induced a miserable condition of public feeling. The breakdown of the naval conference at Geneva was deplorable, more especially as illumined by Lord Cecil's letter of resignation. It provoked President Coolidge to unwonted anger and threw him into the great-navy camp. It gave to the American Navy League a confidence such as its members had never before been able to feel. But even so, with Mr. Coolidge commending to Congress the greatest naval building programme ever framed in America, the navalists were not winning during the crucial half-year after the Geneva fiasco: far from it. The huge building programme was twice drastically cut down; the 71 war vessels became 17, and even then the Senate, fearful of the approaching appeal to the electorate, refused to permit the truncated measure to come up for debate.

It was in the midst of these circumstances that Sir Austen Chamberlain opened with France the naval conversations which completely changed the horizon in the United States a year ago. The disclosure—made all the worse by the fact that it was brought about by American correspondents in the teeth of the Foreign Secretary's silence and evasions—was the worst occurrence in Anglo-American relations since the complex misunderstandings of 1919. It would be the simple truth to say that no armaments measure in any country has been more mercilessly smashed by public opinion than was the American Navy Bill of 1927. And equally would it be the truth to say that in 1928 the British Foreign Office and Admiralty, under Sir Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Bridgeman, were in no small degree responsible for the Cruiser Bill adopted by Congress in the closing days of the Coolidge Administration.

Mr. Hoover's initiative in April was certainly unexpected. In Washington it was felt that the events of last year had been more than unfortunate diplomatically: they had made a thoroughly bad impression upon Congress and the public generally. It was accordingly taken for granted that the new Administration would find itself unable to do anything further with the navy question. The assumption was that it would await developments in England, in the more or less confident expectation that whatever Government might be

in office after the general election would be much more disposed to resume negotiations than a Government containing Mr. Churchill, Mr. Amery, and Sir Austen Chamberlain. At any rate I can say with emphasis that at the time of Mr. Hoover's inauguration there were very few people in Washington anticipating that the President would find it possible to make any fresh move. The temper of the debates in Congress over the Cruiser Bill had been sufficient to indicate the nature of a great deal of the popular feeling. The relative absence of American bargaining power as compared with the position at Washington in 1921 made people feel that if anything further was to be done in 1929 it could not be done on the initiative of the United States. Happily for us all, President Hoover thought otherwise, and Mr. Gibson at Geneva made it clear that he was prepared to resume. He intimated that the United States would agree, as a first step, to limitation upon a basis related to the maximum formerly discussed. He stated in so many words that Washington wished to proceed to an understanding upon a measure of actual reduction. And to General Dawes, whose appointment to the London Embassy was one of the surprises of last spring, he gave the instructions which led to the meeting with the Prime Minister at Forres, and to the significant, if curiously roundabout and polysyllabic, speech delivered at the Pilgrims' banquet on June 18th.

It is surely impossible for us not to realise the significance, the incalculable value, of the coincident establishment of the Hoover and the MacDonald Governments, for it is difficult to resist the conclusion that this event of 1929 brings in Anglo-American relations an opportunity which may never recur. And with this in view it is clearly essential that we should understand two things: first, how the American people have come to feel about the navy, and secondly, what initial acts of policy would be accepted in the United States as implying the resolve to reach naval agreement.

The American public, I believe, has been confused and irritated by the course of events since the Washington Conference of 1921-2, as those events are interpreted in the most widely-read newspapers. It is asserted that under the Washington Agreement the United States scrapped a great portion of its navy (800,000 tons is the magnified figure constantly given) without any equivalent sacrifice being made by the other naval Powers. It is asserted that the United States—as usual trusting and idealistic—accepted the agreement in its fullest implications; and suspended the building of great cruisers (which is true), while Britain and Japan laid down their 10,000-ton ships. It is asserted that, in respect of naval power, all British Governments are the same Government, and that

no authoritative voice on our side has ever acknowledged that Britain has surrendered her claim to control the seas. Since the Washington Conference, which American navalists refer to as the origin of all the present trouble, the naval propaganda has been unremitting, but, as the remarkable hostility to the Cruiser Bill showed, it has not made much headway in the interior. The American public is not actively interested in naval affairs, sees no sufficient reason for building a great fleet, and thinks the expenditure it would involve an absurd waste of money. This general indifference is strengthened by the speed of mechanical invention. The battleship was already obsolete when the Washington Conference sealed its fate, and the 10,000-ton cruiser looks out of date when the picture of the German super-ship appears in the Sunday papers. Every triumph of long-distance flight, moreover, reduces the common faith in the fleet, and the worship of Charles Lindbergh (the most striking instance of the cult of youth and adventure) is an influence telling against the big-navy party.

The sentiment against the Cruiser Bill was widespread and spontaneous; and consequently, the mobilisation of hostile opinion in Washington, even after the Geneva breakdown in 1927, was relatively easy. The churches in the United States are a vast unit in favour of the World Court and the Kellogg Pact, of arbitration and progressive disarmament. Year by year the national organisations of business men move in the same direction. The national organisations of women work together in a steady pressure in the cause of world peace. The Federation of Women's Clubs, the League of Women Voters, and the women's societies within the churches make a formidable alliance; nor is it conceivable that they will diminish in influence or swerve from the road that was laid down for them after the rejection of the Wilsonian policy. It is not possible, I think, to doubt that there exists in the United States to-day a more widespread, if not actually a stronger, will to international peace than has existed before, and that President Hoover's actions are the purposive expression of that will.

At the same time we have to take into account the contradictions of America, always more baffling to the British people than the contradictions presented by nations more unlike themselves. Take, as the most obvious recent illustration, the Kellogg Pact, which cannot as yet be said to have become part of the common consciousness of our people. The idea of the Pact was accepted in Washington, almost without warning, by a Secretary of State whom no one had thought of in connection with any new policy whatever. It was pressed with notable persistence by the Coolidge Administration; and after being accepted by the European Powers the Pact was ratified in the American Senate as the result of a bargain which

ensured the passage of the Cruiser Bill. In other words, the fortunes of the treaty to outlaw war were so manipulated as to enable the navalists to secure the largest single addition ever made to the fighting strength of the American Navy. Nothing could well seem more self-contradictory or more cynical. And yet it is beyond doubt that the American people as a whole were indifferent to the Senate bargain, or wholly ignorant of it; that the irony of the situation in Congress was lost upon them, and that, as the months have gone by, they have become more conscious of the implications of the Kellogg Pact, more convinced that it represents a fact of common-sense in international relations, a covenant in harmony with the general purpose of the United States in the world of to-morrow.

I come now to the immediate question: what course of action on the part of Great Britain would be recognised in America as implying a resolve to save the English-speaking peoples from a competitive race in naval armaments? It is being said on all hands that the admirals must no longer be permitted to make the policy. As a matter of fact, the admirals have not dictated and do not dictate the policy of the Navy Department in Washington. If they did, the United States would have had its 25 great cruisers long ago, and Mr. Gibson would never have gone to Geneva. But it is not to be denied that the admiralty has continued to find the measure of British building—witness the surrender of the Labour Government in 1924 over the five 10,000-ton ships, the incident which actually started the new competition. The admiralty has its absolute minimum of cruiser strength for the protection of Britain's trade and food routes as given in the famous statement by Lord Jellicoe at Geneva. It is framed with direct reference to American naval power—not to that of Japan or France; and the admiralty does not contemplate any material change in Britain's supremacy at sea. American writers and speakers continually affirm that upon this most vital of matters there is no real difference between the admirals and the statesmen—those two orders which, according to General Dawes, must be kept rigidly apart. The uneducables among our navalists may agree—they do agree—with the American navalists upon this point; but they are wrong. We do not make covenants of the League of Nations or sign Kellogg Pacts without altering the character of military and naval force and its potential use. And the British acceptance in Washington eight years ago was decisive. Parity in battleship strength was not a merely divisional bargain. It was a momentous symbol. It was the enunciation of a necessary decision, the full application of which can come only as, according to the hope and intent expressed at the time by Lord Balfour, the principle of parity is

extended to all classes of warships. Here is the first thing to be done and done finally: the Government must announce that parity is the principle agreed upon, and that Britain does not seek to qualify it in respect of any kinds of war vessels. It is the fact of limitation that matters. The question of supremacy is thereby automatically settled; nations that agree to keep down their armaments deliver themselves from the terror of war. A declaration to this effect by Britain would be followed by that "downright major cut in armaments" (and armaments here mean cruisers) which Mr. Lloyd George rightly names as the first obligation resting upon Britain to-day. And agreement in England first, between the leaders and the political parties, upon the kindred questions of parity and cruiser reduction, is the indispensable condition of success for the proposed meeting in Washington of Mr. Hoover and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. President and Prime Minister understand one another's aims in this supreme business of the Anglo-American future, although, it needs to be pointed out, no two contemporary statesmen could be in person more unlike one another or stand for political conceptions more strikingly opposed.

In British judgments of the American President, so far tentative and imperfect, too much stress is laid upon his Quaker origins and his humanitarian services in Europe. Both are important, but they may easily be made the ground of misleading inference. Mr. Hoover is a very modern American, an economic imperialist, with a profound belief in organisation and in the coming world dominance of the United States. He is, of course, an internationalist; but his internationalism has very little in common with Mr. MacDonald's, or with the pacifist doctrine of the Society to which by birthright he belongs. His conception of the United States as the inevitably dominant Power presupposes a world at peace, although not "politically" organised to that end. His experience in Europe and among Governments generally has made him impatient of the influences that keep the nations at enmity, and his engineer's mind is intolerant of all waste. The American papers, for example, have been quoting, as a characteristic Hoover argument for a reasonable fleet, his wish to release the surplus labour force of the Navy Department for service in productive industry. The engineer and the industrialist, as Mr. Hoover sees them, do not function in a continent such as present-day Europe. Everything that impedes them, and impedes the flow of American capital throughout the world in which they operate, belongs to the foolish and disorderly system of yesterday. And so too, doubtless, do all such outrageous adventures as the new American Tariff Bill, which constitutes for the still untested President a problem of enormous difficulty. His is not a mind to be trusted in the larger sphere of economics. He cannot

be depended upon for guidance even among the problems of industrial economics, while in international finance Mr. Hoover has at times been responsible for some curious heresies. His hard stand against Britain in the matter of restricted rubber production some years ago is an unimpaired memory on this side, and there are statements of his on record concerning the practicability of collecting war debts which would sound very strange if reported to-day. It is not as a great economic statesman that Mr. Hoover so far has impressed America, still less the world at large, but there is one fact of moment that he has grasped. His work for eight years as head of the Department of Commerce was largely devoted to the systematising of American industry, the completion of the processes of standardisation for mass production. America's stupendous productive power has already far transcended the home market, immense as that is. American trade must expand in all directions over frontiers and seas. The logic of this is plain to the President, though the tariff-mongers in Washington may not have heard it even as a rumour.

The presence of Herbert Hoover in the White House will make for the historian of the next epoch a theme of challenging interest. His victory in 1928 may seem like the strangest of all political accidents; but the more discerning eye will see it as an event marvelously related to the potentiality of the American system. Mr. Hoover's unique training made him the one American citizen fitted to take command of the nation in the crucial hour of its development, and therefore it may be no exaggeration to say that his election to the Presidency is the most singular example, since the election of Lincoln in 1860, of the seemingly providential working of representative democracy, while at the same time it is a sensational confounding of the petty bosses of the party machine. They, at any rate, had no notion of the nature of the event they were helping to bring about.

S. K. RATCLIFFE.

PARLIAMENTARY PROSPECTS.

THE predominant impression produced by the last Parliament was a mechanical one. It was like a clock wound up to go for five years and likely to continue ticking rather somnolently to its appointed end. Conservative back-benchers frankly lost interest in its proceedings. They were not encouraged to speak or to think, and even in voting their enormous majority enabled them to adopt the "shift" system, an expedient comfortable indeed, but hardly conducive to keen team-work. The Oppositions, both Labour and Liberal, could and did make their protests, but somewhat wearily and with their attention naturally centred upon the constituencies rather than upon the House.

Further the clock was, though in an unusual sense of the word, of the "alarm" variety. It registered in a grossly exaggerated form the nation's artificial and temporary panic over the "Red Letter," and there was no mandate for any particular kind of positive action. These circumstances induced in the Cabinet an inert self-confidence which was raised to the utmost limits of complacency by the failure of the General Strike. After that Mr. Baldwin was hailed like Cicero as *pater patriæ*, and could do whatever he pleased, which turned out to be very little. Once, in the matter of the kerosene tax, the fears of agricultural members caused a policy to be modified; and once, over the compensation of the Southern Irish loyalists, the "Die-hards" found something for which they really cared, and the genius of Lord Hugh Cecil threatened for a moment to wreck the whole machine. These were but passing spasms of life, and at the end Conservatives learnt with surprise and consternation the extent to which they had lost the confidence of the country; or, to speak more exactly, the small degree in which they had ever possessed it.

In this Parliament all is changed. There is a pleasing variety of possibilities. The circumstance that no party has an independent majority has caused the result of the election to be described most inappropriately as "stalemate." But "stalemate" is a situation where no move can be made and the game is at an end. In the present position, on the contrary, the Government is absolutely compelled to move, for inaction would mean defeat, not piecemeal at by-elections, but finally and decisively in the division-lobby. So for the nation the balancing power of the Liberal Party means not only that policy must be confined within certain limits, but also that within these limits it must be vigorous.

And for Mr. Ramsay MacDonald himself his dependence upon Liberal support must be an almost unmixed blessing. There is a wide field of action open to him which has already been explored by

Liberal thinkers; their researches have been published and lie ready to his hand, and in following upon these lines he is certain of Liberal support, not only against the Official Opposition, but also, when occasion arises, against the malcontents in his own ranks. With an independent majority his Party would have split asunder almost immediately, with the advocates of Socialism-in-our-own-Time arrayed against the disciples of Gradualness. As it is, the insufficiency of his voting strength is his surest shield against the impatient.

But the Prime Minister's difficulties with his own followers have already begun. The occasion chosen by the recalcitrants was a Money Resolution defined by the Chairman of Committees as "for the purpose of an increase of Exchequer Grant towards the Unemployment Fund," and described by the Minister of Labour in moving it as "nothing more than a stop-gap motion to enable us to tide over the present emergency in regard to the financial position of the Fund." In fact it meant an additional yearly revenue to the Fund of about 3½ millions. On this limited issue Liberals were content to express their approval through Mr. Graham-White, while Conservatives confined themselves to a few not unfriendly comments and questions. But from the back-benches of the Labour Party came a whole succession of speeches, some of them from new members, denouncing the Government in unmeasured terms not merely for timidity of policy but for actual betrayal of election promises. If these attacks had come from either Opposition they would have been regarded as unwarranted by the occasion and grossly unfair to Miss Bondfield in view of the short period during which she has held her arduous and unpopular office. Coming whence they did they were hardly edifying and gave an evil augury for the future of the Government. Mr. Kirkwood, of course, was in his element, and he alone was really impressive, but to the whole performance one could only apply Dr. Johnson's comment on a dog walking on his hind legs: "It is not that it is done well; but one wonders that it should be done at all." The explanation must be, either that certain Labour members have given pledges so rash and emphatic that they are compelled even at this early date to advertise their willingness to perform them whatever the cost may be to their own leaders, or else that there is a cleavage in the Labour ranks even wider and deeper than had been suspected. In any event the impression is confirmed that the downfall of the Government would have been certain and rapid if its victory had been more complete.

The Prime Minister may, however, console himself with the reflection that before this exhibition the Conservatives had already shown the way in the matter of party dissension. It was only to

be expected that there should be some recrimination in discussing the causes of the dramatic dispersal of the huge majority of 1924. But this was a more serious matter openly paraded upon the floor of the House. Naturally and inevitably the amendment of the Official Opposition to the Address concerned itself with the defence of those safeguarding duties which Mr. Snowden had pledged himself not to renew and threatened with possibly earlier extinction. The motion was ingeniously worded so as to express the plausible grievance that uncertainty in these matters is prejudicial to trade. Thereby it might have been expected that all the varied and conflicting shades of fiscal faith within the Party, and all that "many-sidedness of truth" to which Mr. Baldwin referred on a famous occasion, would be temporarily united. But Mr. Amery has no use for formulas of reconciliation, and signalled his freedom from the shackles of Cabinet responsibility, against which he has chafed so obviously during the last five years, by declaring for the Protectionist doctrine in its most uncompromising form. "Free Trade within the Empire and Tariffs against the World" must mean, in the first place, the abandonment by the Dominions of all tariffs on British manufactures (which is almost incredible), and secondly the imposition by ourselves of duties on foreign food-stuffs and raw materials (which is quite fantastic). Yet this is the ark to which the new Noah is ready to commit the fortunes of his Party. Lest there should be any mistake he flung down an open challenge to Mr. Winston Churchill, who, as usual on these occasions, had discreetly withdrawn. The Ex-Chancellor had pleaded in the main debate upon the Address that the Floor of the House (dividing Socialist from anti-Socialist) must be wider in policy as in measurement than the Gangway (between Liberal and Tory). Mr. Amery would have none of it. For him the real chasm lies between the strict Free-Traders and everyone else, and by comparison he reckoned the gap between Tory and Socialist as easily bridgeable. "The difference," he declared, "is one of degree." These words will surely spread consternation among the Primrose League Dames and the Junior Imps. Mr. Churchill is not the man to leave such a challenge unanswered, and Mr. Baldwin may well feel that his authority also has been called in question. Meanwhile several Conservatives deliberately abstained in this important first division, not to speak of those who voted uneasily, salving their consciences with the strict words of the amendment. In the result the Government were gratuitously presented with a maiden majority of 120. The debate was marked by magnificently reasoned expositions of the Free-Trade case from Mr. Snowden and Mr. Runciman, and a brilliant display of fire-works from Captain Wedgwood Benn.

Judging from this beginning it may be doubted whether the Conservative Opposition will prove very effective. They are suffering from the loss of some of the best of their younger men, such as Captain Macmillan and Mr. Hudson, at the recent election. These losses were not due to the defects of the candidates, but rather to the merits which enabled them on a previous occasion to win seats not normally Conservative and therefore most likely to be affected by the swing of the pendulum. Others, such as Major Elliot and Mr. Boothby, remain, but they are lost in a crowd of "Die-hards" who had the fortune to hold easy seats, but who doubtless attribute their survival to the superior mellowness of their political vintage. Mr. Churchill, of course, is an Opposition all by himself in spite of his comparative lack of experience in that capacity; but there is some doubt whether he may not be left in fact all by himself with every man's hand against him. The rancour left by the Irish Treaty still pursues him, and the blindness of those who are possessed by it is capable even of the rejection of their strongest Parliamentary force.

By contrast the Liberal company is immeasurably stronger than before the election. It has shed the group of members who, nominally owning allegiance to Conservative as well as Liberal support, appeared to remember only the former when they entered the division-lobbies. It has gained in Sir Herbert Samuel alone a tremendous reinforcement, and others who were not in the last Parliament are making or remaking their mark in each succeeding debate. Mr. Ernest Brown must heave a sigh of relief at the more equal sharing of a strain that would have broken a weaker man. Above all there is a solidarity and a team-spirit that before were lacking. In the first division the whole Liberal strength (including a very few pairs) mustered for Free-Trade. In the second the Scottish members of the Party, after maintaining a splendid debate in favour of suspending the application of the new Local Government legislation to their country, audaciously forced a division in which they demonstrated once more the unity of the Party, and compelled the Socialists, swallowing the brave words of a few months back, to rely upon the support, somewhat ironically given, of their official opponents. Doubtless occasions may arise in the future where individual members may find a point of conscience at variance with their colleagues. But that is healthy and natural and a sign of life provided that on the main issues a spirit of united purpose prevails.

One of these points of policy which is of the greatest urgency is the matter of electoral reform, and this is a vital matter in considering the relations that are likely to prevail between Liberalism and Labour. Nothing perhaps has so clearly condemned the

present system of voting at Parliamentary elections as the fact pointed out by Mr. Ramsay Muir that on different occasions the Conservative Party has been in a majority of 70 and in a minority of 80 in the House of Commons with precisely the same percentage of the total votes cast in the country. Such a system contains obviously far too great an element of sheer chance. It is, therefore, in the national interest that it should be immediately reformed, and the subject of inquiry should be the best alternative method. For, though Governments possessed of a majority feel themselves to be omnipotent, their moral strength is not, and their actual strength should not be, greater than the popular support which they command. But it is also idle to disguise the fact that this reform is of the highest party importance to the Liberals, who are at present the greatest sufferers by the present system. They are therefore entitled to demand, but have also the most obvious interest in demanding, immediate reform, and the situation requires tact as well as insistence. It appears at the moment as though Mr. MacDonald intends to deal with the problem in the proper spirit. He has mentioned it in the King's Speech, he has agreed to the most expeditious form of inquiry, and he has made no difficulties about the terms of reference. And, if he does in fact before the next election reform an electoral system which happens at present to work for the advantage of his own party, he will have done a big thing and one which will reflect great credit upon his breadth of political vision.

Turning to the general field of politics, it seems as though the Liberal Party will be needed more as a spur than as a curb. The King's Speech may mean much or little. It is necessarily an outline at present, and everything will depend upon the filling in of the details. In many things, Naval Disarmament for instance, the withdrawal of our troops from the Rhine, the signing of the Optional Treaty, and the adoption of the Eight Hours Convention, the Government inherits opportunities allowed to it by the delays of its predecessor. There are signs that the new Ministers are now in touch with some of the difficulties which explained if they did not excuse those delays, and they will be judged by the energy with which they set themselves to surmount them. The Cabinet contains men (and one woman) of conspicuous ability. The Treasury, the India Office, and the Ministry of Health, three of the most important departments, are well manned "fore" and "aft," and Mr. Graham and Mr. Alexander, though the latter is hardly one's preconceived idea of the "ruler of the King's navee," are not likely to make a failure of anything they undertake. But it is the Lord Privy Seal and his associates in co-operation with Mr. Snowden who hold the key of the situation in their hands. The Election

turned upon Unemployment, and Mr. Lloyd George, who more than any other man forced the issue into the forefront, may be depended upon to keep it there until it is properly dealt with. If the ideas of the Government were to be taken as limited to the schemes for which the expenditure has already been outlined, they would need to be condemned for their inadequacy. But we have the assurance of Mr. Thomas that what is now presented is only a commencement upon the most obvious and immediate lines, and accepting that assurance Liberals at any rate will welcome the present proposals and eagerly await their further development.

There is one more observation upon the present Government, which applies in some measure to all, and may perhaps be made without presumption even by one who has no personal experience of administration. It is generally assumed that the most dangerous temptation of this Government will be Socialism, using that word not in its technical sense, whatever that may be, but as a generic description of all those root-and-branch policies for which, whatever their merits, the nation is obviously unprepared. And doubtless the expectations which have been aroused at street-corners in some areas constitute a powerful spur in that direction which the Left Wing will not hesitate, in season and out of season, to apply. But there is a counterbalancing influence of approximately equal power. It is the Permanent Civil Service that is the real conservative force in our politics. I am not imputing any party bias to these excellent officials, but in all enduring institutions from Churches to Trade Unions there is an official point of view, and nowhere is this so powerful as in the working of the British Constitution. The permanent meets the temporary with no conscious resistance, but with the far more subtle force of preconceived ideas as to the correct order of things and the limits of useful action which are rooted in experience and cannot lightly be dismissed as prejudice. The permanent has seen so many new brooms arrive with the determination to make a clean sweep, and depart after a little perfunctory dusting. Like Browning's Ogniben he has known three-and-twenty leaders of revolts, and in the newcomer he envisages already the twenty-fourth. Up to a point this is a valuable feature in our politics. It preserves that holy-of-holies the continuity of policy. But beyond that point it means stagnation. Let us never forget that French *Maire*, chronicled by M. André Maurois, who, when the enemy had almost surrounded his town and the retreating regiments of his countrymen demanded the machine-guns which he had in charge, replied "No. These guns are reserved for times of national emergency." For, if Socialism be the Scylla of the present Administration, a too complete surrender to the official view, and especially that of the Treasury, might well be its Charybdis.

F. KINGSLEY GRIFFITH.

THE PACT OF THE LATERAN.

PEACE and every promise of peace, in a world that the march of science has brought to the edge of an immeasurable abyss, deserves more than ever the attention of the political student, and the Pact of the Lateran, rescuing as it does one of the most important agencies of peace in existence—to put the claim no higher—from the anomalous position between heaven and earth which it has occupied for half a century, and embodying besides a concordat between Church and State of which Mussolini has affirmed that “every article, every word and even every comma has been the object of loyal, tranquil and exhaustive discussion,” may well arrest the eye of such as recollect that, together with community of race and of interest, Seeley reckoned a common religion to be one of the three strong bonds of political association.

It was, as everyone knows, the memorable breach of the walls of Rome at the Porta Pia and the consequent withdrawal of the Pope into the Vatican which posed the Roman Question in the form to which no answer was found until the other day. The personal equation in the problem was indeed resolved within a few years by a *beau geste* on the part of Pius IX who, in 1878, sent his chaplain with the Blessed Sacrament to the dying King; but the political factors were peculiarly stubborn. It was impossible for one who held his office by no casual or popular election and who retained the world-wide sympathy of the Catholic Communion to abandon anything that might seem to reflect upon his sovereign independence. And the so-called Law of Guarantees which authorised the Pope “to continue to enjoy”—as the phrase went—at the pleasure of the Italian Parliament the Lateran and Vatican Palaces and the Villa of Castel Gandolfo together with such an annual income and such a show of royal honours and security as it seemed suitable to include in the arrangement, was precisely such a reflection. For the Sovereign of one State cannot properly be the subject of legislation in another, nor can a law which is in its essence revocable by the sole authority of the Legislature be a guarantee of the same nature as a treaty, which is a contract between two equal parties and can only be modified by their mutual consent.

Beside all this there was a difficulty that became constantly more conspicuous. Political wisdom has builded her house four square; and around the great court of civilisation, as around the quadrangle of some ancient palace, state-apartments and chapel, living-rooms, and family quarters have all to be assembled in a just harmony and proportion. Man as a citizen, man as a churchman, man as an individual, and man as the member of a family—for all these in-

telligent provision has to be made if we are to satisfy the full claims of human hospitality. It was the weakness of the old Liberal theory to suppose that this vast and concordant structure could be kept for the most part in repair by casual and private initiative. Individuals are too selfish and too short-sighted to be so largely trusted; and the experience of fifty years of Liberalism has to a greater or less degree, as indeed a very eminent Liberal admitted, made socialists of us all. It is no gracious task to attack, now in the day of its decline, a political philosophy from which in England at least we have derived solid, if incidental, benefits, but we can hardly appreciate the full significance of the Lateran Pact unless we recognise that in Italy Liberalism was peculiarly ill at ease—so ill at ease, indeed, that the Liberal mind fell into complete confusion and practice was in perpetual conflict with principle. An unexceptionable authority—Thomas Okey—observes of Depretis, who virtually ruled Italy from 1876 to 1886, that “in his hands Italian politics degenerated into a welter of corruption unparalleled in the history of the Monarchy”; of Crispi, who followed him and was intermittently in power during the next decade, that he “had recourse to a brutal policy of repression that recalled Bourbon and Austrian days”; of the year 1898, when the fiftieth anniversary of the Italian Constitution was celebrated, that “rich and cultured Milan, the moral and intellectual capital of Italy, beheld the jack-boot and sabre enthroned in her midst”; and, finally, that “an indelible impression was left in her memory of a savage military tyranny.”

So idle, then, have proved the formulæ of Liberalism when applied to the realities of character and circumstance, at any rate as they shaped themselves in the Italian Peninsula. Not least was this true of the famous phrase which Cavour, not without some change of emphasis, took over from Montalembert—“a free church in a free state.” Politics will never be really released from religion until man has ceased to be a living soul as well as a political animal; and it is a flaw in organic statesmanship to imagine that religious and secular interests can be permanently held at arm’s length from one another. Do what we will, all experience shows that from time to time they must kiss or clash. The keenest friction in the present case, as indeed is usual everywhere, arose in connection with matrimony and education. The Church was successful in repelling divorce and in maintaining the priority of the religious over the civil ceremony in marriage; the State avenged itself by recognising the legal validity only of the latter and driving the crucifix from the schools. Even in issues of less moment, the Liberal formula failed to fit the facts. The Government was too jealous of the bishops and parish priests to leave their appointment

solely in ecclesiastical hands, and, in short, to borrow Mussolini's words, "the rigid principle of separation dear to Liberal doctrine which has found its most plastic expression in the formula 'a free Church in a free State' had to undergo a number of modifications and exceptions by means of which a series of powers reminiscent of the old jurisdiction were reserved to the State."

Whilst the nations along the northern shore of the Mediterranean were being gradually surprised into the discovery that Liberal ideas contain no sovereign remedy—and sometimes no remedy at all—for human ills, that Liberty will not march with Equality, and that efficiency may be quickly lost amidst the clamour of tongues, the long pontificate of Leo XIII went on its way. That remarkable man had the wisdom to take up the only one of the three famous revolutionary catchwords which the world can afford to define vaguely and yet apply universally; and his encyclicals upon Labour advocated the cause of industrial Fraternity in terms more acceptable now than in the heyday of Liberal economics. But of political fraternity between Church and State there was in his time little evidence—so little indeed that the bones of his predecessor could not be carried to their last resting-place without insult, so little that he himself, as some recent researches have revealed, seriously contemplated taking up his residence in Austrian territory and was only dissuaded by the wiser counsels of the Emperor Francis Joseph. Thus the Roman Question appeared as far as ever from solution when the twentieth century dawned and it became plain that the Monarchy required all the support that the Papacy could afford it. It was in these circumstances that the Pope, whom Mussolini described the other day as "*patriota fervidissimo*," virtually removed the restriction upon any Catholic participation in politics. No corresponding advance was made by the Italian Government and, when the horror and pity of the Great War brought the most saintly Pope of modern times to the grave, the Roman Question still to all appearance remained where it was.

To all appearance, yet not in reality! Not only, if Mussolini is right, had Pius X so fortified the universal aspect of his office that a sovereign independence became more obviously than ever the complement of it, but also he had certainly impressed upon the policy of the Vatican the leading conception of his mind. To him it seemed that, internationally speaking, mediæval things had passed away and that the Vatican had to face a situation analogous to that which obtained in the first ages of the Church. The world had in fact to be conquered anew for Christianity; and he made it the maxim of his reign "to restore all things in Christ."

The diagnosis was brilliant, but the enterprise, with all the nations of Europe tearing at each other's throats, appeared during

the next pontificate but little less hopeless than the conquest of the Roman Empire by a band of Galilean peasants. Benedict XV will only have justice done to him when the hot blood generated by the Great War has been cooled by time. Dispassionate criticism will presently show that he avoided some dangerous pitfalls and prepared always, both in Italy and beyond it, paths of peace. In spite of much irresponsible Protestant encouragement, he constituted himself neither judge nor divider, after the manner of the mediæval Popes, in a world that no longer consented to his authority, whilst on the other hand he constantly discharged the office of universal shepherd according to its best traditions by recommending concord and a way in which concord might be found. There were other things in his policy which bore more directly upon the Roman Question. He refused the Spanish offer to take up his residence at the Escorial when Italy entered the war; he rejected the courteous but perilous scheme of the Italian Government under which the Papacy would have had to assume responsibility for the neutral character of the communications passing between the representatives of the Central Powers at the Vatican and their Governments; and he both selected as Cardinal-Secretary the remarkable statesman who was presently to negotiate the Lateran Treaty and authorised him to make the momentous declaration that the Holy See looked for the regularisation (*sistemazione*) of its position in Italy, not to the arms of the foreigner but to the sense of justice of the Italian people. Of that declaration of Cardinal Gasparri's Mussolini has remarked that it "enormously facilitated" the solution of the Roman Question.

The inconvenience of the unsettled dispute was fully demonstrated by war conditions, and this not merely by the difficulty of knowing what to do with the foreign legations accredited to the Vatican, but also by the incident which, if we are to believe Salandra, was the real cause of that famous article in the Secret Treaty between Italy and the Entente Powers excluding the Papacy from participation in the negotiations for peace. According to this authority that article was no piece of anti-clericalism on Sonnino's part but the effect of an intrigue of the German Ambassador (Flotau) who insinuated that Benedict XV intended to raise the Roman Question at the peace congress and that, if Italy made war on the Central Powers, Germany would give the Pope countenance. However all that may be, it was plainly desirable to remove from foreign governments the opportunity of using the Roman Question as a diplomatic pawn; and we need not be altogether surprised to find Orlando, the Italian Premier at the Peace Conference, jumping at a casual chance to open negotiations. Conversations actually took place in 1919 between him and Mgr. Ceretti at the Ritz Hotel

in Paris and wide possibilities were explored—the Tiber as the boundary between the Papal and the Royal dominions or, alternatively, a cession of territory to the Pope on the far side of the Vatican; the League of Nations as a guarantor of the settlement; and even access for the proposed State of the Church to the sea. Orlando, however, fell from power before anything was settled; and the negotiation, though resumed by his successors, came to nothing. Not a contract of territory but a contact of ideas was what was really needed to afford the basis of a treaty. And this came with the next pontificate.

For the essential justice of Pius X's belief that the Vatican was confronted by a situation analogous to that of the first centuries of the Christian Era was to be curiously confirmed under Pius XI. The old Roman spirit awoke again, the soldiers bringing back, as one might say, Cæsar's commentaries in their knapsacks at the end of the Great War. Discipline and obedience, comradeship and corporate life, efficiency and leadership—about these things they knew what every soldier knows. The Catholic Church had known it too—had known it from the first, as we may see from St. Paul's glance at the Roman soldier beside him and discovery there of a symbolism that satisfied his study of a Christian fully equipped. To the Catholic, as to the Fascist, faction—the failure to throw mind and will into the common stock of church or country—appears equally deplorable. It follows that Liberty in the fullest sense of the term is thought of as a perfect law. If we object that we have not so conceived it, we shall have in our turn to meet St. Augustine's profound observation that "to be able not to sin is great freedom but to be unable to sin the greatest," the proof lying in the obvious fact that the latter is evidently the only freedom which can be affirmed of God. Something of the same kind has indeed been told us by one who in the Oxford of his day was reckoned a distinguished philosopher—Thomas Hill Green—and is crystallised in the saying that "Liberty consists not in choosing right *or* wrong, but in choosing right *not* wrong." In the light of such a definition neither Church nor State can be properly reckoned arbitrary where they ban only what is incompatible with "the good life" of the churchman or the citizen; whereas the great American Republic, when it forbids to all men the wholesome use of the vine because some men become disagreeably vinous, appears to afford an unexceptionable instance of democratic tyranny.

Be that as it may and the definition of Liberty what we will, the Fascist leader must be credited with a high degree of statesmanship for approaching the Roman Question, not as if the presence of the Papacy in Rome were a troublesome legacy from the past, but rather as if it were a high distinction and alone competent to

give to the Eternal City its true place in the world. "I declare," he told the Chamber, even before he came into power, in what have become familiar words, "that the Latin and Imperial tradition of Rome is to-day represented by Catholicism. If," he continued, "as Mommsen said some twenty-five or thirty years ago, one cannot remain at Rome without a universal idea, I think and affirm that the one universal idea which exists at Rome to-day is that which radiates from the Vatican." It was thus of the essence of his policy that the Christian and the Roman spirit should meet again, and of the essence of his philosophy that in the injunction to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's we are presented not only with the epitome of a theological antithesis but with the project of a working agreement. Like one handling some jewel he examines the idea in various lights, and cannot for the energy of his interest avoid comment where another from greater orthodoxy or less open diplomacy might have kept silence. Thus he will presently tell the Chamber on the eve of the ratification of the Pact, somewhat to Catholic scandal, that the Christian religion was born in Palestine but became Catholic only in Rome and might probably, but for this transplantation, have perished. Similarly he will find in Cæsar, whom he calls "a man of rare goodness" and "perhaps the first Roman with a feeling for his neighbours," one of the precursors of Christianity. Such *obiter dicta* may perhaps serve to save him, amongst certain of his following, from accusations of clericalism.

It was in the beginning of 1922 that a new Pope succeeded Benedict XV, and it was a few months later that Mussolini led the Fascist march on Rome. The Papacy had now at its head a student and a statesman to whom the major peace of the world and the minor peace of Italy were but parts of a single policy and to whom, if ever to any, a title long floating in men's minds deserved to be applied—Pope Pacificus. "I think thoughts of peace and not of affliction"—in that recurring text of his pronouncements we have the mind of Pius XI. And Italy had now for its chief minister one of whom the old Latin word "*dux*" seemed to afford a completely adequate account. The Christian and the Roman spirit had found alike representative men. For the first time since the fall of the Temporal Power the Pope addressed his blessing to the City and the World from the balcony of St. Peter's. And in his first encyclical he took occasion to observe that Italy had nothing to fear, nor would have from the Holy See. Mussolini was not long in returning friendly gestures. Those old enemies of the Church—the Masonic Societies of the Continent—were suppressed; and the crucifix was replaced in the schools. There were other things done that were well calculated to conciliate, among which the issue in the

seventh Franciscan centenary year of a postage-stamp showing the death of St. Francis was perhaps the most pleasing. Informal conversations on the Roman Question actually began almost as soon as the Fascist Government came into power; they were rendered more urgent by the refusal of the Vatican to approve the project of reform of Italian ecclesiastical law so long as, owing to the non-recognition of the Papacy as a sovereign power, this could possess only a unilateral character; they assumed a definite character in August, 1926, when discussions were initiated between the Papal lawyer, Professor, now Marchese, Pacelli and Professor Barone, representing the Italian Government; towards the end of the same year their importance was increased by the presence of Mgr. Borgoncini Duca, the Secretary for the Ecclesiastical Congregation of Foreign Affairs; they were held up during 1927 by the controversy between the two Governments interested with regard to the Catholic boy-scouts, until the Vatican gave way; in the end of November, 1928, when the text of a treaty had been hammered out, they were taken over by Mussolini and Cardinal Gasparri and finally concluded on February 7th, 1929. The Diplomatic Corps was then informed of the result of the negotiation by the Cardinal-Secretary and on February 11th the Pact was signed.

The agreement which may thus be said to have taken thirty months to arrange, with about four months more to be added before its formal ratification, falls into three well-defined sections—a political treaty, a financial convention and a concordat. Under the Treaty Italy recognises the Catholic religion as the official religion of the country and also the independent sovereignty of the Pope over a minute State of one hundred and ten acres containing the palace and gardens of the Vatican, the Church and Piazza of St. Peter, together with a little territory behind it. It acknowledges too the Pope's regal position and accords to him on Italian soil royal honours and the same protection as the king. He receives, besides, in full ownership certain properties in Italy among which figure the villa of Castel Gandolfo, the Palace and Basilica of St. John Lateran and the Scala Santa. In return for all this the Holy See recognises the Kingdom of Italy as constituted under the House of Savoy, with its capital in Rome. For the rest, all Cardinals in Italy are to rank as princes of the blood and, whether resident within or without the Vatican City, are to be considered citizens of it. Rights of citizenship are also to be enjoyed by all permanent residents within the new State and special privileges are accorded to officials of the Papal Court, whether resident or not, amongst which the principal are exemption from military or jury service in Italy. Diplomatic immunities are secured to foreign ministers accredited to the Holy See; and this though they may reside upon

Italian soil and their States have no diplomatic relations with Italy. Diplomatic communications, even when Italy is at war and even if they are passing to belligerent countries, are to be free from interference; and the Catholic bishops of all the world are guaranteed access at all times to the Apostolic See. Criminal justice is to be administered by an Italian judicial commission, either appointed to deal with each case as it occurs or sitting in permanency. The sentences of the Papal Courts have effect also in Italy, and its disciplinary control over ecclesiastical persons is recognised. The Italian Government is to see to the adequacy of the water-supply of the new State and to afford facilities for postal, railroad and other communications between it and the world outside. Merchandise is to be exempt from duties on its way to the Vatican City.

There are one or two restrictions upon the Pope's sovereign rights over his Kingdom. He is pledged to show its art-treasures to the public and in an ordinary way to grant free access to the Piazza of St. Peter's, where, however, the Italian police are to be responsible for maintaining order unless requested to withdraw.

Such briefly is the political treaty at least in its local aspects. Each party to it had to make some small sacrifice. The Italian Government had to yield what since 1870 had been generally reckoned Italian territory—a mere fragment if you will—not more, it has been remarked, than a golf-course; not so much as St. James's Park and the Green Park put together—and a fragment, moreover, over which the Italian flag can hardly be said to have flown, yet still territory situated on the outskirts of the Capital and henceforth to be another's in sovereign possession. The Vatican, though it had not desired any international guarantee of its independence and would in fact, as Pucci has pointed out, have regarded such a guarantee as calculated to place it under some sort of tutelage of the guarantor-Powers, had perhaps anticipated some closer approximation to the old plan adumbrated by Visconti Venosta in 1870 of putting the Pope in possession of the Leonine City. The lovely grounds of the Villa Doria with an intervening strip of territory on the Janiculum were actually mentioned in the course of the negotiations, and Mussolini was prepared to lease this tract of land in perpetuity at the nominal rent of a lira a year, though not to concede it in full sovereignty. The Pope, however, on reflection decided to let the plan drop. As he has told us, he tried to envisage the whole issue before him with the eyes of St. Francis and to act as the saint would have acted if he had been confronted with it. He knew that the poor little man of Assisi would never have taken more for himself than sufficed to keep body and soul together, and by analogy he came to the conclusion that he should ask only for what seemed

absolutely necessary to enable the Holy See to maintain its sovereign independence. He judged, as most critics will agree, wisely. He could contrast his territorial kingdom with the kingdoms of this world and say of it with pride what a temporal monarch must have admitted with regret—" *È veramente poco, pochissimo.*"

The financial convention need not long detain us. Its aim was to compensate the Church for the confiscation of ecclesiastical property including the patrimony of St. Peter which had taken place in 1870, and Mussolini appears to be satisfied that he did this cheaply by a payment of seven hundred and fifty million lire in cash and of one milliard lire in 5 per cent. Italian Consols; which opinion, as the Italian Government would have had to pay four milliard lire to discharge its obligations under the Law of Guarantees, seems to be correct. We may perhaps get a better idea of what the arrangement signifies by reflecting that the annual income thus secured to the State of the Vatican with its world-wide obligations will amount to considerably less than double what we in this country consider adequate to the requirements of His Majesty's Civil List, or at least did so consider in King Edward's time. The Pope has indicated his own feelings about the transaction, and they will be shared, *mutatis mutandis*, by every conscientious steward of philanthropic finance. He had no wish, he says, to be grasping, but on the other hand was equally sensible of the ever-growing needs of the vast community under his care and of the injustice of depriving them of that which was properly theirs. There appears, however, to be no serious suggestion either on the one side that the Vatican drove a hard bargain or on the other that Catholic interests were unduly sacrificed. From an unfriendly angle it may, of course, be argued that the arrangement is intrinsically objectionable in so far as it gives the Papacy a special interest in the maintenance of Italian credit and a financial reason for remaining on good terms with the Italian Government; and a critic might point to the passage in one of Mussolini's speeches where he speaks of the Convention as silencing the past and giving a guarantee of the future. The answer is that a Power which knew how to refuse for fifty years the income tendered to it under the Law of Guarantees may be trusted in the future to suffer loss rather than do wrong to its conscience. Indeed, as we shall see directly, the Pope has already given proof of fearless independence.

In any case the financial dependence of the Vatican upon the Italian Government must be reckoned a mere trifle beside the geographical. Physically speaking the Vatican State lies absolutely at the mercy of the strong neighbour which encompasses it on every side. Yet for all that it is not without powerful safeguards. Its very exiguity protects it from covetousness. And

there is another and better reason for confidence. In Mussolini's words: "The Italian State whose territory surrounds the Vatican-City has solemnly proclaimed itself Catholic in the first article of the Treaty." The rampart of faith, thus thrown around the little city of the Popes is intended, as the Duce has explained, to be a solid structure. The Catholic Church is, to use his words, "to enjoy a legal position of especial favour, if not of privilege in the old sense of the word, and not only to be held in respect in a negative way, which a liberal and agnostic State might equally do." Though no intolerance is here contemplated and the necessary facilities are to be afforded for dissent, the religious orientation of the country is thus clearly defined and the city of Rome is, in so many words, to be kept free from anything inconsistent with its religious character. It is this formal acceptance of religion as an essential feature of the national revival—this Concordato—that has seemed to the Pope to justify concessions in the other parts of the Pact. It constitutes the best gift he has to make to his countrymen; and he has lately emphasised in a letter to Cardinal Gasparri its inseparable connection with the Treaty. It has, however, a wider significance as a practical demonstration of the compatibility of Catholic faith with the outlook of a people moving more rapidly than the rest towards that reorganisation of political institutions upon an industrial basis towards which, with whatever misgivings, we surely tend. The laggard progress of the Catholic Church in relation to the general movement of society has been the theme of Liberal criticism for half a century, and now suddenly the Church is ahead of its critics and abreast of that new philosophy of corporate life and function which is no more than an old philosophy revived.

The Concordat, as all fruitful understandings must be, is mostly a matter of good-will and common-sense. It pre-supposes, to borrow Mussolini's words, "a distinction between the two powers of Church and State, the one dominant in the field of the religious conscience, the other in that of civic and political affairs." By the elimination, however, of such obsolete causes of trouble as right of asylum, benefit of clergy and penalties for dissent, it discovers on the part of the ecclesiastical powers a full comprehension of changed conditions—a comprehension to which Mussolini has paid a handsome tribute by his reference to "the wonderful, age-long spirit of adaptation" of the Church—that should go far to avert future trouble. There remain, for all that, in one or two spheres possibilities of collision.

The marriage-law, indeed, presents none of the familiar difficulties that we meet elsewhere. For divorce Italy has never made provision and, as the only serious arguments for it are based upon individualist and hedonist principles, they are by no means calcu-

lated to please a Fascist Government which in point of fact by rejecting them follows in the line, not only of the best Christian, but also of the most ancient Roman tradition. The Concordato consequently admits the sacramental character of marriage, places the estate of matrimony under the control of the Canon Law and, as in England, gives to the religious ceremony, without any civil counterpart beyond registration, full legal validity.

It is the educational not the matrimonial side of the Pact of the Lateran that gives one pause and indeed, as all the world knows, Mussolini's general survey of the position has in this respect met with a dignified rejoinder from the Pope—a rejoinder that has at least placed the complete independence of the Vatican beyond a doubt. There can be little question that the Fascist conception of children as primarily prospective citizens is not on all fours with the ecclesiastical view which places the Family in thought as well as in time before the State and conceives the Church as standing spiritually behind the Parents. But whether this theoretical difference of opinion must gravely impair practical co-operation in educational work is not so certain. Mussolini has indeed claimed that the making of Italy into a great Power requires the breeding of a race of conquerors, and the Pope has rejoined that, if any other conquest than that of truth and virtue is intended, it is a poor look-out for any general pacification of the world. Yet even so it is hard to be sure how much peril attaches in practice to these seemingly opposite angles of vision. The Roman ideal of a soldier and the Christian ideal of a saint were successfully mingled in the figure of the mediæval knight and, thus blended, have descended to us in the form and fashion of a Christian gentleman. And, if the expressed intention of the Italian Minister of Education—Signor Belluzzo—to recast the education of the young in such a manner that, to use his own words, "the whole formative process of the new generation may be permeated or rather fortified by the lofty spiritual contents of the Catholic religion itself and its sacred character of a cult with a tradition of two thousand years," takes effect, there seems no reason to fear friction in the future between the two Powers of Church and State.

For the Catholic religion, according to the Concordato, is to be taught in the primary and secondary schools of Italy in its authoritative form and by approved professors. It has been argued that this presents difficulty, because the postulates and axioms of Catholicism have not been latterly the postulates and axioms of much secular science. It appears, however, doubtful whether in its present fluid state science is in any position to dogmatise on philosophy, at all, and in any case such dogmatism should hardly come within the proper range of elementary or secondary schooling.

Meanwhile in the universities the field remains open for that hard clash of mind with mind in which a great scholar has seen the true value of university education. Mussolini in this connection has taken occasion to notice a certain modification of attitude on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities towards unorthodox views in philosophy—a modification analogous to that which they gradually adopted in the past towards the great pagan philosophers. The best modern authority upon Spinoza is, according to him, a Jesuit, and in the Rector of the Catholic University of Milan—a man of unexceptionable orthodoxy—he points to one who has prefaced a volume of studies of Kant with a tribute to Kant's greatness and to a certain community of ideas between the Kantian and Thomist philosophies.

Philosophical studies in any case tend to take care of themselves. Every proposition suggests its contrary, every system the competition of another, and Scholasticism, as one can see from that passage in the *Summa* where the Disputant boldly urges that the existence of evil precludes the existence of God, never blinked the most stubborn problem in metaphysics. The Church, besides, is standing once again upon Mars Hill and, if she is to tear anew the veil from the face of the largely unknown God, she will doubtless have to wrestle as before with the philosophers. It is really a more pertinent consideration, as the Pope argues from his own personal experience, how to protect the growing mind from confusion amidst the mass of intellectual matter presented to it—how to prevent young men from exchanging a solid knowledge of the essential for a casual acquaintance with the superfluous.

One or two other provisions of the Concordato still call for the briefest mention. The choice of the Italian Episcopate is vested in the Holy See, but the name of the candidate is to be submitted to the Italian Government beforehand to insure that there is no political objection to the appointment, and bishops are to swear fidelity to the King and the Government and to undertake neither themselves to assist nor to permit their clergy to assist in any movement calculated to cause damage to the country. And in this connection it is noticeable that the Pope takes occasion to remind all the ecclesiastics and religious of Italy of the prohibition from joining or fighting in any political party whatsoever—a prohibition, I gather, more honoured in the breach than the observance at the recent Election. Dioceses are to be recast—that is, in effect, reduced—and as far as possible made to correspond with the provinces of the Kingdom; and the Bishops of Italy are to be Italians and Italian-speaking. As regards military service the broad result is to afford exemption to the clergy and professed religious, except in the event of a mobilisation, when such as are not actually engaged

in the care of souls can be called up for spiritual duties with the army, whilst retaining the right to wear their ecclesiastical habits. In the same way ecclesiastics are excused from jury service, nor can a priest be required to reveal what he has heard in confession. An ecclesiastic, if arrested, must be treated with respect, and, if condemned, must, should it be possible, serve his sentence apart from lay criminals, unless indeed he has been unfrocked by the Ordinary. An apostate priest or one under censure cannot be employed by the Italian Government in any post which would bring him into direct contact with the public. For the rest the ecclesiastical habit is reserved to the clergy; theological degrees are recognised; property, both real and personal, can be held and administered by religious corporations; the State undertakes to maintain the income of benefices at their present level; and the continuance of the Italian organisation, which under the name of Catholic Action is concerned with the promotion of Catholic principles in non-political ways, is approved.

Here we may fittingly take our leave of the Concordato and turn for a final glance at the Pact as a whole. There are some who see in this new conjunction of the Roman spirit and the Christian Church the prelude to a declaration of empire based afresh upon the old foundation of Charlemagne; and it must be acknowledged, even by those of us who like the name of emperor least, that there is elsewhere no soil nor city that has a better right to confer it. Others find in the Pact a fresh security against revolution. And there are those, again, who take this introduction of the Dome of St. Peter's into the background of the Fascist picture for a feature that, like one of those heavenly distances which enchant us in the finest work of the Italian masters, will eventually cast a soft radiance over the harder lines of the subject. Many will ask themselves what effect the Pact will have upon Papal elections—whether it will fix the choice of a Pope more firmly than ever in Italian hands or, as may quite well be, invite the Sacred College to place, by the most obvious means in its power, a new emphasis upon the catholic character of the Holy See. Of such things only an Italian could speak with any confidence. The most perhaps that an Englishman can be sure of, as he contemplates the little sovereign-state now established on the slopes of the Vatican, is that here we have something the world has never seen before, a great novelty crowning a great antiquity, the evidence of a change from era to era, the last and greatest proof of the everlasting vitality that wells up evermore in Rome. In its own hour and, having set its own immediate house in order, the Church has moved forward, brought itself abreast of the Time-Spirit, and recognised the altered nature of the service required of it by society. From the international

position into which the needs of mediæval civilisation had pressed it the Papacy now withdraws. "The Holy See," says the most significant article of the Treaty, "declares that, in regard to the sovereignty appertaining to it in international matters, it wishes to take and will take no part in any secular rivalries among other States nor in any international congresses convoked for such ends, unless the contending parties make an agreed appeal to its mission of peace."

This aspect of the Pact is closely related to the attitude which, as is generally understood, the Vatican adopts towards the League of Nations. Pacific as the League is, it is not pacific enough for the Papacy as such. With coercion, even though only in the last resort, the Holy See does not desire to be directly associated, well satisfied henceforward to rely upon those moral and spiritual weapons of which under the terms of the Treaty it expressly reserves the use. As politically remote from the Kingdom of Italy—to borrow Mussolini's reiterated paradox—as Paris or Madrid, and thus made free, so far as it can be, from all accidents of contiguity or size, the Vatican City, if it prove true to itself, should preserve amidst the turmoil of the nations the old cosmopolitan tradition of the Papal Court, remind us that a community of religion can afford as real a bond of international union as community of interest and present us with a project of peace not mechanically devised nor rising, phoenix-like, out of the ashes of warfare, but conceived in the very spirit of the Christmas message and cradled amidst the harmonies of the angels' song.

Dreams, if we choose to have it so! Yet can we afford to do without them, and must we forget that he of whom his brethren said: "Behold this dreamer cometh" proved the most practical of them all, became food-controller to the King of Egypt and saved his family from destruction?

Some there are, of course, who will still see in the vast palace and the gorgeous temple beside it only the baseless fabric of a vision of human life that is fast fading from the eyes of men and in the high processions that pace those ancient courts an insubstantial pageant, destined in time to vanish, leaving no wrack behind. And there are others who, haunted by the thought that Christ's Kingdom was not of this world, will scarcely suffer that it should even be *in* it and are perpetually offended by the hierarchical dignities and splendid appointments of a world-wide organisation. But there are those, too, who, chancing often in the picture-galleries of Italy to be confronted by a scene dear to the Italian masters, have reflected that the Holy Child no more turned away from the gifts of the Kings than from the homage of the Shepherds; and these will follow without strain or effort the mind of Pius XI as

it discovers itself in that new Mass of "Christ the King" which should be for ever associated with his name. They will watch the old mountain-climber, in whose allusion to his Alpine affections in his recent address to the Diplomatic Corps is to be discerned the figure of his policy, as he pushes his way up the hill of international difficulty, and grasp the grandeur of his thought as he beholds in vision a world redeemed from strife and at unity with itself—"a Kingdom," to borrow from the Preface in the Mass just mentioned, "of truth and life, a Kingdom of holiness and grace, a Kingdom of justice, love and peace."

To such a Kingdom, the Vatican-City—not inaptly described by Mussolini as "a city of souls rather than of things and men"—is designed to serve as capital. In so far as it attains its purpose there is none who need be afraid to wish it God-speed.

ALGERNON CECIL.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GENERAL ELECTION.

THE General Election in South Africa took place about the same time as our own General Election here. On this account less attention has been directed to it than would have otherwise been the case. The result has been to give General Hertzog a renewed lease of power and confirmed his position with greater emphasis. The Labour Party went to the electorate split up by a violent quarrel between the Creswellites and the National Council section, and to this must be attributed a considerable part of their failure to maintain their numbers in the new Parliament. The South African Party did not realise the confident hope, expressed before the Election by General Smuts, that their position would be greatly improved by the result of the Election. The final position of the Parties, with the exception of one constituency, where the poll has had to be postponed owing to the death of the Nationalist candidate, is as follows:

Nationalists	...	...	...	...	...	77
South African Party	...	...	...	...	...	61
Labour (Creswellites)	...	...	...	...	...	5
Labour (National Council)	...	...	...	...	...	3
Independent	...	...	...	...	...	1

This gives the Nationalists a majority over all the other parties put together of seven.

The occasion of the Election was taken for retirement from the field of politics by some of the prominent leaders of the South African Party. Mr. Jagger, the veteran and highly respected Member for Cape Town, did not seek re-election. Sir Thomas Smartt, owing to failing health, had announced his intention not to seek re-election. Unfortunately his illness increased so rapidly that he passed away shortly before the date of the Election. Tributes of esteem and regret fell from the lips not only of his political friends, but from his strongest political opponents, and his loss was mourned by all Parties. No very prominent new leader has emerged during the course of the late Parliament to take the place of the veterans in the ranks of the South African Party. Nevertheless, it still possesses many able and experienced men, such as Mr. Joel Krige, a former Speaker, Sir William Mackintosh, Mr. Patrick Duncan, Mr. Denis Reitz, and others. While in votes polled it is the first Party in the new Parliament, it is very much inferior in number of Members to the Nationalist Party. This anomalous result arises from the unequal electoral value assigned to votes in the various provinces of the Union by the Constitution. The quota

of votes varies. In the original assignment of seats to the several provinces the quota needed in the Transvaal to entitle it to a Member was about one-half that in the Cape Province, and in the Free State about one-third. This inequality between the values of votes in these Provinces was increased by the fact that in ascertaining the Cape numbers all native voters were excluded, and further, the Transvaal and Free State have manhood suffrage while the Cape has a stiff qualification. The South African Party's power lies chiefly in the Cape Province, while the Nationalists' strength is in the Free State and Transvaal, so that a smaller number of voters in the Free State and Transvaal have elected more members to the Nationalist Party than the more numerous voters in the Cape Province to the South African Party. The Nationalists fought the Election without the aid of a redoubtable champion, Mr. Tielman Roos, a very strong character and a very able Parliamentarian. To the regret of all Parties, ill-health has now compelled his complete retirement.

General Hertzog has taken the opportunity of his return to power to strengthen his Cabinet by the inclusion of Mr. Jansen, who was the Speaker in the last Parliament, and who won distinction and respect by his courteous and dignified discharge of the duties of that important office. He becomes Minister for Native Affairs, a post held until now by General Hertzog himself combined with the Premiership. Mr. Jansen's personality and record give promise of a sympathetic treatment of this highly important subject, of which more presently. Mr. Pirow, an able barrister, of considerable experience and knowledge of affairs, takes Mr. Tielman Roos's place as Minister for Justice. The Ministry now seems to be quite as strong and able as it was before the Election. General Hertzog was fortunate in his choice of Mr. Havenga as Treasurer. Every year of office has strengthened his position as an able, careful and responsible Minister of Finance. An overflowing Treasury has enabled him to reduce taxation, to pay off debt, and to put the finances of the country on a sounder footing than he found them on taking office. He has also had the good fortune to receive a most marvellous windfall, in the produce of the valuable diamond mine of Namaqualand, which has yielded already about six millions sterling in profit for the public purse. Sound and prosperous finance has undoubtedly gone far to strengthen the hold of General Hertzog's Ministry on the country. Notwithstanding the reductions in taxation already made, the burdens on the necessities of life of the poor are very high, and ought to have the first claim in any future reductions. Complaint was voiced in the last Session that the duties imposed upon articles of ordinary use and necessity for the poorer section of the community were too high, and ought

to be reduced. But strange to say the Labour Party took no effective steps to call attention to this subject.

General Hertzog's personal position is as strong as ever, nay, it may be said to be rather stronger than it was when he first took office as Prime Minister. He is better known now by his opponents and is personally much liked by them. He is courteous and patient with those who desire to approach him on public matters. His sincerity and patriotism are beyond question. The chief complaint his opponents have to make of him is that he does not adequately restrain the exuberance of his extremist followers. This is a common complaint by political opponents against political leaders. I well remember how strongly it was made against Mr. Gladstone by Tories, who complained that "the Radical tail wagged the Liberal dog." He is at times in the course of debate betrayed by his feelings into violent statements, which are at once taken up by his opponents and used to his disadvantage, and no doubt are at times a source of regret to himself. It would seem to be the duty of a Prime Minister always to bear in mind that he is no longer merely the head of a Party, bent on Party triumphs, but the head of the country, and as such is entrusted with the interests of all the various sections which make up the country as a whole. In South Africa this is very specially a rôle which the Prime Minister ought strictly to fulfil. It is a complex community incorporating several races both white and coloured, who ought to be made to feel confident that impartial justice and good will and fair dealing will rule towards each and all in the attitude of the Prime Minister. This may be a severe test, but it should in all public action and expression be a first essential. Strong terms such as "the enemy" should not even in the heat of debate be allowed to fall from the lips of a Prime Minister, as applied to any section of the community of which he is the civil head.

General Smuts stands unquestioned at the head of the South African Party. His brilliant gifts are known to and appreciated by the whole world. His opportunities for rendering great service may come again at the appropriate moment and his wide vision may yet be of outstanding benefit to South Africa, to the Empire and to the world.

It may be interesting to examine some of the effects which may be expected to flow from the result of the Election. Among the most important of these is its bearing on the native question. General Smuts referred to the native question in his Election speeches, urging that it should not be dealt with as a Party question but should be settled in a Conference of all Parties; but he was somewhat vague in regard to the objects which he would seek to attain in that Conference. General Hertzog laid great

stress on his native policy before and during the Election, and will claim the result as an endorsement of his views. His Native Bill was rejected, or rather failed to secure adoption at a joint sitting of the two Houses of Parliament, and it seems most unlikely that he will now have sufficient success in the Elections for the Legislative Council towards the end of this year to enable him to secure its passage even then. The question will remain as a serious factor of disturbance in the native mind. It may be well to recall that at the time of Union each Province retained its electoral system; the only Province where the natives had the vote on equal terms with Europeans was the Cape Province, the oldest, the largest, and most settled Province of the Union. No agreement could be come to at that time for any common franchise law. The Transvaal and Free State opposed any native franchise whatever in their Provinces, while the Cape highly prized the native franchise which had given it so much peace and contentment for so many years since its first establishment. In the Transvaal and Free State the natives had no representation whatever, and there was strong opposition to giving them any rights in this direction.

In the Cape the natives had received the same franchise with the rest of the population from the first days of Representative Government in 1854. There was at that time a fairly high qualification for the vote (and this was further raised at a later period) which applied to Europeans and natives alike. Under this system, although at first few natives were qualified to receive the franchise, they gradually became entitled in larger numbers as they qualified to receive the vote. It was accepted by the natives as a means of ventilating any grievances which might arise and voicing their desires, and had a remarkable effect in causing them to become settled and contented and to progress steadily in civilisation. They had never abused the vote, indeed they had used it with great discretion, electing to represent them, amongst others, such men as the late Sir Richard Solomon, Sir James Rose Innes, the late Mr. J. C. Molteno, Mr. Arthur Fuller, Minister for Agriculture, and others. There was, therefore, an experience extending over a period of fifty-four years from the first grant of the franchise down to the year of Union. The results were so good that the Cape attached great importance to this native franchise, and in order to satisfy its apprehensions the right was entrenched in the Constitution by a Clause that it could only be altered by a two-thirds majority in a joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament.

The Cape Province had the largest number of natives to deal with, it had longer experience of native policy, and it had suffered most severely from the vacillating policy pursued towards the natives from the date of the British occupation down to 1854. A

series of Kaffir wars had devastated the frontier, while the loss of life and treasure had been enormous. Speaking in the House of Commons in 1855 Sir William Molesworth said that "our military expenditure at the Cape amounted to between four to five hundred thousand pounds a year, besides a series of Kaffir wars which on an average had cost this country a million a year." Had the colonists been left to their own resources they would have been overwhelmed by the burden of paying for and conducting such great wars, but the British Exchequer was rich enough to be able to do so. Nevertheless, it was tiring of the charge.

In 1854 on the establishment of Representative Government local knowledge and experience were given a chance, and the natives began to settle down and become civilised under a more sympathetic policy. It was most significant that no native war occurred again until 1878, when Sir Bartle Frere took matters out of the hands of the local authorities, reversed the policy of gradual civilisation, and attempted completely to dominate and disarm the natives by force of arms. The Gaika and Galeka war, the great Zulu war, the Transkei war, and the Basuto war all followed in quick and disastrous succession. The policy of force had to be again abandoned, and a policy of just consideration and the promotion of civilising agencies took its place. There have been no native wars since on the Cape frontier, where contentment and progress have reigned until now. No wonder that Cape statesmen, after such experience, wish to make sure that the system which had proved so successful shall not be lightly altered.

The Cape had been fortunate in having a large settled population at a long distance from the actual frontier between natives and whites. The policy to be pursued was not the policy of the racial clash of the frontiers, but was one conceived in a cooler atmosphere. It was also fortunate in possessing much larger resources than the struggling States around it, and was able to maintain a regular police force. It was not dependent upon a levy *en masse* of the population when it was a question of applying correction to recalcitrant native tribes. But in the Transvaal and Free State the scattered population was in a position of constant alarm. Only unquestioned force could maintain the position of the few whites, so greatly outnumbered by the native tribes. The problem was a frontier problem all the time, and the frontier atmosphere dominated all the policy. In these tempestuous conditions no statesmanlike policy could be thought out or pursued.

At the present time, owing to the weighting of the votes in favour of the Transvaal and Free State, the country forces in these States now possess the voting power. Though conditions have entirely changed owing to the large influx of whites, they are still domin-

ated by their old feelings, and they are ready to step in and upset the arrangements which wise and experienced statesmen had made in the case of the Cape. Not only do they refuse to give their own natives any rights, but they desire to deprive the Cape natives of those rights which were wisely conceded to them by far-seeing statesmanship. It would seem that the policy of the frontier feeling is to be enforced on the Cape by men who have not had the chance of weighing all the knowledge and experience gained in the last seventy-four years since the grant of the franchise in 1854. The later in time grave mistakes of this nature are made in such matters the severer are the penalties attached to error. To deny to the native the right to raise himself in the scale of civilisation is not only unjust but a crime against civilisation itself. The only principle on which you can permanently govern any race, white, yellow or black, is justice. This is the condensed and sublimated experience of history as well as a principle which satisfies the highest ethics. If you deny representation to the native you are thrown back on force as the sole means of regulating your relations between white and black. If he can be worked into your representative system and take his place in it, it is of immense value to good government. This policy has succeeded in practice in the Cape Province, and contentment has marked its whole history. By its reversal discontent will take its place, with all that this means in a country of vast distances and a population of natives outnumbering the whites by three to one. England has avoided revolutions by removing great bodies of discontent as soon as they become manifest, satisfying what is right and just in the demands of the dissatisfied. South Africa will create a vast body of discontent which the Bolshevik elements in the world will seize on and envenom. It is a sombre prospect unless wisdom can come in time to those now in power.

In the economic field there is not much change, except that the strong Nationalist feeling is expressing itself in South Africa as in the small new States in Central Europe, by a desire to manufacture everything on the spot and be self-sufficient in every product. There is a failure to realise that the world is interdependent, and that in the case of South Africa the chief products of the country must be sold abroad, such as wool, gold, diamonds, feathers and fruit, and must be paid for by importing goods from other countries. Both Parties are ready to sacrifice the real interests of the primary producers, the farmer and the mine worker, burdening them with enormous costs of production as a result of the imposition of heavy Customs duties. The effect is to sterilise more and more of the gold-bearing land and more and more of the agricultural land of the country.

With regard to the bearing of the Election on the relations of the Union to the rest of Africa, the result will tend to keep Rhodesia in a state of uncertainty. The former cry of secession amongst a section of the Nationalists alarmed Rhodesia. It must feel absolutely safe on this point before it will contemplate Union. To a lesser extent the dual language in the Union is a bugbear. As a matter of fact there is a considerable influx of settlers of Dutch extraction into Rhodesia, where they make excellent colonists, and this will tend to raise a similar language problem there. The dominating advantages of Union are so great that in the long run the tendency will be towards eventual Union. As to the more remote portions of Africa there is no doubt that affairs in the Union will have important repercussions. General Smuts has definitely taken up a sympathetic and neighbourly attitude to the other British States of Africa, while General Hertzog favours complete isolation. But beyond this there is the repercussion on African natives everywhere of action which may be taken in the Union in connection with the relation of whites to blacks. This question is being closely watched in many parts of Africa and is to a considerable extent being regarded as a test question—whether real justice can eventually be expected from the white man, whether the native is to have full rights in his own country, or is to be continually more and more ousted and his interests subordinated to those of a more recent population coming in from outside and always taking precedence of him. In the Far East also the development of native policy in South Africa is being watched with concern and anxiety, and takes its place as one of the influences affecting the relations of white men to men of colour.

South Africa is now in a position to work out its own salvation. The free Parliament of the Union is an arena for the open discussion of all vital questions affecting the Union. The proceedings are conducted with the highest order and decorum, and the authority of the Chair is readily accepted by all Parties. The unfortunate policy of violence at one time pursued in South Africa still leaves its mark upon the relations and attitude of the different races to the various questions which arise. Time is, however, softening these unfortunate influences, and the good sense of the two dominant white races will place more and more power in the hands of a great body of moderate opinion which will extend its influence in larger measure over the extremists of both sides. A spirit of confidence and hope inspires the outlook for the future, enterprise is developing in many directions, and in the main the country is hard at work.

P. A. MELTENO.

PROGRESS IN EGYPT.

IT is just over a year since Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha took the bold step of advising King Fuad to suspend Parliament for a period of three years, and since then things have moved rapidly in the internal affairs of Egypt. Although internal affairs are a matter for the Egyptians themselves, in which it is not our business to interfere, the British public cannot but watch with sympathy and interest the far-reaching changes that are taking place in the whole fabric of Egyptian society; for it is on the internal state of Egypt that the prospect of an agreement between the two countries largely depends. At last, after many years of waiting, a broad-minded and clear-sighted leader has come forward to guide the Egyptian people along the lines best calculated to inspire mutual confidence and trust, without which all Anglo-Egyptian negotiations must be fruitless. Mahmoud Pasha has made a good beginning, he has a remarkable year's work to his credit, and he has drawn up a very thorough and comprehensive programme. There is, indeed, every reason to believe that the temporary interruption of constitutional methods—often necessary in Oriental countries—will lead to a great improvement in all aspects of life in Egypt, and will bring about a changed outlook in Egyptian nationalism with which the true interests of the people will emerge from the confusion of the past.

Egyptian affairs cannot, as some people seem to think, be judged in the same light as those of a European democracy. Conditions are entirely different. Logic and consistency do not form part of the Egyptian make-up, and it is worse than useless to attempt to make forecasts or draw conclusions based on a process of logical reasoning. The unexpected is the rule in Egypt. At the outbreak of the Great War, there was every reason to expect an anti-British outburst; but the people maintained a sphinx-like attitude. When Mahmoud Pasha launched his *coup d'état*, there was reason to expect violent opposition from the people who had been harangued into believing that the Wafd were the only saviours and protectors of the country; but they were entirely apathetic and accepted the situation in silence. Moreover, the Egyptians are accustomed to follow political leaders. Zaghlul was dead, and his successor had merely brought discredit on the country, so Mahmoud Pasha stepped into the breach with the intention of leading the people in the direction of their own well-being.

Although Egypt possesses a constitution and a complete machinery of representative government, she has not yet been governed in the sense defined by that constitution or according to the ideas of democracy. After the Declaration of Independence of 1922, the

first Egyptian Parliament, presided over by Zaghlul Pasha, followed without criticism the advice of its leader, and was in fact a "one man" Government. Then, the inability of the Wafd to control the unruly elements in the country, culminating in the murder of the Sirdar, led to Ziwar Pasha's "Cabinet of Affairs," which carried on the government of the country, after Parliament had been dissolved, until the representations of Mahmoud Pasha and others brought about the return of a constitutional régime. With Parliament restored, there was reason to hope that the real intentions of the framers of the constitution would be carried out, but the untimely death of Zaghlul, during Sarwat Pasha's negotiations with the British Government, plunged the country into a state of political chaos. The draft treaty proved to be an abortive effort, and the Coalition Government formed by Sarwat Pasha was taken over by Nahas Pasha, the new leader of the Wafd Committee, whose obvious duty it was to concentrate the attention of ministers and deputies alike on the measures of much-needed internal reform, which were already more than overdue.

It soon, however, became apparent that the Coalition did not realise the difference between the practical work of internal reform and political agitation; and that the country, far from being subject to parliamentary government, was in fact being ruled by a dictatorship of the irresponsible politicians of the Wafd Committee. Parliament could discuss bills and pass credits for various projects, but the ministries were utterly devoid of the necessary energy to carry out the work authorised, and the funds voted either remained in the Treasury or were frittered away in other directions. Deputies overran the ministries, interfering with the work of ministers and their subordinates, and in a countless variety of ways clogged the machinery of administration. Even students and schoolboys forced their presence on ministers and, in virtue of their membership of the Wafd majority, wasted the time of those who were responsible for the government of the country, when they themselves ought to have been confined to the precincts of the class-room. Fear of the majority characterised all the debates in the Chamber, free discussion was impossible, and a political tyranny pervaded all departments of life. Indeed, certain Wafdists in the provinces formed themselves into a secret society for the purpose of terrorising those who dared even to criticise the actions of the Wafd; Wafd committees were at work in every town and village; the lawyers' organisations in Cairo and elsewhere had been turned into political bodies; and attempts had been made to create Wafd trades unions in Cairo and Alexandria.

Political life, to which the administration had become subordinated, had become thoroughly corrupt, and political agitation for the

benefit of personal interests obscured even the broad outlines of governmental duties. Although legal machinery existed for dealing with officials guilty of irregularities, no law could touch ministers and deputies charged with unconstitutional practices. Interference in the administration was carried to such a pitch in the provinces that officials found their work hampered in every direction. Deputies would even go to the length of demanding the release of prisoners on remand, ignoring the protests of the *Parquet* agents who were conducting the criminal investigations. The confidence of statesmen in the ability, reliability, and honesty of the leaders of the Wafd majority gradually evaporated, and the whole machinery of government was so hopelessly out of order that it was necessary to contemplate a complete reconstruction with entirely new material. While past experience had proved that the ramifications of the Wafd Party machine ruled a straightforward election entirely out of count, some change was imperative in the interests of the Egyptian people. It was absolutely necessary that corruption should cease; that discipline should be restored in the administration; that the policy of pinpricks *vis-à-vis* Great Britain should discontinue; and that the reforms which the country urgently needed should be undertaken without delay. There was only one way out of the difficulty—the dissolution of Parliament and the introduction of the present régime.

Mahmoud Pasha has several main objects in view. First he is determined to crush at all costs the class of professional politicians who enter political life for the sole purpose of lining their own pockets. Secondly, he is concentrating his attention on improving the conditions of the *fellahin* and the workers in the towns, who together make up the vast mass of the people of Egypt. Thirdly, he intends to prepare the way for a return to constitutional government as soon as the country is fit for it. The Prime Minister is not a dictator in the ordinary sense of the term, and is in fact far less autocratic than the Wafd Committee that preceded him. He is a strong believer in democracy, and he is determined to guide Egypt to an enlightened form of government on sound democratic lines, free from the serious shortcomings that have proved the downfall of previous Egyptian Governments. Mahmoud Pasha is of opinion that the majority of Egyptians have had enough of the disordered conditions which have prevailed for many years, and he knows the Wafd well enough to foresee the result of a strong policy carried out by one who is not deterred by threats. He has, therefore, concentrated his attention on the return of Egyptian national life to its normal course and the re-establishment of government prestige, without which it would be impossible to carry out the programme of reforms essential for the progress of the country.

Although it is only twelve months since Mahmoud Pasha set his hand to this difficult task, a great deal has already been done to root out existing evils, and the authority of the Government has been established without resort to severe measures or restrictions on personal liberty. Even the strongest opponents of the Government are free to hold their meetings and to attack the present régime, while the Government can only be charged with the suppression of two newspapers after a threefold warning in each case.

The Wafd is no longer allowed to interfere in public affairs, while governors of provinces and police commandants have been warned that they are responsible only to the Government, to whom they will have to account for the use made of their extended powers. The student class is no longer allowed to interfere in politics, with the result that Egyptian youths are already showing more application to their legitimate studies. Legislation has been passed for the control of the legal profession, the administration has become more efficient, crime has decreased, and public security is on a better footing.

The Government are devoting special attention to the question of water which, from two points of view, is of first-class importance to Egypt; first, on account of the necessity of extending irrigation in accordance with the increase of the population; and secondly, because provision must be made for a wide distribution of drinking water to reduce as far as possible the diseases caused by water pollution. It has for some time been realised that greater control of the Nile waters is necessary in order to bring under cultivation large areas in the north of the Delta, to convert further areas in Upper Egypt from the old basin system (permitting only one crop a year) to perennial irrigation (providing two or even three crops), and to give adequate supplies where there is at present insufficient water for the perennial irrigation already in operation. But owing to political conditions, to lack of materials as result of the war, and to demands on material for maintenance of existing works, it was only with the advent to power of Mahmoud Pasha and the establishment of political tranquillity that a forward move could be made along practical lines.

The cultivable area in Upper Egypt, between Aswan and Cairo, is about 2,500,000 acres, while in the Delta it amounts to approximately 4,800,000 acres, making a total of about 7,300,000 acres. As the irrigated lands at present amount to about 5,400,000 acres, there is still a balance of 1,900,000 acres to be brought under cultivation by irrigation which involves the improvement of water storage facilities and means of distribution. Before it can be said that Egypt is cultivated up to her capacity, with an adequate supply of water to meet all her requirements, further works must be

carried out, even south of Egypt and beyond; and this is the great task which Mahmoud Pasha is undertaking in agreement with the British Government and with arrangements providing for the needs of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The Egyptian Government is returning to the construction of the dam at Jebel Aulya on the White Nile, about forty miles south of Khartum, which will nearly double the amount of water available at Aswan and will hold in reserve a vast volume of water for Egypt's summer crops. Although this work lies in Sudanese territory, it was always intended to store water for use in Egypt and to be built at the Egyptian Government's expense; but its construction has several times been interrupted owing to political troubles, the Egyptians fearing the alleged intention to curtail the water-supply of Egypt in favour of that of the Sudan. This work is of special importance to Egypt, and it is needed both to regulate the flow of the White Nile and to check any irregularities of the Blue Nile flood. At the same time, an International Commission has reported in favour of heightening the Aswan dam, and the Egyptian Government is about to give practical effect to their recommendation. A further seven metres added to the present height—its height is now thirty metres, and it holds up to 2,500 million tons of water—will have the effect of doubling the present capacity of the reservoir; and, as the Aswan and Jebel Aulya works are likely to become remunerative in the shortest time, they are regarded as those calling for first consideration.

Other projects include work on the Sennar dam, on the Blue Nile, which stores water partly for the Sudanese Gezira and partly for use in Egypt; the construction of a barrage at Nag Hamadi, between the Asyut and Isna barrages; and the building of a dam at Lake Albert Nyanza with the construction of a canal through the Sudd region, where a vast volume of water is annually lost through evaporation. The Lake Albert dam and the Sudd canal will co-operate, the former holding great quantities of water in Lake Albert for release when required in Egypt and the Sudan, the latter preventing the water from being absorbed by the swamps of that section of the White Nile. As progress is made with these development works, the cultivable area of Egypt will gradually be increased until the country is finally cultivated up to its capacity. As compared with pre-war days, Egypt will then have an extra 300 million cubic metres of water from that stored in the reservoir above the Sennar dam, 4,500,000,000 cubic metres extra from the Aswan and Jebel Aulya projects, and enough water from Lake Albert for the summer cultivation of all the land ever likely to provide crops.

The distribution of drinking water, on the other hand, is being dealt with by a Commission, which is also studying the best means

of filling up ponds and pools for the improvement of public health and schemes for building houses for the working classes in the densely-populated towns. While this Commission has made considerable progress in plans for the elimination of stagnant water by recommending a strict veto on the making of any more village ponds, and by trying to find means of filling up the four thousand ponds already in existence, it has also discovered that about a million villagers could easily be supplied with filtered drinking water from towns in the vicinity by extending the water-pipe system. By these means it is hoped that in ten years the whole country will be amply supplied with pure drinking water at comparatively moderate cost, and that the greater part of the contagious diseases and epidemics of Egypt will be eradicated. In the matter of housing, the Commission has already chosen three densely-populated districts in Cairo—Sayeda Zenab, Bulac, and Gamalia—where the labouring classes are very poorly housed, and there it is proposed to erect blocks of up-to-date dwellings, which will provide hygienic accommodation at a comparatively low rent and at the same time help to solve the acute housing crisis.

The Government has also undertaken to rectify what has for many years been one of the most backward departments in Egypt by arranging for the immediate building of more hospitals. It has been decided to erect in the course of five years one hundred village hospitals and fifty district hospitals, evenly distributed throughout Upper and Lower Egypt, twenty of the former and ten of the latter to be built each year. These hospitals will be equipped with motor ambulances, and will be of immense value to the people where dangerous and contagious diseases are prevalent, while the resident doctor will act as a sanitary instructor to the *fellahin* living in the neighbourhood. The total cost of this project is estimated at £E.1,047,500, and the Council of Ministers has approved the expenditure of £E.176,000 for the building of thirty hospitals during the current year, many of which have already been opened. In their land policy the Government of Mahmoud Pasha have been no less enterprising. Realising that the small peasant proprietor forms the foundation of Egypt's wealth, they have felt themselves bound to consolidate that position by dividing up the state domains into small holdings. Indeed, they have allotted the domain of Fayoum, an area of about 2,000 acres, in small parcels of two and a half acres for distribution to the inhabitants of the district who have no property at all, or possess ten acres or less. The *fellahin* will purchase these parcels of land by paying one-tenth of the price in cash, the balance being extended over a period of not less than fifteen years; and this system will be made general in all other localities where the Egyptian Government owns land,

on the principle of developing the prosperity of the people by helping those who possess little or nothing.

While the foregoing reforms only form part of the remarkable policy of progress actually being carried out in Egypt, a most significant feature is that Mahmoud Pasha has behind him a growing mass of the Egyptian people, and that he is bringing enlightenment as well as material prosperity to those who have hitherto been the victims of misrepresentation and political imposture. Naturally, the leaders of the Wafd are doing everything in their power to discredit Mahmoud Pasha and his supporters, contending amongst other absurdities that he is a tool in the hands of the British Government, and they even go to the length of using a section of the British Press for their party polemics. But the object of their endeavours is the same as it has been in the past. Whatever other Government is in power in Egypt, and whatever policy it adopts, the one object of the Wafd is to restore themselves to power by fair means or foul, and their most powerful political weapon is Anglo-Egyptian relations. Their private financial interests are intimately bound up with political power, and the income, direct and indirect, derived from a Wafd Cabinet portfolio in Egypt is much more substantial than the stipend of a Cabinet Minister in England. The whole policy of the Wafd leaders hinges on this one consideration, and in the Wafd it is only the leaders that count. It is precisely this malignant disease in Egyptian political life that Mahmoud Pasha has set himself to cure. He hopes to restore to robust health a body politic born in difficult circumstances, and to see in Cairo an honest, enlightened, and progressive political system worthy of a great country, who by her example can have a powerful influence on the less enlightened nations of the East. Free from the fetters of party politics and intrigue, the Prime Minister has a great opportunity of adding strength and prestige to the independence of the nation, and of building up a new national consciousness, which will enable the outstanding differences of Anglo-Egyptian relations to be viewed from a new angle, more satisfactory to the British Government and more acceptable to the Egyptian people.

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to progress in Egypt to-day is the antique system of Capitulations by which foreigners are placed in a privileged position, and the difficulties involved in obtaining the consent of all the Capitulatory Powers to the removal of what is a gross injustice to the people of the country. Wherever foreigners are concerned, as in the city of Alexandria, it is almost impossible to legislate for the benefit of the indigenous population, and often conditions injurious to Egyptian workers cannot be improved owing to the privileged position of their employers. The Egyptian Government have already taken steps towards negotiations on this question,

but it is unlikely that the Powers will part easily with time-honoured privileges so advantageous to their communities in Egypt.

It is probably too early to discuss the prospects of Anglo-Egyptian negotiations, but there is reason to hope that certain important factors will be the outcome of the present provisional régime. The removal of Anglo-Egyptian relations from the position of a party cry used by the Wafd to obtain power, together with the elimination of Wafd methods of influencing the electorate, should remove much of the unreasonable opposition to a just and equitable settlement. The progress made in internal affairs should place Egypt in a better position to shoulder certain responsibilities, without which further concessions cannot be contemplated by the British Government; and should establish in this country a firmer confidence in the capacity of the Egyptians to manage their own affairs. The process of enlightenment, resulting from a clean system of education, a clear exposition of political realities, and improved conditions of the *fellahin* and workers, should enable the people to see the direction of their true interests. Moreover, the changes envisaged by Mahmoud Pasha should help to build up that mutual trust which is an essential condition of a successful settlement. The Prime Minister, therefore, deserves every possible support both in England and in Egypt; and there is reason to believe that the constitutional support which he now lacks will be forthcoming in due course. Referring to the breakdown of the Chamberlain-Sarwat negotiations a little over a year ago, I wrote: "No British Government dare advance one inch further than Sir Austen Chamberlain has gone without some very substantial change in the internal condition of Egypt."* I little knew what changes were immediately impending. Mahmoud Pasha may well solve the Egyptian question.

E. W. POLSON NEWMAN.

* *Great Britain in Egypt*, p. 280.

THE BALTIC STATES.

THERE are various ways of defining the Baltic States. Geographically the expression might mean all the countries bordering upon that Sea, and, in that case, it would include Finland, Sweden, and perhaps Poland and parts of Germany. Again, whereas Lettish and Lithuanian are Baltic languages, the expression Balts refers to the German-speaking people of Estonia and Latvia. Under such difficult and contradictory circumstances the best and most useful explanation is that the Baltic States of to-day more or less coincide with the pre-war Baltic Provinces of the Russian Empire and that they therefore include only Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. By adopting that definition it is possible to describe and to discuss the situations in three countries in many ways the same and in many ways different—countries all of which I have visited during the last few months. Alternatively, and with these limitations, it is legitimate practically to ignore Finland. That Republic has no common frontier with her more southerly half-sister States, she has been able to develop a wide pre-war autonomy in the consolidation of her independence, and she is much more Scandinavian and consequently less Baltic than any of the three countries, an impression of which forms the subject of the present article.

Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, mentioned thus in their order from South to North, are not very different in size and, taken together, they have an area of about 65,000 square miles (approximately twice that of Scotland) and a population of nearly five and a half million souls. There are no mountains, the three States form part of the Baltic Plain, and the Niemen, flowing into the sea at Memel, and the Dvina at Riga, are the only two important rivers. The winters are long and the summers short, there are extremes of cold and heat and, whilst much of the land consists of bog or is covered by forest, there is also a great deal of fertile soil. Furthermore, it may be well to remind my readers that, whereas Lithuania is separated from Russia by the relatively narrow strip of Polish territory in which Vilna is situated, that country lies directly between the north-easterly part of Poland and the sea. Thus the present territorial distribution implies that the Baltic States, especially Latvia and Estonia, form a sort of frontage to this part of Russia. Moreover, in spite of the break created by the above-mentioned Polish area, Lithuania establishes a partial corridor between German East Prussia and Russia and, in case of unforeseen developments, this would be the shortest and easiest means of communication between those two countries. Lastly, generally speaking, the railways of Lithuania and Southern Latvia are of the

normal continental gauge, those of Northern and Eastern Latvia and of Estonia being of the wider Russian measurement. Thus, if one is going from Berlin to Tallin, the broad gauge begins at Riga. On the other hand, passengers and goods from Warsaw to Riga or from Kovno to Russia make the change at or in the neighbourhood of Dvinsk, near the Polish-Latvian and the Lithuanian Latvian frontiers, since the Latvian lines, extending towards Russia, are of the width in use in that country.

Though possessed of a different history and culture, due largely to the long time connection between Lithuania and Poland, the Lithuanians and the Letts form the Baltic group of the eastern branch of the Indo-European family. The two peoples employ closely-related languages, very much like the Sanskrit of ancient India, but they cannot converse together. The Estonians, supposed to be Mongols, and to-day displaying certain Mongol characteristics of type, are believed to have found their way into Europe about the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ. They resemble the Finns in appearance, and the two peoples can understand one another with difficulty. With regard to religion the population of Lithuania (about two and a quarter million souls, and therefore the most numerous of the Baltic peoples) is predominantly Roman Catholic, the inhabitants of Latvia (roughly two million souls) and of Estonia (rather over one million) being in majority Lutheran. From the educational and cultural standpoints Lithuania is a long way below the other countries; in Estonia illiteracy is practically unknown, and in Latvia all except 12 per cent. of the people are able to read and write. Moreover, whereas given a suitable train, the traveller might have breakfast, luncheon, and dinner in a different country, he has little if any difficulty in regard to language and to the monetary systems. Almost everywhere he comes across those who know French or German or who have been in the United States. The currencies are all stable, and with the American dollar generally acceptable as an actual means of payment (especially in Lithuania) the exchanges are very easy to calculate. For instance the Lithuanian lit, many of which have been coined by the Royal Mint in London, is equal to exactly one-tenth of a dollar upon which it is based, the Latvian lat, also usually of British origin, has the same value as the gold franc and therefore practically double that of the lit; and about eighteen Estonian crowns, each equal to a Swedish crown, go to the English pound.

It would be impossible and out of place to enter into historical details here. Sufficient, therefore, be it to say that, as a result of the Great War between Russia and Sweden of two hundred years ago, the former country occupied and annexed all the northern part of the area under discussion, and that the present-day Lithuania,

which had been united with Poland for about four hundred years, became part of Russia at the end of the eighteenth century. Consequently for somewhat over a hundred years the eastern shore of the Baltic had been subject to Muscovite domination; during that time there was continued oppression coupled with attempts to denationalise the people, and, especially towards the end, the spirit of and desire for autonomy or self-government greatly increased. Forced to fight for Russia during the world war, it is hardly surprising, therefore, that, when the Bolshevik revolution took place, the three peoples decided to break away from their unpopular masters. In Lithuania the movement was fostered and encouraged by Germany, National Assemblies met in each of the present-day States during 1918, and the independence of all three countries was proclaimed in the course of that year. Nevertheless, after the world armistice there came further and prolonged troubles, for, whilst it had then been stipulated that the German forces of occupation were to help to keep out the Bolsheviks, these forces either deserted or in some cases actually united with Russia in an attempt to overthrow the new Governments. The results were continued fighting and disorder only terminated by three treaties signed between Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia during the year 1920—treaties by which the Bolsheviks recognised the freedom of those States. The British Empire was the first to accept the *de facto* existence of the new countries, the *de jure* positions of Latvia and Estonia were acknowledged in January, 1921, during which year the three Republics became members of the League of Nations; and the eastern frontier of Lithuania, herself recognised by the Allies in the preceding year, was finally approved by the Ambassadorial Conference in 1923.

Before entering into a discussion of the foreign relations of and the home situations in the three countries, it may be of interest to describe and therefore to enable my readers to contrast their capitals. Kovno or Kaunas, in Lithuania, is for the most part built upon a tongue of land situated between the Rivers Viluja and Niemen. Flanked by tree-bedecked hills, which make the surroundings quite picturesque, it is little more than an overgrown Russian village, which with the completion of further buildings in, say, five years, may then remind one of the Bulgarian Sofia of twenty years ago. But great improvements have been made since the Armistice, there are small and semi-kept public gardens and open spaces, and there are architectural peeps and patches of interest if not of actual beauty. Like Vilna on a smaller scale, Kovno, with its total population of 95,000 souls, has a heavy percentage of Jews, this element of the population owning most of the shops in the one long straight principal street and controlling

almost the entire business of the city. Finally, whatever may be the future of the Vilna Question and the ultimate attitude of Lithuania towards that subject, it is apparent, from the way in which the Government and the inhabitants are digging themselves in, that Kovno is intended to be the permanent capital or at any rate a centre of first-rate local importance. Thus, whilst the place is still very primitive, considerable edifices are now replacing and going up alongside those of one storey which alone were permitted in Russian times; there is a new National University, and good public offices and a fine bridge across the Niemen are already complete or under construction. Such changes, coupled with the provision of perhaps the most up-to-date hotel in this part of the Baltic, are signs that the Government recognises the necessity of remodeling a place which heretofore was only a fortress of supposed strength.

Riga stands out not only as the capital of Latvia but as by far the most important place in the Baltic States. This is primarily due to its rôle as the natural port of all this part of Northern Europe. Originally an old German town, its architecture bears many indications of that period, and the city with its fine red brick cathedral and buildings, its wide boulevards and its public gardens, seems far more Teutonic than Russian. But Riga, built on the banks of the Dvina and about eight miles from the sea, and which, before the war, had a population of over half a million souls, lost in size and in prosperity as a result of the new territorial distribution, and though its position has again improved in recent years, it is in a sense an embarrassment to the country to which it belongs. With a present population of about 350,000, this decline is no doubt largely due to the fact that, in spite of treaty arrangements, the port is cut off from its natural hinterland and that this hinterland, principally in Russian territory, neither produces nor requires its former quantity of goods. From the more local standpoint Riga is a predominating factor in Latvian daily life and politics, because like Vienna, though to a much less degree, it is too large for the country of which it is the capital. Furthermore, whereas the Latvians, like their neighbours, are mainly an agricultural people, the presence of so large a business and artisan population creates or always may create difficulties obvious to every visitor. They infer that the Government is compelled to legislate for and to seek the support not only of a rural but of an urban community, that the interests of Riga must be considered in everything concerning the relations with Russia, and that there is a strong and well-organised element of workmen, always liable to be influenced by ideas and emissaries coming from across the frontier.

Tallin, formerly called Reval, is quite different from either

Kovno or Riga. With a population of about 120,000 souls, it has many of the amenities of the latter place, it is built partly close to the water's edge and partly upon a commanding hill, and it has clean even if winding and relatively narrow streets. With many picturesque corners, with walls sections of which go back to Danish times, and with an architecture partly Scandinavian and partly German, the city has changed its status from that of a provincial town to one of a capital without becoming too large or too commercialised for its surroundings. Moreover, bordering directly upon the more or less open sea, and unlike Riga, which is almost invariably closed for some weeks in the winter, the port is either open or can be kept open by ice-breakers throughout an ordinary season. This advantage, coupled with the conditions that Tallin is only a little over 200 miles from Petrograd and that it is the natural port for parts of Russia, should render its future prosperity assured.

The foreign policies of the three States must be considered from two standpoints—their relations with one another and their attitude towards the world in general and particularly towards Russia. From the very beginning there has been an undoubted and avowed desire among all the peoples that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, together with Finland and perhaps even Poland, should arrive at a definite agreement and, with that object in view, a series of Baltic Congresses have been held beginning with one at Helsingfors ten years ago. But, whereas the interests of the three or four countries have not always been identical, the real obstacle to any formal understanding has always been and is the existence of the Vilna Question. Politically this is the case because Latvia and Estonia and certainly Finland do not wish and cannot afford to risk the slightest danger of becoming mixed up in a matter with which they have no concern. From the economic standpoint the situation is almost equally complicated, for since Lithuania does not accept her frontiers as recognised by Europe she would undoubtedly contend that any commercial arrangements to which she became a party should apply in theory if not in practice to the so-called occupied territory, actually in the hands of Poland. The endorsement of such a theory would compromise the other party to the agreement. Consequently all that need be said is that Latvia and Estonia have entered into an agreement for a Customs Union, supposed to come into force at an early date, and that so far as possible the three countries are wont to discuss their mutual interests as questions arise from time to time.

From the wider angle, Russia is naturally the biggest problem and, beyond the fact that the three parties are in full diplomatic relations with her, their policies are not identical. In external matters Lithuania is governed entirely by the Vilna problem and,

whilst I could find no evidence whatever that she is acting as the Agent of either Moscow or Berlin, she would certainly be willing to avail herself of the direct or indirect support of Russia or Germany were this to become available in her quarrel with Poland. As already suggested, the position of Latvia is complicated and influenced by Riga, and she has been and is compelled to take every precaution to prevent a decline in the prosperity of that port. With this object in view the relations with Russia are close if not cordial, there are various official or semi-official Russian bodies in Riga, which deal with trade and other matters, and there is an important and somewhat special commercial treaty signed between the two parties in June, 1927. According to that arrangement, which goes beyond the most favoured nations clauses, Latvia gives special facilities to Russian export and import trade and, in exchange, Russia guarantees the annual purchase of goods to a very considerable value in Latvia itself. On the whole the arrangement has probably been advantageous to the Letts, but its existence and terms give rise to certain anxiety and to difficulties as to the fulfilment of the quota. With regard to Estonia, the political and economic orientation of that country is much more towards the West than the East. Her largest export and import trades are with this country and with Germany, and she concluded a commercial treaty with Russia in May last—a treaty which facilitates the transit of her textiles to Manchuria.

On paper Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are democratic Republics, where the outlook of the people, the legislation and the administration are distinctly liberal and advanced. All citizens of mature age have the right to vote on the principle of proportional representation, none of the States possess more than one Chamber, and in each case the powers of the President are very limited. But there are differences in practice or theory—differences worthy of brief mention. In December, 1926, a revolutionary and military *coup d'état* in Lithuania drove out a Liberal-Socialist Government, which was held to have been too friendly with Russia and, probably more important, which had offended the Church and the Army. Since then Professor Valdemaras, Prime Minister at the time of the Peace Conference, has been the all predominating figure and the practical Dictator. Holding a variety of offices, his administration has become more and more Fascist in its policy, he has been carrying on for two years without even the pretence of a Chamber and, in May, 1928, he modified the Constitution in such a manner as greatly to increase the power of the Executive. But, whatever may be thought of an autocracy as such, M. Valdemaras, who in my opinion is a much maligned person in Europe, has so far managed to maintain the general support of the Church and of the Army, he is

a great force because of his astuteness, will-power and ability and, for nearly three years, he has succeeded, practically single-handed, in running the country notwithstanding immense external and internal difficulties.

In Latvia and Estonia political life is subject to the ordinary party struggles, the former country having some twenty-seven and the latter about ten parties. These subdivisions, most of which are represented in the respective Chambers and all no doubt encouraged by the existence of proportional representation, usually necessitate coalition Governments and give rise to constant re-shuffling of the Cabinets. In Latvia the President is head of the army and appoints a Commander-in-Chief in case of war, but he may only postpone the publication of a law for two months and, should he propose a dissolution of the Chamber, that proposal is voted upon by the electorate as a whole. In Estonia the position of the President is probably unique. Called the State Elder, he is at the same time the Prime Minister, his tenure of office depends purely and openly upon his Parliamentary support and, whereas he represents the country from an external and ceremonial standpoint, his position is in fact less permanent than that of the President of Parliament, who, once elected, cannot be removed during the three years' life of the Chamber.

The budgets each balance, there is compulsory military service everywhere, and the armies, though of course inadequate for a big war, are useful as police forces, for the temporary defence of the frontiers, and as schools for development of a national spirit and patriotism. In Lithuania the vast majority of the population is Lithuanian, but there is a considerable and important Jewish element, especially in the towns. Here the official attitude is that the Government is grateful for the Jewish support given to the foundation of the State, that, when and if the Jews come to an agreement among themselves, laws will be passed for their benefit and that, in the meantime, they may have their own schools, which are subsidised by the State. In Latvia, where there is a material though perhaps a less acute Jewish Question, perhaps 20 per cent. of the entire population is composed of minorities, of which the Russian and the German are the strongest. No special legislation exists for the benefit of these peoples but, as in Lithuania, they are not ill-treated by the predominant race. Lastly, in Estonia the position is more clear-cut, for, whereas only about 13 per cent. of the inhabitants belong to other nationalities, their autonomy was established by a special Act passed early in the year 1925.

As already suggested, the three countries are in the main agricultural. Generally speaking, Lithuania is a corn-producing area, Latvia combines ordinary arable farming and flax-growing with

pasture, and Estonia, a miniature Denmark, and perhaps more industrialised than her neighbours, owes her prosperity largely to the exportation of butter, pigs, flax and oil shale. Considering that all these States formed part of Russia, and having regard to the danger of a spread of the conditions prevailing in that country, it is hardly surprising that each of the new Governments has introduced legislation dealing with the ownership of land. All the new agrarian laws are far-reaching but, as much of the land had been in the hands of the Polish, Russian or German nobility, the changes were essential from the political point of view. The details and the severity of the several measures vary, but, generally speaking, where there is nominal compensation for the former owners, the amount of land left in their hands is less than where they have received no pecuniary benefit even on paper. In short, whether one approves or disapproves of such a policy in principle, its adoption by the Baltic States was undoubtedly the only possible alternative to further instability and revolution.

To conclude, it may be said that the progress of the last ten years proves the right of the Baltic States to their independent existence. There have been and there are political differences, but the vast majority of the people are not Bolshevik in sympathy, and their differences should not lead to untoward developments. Externally, with the exception of the Vilna Question, which forms no part of the present subject, the position depends largely upon the attitude of Russia. Under present circumstances it obviously suits that country to have her independent neighbours in whose territory goods can be sold and bought in a way not practicable within the Union of the Soviet Republics. As to the future, all that can be said is that, presumably, a return to normal conditions in Russia would mean her early entry into the League of Nations and that, if so, she could not attempt to change the status of the Baltic States without the consent of a body of which those States are all enthusiastic members.

H. CHARLES WOODS.

A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY MIRACLE.

LOOKING back over the crowded stretch of recorded history of which even the most learned can have but a misty and narrow prospect, how few human transactions there are that may not have been paralleled in still earlier or unrecorded times and will not in some similar manifestation probably occur again. History repeats itself, since human nature in the mass does not change. Another prophet may arise to reconcile mankind to their incomprehensible lot, and wars, persecutions, social systems, literatures, and new arts and sciences may follow in his train. Discoveries there may be which, as heretofore, will so transform the manner of living as to render one age a curiosity of mediævalism to another. But human nature will on the whole remain the same. The characteristics of youth and age, of the sexes, of the primary passions, these will not alter with the ages, although the framework of society, its knowledge and its habits may bear no similitude to what they are to-day. It is this which gives so dramatic an interest to any individual of the race who seems to run counter to the accepted laws that govern us. We scarcely know sometimes whether to abhor or worship him, for the seemingly supernatural sweeps us off our feet and the ordinary canons of reason do not apply. All the more arresting, therefore, is it when a number of persons, acting in concert, multiply this anomaly and appear to conspire against Nature's course.

Of all human happenings there has been none more extraordinary than what is known as the Children's Crusade at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The events connected with it have well-nigh disappeared from the pages of history. A dozen lines or less generally suffice for it. Even in books specifically written about the Crusades, so little notice is taken of this, the most wonderful effort of them all, that a student who inquired no further would probably soon forget that it had ever been mentioned. Even among those whose reading is wide and memory tenacious, the Children's Crusade is usually but a name, conveying as a rule but little to their minds. Yet for its unique and shocking character it may be regarded without exaggeration as perhaps the most astonishing occurrence among the children of men since the records of their deeds have been transmitted to posterity.

Four Crusades had already been undertaken for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre. In the first of them, Jerusalem had been wrested from the infidel, but Saladin had retaken the city a hundred years later, and the third Crusade for its delivery had ended in disaster. The fourth Crusade had Constantinople for its objective, and Jerusalem still remained in alien hands. Emperors, Kings, Princes

and Knights—the combined chivalry of Europe—had thrown their influence and wealth, their valour and experience, into the common cause and been worsted with humiliating loss. One Emperor had lost his life in the campaigns and the bravest of the English Kings had been made prisoner and ransomed with difficulty. The outlook, in truth, seemed hopeless. The Christian peoples, with all their might and all their devotion, had failed to recover the central shrine of their beloved faith.

It was at this juncture, in June, 1212, when men had lost heart, that a child of France was inspired to attempt what the very flower of European manhood had failed to do. Stephen, a peasant lad from Cloies, by the Castle of Vendôme near Paris, was the chief preacher of the new movement. Christ, so he said, had appeared to him in the guise of a poor pilgrim and commanded him to lead a crusade of children to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre. The Saviour had also given him a letter to the King of France, calling upon the latter to assist the cause. The reputation of the young apostle grew apace. Soon the youth of France were prepared to accept almost any wonder that was told about him. Thus his influence was greatly increased by the report of a miracle which he was said to have performed at St. Denis. He was returning one day from a procession organised in the diocese of Chartres to invoke God's wrath against the unbelievers, when his sheep wandered from the road into the fields and began to graze the crops. Whirling his staff, he ran to drive them off, when, instead of scattering, they knelt down before him and prayed for mercy. Tales of this kind grew and multiplied. Before long he was regarded as half-divine. Children, believing that his mission was ordained by God, flocked to his standard from all parts of the country, those whose parents were unwilling to let them go escaping from their families by force or cunning, even cutting holes in walls or breaking open the doors of their homes.

The majority of the young zealots were boys under twelve years of age, but there were also many girls among them, who had caught the fever of the general excitement. Some of these followed their brothers, others made parties of their own, and a few attached themselves to youths of their choice and began a relationship that some of them later lived to regret. On their way to join Stephen the pilgrims gathered into numerous bands, and solemn processions marched from different directions through the various towns and villages of France, carrying banners, censers, wax candles and crucifixes. Even old men, touched by the flame of this enthusiasm, joined their ranks as they passed by, and others of the population, interested, but hardly knowing what to make of it, gave them food and alms for their long journey. It was not

only private individuals who had no precedent to guide them, State and Church were perplexed what to do. King Philip Augustus had sought advice from the University of Paris, and on the strength of it had ordered the children to return, but the command was only very partially obeyed, as the mass of the people leaned the other way.

The matter indeed was somewhat vexatious for those in authority. The whole movement was an indiscretion, an unauthorised incursion into the affairs of God and the adult Christian community on the one hand, and those of the Devil and his infidel following on the other. That it should really succeed was, of course, unimaginable. That, in any event, it must not be allowed to succeed was equally undisputed, or the orthodox crusaders would become the laughing-stock of the civilised world. But to forbid it and follow up the prohibition, to put the forces of law and order in operation against it, was equally awkward in the circumstances. For it would straightway be said by those who are ever on the lookout for the weaknesses of others that, although the children were not allowed to go, the men themselves were content to sit at home, and that, had the children been given their wish, the angels of Heaven would have helped them to victory. This being the dilemma in which they were placed, State and Church made up their minds that they had better do nothing, and allow exhaustion, famine, death and disease to solve the difficulty of the situation for them.

At length, when the various bodies had reached Stephen's headquarters at the Castle of Vendôme, the signal was given and the vast camp began to move. Numbering about thirty thousand, they set out in June for Marseilles—a distance of over four hundred miles. Such a spectacle had never been seen. Singing with all their might in the French tongue—"Seigneur Jésus, rendez-nous votre Sainte Croix!"—they began that terrible march across Burgundy to the South, with happy confidence upon their faces and utterly unconscious of the horrors and disaster that were to overwhelm nearly all of them before many weeks were over. They were accompanied by a number of priests, peasants, and women, as well as by some undesirable characters of both sexes, who perceived only too well the opportunities for lust and greed in this mass of inexperience and gross delusion. Due regard was had to the pomp and circumstance of the occasion. Stephen rode in the midst in a high cart hung with tapestries and guarded by the envied chiefs of his little followers, who, to mark their special rank, were mounted on horseback and carried arms. Never did a general lead a more devoted army, and never was authority more absolute or homage more sincere. He was looked upon with veneration as a saint and admiration as a hero, and his bodyguard

competed among themselves for the few stray threads they could pick from his garments. These they wore as sacred fragments, just as portions of the "true Cross" are treasured elsewhere as holy relics. Whenever the multitude arrived at the walls of any city, they inquired in their ignorance whether it was in truth Jerusalem. Of the insurmountable obstacles to the enterprise, of the distance and risks, they were sublimely unaware. On the way to Marseilles no less than ten thousand of them went astray and were lost in the forests and desert places, or died of heat, hunger, thirst, or fatigue and other privations. Emaciated forms, more like skeletons than flesh and blood, wandered over the countryside asking for their leader, until they dropped from sheer exhaustion; and long afterwards, in many a place, the puny bones were found where a child had crawled into the shelter of some bush or brake, to die like a stricken animal, unnoticed and alone.

When eventually they got to Marseilles after a month's journey, bedraggled, weary, but hoping still, a fresh reverse awaited them. They had been told that, on reaching the sea, they would find its waters parched by the drought and heats of summer, and that an overland path would stretch itself before them to Palestine. Instead of this, their childish gaze rested upon nothing but a vast expanse of rolling waters, while the mockery of the sea-birds sounded in their ears. This was too much for all but the most steadfast. One disappointment after another had shaken their faith and broken their spirit. Disheartened and disillusioned, many of them now gave up the struggle altogether and set their faces North again. The return home, however, proved almost as disastrous as the journey out. The same merciless enemies which they had just succeeded in escaping took their toll of the weakened and diminished numbers, and only a fraction of those who turned back from Marseilles ever reached the firesides they had left so readily but a few short months before.

The battalions on the coast had by this time shrunk to five or six thousand—the pick of the great company that had started from Vendôme—the flower of the courage of the youth of France. They now took a fresh oath that nothing should deter them from attaining the goal they had first set out to win. After much contradictory counsel, they finally accepted the offer of two men of the city, Hugh le Fer and Guillaume Porc—Brazen Hugh and William the Swine—who proposed "for the sake of God and without charge" to take them to Syria and the Holy Land. These miscreants, who posed as substantial merchants, were in reality slave-dealers of the cruellest type, who realised in an instant what a rich cargo would be theirs if once these poor children could be lured upon their decks. Without further delay the little army was

hurried to the docks and crowded into seven small ships. At last they were going to look upon the sacred soil, upon the country of their hopes, the spot where they were to found an empire of perpetual peace, upon the very manger where their Lord was born! How good, after all, Fortune had been to them! How compassionate were those who were helping them to their voyage-end! With bursting hearts they sprang on board, turning their eyes from their own homes and gazing out across the sea, chanting, as the vessels spread their sails and drew out of the harbour, the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*.

But tragedy was to be their companion to the end. A couple of days after they had started, a furious storm arose and two of the ships, striking a rock, the Roche de Reclus, near the isle of St. Pierre, off Sardinia, went down with all hands. The remainder of the children held upon their way. Whether they became conscious, once on board, of the doom that awaited them, it is impossible to say. It is unlikely that their gaolers would keep up the farce of a crusade any longer than was necessary. Brutalised, as the latter must have been, and insensible from the infamous traffic of years to the misery and pain they had caused and witnessed daily, those in their charge probably began their martyrdom while still upon the seas. Anyway, on arriving at Bugia and Alexandria, the veil of pretence fell away and the whole of the children and some priests who were with them were sold as slaves to the Saracens in the various Mohammedan slave-markets.

A baser deed it would be hard to find. It brings tears to the eyes when we think of it to-day—the generous impulse, the trusting confidence, the inexperience of spirited and innocent youth on the one side, and the callous treachery, the cold-blooded greed of these two betrayers on the other. Eighteen of the children were subsequently martyred at Baldach, being hewn in pieces by their Saracen masters when they refused to deny their faith. Of the history of the rest we know practically nothing. During one of the later crusades, the Emperor Frederick II is said to have liberated some of the captives, who in the meantime had become men; and one of the pilgrims, who returned home after eighteen years of servitude, reported that seven hundred of them had grown up as slaves in the service of Maschemuch, the Governor of Alexandria. Such was the end of the high endeavour.

The German crusade took place independently, although both expeditions had probably a common origin; for the German agitation was strongest in the lower Rhine district where the greater part of the French movement had begun. A vast host of children, numbering between twenty and forty thousand, many of them not more than twelve years old, assembled at Cologne in the summer

of the same year. Their leader was a young peasant named Nicholas, who was under ten years of age. The same taint seems to have threatened this undertaking as had been fatal to the French one; for Nicholas' father was a slave-dealer, who later on was hanged for trying to exploit the campaign for his own ends. The camp must have presented a curious and varied scene. The young noble drank from the same pannikin as the ploughman's boy, the rich rubbed shoulders with the poor, the youth and the maid joined in the same rough tasks of a soldier's life. Nicholas bore an emblem on which was a Latin cross and many of his followers wore long pilgrims' cloaks, marked also with a cross, and carried staves and leather wallets. Like their brothers and sisters in France, they were told that they would cross the sea on dry land and establish in Jerusalem a reign of everlasting peace. Directly it was known that the concourse was about to start, a pack of human wolves attached themselves to it in the hope of snatching a little gain from such a monstrous volume of callow credulity. Women of bad character and perverted men, thieves and adventurers, the scum and refuse of town and village, mingled with the excited pilgrims and seized every opportunity to debauch and despoil them.

The army split into separate parties and marched south by different roads through Germany. On their way to Italy, however, the hearts of many failed them and hundreds turned back. Arid wastes, dense forests, morasses, rivers, stony, burning, broken ground, alternated with one another in a relentless conspiracy to appal and defeat them. Of the remainder, a large number perished from hardships, others were plundered of the alms that had been given them, some were kidnapped for ransom or immoral purposes, and some even were murdered for the clothes on their backs. They had now tramped about three hundred and fifty miles to the foot of the Alps. This tremendous bastion had shut out conquerors before and brought invaders to a standstill. But it could not stay the feet of these children. There now took place one of the most astonishing exploits in history. They faced, crossed, and left behind them the mighty precipices and desolate snows of this awful range and, though thinned in numbers and worn by their labours, descended at length into the plains of Lombardy. Here some of them were ambushed by robbers of the district and stripped naked, while others succumbed to the trials they had just been through. After a short rest, the main body then proceeded to march down the Italian coast looking for a miraculous pathway through the sea to Palestine. On August 20th it arrived at Piacenza and, on the 25th, about five thousand of the original army that had started from Cologne reached Genoa.

The inhabitants of the place were in doubt what to do. There was no precedent for such an influx. Was it God or the Devil who had sent them this flood of small humanity? The city fathers met to discuss the question. The invasion at best was most inconvenient, for, if allowed to remain, these children would empty the larders of the town. But a more serious aspect of the problem was that of political considerations. Might it not after all be a deep-laid plot to bring to an issue the troublesome quarrel between Emperor and Pope, so as to create an excuse for a German campaign in Italy? For the Genoese had taken the part of the Holy See in the recent dispute between Innocent and Otho IV. If this, indeed, were the plan, the less Genoa had to do with these little visionaries the better. The result was that, after much deliberation, the Podestà, having allowed them to stay about seven days, finally decided that they must leave at once. An exception was granted in favour of a few boys of noble birth who had made a favourable impression, and these were allowed to settle down, becoming later on, in several cases, wealthy founders of distinguished families. That of the Vivaldi, for instance, is said to have had its origin in this manner. But the whole of the rest were forced to depart. It was a tragic procession that resumed the pilgrimage. The heat was terrific. Many died or fell sick by the way before they had got much further south, while some of them stayed in the towns and villages and obtained work in domestic and other services. The remainder at length, after a journey of another two hundred and fifty miles, reached the Eternal City.

Never before had the ancient walls seen such a spectacle. Gauls, Goths, Vandals, Greeks and Carthaginians—a living tide of peoples from every corner of the earth—they had marked all these. Carnage, triumphs, games, proscriptions, peace and war, the religious, social and political upheavals of fifteen hundred years—all this they had witnessed too. But guests such as these, beardless boys and tender maidens, on their way through from the north of Germany to make war upon the barbarians of a distant Eastern Land—an adventure like this must have been something new for these hard, old stones. When he heard of their arrival, Innocent III sent for them and tried to persuade them to abandon the enterprise and return home, impressing upon them the impracticable nature of the quest and the grim certainty of failure. At the same time, he warned the boys, all but those of the tenderest years, that they must not forget to fulfil their vows when later on they became men. But, in spite of the fact that they were in the presence of the supreme head of the Church, the august and terrible pontiff whose decrees could uncrown monarchs and excommunicate nations, a large number of them were unshaken in their resolve to

reach Jerusalem or die in the attempt. Leaving the Pope and Cardinals to their bewildered reflections upon the whole strange phenomenon, they once more broke camp and set out upon their way.

After a further tramp of three hundred miles they reached Brindisi, having marched in all about a thousand miles since their departure from Cologne. On their arrival at the port, they found that the Bishop there had been instructed to bar their further progress. But, although this servant of Christ was able to prevent many of them from embarking for Syria, he gave those who remained behind no help whatever, either to obtain shelter and provisions, or to retrace their steps to their own country. In the meantime the Pope, irritated by the neglect that his orders had met with, had also issued through his Cardinals general instructions from Treviso that the children, who were now distributed over many parts of Italy, were to return home. The result of the various commands and prohibitions was that there remained but a tiny band of pilgrims whom neither these final injunctions could influence nor warnings deter. Still singing their hymns of praise and hope, they boarded a vessel at the first opportunity and set sail for Palestine. What ultimately happened to them is shrouded in mystery. From that moment the East seems to have swallowed them up, for although inquiries continued to be made, the little company of adventurers was never heard of again, with the single exception of Nicholas, the leader of the expedition, who was reported to have fought very bravely at Damietta against the Saracens in 1218 and to have eventually returned to Cologne. Whether their ship foundered, whether they were sold as slaves, or died of disease or from any other misadventure, history does not say. The crusade of the German youth was over and another fine ideal had been blotted from the world.

The aftermath was even more painful than what had gone before, for there was nothing inspiring to redeem it. Hope had been killed and agony alone remained. Limping along, barefoot, footsore, and ragged, in pitiable plight, the children on their return journey passed through the self-same towns and villages where they had so gallantly chanted their battle-cry but a little while before. On the way back, hundreds broke down from inanition and disease. Many died by the roadside and were left unburied, until their bodies had for sanitary reasons to be thrust underground. What was even worse, most of the girls were ravished or led astray and wandered about for months afterwards with babes in their arms, or took in despair to a life of shame. Nothing was left to remind the world of all the heroism and lofty purpose, all the fortitude and cruel hardships, all the self-sacrifice and ardent, brave endea-

vour of the little pilgrims of the North but the very dregs and lees of failure. A pall of apathy seems to have settled upon men. All that the Pope could find to say, when he was told that the flower of the French and German youth had been decimated, was : " These children are a reproach to us, for whilst we were plunged in sleep, they were flying to the defence of the Holy Land." That something portentous had happened, no one seemed to realise ; that an unforgettable crime of commission and omission had been perpetrated, no one seemed to care.

There is nothing more pathetic in human annals than this wholesale martyrdom of children with an indifferent world looking on. No serious attempt was made to stop it. Putting, as it did, the lethargy of grown men to shame, the latter may have been secretly more glad than sorry that the campaign so early had ended in disaster. And what is to be thought of the thousands of parents who allowed their children to go ? Were the ties of blood so weak and hearts so calloused by those rude times, that sons and daughters of tender age could go forth to unspeakable trials and dangers without any precautions to ensure their safety ? That many of the victims escaped from their homes, eluding the vigilance of their guardians, is certain. But, notwithstanding this, there must have been a large measure of general consent that the children should go. It was a hopeless adventure from the first. It lit no torch and taught no lesson. It was pitiful, and terrible, and useless. There is nothing but pain in the memory of it—no counterbalancing advantage, so far as man can see. And this is why history has practically ignored it and what makes it one of the saddest pages in all the book of life.

GODFREY LOCKER LAMPSON.

THE ARAB MANDATES.

ONE of the chief reasons for the fall of ancient empires has been the gradual dissipation of the central force by the ever-increasing extension of its possessions. To-day, both the French and British Empires are in danger of disintegration from this very reason. The advisers of both, and the advisers seem to be (prehistorically) those versed in the art of warfare, proclaim the necessity of safeguarding an existing possession by the annexation of another.

Oil has become one of the chief requisites of the world to-day, and therefore the production and supply of this commodity has become of prime importance to a world power. Thus, oil has been one of the motives which has brought England into Iraq and Palestine, and at one time into Persia, from which subsequent circumstances forced her to withdraw. With England established in Palestine and Iraq, France cannot afford to dispense with a stabilising and protective area of interest in this part of the world. Hence the Sykes-Picot agreement and its fulfilment in detriment to that agreement made between King Hussein and the British Government, and which dated prior to that of the Sykes-Picot. That England admitted her failure to carry out her promises to King Hussein is to be seen by her producing the throne of Iraq for King Feisal after he had been driven out of Syria by French forces.

The prestige of England in the Near and Middle East suffered accordingly ; for the Arabic-speaking peoples realised that they had been sold to a more powerful bidder. The immediate demands for the prosecution of the war were so all-important that even British honour had to be put aside and counted as without value. It was mainly on account of these various war agreements that the Treaty of Versailles and various other war treaties became the monstrosities that they are and the present causes of unrest and dissatisfaction amongst millions of people. It is the intention of this article to suggest a remedy for that mandated portion of the Near and Middle East which has suffered from these treaties. In any remedy, where the interests of several nations are involved, it is not possible for any one particular nation to be wholly satisfied ; there must be give and take on all sides.

In discussing this question it will not be necessary to enter into the details of the administration during the past eight years in these Mandated countries. This side of the question has been already amply exposed in many journals and in numerous books. The miserable errors, the heartbreaking mistakes, committed by both France and England have been recognised. The difficulties with which both have been confronted are no cause for sympathy, for

these difficulties have been of France's and England's making.* In a great measure, England has rectified her mistakes, particularly in her relations to Iraq, and France under the steady guidance of M. Ponsot is attempting to redress the devastating effects of her past administration in Syria.† (M. Ponsot should be remembered for his able and sympathetic handling of the Riff Delegation at the Conference of Oudja, 1926 : had it not been for the Spanish Government's determined policy to wreck this, he might have succeeded in bringing it to a just and peaceful termination with a reconciling of Riff rights with the necessities of the French, Spanish and Sherifian Governments)

The cardinal error of France and England was their failure to comply with Article 22 of the Covenant. Miss White, in her book on "Mandates," says: "Whether these wishes were fulfilled is dubious, more dubious still if the people had any clear wishes; in point of fact, they were not consulted." The system of creating a number of petty states in this area has almost founded another Balkans. They are economically unsound, with their various tariffs hindering trade requirements.

The Mandated areas (all "A" Mandates) are:

1. Iraq: allocated April, 1920, approved September, 1924. Population 3,000,000.
2. Syria: allocated April, 1920, approved July, 1922. Population $2\frac{1}{4}$ million Muslims; 40,000 Druses; 400,000 Christians of which 150,000 are Maronites.
3. Palestine: allocated April, 1920, approved July, 1922. Population 750,000. Eighty-seven per cent. of this population is of Arab nationality.
4. Trans-Jordania, population 200,000.

In the Arabian Peninsula there are the Protectorates of Aden, Oman and Kuwait; there are the independent Arab States of Nejd and al-Hedjaz, Asir, al-Yemen and Hadramut. The total population of these three areas is somewhere between fifteen and twenty millions. Whether the system of Mandates was established on the basis of an ideal or formed as a *décor* to cover annexation is neither here nor there in this article. What is most probable is that a very large percentage of the population mentioned above is united in its desire to be free of foreign tutelage, though the various parts may not be united as to what form of government is to be established in the place of Mandatory and Protecting Powers.

* Unfortunately in the matter of conscription the policy of the British Government has been paradoxical. It is to be hoped that Sir Gilbert Clayton with his liberal and sympathetic character will be able to settle this somewhat acrimonious dispute.

† Unhappily, here again, as negotiations were shaping well, reactionary tendencies in France have for the time being prohibited a workable solution.

Do the necessities of the British Empire demand that England be in Palestine, Iraq and Trans-Jordania? Is it necessary for France to be in Syria? "Yes," both countries will say, "while one is in Syria, the other must be in Palestine, and vice versa." "Yes," England might say, "to defend the Suez Canal from Eastern attacks, and in Iraq to defend our oil interests in Mosul and Mohamerah." "Yes," France might say, "to defend the pipe line and the projected railway line from Mosul and Baghdad respectively to Haifa." This second thesis of commercial development and industrial interests, with its corollary of military protection and European administrative powers, will invariably arouse a concentrated body of hostile opinion in the countries concerned, which by its unifying force may ultimately become of dangerous strength. Better it is to trust to the reason of a people and to a friendship based upon commercial co-operation and mutual profit.

The first reason can only be countered by a mutual agreement drawn up between England and France. This agreement should be for a simultaneous withdrawal of the two countries from Syria, Palestine, and Trans-Jordania. "How impossible!" France may say; "I must protect the Christian minority." But to-day even the Christian minority is asking for the withdrawal of France. "How impossible!" says England; "we cannot withdraw and leave the Zionists to the tender mercies of the Arabs." However, under Turkish administration, Jew and Arab were living in complete harmony. It is the absurd "Balfour Declaration" that is the cause of the present trouble between Jew and Arab. The foundation of this Jewish national home has not met with the true support of the leading Jews. They have supported the idea half-heartedly financially, and spiritually, and by going to live there, not at all. The main source of immigration has been Eastern European Jews, suffering from repression and persecution. Zionism has proved itself to be a failure industrially and a crime politically. But the Zionists who are in Palestine to-day are there by England's endeavours and they must be recognised, protected and assisted.

Yes, a mutual agreement must be arrived at between France and England, whereby they will agree to withdraw every semblance of military occupation from Syria, Palestine and Trans-Jordania, and to supply only experts in Government or industrial development when requested to do so by the Arabs themselves.

An English garrison withdrawn from Egypt and Palestine could be concentrated during the next fifteen years at Port Fuad with the permission of the Egyptian Government. Here, then, would be a centralised force, ready at hand to defend the interests of Great Britain in the Eastern Mediterranean and to co-operate with the

Egyptian Government in the defence of the Suez Canal and the integrity of the Egyptian nation.

But, before this order of things can enter into the realms of possibility, it is necessary for the Arabs themselves to act. They must produce concrete proof of a creative scheme, whereby chaos will not intervene on the departure of French and English controlling forces. The Arab representatives must present a representative scheme whereby they show :

(1) That they are fitted to administer their own affairs and that the Mandate is no longer necessary.

(2) That all commercial enterprises such as the Baghdad-Haifa railway, the oil wells of Mosul and Mohamerah, will be given every facility to develop. That European enterprise in conjunction with that of the Arab should be allowed to develop the commercial and industrial possibilities of this great area on terms just to all concerned.

(3) That Arab Governments should be able to give and to carry out guarantees for the treatment of Christian minorities in Syria and of Jewish minorities in Palestine; allotting to the Jewish national home a certain measure of autonomy. This home to be only a spiritual and cultural centre in miniature.

(4) That leading Arab representatives should be able to give a definite proof of their agreement for the creation of an Arab federation of States under the sovereign rule of, possibly, Ibn Saoud.

Most people believe that the Arabs will be incapable of demonstrating their capacity to produce a constructive scheme based upon the above general considerations. I believe that the capacity is there, not only on account of the past history of their race, but also because of the success which Arabs have made when emigrating to such modern centres of industry as Buenos Ayres and New York. It is unnecessary to recall the brilliance of Arab government in past periods; but if in A.D. 800 the kingdom of the Baghdad Caliphate could be made safe for a travelling merchant laden with riches to pass from Basra to Damascus, or in A.D. 980 for a traveller to pass safely from Mahdia to Cairo with no risk of brigandage, surely they will be capable of it to-day. That they have the capacity inherent in them one must admit, but do they possess the will? It is for the Arabs to prove this. It is not enough for them to be imbued with the desire to drive the tutor out of their country—that is merely destructive; they must demonstrate their power and their will to construct.

In regard to the fears which will arise in the hearts of the English as to the intolerance of the Islamic majority to the Jewish and Christian minorities something must be said. In Islamic countries Christian and Jewish minorities have been invariably

well treated until some European Power has employed these minorities to subvert the State, as in the case of the Armenians in Turkey. Amongst the backward and isolated portion of the Muslim world there is naturally intolerance towards alien faiths, but this has been equally so amongst various Christian communities. However, the Arab leaders of to-day and of the past have always shown a high level of tolerance. If intolerance has at times been given free play, a sect in Islam different from that of the ruler has suffered equally as much as the Christians. In believing in their basic tolerance one has but to recall their history and to read the teachings of their Prophet. The charter of Najran must be taken as the ideal of Muslim leaders, and the words of Ali: "that the blood of the Zimmi is like the blood of the Muslim."

To-day the Maronites of the Lebanon, the Christian Arabs of Palestine and the Muslim population of Syria, Palestine and Iraq are putting aside the differences of faith and sects in the common ideal of their different beliefs, viz., the brotherhood of man. The first step on this path is to attain the unity of Arabia. To-day, cultivated Arabs are striving towards this goal and preaching it in many places. The Arab leaders know, better than I do, what course they should follow to attain Arab unity, freedom from foreign tutelage, and progressive advance in co-operation with the best of European life. I tentatively suggest that :

(1) An immediate conference at Cairo should be called, to be attended by representatives from all Arab States.

(2) This conference should elect a permanent council to sit in Cairo, Jeddah or Damascus. (Cairo is a good centre with excellent communications with all parts of the world and, being more or less outside Arab territory, is probably best fitted to become a Geneva for the Arabs.)

(3) This permanent council should keep in close touch with all Arab countries and arrange a biennial conference.

(4) This biennial conference should take the necessary steps for creating an Arab federation, select the leaders and agree upon the supreme head.

(5) Its work should be to unify the Arab nation by means of intelligent propaganda.

(6) Educational schemes should be outlined whereby each State would, within the next fifteen years, be supplied with a steady stream of young men trained in the art of government, science, arts, hygiene, etc.

If the Arabs can attain the necessary unity it will be possible for England to give up all Protectorates except that of Aden, and a treaty of friendship and alliance can then be signed between the Sultan of the Arab Federated States and the British Empire. I

believe that such a solution will give a better guarantee for the safety of Empire communications, and by its stabilising force in this area of the Middle East free the British Empire from an annual expense of many millions.

The Arab must not and does not, I believe, imagine that he can arrive at this goal without aid from the West. England and France should not forget that a people in tutelage cannot have the necessary responsibility, the experience of which alone finally teaches them to avoid faults and to arrive at a certain more or less satisfactory level of self-government.

The lead for Arab unity must come from Damascus, and perhaps in no great space of time the Rub-el-Khali of the Arab nation may once again flourish and astonish the world with its learning as of yore.

How does all this affect England with regard to the British Empire? In a negative way it concentrates the military strength, it reduces commitments, it retrenches financially. In a creative sense it brings the whole Arab race into the circle of sincere friendship, it produces potential customers enriched by progress in modern life and by close commercial co-operation with the West; where one customer was before, a dozen new ones will appear.

For such a scheme to mature time is required; but time will be of no avail if the Arab leaders of to-day do not prepare the soil with the manure of intelligence and sow with the grains of unity. Likewise, for such a scheme to mature to its best flowering, it must be weeded and watered not only by Arab leaders of courage, but by Europeans, and especially Englishmen, filled with vision and goodwill.

For this scheme to attain its best results the close co-operation of England is necessary; in science, the Arab might learn from the German, in art from the French; but in political science, in religious toleration and in duty and honour, let him learn from England and Englishmen. Thus may the culture of England be honoured and cherished through many countries as the cultures of Rome and Greece and Arabia are to-day.

In the above sketch I have, in the words of Unamuno, "sought to agitate and to suggest rather than to instruct."

R. GORDON-CANNING.

BERGSON AND TRAGEDY.

A CERTAIN number of critics, displaying the ingenuity born only of hostility, have professed to see something subtly ironical in the award of the Nobel Prize to M. Bergson. University pedantry believing itself profound, and wishing to be cruel, declares that M. Bergson's genius is literary rather than philosophic. One wonders what place is to be assigned to the great philosophers of former days who owe their immortality to their contributions to literature. What about Plato for example? In any case this division of the Muses' domain into watertight compartments is in itself so childish that such a conception alone should serve to discredit among the right-thinking these abstractors of quintessences.

In reality the fact that M. Bergson has renewed the broad aspects of literary criticism is one of his most solid claims to our respect and gratitude. We all remember how his book on *Laughter*, by uniting the Comic to the very movement of Life, to the vital urge which manifests itself in a different form in every age without ever exhausting itself, opened up anew the whole question of Comedy. Our innate craving for the new, the vital, makes us laugh at the mechanical, the artificial, the pompous—what we call the grotesque, because the marionettes or types such as the miser or the pedant, fixed for ever in one attitude, are an insult to Life which is youth and an eternal renewing.

For the moment let us progress a little further upon the road pointed out by M. Bergson, and we shall perhaps see that he has explained or at least partially explained—for we must be prudent in these matters—the intense pleasure we derive also from witnessing the sufferings of a Hamlet, an Othello or a Mark Antony. In any case the problem is worth considering, and there seems little gain in the Olympian attitude that only the witless weep. M. Paul Valéry, for example, has vigorously railed against the tearful, the "*sensiblerie*." But he does not tackle the problem. "I do not see the use of crying," says he, as Voltaire said to the beggar, "I do not see the use of your living." But the question still remains: Why do we enjoy being moved by the sufferings of the heroes of tragedy?

In every age this question of our literary tears has preoccupied the philosophers and for centuries past we have been content with Aristotle's solution, the more so since this solution has been enriched by the marvellous ingenuity of the great critics. Aristotle's doctrine may be summed up as follows: the great tragic poet, while providing us with the most terrible sensations we are capable of experiencing, presents them in a form purified by the

magic of his poetry and the incantation of the actors, and thus prepares our resistance against all the atrocities of life, and finally against the fear of death. Such, of course, is the doctrine of Montaigne, who of all sceptical or pagan writers is the only one to emphasise the point that life is a preparation for death. Tragedy is then a lyrical *memento mori*, and there is a very profound psychology in this Greek doctrine. The great benefit derived from seeing a grand and noble tragedy acted is that the mind is thus peopled with beautiful dreams. Such visions may pass over our existence, and fade away like clouds on the horizon, but from time to time when our mind lies open like a great, dark, melancholy lake, they return and pour down upon its waters those rays of veiled sadness which illuminate the beauty of the world.

In this way it happens that in these moments, whose existence no one will deny, we are as it were suspended above ourselves by their beauty and by their tragic poignancy—moments whose hold is strengthened by the fact that they come to us through the poets of genius. Our meditation, oblivious for the moment of the ordinary cares of life, has liberated our true self, and this self, remembering the masterpieces of tragic literature, seems to discover therein a rule of life, the key to suffering and death. Life's everyday mantle slips off our shoulders, we forget a woman's betrayal, a man's deception: they are back on their old pedestal, she the Madonna shedding over us the perfume of love, he sharing again with us the ecstasies of friendship. We cannot therefore consent to put aside this explanation of the Greeks, which we have more or less travestied, but we must admit that it is no longer entirely satisfactory to the modern conscience. Whether we will or no we are all more or less puritan. Many of us believe that we are debauched rather than purified by going to the theatre. Racine's masters called dramatists public poisoners: for them the tears excited by a great misfortune were purely and simply a sign of concupiscence and nothing more.

In our time M. Bergson is the only philosopher to suggest a new solution of this problem. He has not so far devoted a special volume to this exaltation of the intellectual senses, these delicious lyrical tears, as he has to Laughter. But he has let fall a suggestion here and there which may help us to discover why we like to be moved to tears. Evidently it would be treason to aim at summing up his explanation in one sentence or formula. In a question so complex, before consulting others we should consult ourselves, our own personal experience, the more so if the passing years have taught us how to accommodate our life to melancholy, our dreams and our vexations. If there be a certain sadness in growing old, there is a consolation in arranging in one's soul all

kind of belvederes wherein we may visit each of the nine Muses.

The dominant feeling when we are moved to tears by Antigone or Desdemona or any tragic hero or heroine is above all a feeling of superior understanding, an understanding at once indulgent and subtle of all the speeches and actions, feelings and ideas of the hero whose troubles we are witnessing. This uplifting feeling of enthusiastic intelligence is most intimately related to the spiritual treasure of our inner life. As our soul's life is enriched, refined, purified by the ardent experiences of life, so we feel the need of tragic emotion. Therefore the great ages of tragedy were religious ages wherein a noble and heroic society was well acquainted with grandeur of the soul: the age of Sophocles, Shakespeare, Corneille and Racine. Sophocles, Racine, Shakespeare, do indeed exalt what is purest within us. We moderns, beset as we are with doubts on every side, wearied by a breathless pursuit of wealth, naturally seek for our recreation on the stage only grosser pleasures. The great tragic drama cannot be conceived without that deep culture which enables a man to dominate life and literature. Even so the words used by a great poet to translate the tragic feelings of his characters have a superhuman quality, and seem to be pronounced for all time. Antigone and Hamlet speak in the absolute. And thus a very curious thing happens: the suffering heroes on the stage speak continually of departing this life, and generally do so in the fifth act, while we who sit there drinking in their words dominate existence and become, as it were, immortal.

This is the first feeling which, as it measures our humanity, moves us to tears of understanding. It may at the outset be accompanied by a base ignoble feeling—a pleasure at seeing our fellows suffer. *Homo homini lupus*. We cannot entirely eliminate the streak of cruelty in our nature, and it may well be that for a second the anthropoid dwelling within each of us shows his teeth before the anguish of the actor, throws away the mask and tastes the pleasure of yielding to his murderous instinct. But this feeling, if it exists at all, lasts but for a second: it is useful in that it gives rise to its opposite. Just as love is inseparable from hate, so every feeling is dogged by the opposite feeling combating it. Our natural cruelty serves only to throw us back upon ourselves, and in this self-examination and meditation, the culture of which we are the products finally triumphs, and we have reached the point where tears spring naturally to our eyes. We have climbed the hills of contemplation wherefrom we look down upon all our own experience and the experience of all men, and weep because we have escaped the dangerous avalanche or engulfing torrent. The hero's suffering, humanity's suffering, our own suffering, all

are confounded and fused together, so that the supreme quality of a great drama is to unite us to the most tragic, which is the highest, within us.

M. Bergson has never explained himself thus explicitly on this point, but his philosophy explains wonderfully well all the feelings of which we have just spoken, since in his view philosophy consists in rediscovering the great primitive currents of life which are still flowing under the more or less extinct lava of our habits, our prejudices, and our laws. But we are indeed active volcanoes and we realise an intense joy at feeling the fires blaze within us. Was there ever lover who did not slander love even in his mistress's arms? It is good to feel so many hostile forces warring in our hearts.

But this is far from being all that we experience as we watch a tragic drama, far also from being all that M. Bergson explains. Over all great tragedy there hovers the solemn figure, the dread menace, of death: and the power of this idea of death dominates everything because it is made up of confused but invincible feelings. It contains that well-known desire of achieving immortality by some means or other—by personal fame or in begetting noble children—it contains also the less widely recognised, but equally powerful, desire of seeking death. Tragedy is the outcome of the love of life and the love of death. Death is the only thing which gives a real dignity to life, for death is the one great reality, and tragedy which lives upon this fact interests us by its contributions to the passion, the vertigo of existence. The great artists are well aware of this, they shun the "happy ending" to force us to believe in their imagination.

M. Bergson's philosophy once more helps us to understand this lyric terror. All his philosophy is dominated by the idea of movement which is in reality none other than the idea of death. In his view, to die is to enter a truth of which the individual is the limitation. Pagan rather than Christian language perhaps, but clearly acceptable to the theologian. To weep over the fate of a tragic hero is to become a part of the vital urge since thereby we die to ourselves. If at the outset the spectator may unconsciously rejoice in the sight of bloodshed, he soon re-penetrates into a superior truth which the false education of centuries has hidden from him. The nineteenth century's mistake lay in teaching us that every literary feeling coincides in us with what is not human, and in counselling our escape out of humanity. Bergson is on far more solid ground when he preaches the escape into humanity. Our eternal preoccupation with the question of ghosts has merely thrown us back upon ourselves. "There but for the grace of God goes John Bunyan."

If there is one point upon which Bergson has dwelt more than another, it is certainly this: every human individual discovers in himself, from the moment of his birth, during all his youth, the countless ancestry which has preceded him: in a sense he may rise to any heights. Every man has felt within him this power of metamorphosis, which is after all nothing more nor less than the faculty of choosing between good and evil, and which gives to youth its profundity. The great poet is obviously the man who can metamorphosise himself into countless characters, multiply himself in infinite forms. Molière put a great deal of himself into some of his great characters, so did Racine into his heroines, and who would dare to assert confidently that Shakespeare put nothing of his own character into Hamlet or Othello or Macbeth? Evidently a critic could object here that so complex a feeling does not enter the mind of the man in the street. Even so the question remains unchanged. The fact that the lover as he loves does not know that he is obeying a law of nature, in no way abolishes the ineluctable law he follows. The fact that my neighbour in the stalls does not know that many selves dwell within him, and would scoff at the idea, does not alter the fact that they are there and active within him. Why will he be moved presently by Hamlet or Othello or Nero unless it is because the Hamlet, Othello or Nero within him ignites some magic spark in his innermost self? The man in the street who goes to see a play of Shakespeare's acted, little by little comes to study himself—he sees the sketch of himself in its first state at his school, he sees himself gradually modelled by life, he sees all that he might have been and still might be, given free rein by the poet and profiting by the poetic inspiration in those few supreme moments occupied by the acting of the drama. Tragedy is a magic invisible fluid emanating through the poet from each member of the audience. The spectator's mind, tired of its one identity, finds a remedy for this fatigue in the multitude of feelings which the dramatist lends him. It would be rash to assume that in these moments he is not experiencing a superhuman exaltation when he participates in life in its entirety.

But M. Bergson does not stop there. If he does not go so far as to place art above philosophy, he certainly sees in art a means of superior knowledge through what he calls intuition. He comes very near to telling us that God is to be found in art: in any case the divine which is immanent in the artist's genius leads us to participate in the divine creation. "Ye shall be as gods," said the serpent. But not in vain have eighteen centuries of Christianity penetrated the very marrow of our bones. The Christian artist is unable to banish from his mind the idea that there is an abysmal difference between *esse* and *percipi*, between the thinking self and

the external self. In Christian art there reigns the idea that God being truly incommensurable cannot be represented, can hardly be imagined. The human soul which is created in God's image is as incommensurable as He, its most sublime efforts strive towards the infinite. This idea neither weakens nor contradicts the preceding idea—on the contrary, it gives it an added force.

The great dramatic author rediscovers within himself the feeling of that divine consciousness which created the individual, his art has made us emerge from the individualist illusion and brings us henceforward into closer communication with God. *In eo movemur et sumus*. So that at bottom there is incontestably a religious emotion in every great tragedy. The Greeks being well aware of this sought to arrive at that deep emotion by hymning the contest between the hero's will and those stronger Powers to whom he succumbs. If we moderns read with equal respect our Bible, Dante and Shakespeare, it is because we see in each the expression of a superhuman vital energy. The tears we may shed over a page of the Bible or of Dante or of Shakespeare are tragic tears of supreme joy in contact with a vital force in the full expansion of its energy. The emotion with which Shakespeare is laden animates us, transports us into higher realms, even as the sublime soaring of the Gothic arches in a cathedral. Complex and fugitive as the sensation may be, none can deny its existence: this vision at least is no illusion.

The public has been all too ready to scoff at the Bergsonian theory which holds that when we consider the absolute unity of life we find ourselves in the presence of a kind of fluid which flows through our fingers, whereas the world of art offers us a picture of rigidity or even death. The contradiction, however, is apparent only, it is solved by every great work of art. A true masterpiece is of the world of duration and at the same time above the world of duration. If genius shares in the power of the Creator, if the great artistic feeling is submission to the vital urge, man can no longer take himself as an isolated world existing only for himself. The privileged moments enjoyed by a great thinker most certainly imply a faith in humanity and in the future of a better humanity: the man of genius feels in these rare moments that new worlds are added to the universe like so many new stars with which the mind illuminates its firmament. M. Bergson's philosophy is a vote of confidence in the future. "Wherever something is living," he says, "there is opened somewhere a register upon which time is inscribed." Therefore every philosophy of tragedy, as of comedy, must be a philosophy of time. The philosopher recognises that what is important in, say, the characters of Shakespeare is not their identity but their individuality, and a part of this individuality

is their relation with certain epochs of the world's history. Much of modern poetry is based upon this idea—just as a part of the poet's individuality in his relation with the Creator of the Universe.

The creations of art are free, but they are neither fortuitous nor inexplicable since they participate in Reason. The spirit blows where it listeth, yet it owes obedience to its own blind laws—it has a memory.

Samuel Butler meets Bergson on his own ground. Both writers base their theories upon the fact that in all of us and in all humanity there is just as much memory as action. Isolated man is a mere abstraction: each generation is a representation of the supreme being who acts ceaselessly through his creatures. A man sits in the silence of his study plunged in meditation beside his patient lamp, but his fragile, tiny consciousness is surrounded by millions more pressing in on all sides telling him—for his courage and hope—that spirit overflows body even as the cosmic dust overflows the solar world.

But if it be true that mental life overflows cerebral life, if our brain confines itself to translating into movement a part only of what takes place in our consciousness, it follows immediately that every being in its turn is but a moment in one vast series of beings. Psychology comes to our help for proving this. In the first place whence comes that eagerness of our mind to seize everything, to enrich itself with all the humanity which has preceded us—whence comes the pleasure we derive from embarking upon a voyage round all the men with whom we come in contact? Surely from the fact that we feel ourselves to be "multiple and diverse," that the variety in our minds seeks satisfaction, and finds a deepening in the diversity of our fellows. There is an extremely close connection between our enjoyment of a great tragedy and our pleasure in identifying its heroes with our dearest neighbours. We see therein so many phantoms of ourselves seeking life. The pleasure we take in tragedy is the pleasure of recognition. So that in fine the problem "Why are we moved to tears by a play?" difficult as it may seem to solve because of the artificial character of drama, is resolved in a fashion which would have delighted Plato in exactly the same way as the problem of love. We seek to complete ourselves, to re-establish within ourselves the complete man, and the tears we shed are tears of pleasure at seeing ourselves explained, rather than tears of despair for a hero crushed by Fate. All these heroes—our fellow-men after all—who rise above humanity, above good and evil, prove to us by the variety of their passions and actions, above all by their absolute spiritual liberty, that there are many ways of interpreting so-called moral law. This is the triumph of the Romantic theory that the life of a poet like Shake-

speare, which morally contains many disorders, is yet—by remaining faithful to the dream of beauty and goodness—far more saintly than that of the ordinary man of his time with his essentially commonplace virtues.

Critics have been at great pains to exonerate a Shakespeare, a Molière, or a Racine from the charge of cultivating strange vices. It is clear that if these artists had not obeyed all the calls of fantasy, if they had not sounded all the depths and shoals of the unexplored sea of the passions, they could not have given us so many strange and curious treasures. It is not merely that they take pleasure in entering the character of a Macbeth, an Othello, a Nero or a Tartuffe, they also mean to show us that it is not only those who cry "Lord! Lord!" who enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Their genius raises them to that truly celestial sphere wherein human nature is revealed in its infinite variety, whence the supreme consciousness can contemplate human beings in their true essence and no longer according to their conformity with accepted rules. Antigone appears to us one of the most sublime beings of all time because, disregarding entirely the laws of the country, she keeps intact in the depths of her soul sisterly love. Spartacus' remark about the Emperor Hadrian that he was made up of contradictions, is true of every man, and the happy tears we shed over their heroic withal culpable actions bathe us in very truth in the stream of life itself.

In the end we come back to our starting-point—that this exaltation is nothing other than the understanding of life. The evanescent feeling may grip us as we listen to sublime music, or contemplate a masterpiece of sculpture. In the same way when one of Shakespeare's or Racine's tragedies takes possession of us, there enters our understanding, our vision of life, a strange grandeur and nobility which as it elevates us above ourselves places us at the very summit of our emotions. In such moments the ordinary words with which we label our feelings become meaningless, and then we should be grateful to M. Bergson for leading us beneath these skies where our eyes are filled with starlight.

G. TURQUET-MILNES.

DEFOE'S ENGLAND.

IF a writer were to-day to travel through the length and breadth of Britain, not producing a fanciful account of his impressions, but jotting down exactly what he saw, as though no one had previously seen it, that writer's record might be of greater interest to posterity than many imaginative works inherently more worthy of lasting fame. It is true that photography and other modern arts will make it easier for our successors to picture our present world than it is for us to reconstruct that of our predecessors. Nevertheless, the plain, simple journal of an eye-witness would have value and fascination for the generations yet unborn. But such a record is not likely to be available. The future historian of our own day will have innumerable impressionist surveys of twentieth-century life to help him. What he will lack is a sustained, unadorned statement of what our present Britain—its towns and villages and countryside—actually looked like. There will be plenty of descriptive matter at his disposal. But this he will have to sift and piece together, like one working out a puzzle. He will not be able to see our contemporary Britain as a whole through the narrative of a single, plain-speaking observer. For only a writer with a deliberate eye upon posterity would undertake such a description to-day, and, even if we could imagine any scribe sufficiently heedless of immediate gain to perform the task, his record would in some measure be vitiated by the self-consciousness that would unavoidably creep into it.

Such a living writer as Mr. J. B. Morton, author of *In Search of England* and *The Call of England*, stands palely in the tradition of the great English travellers. But there is this important distinction: that while Mr. Morton, addressing an educated and itself much-travelled audience, has to eschew the elementary and the obvious, the itinerants of previous centuries were under no such necessity. They wrote, in the main, for stay-at-home and comparatively ignorant readers. In times when there were no railways and very bad roads, few newspapers and no photography, a plain description of Ipswich or Carlisle held perhaps more interest and novelty for the average Londoner than a description of the Andes or the heart of Africa does to-day. Writing, therefore, without the need for embellishment, the great English travellers of the past, intent only upon enlightening their own contemporaries, have unconsciously served posterity well. Among those great travellers, John Wesley and William Cobbett are recognised as holding high rank. But Daniel Defoe, whose *Tour Through England and Wales*, having long been out of print, has just been edited by Mr. G. D. H. Cole and published in *Everyman's Library*, now takes his place

beside them. The full title of Defoe's work is *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*. But Mr. Cole has omitted the Scottish section, promising to issue it later if the demand for the two present volumes justifies the enterprise. We shall be surprised if that third volume does not materialise; for the *Tour* is so fascinating that it is difficult to understand why, except for one or two much abbreviated reprints, it has been allowed to remain inaccessible since the eighth edition appeared in 1778.

Defoe was one of the greatest journalists of all time. He was certainly the greatest journalist of his own day. He was also, as Mr. Cole reminds us, an accomplished liar. The cynic may argue that the two rôles are identical. However that may be, there is ample proof that, so far as the *Tour* itself is concerned, Defoe is to be trusted. As Mr. Cole suggests, he could have written a plausible enough account of the whole island of Great Britain even if he had never left London, and it is probable that he did not personally visit every town or village mentioned by him. He was a great master in the art of making fictitious narrative read like truth. Yet there is no doubt that the *Tour* is, on the whole, an authentic record of actual travel and observation. To begin with, it is known that Defoe was for years employed by the Government as a confidential spy, whose function it was to report on the state of opinion in all parts of the country. And, secondly, economic information, in which he was mainly interested, was the one sort of information which he seldom or never invented. "He knew too much about it," says Mr. Cole, "and it interested him too much, to make it a suitable subject for promiscuous lying. The reader need not suspect, because he finds out Defoe in a dozen antiquarian inaccuracies, that his facts about his own day and its business doings are equally unreliable. On these, where he can be checked from other sources, he usually comes out right."

The *Tour* belongs to the last period of Defoe's life, and the first of the three original volumes, published in 1724, were produced after the five years of intensive literary activity that gave us, among other of his best books, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, *Captain Singleton*, and *A Journal of the Plague Year*. The main value of the *Tour* lies in the picture which it supplies of the economic life of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. But, written while Defoe was still at the height of his powers, it is also very entertaining. It is, indeed, both intentionally and unintentionally amusing. Defoe's incidental comments are always caustic and racy, and when opportunity serves in the course of the *Tour*, he is deliberately light and engaging. Nothing, for example, could be more charmingly whimsical than his long description of how the decoy-ducks of the fen country—from which he was

glad to escape, for "'tis a horrid air for a stranger to breathe in"—are sent abroad to "kidnap" "others of their acquaintance" and to bring them home to betray them. Here, as in other passages, Defoe admirably combines accurate detail with imagination and humour. He has, too, a quick eye for the odd characters encountered on his journeys or for an odd scene, such as the "prodigious multitude" of swallows congregated upon Southwold Church preparatory to migration. But much of the fun which the modern reader derives from the *Tour* accrues from the reflection which it offers of Defoe's own personality and journalistic ingenuity.

If Defoe had an eye for oddities of his own finding he had none for the conventionally picturesque; and he was no antiquarian. Yet his *Tour* was published as a guide-book. It had to compete with the type of volume then popular, in which the natural or historical "wonders" of our island were gushingly described. Defoe's heart, as we shall presently see, was not in this part of his task. We can, as it were, hear him inwardly groan when he approaches Oxford or Winchester or Glastonbury, and is faced with the necessity not merely of "mugging up" antiquarian authorities, but of himself exhibiting some show of enthusiasm for scholarship, history, or tradition. He is too adroit and resourceful a writer to fail in the attempt, and his naturally reflective style helps him. As when contemplating the ruins of the once prosperous but submerged city of Dunwich, he knows how to fill up space, and at the same time to secure an "atmosphere," by interpolating a moral disquisition. In this he was not really insincere; he was fundamentally a religious man. Yet we feel that his philosophical meditations are sometimes introduced less for their own sake than for the purpose of bridging an awkward gap. Defoe was a master of this, as of every other, trick of the journalistic trade; and it adds no little incidental enjoyment to a reading of the *Tour* to watch the skilful manner in which he produces one after another of his effects.

Not always, however, will the man in him yield to the journalist. Ready enough as a rule to pay well-simulated reverence to a fine view or an historical monument, he cannot help having his own fling occasionally, even at the expense of producing a confused general impression. Thus, in traversing the "howling wilderness" of the Peak District, he pays lip service to some of its "wonders," and is moved to genuine astonishment at Eldon Hole. But many of the Peakland "miracles," acclaimed by other contemporary travellers, are in his opinion "poor things to wonder at." He finds source for "real wonder" in "the Duke of Devonshire's fine house at Chatsworth"—"not that so noble and

magnificent a palace should be built, but that it should be built in such a situation, and in such a country so out of the way, whoever sees it must take a journey on purpose." And the crowning "real wonder" discovered by Defoe in this part of England is that of a poor lead-miner and his family living in a cave, and exhibiting a cheerfulness and patience that shame their more favoured brethren. "We had much room," he says, after a moving description of these "miserable people" and their mode of life, "to reflect how much we had to acknowledge to our Maker that we were not appointed to get our bread thus, one hundred and fifty yards underground, or in a hole as deep in the earth as the cross upon St. Paul's cupolo is high out of it." A man not touched to such reflections, he continues, must be "as stupid and senseless as the horse he rides on"; and he adds that "if any reader think this, and the past relation of the woman and the cave, too low and trifling for this work, they must be told that I think quite otherwise; and especially considering what a noise is made of wonders in this country, but much talked of, more trifling a great deal."

Defoe had a genuine passion for humanity, and was a herald of modern social reform. But he had also the limitations of one who prefers the works of man to the works of Nature. He was a utilitarian; and he could not always restrain this aspect of his character from breaking out at inopportune moments. Even he cannot sustain his well-attempted enthusiasm for the grandeur of what is now known as the Lake District. The real man repeatedly emerges, as when he says that "these hills were not high and formidable only, but they had a kind of inhospitable terror in them. There were no rich pleasant valleys between them, as among the alps; no lead mines and veins of rich ore, as in the Peak; no coal pits, as in the hills about Halifax, much less gold, as in the Andes, but all barren and wild, of no use or advantage either to man or beast." Except that "Winander Meer" is famous for "char fish," this part of the country "yields little or nothing at all." True, it had not yet yielded the poetry of Wordsworth. We must not, after all, be too hard upon Defoe. He was no poet in the conventional sense. But in economic and social affairs he was a real prophet, and his zest for the practical side of life attained almost a lyric fervour of its own.

Of the three great English travellers whom we have named, Wesley, considered merely as a traveller, was perhaps the most balanced. When free from religious preoccupation, he had an alert eye for everything. He was at once poet, scholar, and man of the world, and was equally at home in town or country. Cobbett's rough but manly heart was stung into indignation as he witnessed

the decline of agriculture and the desecration of the countryside that accompanied the Industrial Revolution. His mind was exclusively rural, and the growth of the cities, particularly of "the Wen," drove him to frenzy. Defoe was his exact counterpart. He was essentially a townsman, and by instinct a tradesman. For him a thriving fish-market held more romance than a ruined castle, and the establishment of a Penny Post in London, in competition with the General Post Office, fired his enthusiasm more sincerely than the noblest cathedral or the loveliest landscape. He liked the very things that roused the spleen of Cobbett. The ever-spreading tentacles of London coiled, like doom, around Cobbett's brain. But, in his own earlier day, Defoe, who so graphically contrasts the part of the old City left by the Great Fire with the reconstructed areas, rejoiced to see London developing so "prodigiously" that Deptford, Islington, and Mile End, Newington Butts, Lambeth, and Chelsea were, among other recently outlying "villages," being absorbed into it. He glowed with fervour, again, when noting the number of merchants and tradesmen who were making their homes outside the City, thus causing the rapid development of select suburban hamlets like Stratford, Walthamstow, "Wansted," and "Layton Stone." It is a little surprising, by the way, to find that even in Defoe's time some City men already resided, during the summer, so far out as Epsom, which, with its medicinal waters, its Green, and its Great Room, was then a fashionable spa. "The greatest part of the men, I mean of this grave sort," says Defoe, speaking of "the retir'd part of the world," that flocked to Epsom, "may be supposed to be men of business, who are at London upon business all the day, and thronging to their lodging at night, make the families, generally speaking, rather provide suppers than dinners; for 'tis very frequent for the trading part of the company to place their families here, and take their horses every morning to London, to the Exchange, to the Alley, or to the warehouse, and be at Epsom again at night; and I know one citizen that practis'd it for several years together, and scarce ever lay a night in London during the whole season."

The *Tour* reflects an England quite different in social configuration from our own. The great centres of population were in the south, the southern midlands, and East Anglia, though the wool industry was growing fast in the West Riding, the coal trade well established on the Tyne, and Lancashire already arising into importance. Manchester had become "the greatest meer village in England," while "Liverpoole," with its rapidly rising buildings of freestone and brick, its beautiful new church "on the north side of the town," and its pioneer wet dock in the "Mersee," con-

structed at "an immense charge," was beginning to rival Bristol; and "what it may grow to in time," adds the author of *The Complete English Tradesman*, "I do not know." "Hallifax," "Bradforth," and "Huthersfield" were already making cloth, and, says Defoe, "a noble scene of industry and application is spread before you here, and which, joined to the market of Leeds, where it chiefly centers, is such a surprising thing, that they who have pretended to give an account of Yorkshire, and have left this out, must betray an ignorance not to be accounted for or excused." Defoe's detailed description of the Leeds cloth market, held twice a week early in the morning in "a large, broad, fair, and well-built street," is, incidentally, a characteristic example of his style at its most inspired level. He worshipped commerce, as a poet might love his mistress.

While, however, the north was developing, manufacture, as was inevitable in an era of few canals and of poor, if slightly improving, roads, was still concentrated around or near the coast, which, in the south and east, was dotted with busy little ports, to which, by road or river, came the merchandise of the interior, seeking the shortest route to the sea. Many of these ports had their own trade with foreign lands, but most of them were chiefly engaged in coastwise shipping, which possessed an economic importance that, as Mr. Cole says, it is hard for us to appreciate in a railway age. That coastwise shipping radiated to a remarkable extent upon London, which, relative to the rest of England, was even larger two centuries ago than it is to-day. London was not only by far the greatest consumer of goods, but pre-eminently the centre for overseas commerce.

Strangely different as was Defoe's England from ours, it was in his day that the foundations of the country as we now know it were laid. It is customary to regard the Industrial Revolution as marking an abrupt cleavage between a purely agricultural and a manufacturing England, as well as between a static aristocracy and a growing democracy. The *Tour* corrects both these impressions. In Defoe's time agriculture was still the main activity, but industry—especially the woollen industry—was widely extending its provenance, while the iron trade was beginning to leave its native stronghold in Sussex. There were changes, too, in methods. The "domestic system" of industry, under which skilled operatives worked in their own houses, still flourished, and Defoe gives us a vivid idea of how quiet by day, when the inhabitants were so engaged, an important city like Norwich could be. But small masters or capitalists were rapidly springing up, organising the business of production in workshops attached to their houses. The invention of steam may have brought the

factory system to fruition, but the shoots of it are clearly discernable in Defoe's pages, from which nothing emerges more definitely than the rise of the middle class, which most historians relegate to a century later. There is a curiously modern ring about the frequent instances cited by Defoe of prosperous tradesmen buying up country estates. It is clear that the merging of the aristocratic and the commercial interests is of far older growth than has commonly been supposed, and it is easier, after reading the *Tour*, to understand why England escaped the worst features of the French Revolution.

Defoe, so intimately reflected in these pages, himself stands out as the first great apologist of the middle class. He loved, above all, the man in the middle walk of life, "with no frills or nonsense, engaged in making good by the useful art of trafficking in commodities of daily use." The whole business of buying and selling thrilled him; progress and prosperity were his gods; and he hated restraints that hampered the free circulation of the life-blood of commerce. There is something reminiscent of modern Free Trade advocacy in his castigation of the "tenacious folly" of the citizens of Bristol, "who by the general infatuation, the pretence of freedoms and privileges, that corporation-tyranny which prevents the flourishing and encrease of many a good town in England, continue obstinately to forbid any who are not subjects of their city sovereignty [that is to say, freedom] to trade within the chain of their own liberties." Defoe, who was a dissenter in religion, may, indeed, be called the prophet of the Manchester School of Politics, which, whatever its limitations and defects, has played so notable and salutary a part in the later history of England.

GILBERT THOMAS.

POST-WAR CO-OPERATION IN GERMANY.

GERMANY has quite appropriately been called the cradle of the co-operative movement in the sphere of agriculture and industry, for it was here that Raiffeisen, the Burgomaster of Heddesdorf, took the message of co-operation to the agricultural classes more than eighty years ago, and by organising them led them to emancipation from the exactions of usurers and the low standard of living which meant physical inefficiency and the resultant low and diminishing productiveness. The margin of profit is comparatively small in agriculture, unlike that accruing to industry or business of a speculative character, and it is for this reason imperative that the loans issued to farmers should carry reasonably low rates of interest, and that credits should be available for the application of scientific methods and the gradual elimination of empirical, which tend to make agriculture an unprofitable affair. The emergence of co-operative banks in town and village, under the inspiration and guidance of Raiffeisen broke the power of the moneylenders throughout the *Reich*, and the accumulation of the farmers' deposits in "Savings Banks and Banks for the issue of Loans" (*Spar- und Darlehnskassen*) steadily grew in volume, inspiring a new confidence and sense of solidarity among all classes that invested their savings, as the rural bank deposits have never been the exclusive privilege of members to make, and giving a new direction to the original aim of organising and issuing credit. The springing up of a large number of *Hauptgenossenschaften* or principal co-operative societies—which supply artificial manures and fodder to members, which have constructed and maintained a large number of warehouses for the storage of grain, manures and fodder, which conduct business, on a large scale, in the sale of agricultural produce offered by members, in the organisation of cattle and fish markets, and in the sale to members principally of selected varieties of seed, agricultural implements and machinery—has been the most remarkable feature of this movement. Its orderly growth has meant much more than that timely credit has been within the access of members of the various co-operative societies: it has led to the expansion and prosperity of German agriculture as a whole, and from modest origins the movement develops steadily and had assumed formidable proportions at the outbreak of the war.

A glimpse into the balance-sheet of the *Deutschen Raiffeisenbank Aktien Gesellschaft*, which was founded in 1876 and retained until 1923 the designation of *Der Landwirtschaftliche Zentral Darlehnskasse für Deutschland* (the Central Agricultural Co-operative Bank for Germany), reveals some striking results already achieved. Thus, there were in 1880 only 77 co-operative societies in Germany,

with a paid-up share capital of 39,200 marks: in 1918 the societies of the Raiffeisen type increased to 4,998, and the share-capital rose to twenty million marks. Since then the growth in numbers, in capital, and in the multiplicity of operations has been steady, in spite of the overwhelming difficulties created by the flight from the mark and the practical destruction of capital by the depreciation of the German currency, which set in in 1921 and reached its climax towards the end of 1923. At the time of writing the *Generalverband* (Raiffeisen) looks after the interests of 12,000 co-operative societies, which are its members through their respective provincial or territorial unions.

It might, perhaps, be illuminating and helpful to point out that of the 40,000 odd co-operative societies throughout Germany 64.7 per cent. belong to the Imperial Union (*Reichsverband*), 21.5 per cent. to the *Generalverband* (Raiffeisen), and the remainder belong to either single unions or are not connected through any unions at all. We may here incidentally refer to "Regens," the life insurance office of the *Reichsverband*, which issues policies in cases of fire, theft and robbery, and also insures against liability by members. The "Regens" again, established in 1928, issues policies for the benefit of agriculturists organised by means of co-operative societies. These societies are diverse in their character, ranging from central credit institutes, cattle-breeding and pasture preservation societies, to societies for the insurance of horses and the warehousing of agricultural produce. There are 1,541 co-operative societies for the generation of electric energy, of which 448 are in Berlin and 569 in Breslau.

The Imperial Union of Co-operative Societies has twenty-five central banks as its members, whose turnover in 1927 was three billion marks: the savings and deposits in the primary banks affiliated to it exceeded 700 million marks, and its electricity-generating *Hauptgenossenschaften* distributed 120 million kilowatts of electric energy. This union was established in 1883 by the efforts of Dr. Wilhelm Haas, who died in 1913. Haas was a convinced believer in leaving to the primary societies and their unions the fullest measure of autonomy and initiative. He also maintained that the Principal Societies should have a special board of management, and interpreted the functions of the *Reichsverband* as consisting in giving wise guidance through its propaganda-sheets and the right construction of laws applying to the societies. His policy is still upheld, and forms the sheet-anchor of the co-operative movement in Germany. Before I proceed further I cannot resist a passing reference to the movement which owes its inception and consolidation to the pioneer efforts of Dr. Schulze-Delitzsch, who was as keen and intent on ameliorating the conditions of the small

traders, field labourers, manual workers and the professional classes by means of organisation, as Raiffeisen was on the improvement of the farmers. In fact, Dr. Delitzsch held that the parallel movements were not simply supplementary, but in a vital interdependence on each other, if we take into account, as we must, the broader and permanent interests of the social economy as a whole. Co-operation equips these elements to become better buyers of agricultural produce; their adversity means a restricted market for the farmers. But large numbers of these classes whom Delitzsch organised into co-operative societies are also engaged, in various ways, in making precisely those things which agriculture most needs. There are the master-builders, for instance, to whom the farmers must go when cottages must be built; the skilled workers in factories who make agricultural tools and machinery. We are not dealing in generalities and pious aspirations, but with a movement which in the course of years has organised 1,406,000 handicraftsmen, farmers, factory employees and others, which has its own capital of 226 million *Reich* marks, and further "entrusted" resources in addition, amounting to 850 million *Reich* marks. This organisation has cast its nets wide and embraces within its comprehensive sway co-operative societies in Königsberg in the north-east and in Freiburg in the south-west: as far apart, say, as Breslau in the south-east and Kiel to the north-west. It boasts of 3,340 credit, warehousing, purchase and sale societies, and has drawn into its ambit 380,000 handworkers who ply the trade for themselves, 220,000 farmers, and such diverse elements as commercial travellers, officials, butchers and shoemakers. The Union which supervises and guides the activities of the co-operative societies has its own organ called the *Blätter für Genossenschaftswesen*, which supplies information and is also an instrument of co-operative propaganda. It was established in 1853 by Dr. Delitzsch himself. Propaganda is also conducted by means of annual conventions like the one just concluded at Breslau where 1,200 delegates attended from all parts of Germany.

We have made a somewhat ample reference to this organisation because of its great importance, but mainly because the *Deutschen Genossenschafts Verband*, the German Union of Co-operative Societies, happens to be the only one which has successfully entered upon a post-war career without any subventions or subsidies from the State. This is quite remarkable considering the havoc wrought on the capital and reserve funds of all institutions by the depreciation of the mark, and particularly when we remind ourselves that independent institutions like the Imperial Union, and Government-controlled institutions like the *Preussische Zentralgenossenschaftskasse* (the Central Co-operative Bank of Prussia), which in spite of

its name is an imperial bank for the whole of Germany, have both been heavily subsidised by the German Government in order that they may successfully recuperate from the heavy financial losses incurred during the period of inflation. We understand that the Reichstag passed emergency measures for the "revalorisation" of the depreciated currency with the Prussian Co-operative Bank and the Imperial Union, but the relief afforded thereby was not substantial, and the requirement of the law that banks could not buy foreign securities with the then rapidly deteriorating mark precipitated the extinction of its value.

The war found the co-operative movement fully established and the co-operative societies working at the maximum of efficiency. Inevitable necessities led to the further expansion of the movement during the war, as further areas were brought under cultivation, and intensive culture was found to be the only rational expedient. German agriculture found itself equal to the strain put upon it, and co-operation became the instrument of larger production and expeditious transport. The conclusion of hostilities found the movement with its framework intact and its operations unhampered and unembarrassed. The ordeal came with the depreciation of the currency. Slight and even violent fluctuations in the exchange value of the mark were withstood with pertinacity and courage. But with the best will in the world no institution can withstand the blighting effect of the continuous and headlong plunge of the country's money. And so with the rapid fall in the value of the mark approximating to the loss of all value, the movement was bound to be crippled. As we have pointed out above, something was done by legislation to "revalorise" the resources which remained to these institutions, but any effective scheme of salvage forms part of the stabilisation of a country's monetary standards and of its credit. Under the circumstances, these palliatives could only touch the outermost fringes of the problem of reconstruction.

The real test came with the stabilisation of the exchange value of the mark. In 1913, the rural banks [*Dörfbanken*] had one and a half billion marks to the credit of fixed deposits by members and non-members. To-day, though the number of *Spar- und Darlehnskassen* has vastly increased, the deposits indicated have fallen to 875,000,000 marks. The Government are understood to have placed two billion marks at the disposal of the co-operative movement. But the situation for the moment is fundamentally altered for the worse. The Central Banks and the various Central Credit Institutes were previously committed to the task of balancing (*auszugleichen*) the needs of the various co-operative societies by arranging for the flow of superfluous capital to the needy areas, and this process continued month by month or season by season. But

to-day the Central Co-operative Bank of Prussia, which, as we have noticed before, is really a bank for the whole *Reich*, has escaped disaster, if not annihilation, by a handsome special contribution from the Government, who were naturally pledged to save this organ of the German Ministry of Finance. The characteristic difference which has come over the entire face of the *Credit Anstalten* (Institutes) may, perhaps, be described as consisting in a change of centre. Before, it was the farmer, whose savings and contributions, large or small, coupled with the savings of non-agriculturists, kept the movement alive. To-day, the centre of the movement is the Government with its financial assistance.

Previously loans were issued to the farmers without any inquiries: to-day they can be given only after a thorough investigation. Nor do the Credit Institutes deem it expedient to dispense with the time-honoured custom of giving credit against the farmers' bills of exchange which are repayable in three months. A succession of bad harvests such as took place in 1926 and 1927, with the price of wheat down to 13 marks and the price of rye down to 6 marks per centner, naturally make for delay in repayment. As pointed out by the authors of the 1927 year-book of the Imperial Union relating to German agricultural co-operative societies, neither the American Loan nor the recent establishment of the Gold Discount Bank has as yet helped in the solution of this question to any appreciable extent, but certain practical schemes appear to be under consideration.

The chief problem up to 1914 was credit organisation: the crying needs of to-day are the organisation of marketing and of sale of produce. For some time past it has been felt by the experts here that so far at least as vegetables and fruits are concerned, the quality of the products admits of considerable improvement. Systematic appeals are accordingly made by agricultural chambers to producers that they standardise their products. In Essen a special market has been established for examining and observing the quality of agricultural products. Some anxiety is also felt in agricultural circles here that though the co-operative movement has made great headway in recent years, the dairies and creameries of Germany have not advanced to the extent that was expected, and that Swiss cheese and Danish eggs and butter are flooding the home market. It is here suggested that the attention of the public should have been drawn to these matters when, over large areas in the Rhineland, considerable and steadily increasing imports from Holland, Belgium, France and Italy began to compete with the home-grown things.

There are agricultural High Schools in Berlin, Bonne-Poppelsdorf, Hohenheim and Weißen Stephan, where agricultural degrees

and diplomas are conferred. The Imperial Union gives a short course of instruction in co-operative methods, where young officials of the co-operative department attend classes in winter. There is an *Institut für Agrar- und Siedlungswesen* attached to the University of Berlin where dissertations for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy are submitted. The agricultural *Hoch Schulen* grant degrees of Doctor of Agriculture.

The big farmers are generally to be found in the east of Germany. They need larger capital and credit, and usually go to the *Deutsche Renten Bank* for the satisfaction of their requirements. The smaller farmers, found in the west, are not so much indebted and have their dealings with the Prussian Central Co-operative Bank. In spite of the difficulties which are a legacy of the inflation period, the co-operative movement has made substantial progress and really got hold of the imagination of the agricultural classes throughout Germany. Radio has been a potent instrument of propaganda for co-operation, and the various bathing establishments and health resorts which attract visitors from almost every part have fulfilled the same object, by making interchange of opinions and discussion of experiences possible, as between farmers from diverse regions.

The use of artificial manures has considerably increased since 1913, and in 1925 the principal co-operative societies realised nearly 171 million marks from the sale of nitrates, phosphates, potash, gypsum and marl. Some idea of the increased sales may be formed by the enhanced stocks falling to the sale societies. Thus in 1913 the manure societies handled 32½ million centners of manure: in 1924 the stocks were augmented to 45 million centners. Agriculture is undoubtedly becoming intensive and gains in quantity what it sometimes loses in quality. Both the "Supply and Sale Societies" and dairies have almost doubled since 1913, and where the *Hauptgenossenschaften* have remained stationary, membership has increased nearly twofold, and the turnover by 60 per cent. The number of the *Spar- und Darlehnskassen* has rapidly increased, and the savings per head have gone up considerably too.

We have so far dealt with the functions and structure of the co-operative movement as affecting agriculture, and there can be no two opinions that so far as *organisation* is concerned it leaves very little to be desired. The revisory unions are busily engaged in recommending the closing down of societies which do not give a good account of themselves, but then new ones are fast springing up, and all this belongs to the transitional period. But there is another aspect of German agriculture which is causing profound disappointment and heart-searchings to the experts, and we understand that a plan for the "rationalising" of agriculture is under

way and has the approval and support of both agricultural and financial experts. At a recent conference of bank directors and officials of the co-operative movement in agriculture the principal subject for discussion was "Agriculture and its Significance to Banking." Dr. Georg Solmssen, the managing director of the *Discontogesellschaft*, pointed out that certain grave symptoms had developed in the business side of German agriculture, and that unless some positive remedy was proposed the very life of the agricultural industry was in peril. Out of 63½ million people in Germany 10½ million depended entirely for their existence on foodstuffs capable of being grown at home, but imported from abroad. Since 1913 there has been an increase of 50 per cent. in the import of agricultural products and industrial goods and a corresponding decrease of 30 per cent. in the export of German finished goods. German agriculture has, since the inflation period, been indebted to the extent of the value of her gross production; and loans raised abroad by Germany precisely covered the payments for the excess of imports into Germany. More than half a billion Reichsmarks' worth of cattle-fodder was imported in 1926, together with a little less than half-a-billion Reichsmarks' worth of milk, butter and cheese.

Germany has begun to look round and study the best features in the agricultural organisation of other countries, and proposes to profit by them. Specially is she interested in recent agricultural legislation in England. We have not sufficient space to discuss in detail the plan of "rationalising" her agriculture, which Germany desired should be seriously taken up by the financiers, the chiefs of the co-operative organisations and the legislators. Briefly, its salient features may be thus summarised:

1. The farmers should be encouraged to produce more to make the country as nearly self-supporting in respect of vital food supplies as the circumstances permit. Simultaneously with this fostering of an intensive and increasing production a scheme is under discussion for the elimination or the progressive reduction of middlemen, thus assuring to the producers a wider margin of profit.
2. Along with the normal extension of credit facilities, the farmer should be enabled to get the necessary credit on the strength of his crops.
3. If increased production is to benefit the country, the *quality* of all the products should be improved and standardised. To achieve this end, a systematic study of the soils, and the reactions of certain crops to the climate in particular regions, is to be taken up.
4. In the best interests of agricultural development a *liaison*

should be established between the resources of the ordinary banks and agriculture.

As we conclude this subject, another scheme is under contemplation according to which the whole co-operative movement will be transferred to the general supervision of the *Reichsverband*: so far the co-operative societies have belonged to the *Reichsverband*, the *Landesbunde* or the *Generalverband* (Raiffeisen). Now an *Einheitsverband* is to replace the latter. The reason for this is that the Raiffeisen Union has sustained a loss of sixty million Reichsmarks owing to inflation and to issuing credit to industrial concerns without adequate guarantees. And it is highly probable, though by no means certain, that the Government will find the amount enough to cover the loss on condition that the *Reichsverband* incorporates all the co-operative societies in a unified system of supervision and control.

D. N. BANNERJEA.

IN HUNGARIAN MARSHES.

IN England we talk about heronries; in America they call them "rookeries"; in Hungary they have a name which I can neither spell nor pronounce; but whatever it is does not matter, since they know how to value and protect their colonies of herons. Herons, not of one but of several species, and, indeed, the chance of seeing many other birds in their homes lured us into the great undrained marshes where birds are no longer exploited but are treated as national assets. As we were not collectors we were courteously invited to accompany the Director of the Ornithological Institute—*Magyar Kiralyi Madártani Intézet* is its correct title—on his official visits. Herr James Schenk is a keen student of migration problems; he carries on the work of ringing or marking birds which was so well organised by his predecessor and teacher, Dr. Otto Herman. We saw, both in the Institute and in the field, how systematically this work is carried on and how valuable are its economic and educational results.

Acres, nay, miles of tall reeds, their feathery flower-heads rippled as fields of corn are waved in a summer breeze, converted the shallow lake or *zee* into a marsh; rotted vegetable refuse had provided, here and there, a precarious roothold for a few stunted willows, but their branches hardly topped the reeds. Through this jungle a narrow channel had been cut and dredged, a waterway for the boats of the fishermen; by this channel, half clogged with floating weed and yellow with flowering bladder-wort, we entered the first of the bird sanctuaries which we had come so far to see.

Before we reached the marshy margin where narrow blunt-nosed scows awaited us, and where lapwings and redshanks wailed in apprehension, we heard the deep boom of the bittern, and saw the bird rise, dangling its long green legs until it was clear of the tops. The sun glared on the unsheltered marsh; grey and purple herons wading slowly through the shallows, and spoonbills sifting edible particles from mud and weed as they swung their spatulate bills from side to side, looked enviably cool. The long-horned Hungarian cattle, many showing heavy dewlaps and patches of red, the result of introduced Swiss blood, were not so happy; fretfully they stamped and tossed their heads, vainly striving to drive off tormentors with caudal fly-whisks. Floating low over the marsh, motionless wings slightly uplifted, or circling like buzzards far above us, mere dots against the cloudless sky, were those terrors of the lesser fowl, the big marsh-harriers. The expedition promised well.

Our expert gondoliers pushed the scows through the outer fringe of reeds into open water, where mallard and gadwall rose in alarm,

rudely awakened from their siesta. Skirting an apparently impenetrable barrier of marsh vegetation, our leader turned unexpectedly into the cut channel; we had entered the marsh. On either side a forest of upright stems, through which no light penetrated, restricted our view to a line of blue sky and the waterway in front through which the leading boats were slowly pushing their way. At first we saw few birds; for a second a furtive brown form showed amongst the stems, or an unmistakable warbler fluttered across the waterway, but it was almost impossible to identify any species except the inquisitive bearded titmice which climbed the stems, swinging round like tiny acrobats, and after a glance at the intruders dived headlong into the herbage. But the marsh was not birdless; where the eye failed to find proof the ear did not. The concert was extraordinary in volume and variety of performers.

The reed-bunting of Central Europe is no better a musician than ours, and is quite as determined to succeed; its stammering phrases were almost as persistent as the monotonous chitterings of the abundant reed-warblers. The sedge-warbler was not present, but the moustached warbler, sometimes rather incorrectly termed the moustached sedge-warbler, was quite ready to fill in the gap; it can do better than the sedge, for the four sweet notes with which it usually preludes its varied performance have been justly compared with some produced by the nightingale. Every now and then we passed a reeling Savi's warbler, whose monotone song might be confused with that of the grasshopper warbler. Savi's warbler was once an inhabitant of our fens, and, no one is quite sure why, some seventy years ago it decided that England was no longer a suitable dwelling-place; drainage of its haunts has been stated to be the reason, and ruthless collecting has been blamed; neither, I think, is alone responsible. It is far more likely that interspecific competition for nesting sites or some particular food caused its decline, but what species shouldered it out we do not know. Nothing has evicted it from the Hungarian marshes, and as there are few if any sedge-warblers there, it may be that this abundant little marsh-lover was the culprit here. The nest of Savi's warbler is unlike that of the other passerine marsh dwellers; it is constructed of such broad blades that it looks more like a very small nest of a rail or crake; most nests, I believe, are constructed of dry leaves of *Glycerium*, a marsh grass, but unless I am much mistaken there were reed-blades in most of the nests that we examined.

The efforts of many of the marsh birds to produce volume of sound were feeble compared with the performance of one species, for the great reed-warbler, wherever it lifted up its voice, drowned all competitors. Its song is far louder, harsher, and more varied than

that of the reed-warbler, but both in appearance and nest-structure it is a large edition of this familiar bird. It builds a deep nest, supported on reed-stems, similar in appearance though not in size to that of the smaller bird, but its remarks when we investigated its domestic economy were far more emphatic than any produced by its relative; it scolded and swore, almost threatened, and no doubt would have attacked us if it had felt strong enough. Nevertheless its song, even its defiant alarm notes, were in keeping with its surroundings.

Avian music, even when each bird sings its own part oblivious of the efforts of all others, never seems inharmonious. The metallic clink of the bearded tit, the jumbled songs of the various warblers, the sudden cry of the water-rail and little crane, the quack of the rising ducks, and the deep *frank* of the passing herons, all seemed to be in their right setting. There were other performers, quite as determined to be heard; the continuous *brek-ek-ek* and deep *krorrk* of the edible frogs was no insignificant part of the concert. The edible frog is far more aquatic than our common frog; we found it floating everywhere, legs wide-spread, amongst the waterlily pads and thread-like roots of the bladderwort. Very variable in colour, some were bright green and others almost brown, but, green or brown, the dorsal stripe was always distinct, a paler and more vivid green in the greenest examples. Hundreds were gathered in one place, their heads poking above the surface and all the males with two tiny toy balloons on their necks, their distended vocal sacs. Gadow says that they "are great musicians, singing for sheer enjoyment not only during the pairing time, but throughout the months of June and July"; this we can endorse.

In the evening, when returning from one marsh, another musical amphibian gave us a performance. The rhythmic beat of the song of the fire-bellied toad, an aquatic gymnast, is quite different from that of the edible frog; *Bombinator* is its expressive generic name. In Budapest, when the day's work was done, we sat in the cafés and listened to the famous gipsy bands—wild and interesting music from these inscrutable but clever performers—but the experience has left less lasting impression than the thrumming concert of the fire-bellied toads from the reedy margin of the river down which we paddled.

Naumann described the call of the little crane as a loud, defiant *kik, kik, kik*, and others have mentioned its clicking notes, but the sound to my ears had something in it reminiscent of the cheery whinny of the dabchick. A clever skulker, like all its nearest relatives, the bird kept out of sight, even when we examined its nest, but once we had luck, for one scampered across the weeds in a narrow channel, a fleeting vision of brown and slate-grey. One

nest, containing an addled egg, for the sooty-downed infants were somewhere in the jungle, was sheltered by the bulky home of a grey heron. Rain would not trouble so aquatic a bird, but the shade no doubt would be welcome; many birds suffer from the sun, and in the marsh, we know from experience, the glare and heat can be overpowering. At intervals, as we poled along the narrow channel, we stopped to look at the nests of various warblers and other birds, in most of which the eggs had been hatched and half-naked infants threw up scraggy necks and opened cavernous mouths, mistaking the disturbance of the surrounding vegetation for the arrival of parents with food. At times our advance was checked by a breakwater of twisted stems, running from one side to a stake in the centre of the cut; this line of stems marked the position of a net, and we squeezed past along the opposite bank or margin of the waterway. The net is a double bag, fixed on a circular rim to the stake; eels or other fish enter through a hole in the inner bag and fail to find it as an exit; the principle is the same as that of a lobster or crab pot. The angry *krit, krit* of the black terns was the first intimation that we were invading their territory, but many of their nests were at a safe distance from the boats and some of the birds seemed aware of their security and continued their gallant nuptial behaviour; more than once we saw male birds presenting love gifts—small fishes—to their appreciative mates. Earlier in the season, before mates have been secured, these offerings are less disinterested; they are inducements or bribes proffered but not delivered unless the female shows reciprocal amatory advances.

Still larger birds passing above us—a scared gadwall, a croaking purple heron, a spoonbill—was evidence that we were nearing our destination, and soon the bulky nests showed a few yards away on either side. The harriers were flying low, as if conscious that their chance would come when the guardian birds left the young unprotected; one harrier rose a few feet in front of the first boat, bearing in its talons an unfortunate young heron. The spoonbill colony was our objective, and when we entered an area where the vegetation was less dense some forty of these big white birds flew grunting above us. Very white they looked, in spite of the pale buff band on the breast and the ruby eye in yellow setting; as they came over with neck extended and slightly sagging, and legs trailing, the filamented crest lay back behind the crown, but it is the long barred black bill with its orange yellow spoon which gives the bird its peculiar character. The young birds varied in age; in some nests these infants had but little down, and the bare skin showed through the sparse covering, but a close white woolly down covered rather older birds. They had not much to say, but

were distinctly nervous, biting at the stems of the reeds with short and flabby pinkish spoons.

Far more demonstrative and quaint were young purple herons, brown above and white beneath, but crowned with a gollywog crest of long filaments, which waved in the least puff of air, as the birds chattered *ek, ek, ek* continuously. They glared at us with wicked-looking yellow eyes; neither the young purples nor greys look placid and good-tempered, and at an early age they are ready to retaliate with a savage dig at an incautiously advanced hand or face. The spear-like beak of the adult herons is a lethal weapon when fish, frog or enemy bird is struck with the full force of the suddenly straightened neck, and it is well to be careful even with a juvenile bird. The predatory harriers do not attempt to rob the nests when the old birds are about; indeed, the harriers are not bold, for when we reached the black tern colony and were looking at the floating rafts, their nests amongst the reeds and lily pads, some of the parents turned their attention from us and attacked and drove away one of these big robbers.

Gadwalls were abundant, but the most interesting bird of this group that we found nesting was the ferruginous duck or white-eyed pochard. One nest contained nine buff eggs cosily surrounded by a blanket of sooty down: the old birds, showing their wing bars as they flew, did not wait to see what happened. They have not the pluck of terns. Larger wildfowl nest in the marsh, but it was not until we had landed that we saw grey lag-geese rise from a shallow lagoon close to an adobe inn amongst a few scattered houses.

The larger, wilder marsh at the far end of the great lake of Balaton provided more varied fare a few days later. A small fleet of boats awaited a much larger party—biologists from the fine biological station at Tihany—who, with a few exceptions, were out for the water picnic rather than serious work. We started paddling—the water was too deep for poling—up a wide embanked river that fails to drain the immense marshes though it carries a considerable flood into the lake. A similar avian chorus accompanied the regular splash of the long-handled paddles, as we slipped against the sluggish stream under the overhanging willows or shot across to the far side to avoid a bend. In the few hundred yards between the halt where we left the train to the bridge where we embarked we disturbed a roller from the wires and a diurnally-hunting little owl from the acacias, and saw storks wading through the rank grass, but as soon as we were afloat we were amidst a marsh rather than terrestrial avifauna. Purple and grey herons rose from the bank and flapped heavily ahead, their necks drawn back in an S curve; squacco and night-herons were silhouetted against

the sky, gliding on level wings, whilst again and again dark glossy ibises crossed the stream, their destination the same as ours.

We turned into a narrower waterway, where large snails—*Limnaea* and *Planorbis*—were browsing on the floating weed, and metallic-hued dragonflies tipped the surface, dropping casual eggs. The weed thickened, the stream narrowed; with difficulty our boatmen forced the scows through a tangle of arrowhead and flowering white and yellow lilies; at times floating masses of dead and decaying debris almost stopped advance. The heated boatmen paused, picked up the wooden baling scoops and drank the discoloured marsh water. We preferred to remain thirsty.

Bearded tits and all the warblers of the marsh were here as on Valenczei-zee, but a new note came occasionally from a hidden bird, the long and rather plaintive call of the penduline titmouse. Well may the small birds keep in shelter and hide their nests, for though human egg-robbers can be restrained, an army of guardians would be unable to cope with the avian thieves; magpies, hooded crows and jackdaws were busily hunting, and we found the corpse of a young grey lag-geese, half-eaten, from which, no doubt, we had disturbed one of the many marsh harriers that were beating over the reed-tops.

From the narrow channel we turned into a yard-wide cutting, and finally reached a spot where further boat progress was impossible. We left most of the pleasure-seekers to enjoy their lunch and fight the bloodthirsty flies, and stepped out into deep mud full of equally blood-lusting leeches. Fortunately for us our guide knew the marsh as well as a city man knows his streets; we followed, brushing aside the tall reeds and sharp-edged sedges, now ankle deep on broken reed-stems, now more than knee deep in mud, marsh gas bubbling up at every step. But when we reached a more open place where a group of stunted and whitewashed willows had found roothold in the treacherous ground all our troubles were forgotten; we were in the midst of a huge colony of birds.

This, we now realised, was the destination of some, at any rate, of the glossy ibises, squacco and night-herons which had travelled before us up the channels, for their big nests, three or four in a single tree, were crowded together, thick as in a rookery. Spoonbills, grey and purple herons were here, too, but in much smaller numbers; the glossy ibis, its dark green and purple plumage now really glossy in the strong light, was by far the most abundant species. In the nests were the quaint infants—most were not in for long, for the older ones tumbled out at our approach and ran, clumsily stumbling, over the roots and treacherous mud. Weird little birds they are; the short bristly

down stands up on their crowns as if they had been recently cropped, their downward curved bills are banded with livid flesh and black, and bare purple skin surrounds the bill and eyes. Some of these young adventurers soon thought better of their effort to escape and climbed back to the nest, using the curved bill as an extra hand.

The infant night-herons are solemn looking, rather stolid babes, clad in scanty buffish-grey to dirty white down, and with yellowish skin round their eyes and on their scraggy necks; they did not attempt to climb out, but accepted the inevitable when a light metal ring was fixed on a leg and they were returned to the nest.

Meanwhile, the anxious, harassed parents flew overhead, crossing and recrossing one another's aerial pathway until there seemed a maze of birds above us. Suddenly we sighted, amongst the dark ibises and the white spoonbills and squacco herons, which in spite of their buff backs look very white on the wing, one glistening white bird beside which all others looked dull and cloudy. It was one of a pair of little egrets which this year nested in the colony, but, alas, this, the first nest since 1895, was discovered by marsh harriers before the young were hatched. The hope that a colony of these splendid birds might be established here, where they would be safe from the raids of plume-hunters is, at any rate, postponed. If the birds return they will be safely guarded from human murderers, and their "aigrettes" will decorate no thoughtless woman's headgear.

If some of us were nervous as we plunged deep in the soft mud, wondering where we should find firm bottom, we were less nervous than the young birds. The very sight of us was too much for many an infant ibis, which with painful gulps brought up its latest meal, an evil-smelling mess. One young heron solemnly delivered one after the other a dozen silvery fish, each about four inches long. In many of the nests the young lay dead, some flat and dry, as if their parents had trodden upon them rather heavily; the odour from these added to the marsh gas and reek of the soured mire rendered the site unattractive to the fastidious, but for the ornithologist such drawbacks are trifles. No one species seemed to have exclusive rights to any particular tree; where two, three or four nests were in the branches they might be occupied by as many different birds. Presumably then they live in accord, but as all birds have their differences of opinion it does not follow that life in the colony is invariably harmonious; the disturbance due to our invasion, however, prevented any study of this aspect of heron psychology, interesting though it must be. I cannot see how even the most enthusiastic bird-photographer or bird-watcher could erect a hide (and survive in it) in such an evil spot.

By a different and circuitous route we again reached the boats, and soiled, muddied and soaked, embarked, and returned to the main river, where at a fisherman's hut we lunched and bade farewell to the biological party. We had a yet more interesting heronry to visit. Paddling again up-stream we entered a small, winding channel where there was a noticeable flow towards the river; navigation was by no means easy, for the long scows had to be manœuvred round the many bends; but at last we emerged into a series of shallow lagoons, completely covered by the nettle-shaped leaves of water caltrops—*Trapa natans*—which, unfortunately, was not in fruit, or we would have tasted the bread made from "Jesuit's nuts." The floating leaves and roots did not incommode the white-eyed ducks and great-crested grebes which were swimming in considerable numbers on the lagoon; the ducks went off at once, splashing along the surface until well on the wing, and the grebes, to our surprise, also took wing, rising and moving to another lagoon in three little flocks of about a dozen birds in each. What, at that time of year, were grebes doing in flocks? And why should these Hungarian birds be so much more nervous than ours at home, which seldom seek safety by taking wing?

But we had little time to do more than glance at the ducks, though this species is only a rare and casual visitor to Britain, or to watch the unusual behaviour of the grebes, for wading in the shallows on the far side of the lagoon were three or four great white herons.

If Hungary boasts an heraldic bird it surely is not the eagle, the double-headed eagle of Austria, but it may be the *Kócsag*, for the Hungarians are saving the remnant of European great white herons which have nearly gone under through the ravages of plume hunters. Exploited wherever it occurs, murdered to supply the cravings of fashion, this magnificent bird can exist only where it is constantly guarded; until women realise the sacrifice of life that their "aigrettes" or "ospreys" entail, plume-poachers and plume-smugglers will risk everything to supply the market. Two things only will stop the traffic—either the total extermination of the plume-bearing birds, or realisation by women of the immorality of the trade. That last is the right way; how then can it be brought home to thoughtless, fashion-crazed women?

How far we tramped after we left the boats in the lagoon I cannot say. At first our path was over a shaking causeway of reed-stems left by harvesters of reeds; then across the marsh where the reeds had been gathered, and into the old and never cut reed-bed, a denser, deeper jungle than any part of the marsh we had investigated in the morning. All our troubles were forgotten when we reached the heronry, and saw the young birds, snowy white, with

yellow bills, green lores and black legs, whilst above us, glistening white, their filamented plumes trailing, the anxious parents passed to and fro. They had no cause for anxiety; we were neither egg-snatchers nor murderous plume-hunters; indeed we were led to the sanctuary by their official guardians. We wished to learn how Hungary preserved its birds; it was a wonderfully beautiful as well as interesting lesson that we learnt.

On our way back we passed nests of the glossy ibis and other marsh birds, and a large nest of the grey lag-goose from which the goslings had departed. Then back across the lagoons, down the streamlet, now with the current, out into the river and down to the fishing station, where we changed out of mud-filled boots and soaked and tattered garments, and started back towards far distant Budapest.

Dry and in clean clothes, comfortably seated in the hay-filled scows, each with his gondolier paddling with ease at the stern, that homeward journey down the wide embanked stream was a delightful rest after the toil of wading through the marsh. The fire-bellied toads had started the overture of their vespertinal concert; their bombination almost drowned the warblers' varied songs, but from time to time we detected the call of the still secretive penduline tits. In the morning, when ascending the river, we had watched many herons flying heavily before us; now many had become very many. One might have imagined that the birds were lining the low barrier that divided river from marsh to make sure that the disturbers of their peace were leaving for good; they stood—night, squacco and purple herons—in long lines on either bank, flapping slowly for a hundred yards or so before again settling when the leading scow came within a few yards. Probably old and young, for many of the squaccos and night-herons were in juvenile dress, come regularly to fish or hunt for frogs along the margin of this wider stream. Before, however, we reached the railway bridge, all had swung out over the reeds and returned to their evening meal.

A mile or two of dusty, stone-littered road was hard walking after the squelching marsh, but lesser grey shrikes and rollers on the wires prevented monotony, and as we crossed some level fields to the railway the quail was calling; from the uncut grass came its evensong, *wet-my-lips*, liquid notes which assured us that at the station this would be possible.

T. A. COWARD.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

LABOUR FOREIGN POLICY.

THE parallel between 1924 and 1929 goes far. Then as now a Labour Government came into office, shackled by a minority vote, but inheriting a promising field in foreign policy. Both in 1924 and now the Labour Ministry's most likely outlet for its energy lay in foreign affairs, where the tradition and the commonsense of continuity in policy disarmed opposition at Westminster. In both cases, moreover, it happened that the outgoing Ministry's errors and omissions coincided with certain other ready-made occasions for the exercise of the new Government's intelligence. In neither case did it need much intelligence at the outset to take advantage of the opportunities.

(1) RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA.

The case of Russia, for instance, is a permanent asset to any non-Conservative party. Negative or destructive policies have a way of becoming a kind of boomerang to those who pursue them, and for some inscrutable reason the Conservative Party in Great Britain has specialised in such a policy so far as Russia is concerned. All that the Labour Government need do, therefore, whenever it enters upon office, is to undo something that its forerunner has done or do something its forerunner has not done, and immediately win the good will of all sensible people. In 1924 the first act of the Labour Government was to recognise the Russian Government; in other words to recognise the existence of something that not only palpably did exist, but had existed for six years: not a profoundly original thing to do, but the Conservative Government had not done it. Mr. MacDonald, before taking office on that occasion, referred to his predecessor's Russian policy as "pompous folly," and his words had something to justify them. He reversed the policy within a month, and on February 1st, 1924, Sir Robert (then Mr.) Hodgson in Moscow presented the British Note to that effect. The broad outline of what happened thereafter has some curious as well as practical value at the present time.

When at the end of 1924 the Conservatives came back, they restarted their retrograde tactics with Russia. The folly of what they did took its course until, in the summer of 1927, the Arcos Raid—to give whatever credit be due to its authors—probably exceeded in its consequences what the Conservative Government had bargained for or expected. It is an odd thing that the Conservative Party in Great Britain, whose general philosophy of

keeping things as they are and of avoiding emotional disturbance is so beneficial to finance, trade and all honest work, should in the case of Russia alone have acted as a provocative agency of which the effect was to serve the ends of the Russian agitators. Within a few weeks of Sir Austen Chamberlain's and (the then) Sir William Joynson-Hicks's taking office in 1925 Mr. Trotsky's successor as acting War Commissar was making speeches to enthusiastic audiences of which the following sentence was typical: "Now more than ever we need a firm Red Army. We must not forget possible battles with the bourgeoisie." He was talking rubbish, but the point is that the opportunity to talk in such a strain was given him by Sir Austen Chamberlain and by Sir William Joynson-Hicks. Moscow has talked more rubbish with more effect during the period of Conservative administrations in Great Britain than at any other time.

As if to add to the perversity, Mr. Baldwin's Government gratuitously advertised what the Moscow agitators (such as Mr. Bukharin) wanted to have advertised. At the beginning of 1926 there was published what Mr. Lloyd George in his lively style called "an abortion of a Blue Book" ("Communist Papers: Documents obtained on the arrest of the Communist Leaders on the 14th and 21st October, 1925." Cmd. 2682. 1926). The irony of the situation was illustrated in this one fact that, as was divulged in the Blue Book itself, Mr. Zinoviev had been complaining that he could not afford the services of a typist to make copies of his propagandist manifestoes. What worried him, reasonably enough, was that if his effect was to be subversive, the people he wanted to subvert must at least know what he had to say. How could the toiling masses of Great Britain be mobilised for the world revolution if they have never heard of the world revolution? When Sir William Joynson-Hicks (who deserves his removal to another place) made his haul of communist documents at the end of 1925 it would have best defeated their purpose if he had put them into his waste-paper basket. Instead he photographed them; published a big Blue Book; mobilised the whole machinery of the Government's publishing office to circulate them and make them known; provoked debates about them, and further quotations from them, in the House of Commons; caused noisy scenes in the House, one of which led to the stopping of its business; encouraged "Diehard" Back Benchers to frame resolutions about hounding Mr. Rosengolz from Chesham House, resolutions which in their turn produced unbalanced speeches all over the country and swollen audiences at Marble Arch. Could perversity go further? Could Mr. Zinoviev have been more successful? His trash had been circulated in Great Britain far more widely and far more effectively than could ever

have been achieved through the carbon copies of a hundred typists in Moscow.

Moreover, these things do not end where they begin. The Government's supporters now felt encouraged to clamour for the fantastic, if vague, ideal of ostracising Russia. Lord Balfour, who does not suffer fools gladly, especially when they belong to his own party, stigmatised the clamour as the "height of rashness" and dwelt on the folly of causing gratuitous disturbance (House of Lords, June 17th, 1926). On the same day Sir William, by a poetic retribution, had to announce in the House of Commons that the Government did not propose "to take the step indicated by my hon. and gallant friend"—his hon. and gallant friend being a fervid supporter of the Government who wanted to smash something, he did not quite know what, in Russia. Before the day was out the Government found itself in the odd and embarrassing position of having to combat its own supporters and of being rescued by Mr. MacDonald from its own friends.

Yet obstinacy was not conquered. By the beginning of 1927 Sir Austen Chamberlain was writing long notes to Moscow again complaining of the nasty things that Moscow continued to say about the British Empire. How could Moscow resist the temptation, especially as there was always the chance of another Blue Book being published? One of the new quotations thus recorded in a British state paper, was taken from a speech made by Mr. Bukharin at a conference of the Russian Communist Party and before the "Executive Committee of the Communist International." "Mighty masses (said Mr. Bukharin) are marching under the Soviet star under the banner of Communism. Comrades! Our proletariat is ready to do everything to strengthen the forces of the world revolution and to facilitate the process thereof. Has not our party proved that it will do everything necessary to defend the cause of world revolution? During the great English Strike, during the great China revolution, our party—we can and dare assert this—has shown itself in the forefront."

Charles Dickens would have thanked the Soviet star if such speeches had been made in real life before he started to write his *Pickwick Papers*. If Mr. Bukharin had thus delivered himself at Marble Arch, in Hyde Park, any Sunday afternoon, he would have been drowned in derisive glee within five minutes. Yet Mr. Bukharin's wretched drivel "drew" Lord Birkenhead, made Winston wince, and was gloomily enshrined in a Foreign Office paper. Such "gaffe" as the British Note of February 23rd, 1927, wholly deserved the sympathetic reception it received in Moscow.

It is probably fair to recall that the Baldwin Government did not want to break off the existing relationship between Moscow and

London. Indeed, Sir Austen Chamberlain, some time before the Arcos Raid of May, 1927, admirably explained how foolish it would be to do anything of the kind. On June 25th, 1926, he said in the House of Commons: "All Europe is perplexed and harassed by economic and social problems. It is subject to political uncertainty and a sense of political insecurity which react upon economic conditions in a disadvantageous manner. And it must be the object of statesmanship in all countries to alleviate and, if possible, to remove these difficulties. If we broke off diplomatic relations with Russia we should not only introduce a new and disturbing issue into British domestic policy, but we should introduce a new and disturbing issue in Europe." He was probably not fairly consulted before the Arcos Raid took place, but he did not resign. He therefore consented for the sake of Cabinet harmony to have it chalked against him that he did that foolish thing within twelve months of having himself exposed its folly. For the two subsequent years we experienced the somewhat unintelligent expedient whereby British interests had to be watched and interpreted by the Norwegian Legation in Moscow and Russian interests by the German Embassy in London. In other words, the British Government having decided not to be on speaking terms with Russia, none the less had to speak to Russia, but through the intermediary of a third party.

It was, therefore, a fair guess that one of the first acts of the new Government in 1929 would be to resume active relations with Russia. It was quickly made known from the competent quarter in Whitehall that in the Government's view the juridical position was simple. The MacDonald Government in 1924 had recognised the Soviet Government *de jure*. No further question could therefore arise about recognition. The only question that presumably emerged to exercise the ingenuity of Mr. Henderson's legal advisers at the Foreign Office was to define what exactly had happened in the summer of 1927. The fact was that for two years the British Government refused to speak directly to the Russian Government, except at Geneva, where Sir Austen had to sit on the same committee with Mr. Litvinov. One may deduce that Sir Cecil Hurst chose to put his blind eye to the problem of defining sulkiness in terms of international law and simply advised His Majesty's Government that the two Governments could simply appoint *Chargés d'Affaires* or Ambassadors in each other's capitals and thereby restart the direct relationship which had been suspended, but not abrogated, in 1927.

It was true in one sense that the appointment of Ambassadors had since February, 1924, been regarded as conditional on the settlement of certain outstanding political issues about debts and pro-

paganda, but the 1924 political draft treaty, designed to meet that condition, was rejected by Mr. Baldwin's Government. It was thereby as it were dropped into the waste-paper basket, whence the Labour Government of 1929 for various reasons was not anxious to rescue it. Just before the election Mr. MacDonald gave it as his view that Anglo-Russian problems could best be composed round a table, a procedure which presupposed the functioning of normal relations. On assuming office the Government, so one was given to understand, at once communicated with Moscow, via Norway, to suggest the abolition of the roundabout channel by the immediate appointment of *Chargés d'Affaires* or of Ambassadors; and the King's Speech (July 3rd) announced that: "My Government are examining the conditions under which diplomatic relations with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics may be resumed and are in communication with my Governments in the Dominions and the Government of India on the subject." One of the immediate practical necessities was to establish a contractual relationship on such points as the mutual recognition of maritime law, judicial decisions, the limit of territorial rights, and the validity of existing treaties, so that trade could be restarted.

On July 5th Sir Austen Chamberlain spoke on the Address. In and out of office, it seemed, he was haunted by the Third International. He had been doing some further research, and had found something wherewith he thought to make Mr. Henderson's flesh creep. He did produce a shaky effect on Mr. Henderson, as will be made clear below. Sir Austen said that "he held in his hands a translation of a manifesto issued by the Third International and published in *Pravda* on March 27th. The date was interesting, because, if his recollection was right, it was the eve of the arrival of that unofficial representation of British trade which went to see what business could be done with Russia." He went on to explain that "there were several pages of it, but he would read only the beginning and the end." That is much the best way with shockers. The beginning merely took the form of a preamble or invocation in which such phrases appeared as: "To the proletarians of all countries; to the oppressed peoples of the world." The end part, however, was exciting, and Sir Austen did good business with it. "To all toilers and the exploited in India! Only by means of decisive struggle with bourgeois treachery"—(that was himself, Sir Austen supposed)—"only after having disclosed and thrown out the reformist lackeys"—(that was the hon. and right hon. gentlemen opposite)—"and only under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat will the revolution in India gain a victory. Down with British Imperialism. . . ! Down with . . .

etc. . . ! Long live the revolutionary struggle . . . etc. . . !” The last-quoted sentence sounded like a muddle on the part of its author, unless indeed the Third International, after a decade of effort, had abandoned hope of a short-lived struggle : but it was not to Sir Austen’s purpose to draw attention to such an aspect of the Third International.

The curious thing, however, was the effect of all this on Mr. Henderson. He appeared to be nervous. He stated solemnly : “ We on these benches have no responsibility for what the Third International may say. I repeat, in the presence of this House, that we, as the Labour Party, have no responsibility for anything that may be issued by the Third International, that we have no contact with the Third International, that we have no association with the Third International and we never have had any.” One almost received the impression that Mr. Henderson was frightened of something. Is it not time that the Third International were taken less seriously by Westminster?

(2) ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

In the field of Anglo-American relations a harvest was nearly ready for the gathering when the MacDonald Government came into office. Mr. Arthur Henderson had been made Secretary of State, but Mr. MacDonald himself led the gleaners into the field. He lost little time. It was on Wednesday, June 5th, that he drove to Windsor Castle and kissed hands. Nine days later (Friday, June 14th) General Dawes arrived in England with his laconic and characteristic “ Shake, Gentlemen ! ” on landing. He travelled at once with dramatic effect to Scotland where Mr. MacDonald was having a holiday after the election strain. On the Sunday (June 16th) the two met at Forres, talked for a few hours in private, but within the range of press photographers, and issued an official statement in these words : “ We have had a conversation regarding the present position of the question of naval disarmament as between the United States and Great Britain. It has been informal and general and most satisfactory. His Excellency proposes to refer to this subject at the Pilgrims’ Dinner on Tuesday night, and I shall do the same almost at the same time at Lossiemouth. This is intended to be the beginning of the negotiations. We both wish to make it clear that the other Naval Powers are expected to co-operate in these negotiations, upon the successful consummation of which the peace of the whole world must depend.”

Mr. MacDonald’s good fortune consisted in this, that the inevitable reaction after the 1927 failure had already set in ; that it had been given a fillip in the United States by the arrival of Mr. Hoover, a statesman of solid commonsense, at the White House ;

that the first steps had already been taken for the resumption of diplomatic consultation between London and Washington ; and that General Dawes, the right man for the job, had been sent to London for that purpose. The fact that General Dawes arrived at the very moment of Mr. MacDonald’s taking office made possible the drama of Forres above alluded to. Mr. MacDonald was alive enough to see the opening : but the opening was made as long ago as February 6th, when Sir Austen Chamberlain announced in the House of Commons that “ all questions concerning our relations with America and the naval conditions of the two countries are under consideration by His Majesty’s Government.”

There was perhaps a danger that the spectacular element in the MacDonald-Dawes encounter might be overdone. Public imagination, when excited, has a way of losing control and of causing unnecessary disappointment if exaggerated hopes are not fulfilled. The famous example of the “ Locarno spirit ” in 1925 is fresh in one’s memory. It was from another such cause that in the morning papers of June 19th one read certain suggestions that in the speeches they had made the night before Mr. MacDonald and General Dawes had slackened in their pace. It had been arranged on Sunday, June 16th, that on the following Tuesday evening (June 18th) Mr. MacDonald in Lossiemouth and General Dawes in London should rise to speak at the same moment of the clock. The two occasions were a feast in local honour of Mr. MacDonald on the one hand and the Pilgrims’ Dinner on the other. Perhaps the reference to the clock was a mistake, the drama brought too near to melodrama. There were those who expected that when the two heroes rose in their might, separated by nearly 600 miles geographically, but united mentally and by the clock, they would at least announce that the United States and Great Britain were on the point of telegraphing to Tokio a proposal for the immediate abolition of all navies. They did not make any such announcement. They rather warned their hearers against expecting too much. It would, however, be equally misleading to labour the point of their warning, for the ceremonies of June 18th did produce a remarkable demonstration in the moral field of Anglo-American sympathy. The moral field is the most important field, for it is there only that lasting treaties can be made.

The Pilgrims’ Dinner was the occasion of a ceremonial welcome to General Dawes as United States Ambassador. Mr. MacDonald sent from Scotland a hearty letter of regret that he could not be there (“ . . . although I cannot be at the dinner and grasp the hand of General Dawes, allow me to join my heart and voice . . . etc.”) and Mr. Arthur Henderson performed his first public function as Secretary of State by proposing the toast. It was a sober,

good speech, in which peace as an ideal was treated with just the right measure of sentiment. "If we accept," he said, "that it is the duty and the primary function of statesmanship the world over so to conduct affairs as to ensure to the peoples increased opportunities for happiness and human well-being; then I can imagine no greater service that statesmanship may render than that of uprooting war from human society and lifting the burden of armaments that lies so heavily upon mankind."

General Dawes's speech, no doubt by deliberate intent, made a substantial contribution to the detail of the problem. He is not the man to refrain timidly from plunging into work, when work is to be done, even if the occasion be theoretically proper only for conventional courtesy. Such men are needed in diplomacy. General Dawes's personal combination of the rôle of soldier, that is of professional destroyer, with that of diplomatist, that is of the professional opposite, seems to give him the good of one of his worlds without the bad of the other; for when a general speaks all the militarists are disarmed, as it were. The particular importance of General Dawes's speech of June 18th was that it gave more precise form to the change of attitude adopted by Washington towards the naval problem. The change had already been made known. The inelastic Coolidge formula about global tonnage was quickly dropped by Mr. Hoover, in pursuance no doubt of the ambition expressed in his inaugural address (March 4th). He then said: "I covet for this administration a record of having further contributed to the advance of the cause of peace." Mr. Hoover's meaning was made clear on April 22nd, when Mr. Gibson, speaking at the sixth session of the League of Nations Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference declared 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 warships, 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.

On June 18th General Dawes took the matter further. As his speech will no doubt give the clue to the American policy to be adopted at the new conference that will sooner or later presumably take place, his points should be remembered. He boldly announced

that he was now concerned "with suggestions as to a change in the method of future negotiations for naval disarmament." He stated that: "My theme is what method of procedure had best be adopted to translate a policy of naval reduction into a fixed agreement between the nations—a step so important to the peace of the world and to the happiness of mankind." He quoted from Edmund Burke to the effect that "Politics ought to be adjusted not to human reasonings but to human nature, of which the reason is but a part, and by no means the greatest part." After a long historical survey of post-war negotiations in naval and in other matters he expounded the nature of the new method of seeking a naval agreement as submitted by Mr. Hoover.

The chief new thing he suggested was that the statesmen, and not the experts, should have the deciding voice. "A naval expert," he said, "is qualified to define accurately the principles which should determine abstract naval equality, but the law of human nature decrees that his opinion is relatively not as safe in a programme which he formulates as a practical interpretation of those principles applied to a partial destruction of his own navy. The proper pride of a naval officer's life is his navy. His whole professional career impels him to think of a navy only in terms of victory. He not only instinctively feels, but he is rightly taught to feel, that he must strike not for equal navies, but for a superior navy. It is difficult for him to forget that with a superior navy, victory is probable, with an equal navy doubtful, with an inferior navy almost hopeless. Other things being equal, I fear no naval officer ever inherently favours equality. . . . At the beginning of the work the contribution of the naval experts to the problem should be a definition of abstract equality. It is certainly possible for naval experts to arrive at a definition for an evaluation of the fighting strength of ships. Thus, for instance, one might find a yardstick with which to determine the military value of individual ships. These ships might differ in displacement, size of guns, age, speed and other characteristics, and yet such an agreed properly weighted value might be given to each of these differing characteristics as to make it possible to compare, for example, the cruiser fleets or combined fleets of two navies, and establish a parity between them. If naval experts rise to the proper sense of their responsibility, the use by statesmen of their yardstick will not be one which will invite peril from those extreme pacifists and extreme militarists who form the 'lunatic fringe.' But, again, in connection with the method of preparing the naval yardstick, let us consider the law of human nature. Should a Commission composed of the representatives of each navy concerned meet to reach agreement upon this yardstick, they would be asked to agree upon something the use of which

will reduce in number the idols of their hearts—the ships of their navies. . . . I will say, frankly, that from a commission of naval experts of the respective nations meeting together and called to evolve a final definition of the naval yardstick, I personally should expect a failure to agree.

“It would seem that, to adjust to human nature the method of arriving at naval reduction, each Government might separately obtain from their respective naval experts their definition of the yardstick and then the inevitable compromise between those differing definitions, which will be expressed in the final fixation of the technical yardstick, should be made by a committee of statesmen of the nations, reinforced from the beginning by those separate expressions of abstract technical naval opinion and able again to seek further naval advice, if necessary, before the final fixation. These statesmen should further be the ones to draw up for the world the terms of the final agreement upon naval reductions, which should be couched in those simple terms understandable to the ordinary man in the street, which, while the pet aversion of the casuist, are the highest expression of true statesmanship. That final agreement, covering the quantitative dispositions, will go to the nations for approval or rejection. If this should be the outcome, let those entrusted with the last draft of the conclusions of the last Conference be men born with the faculty of clear and concise statement, for that document must appeal to the composite will of the peoples of the nations, and in order to make the proper appeal it must be read generally and understood.”

Such was General Dawes's main thesis. He submitted that the 1927 failure had been due to the method of “a mixed commission of statesmen and naval technicians.” Mr. MacDonald's traditional luck holds good in this example. A solution of the naval problem is the key to all international progress in our time, and Mr. MacDonald, thanks to Mr. Hoover, has a chance of success such as was denied his predecessor. It will require skill in the handling, wherein fortune shows herself to be not unreasonable; for Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Henderson are sincere enough in their desire for peace, and sincerity breeds skill.

Speaking simultaneously, but in Scotland and therefore at shorter length, Mr. MacDonald showed himself well aware of his opportunity. He spoke of the problem, and of the need of a solution. “That is the glorious task which the happy conversations which the American Ambassador and I had together at Logie House opened up, and I would pray the whole nation, irrespective of party, to share helpfully in our labours, to give us its confidence, and to enable us to carry the work to a successful conclusion.” He announced that he proposed to visit the United States at an inde-

finite date in the near future to make personal contact with the President of the United States. Mr. Baldwin, it appears, had had the like intention before he lost the election; and after losing the election, he showed the impartial broadmindedness which is one of his abidingly attractive qualities by urging the importance of such a visit on his successor. He pointed the contrast that whereas the British and European statesmen had often met, to their mutual benefit, there had not so far been any personal contact between the British Prime Minister and the American President. The President is precluded by his constitution from leaving the United States except in a rare and important emergency, as when Mr. Wilson went to Europe in 1918, and Mr. Coolidge to Havana in 1928. The British Prime Minister is not so confined. The Atlantic, it appears, can be flown only from West to East, but the case for a diplomatic crossing from East to West, by boat, seems unanswerable.

(3) REPARATION AND DEBT.

The United States and Russia were the two most pronounced factors in the initial programme of the Government's foreign policy. It happened, however, by a coincidence of circumstance that when Mr. Henderson went to the room at the Foreign Office just vacated by Sir Austen Chamberlain, he found that all the major issues of British foreign policy were coming to a head: reparations, the Rhineland, inter-allied debts, the optional clause of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The questions of reparations and of inter-Allied debts have now become two aspects of the same question: for the recent Experts' Report assumed in its arithmetical calculations that the Churchill-Caillaux “agreement” of 1925 would stand. The MacDonald Government promptly took part in an exchange of opinion with the other five Governments about the date and place of the plenary conference at which the experts' recommendations would be considered. Curiously, it seemed no longer practical for Mr. Snowden to withdraw the 1925 Churchill offer or for M. Poincaré much longer to delay the acceptance of the offer whether by the Chamber's ratification or otherwise, for the experts had now woven the various inter-Allied debt arrangements into the general fabric of international debt, including German reparations. The British Government strongly urged that the conference be held in London, because only on that condition would Mr. MacDonald be able to attend it. M. Poincaré at first adopted a silent attitude on that matter, his friends explaining (fairly or unfairly) that he was shy of meeting Mr. MacDonald in London, but just as shy, or more, of meeting Mr. Snowden on the Continent. If the conference were not held in London, it would no doubt fall to Mr. Snowden to lead the British

delegation. It was not known when this paper was written what would be the result of the exchanges, but some people who had faith in the determination of the new British Government expected that the conference would be held in London.

The payment of the British debt continued to be a sore and difficult prospect for French opinion. M. Caillaux on businesslike grounds urged the immediate ratification of the funding agreements (interview with the *Paris Midi*, June 12th). M. Poincaré reached the like conclusion on other grounds. It appears that he had been impressed by Mr. Snowden's pre-election reminder that an unrati-fied agreement is no agreement at all, and that a British Labour Government would be free, if the occasion should arise, to exact a more just settlement than that offered in the Churchill-Caillaux arrangement of August, 1925. On July 9th Mr. Snowden took an occasion presented to him in the House of Commons to deepen the impression he had already made on M. Poincaré. He was asked "whether steps had been taken to indicate to the French Govern-ment that if the capital sums due to America for stores sold to France after the War became due owing to the absence of the ratifi-cation of their American debt agreement, this country would require a similar payment according to the agreement already arrived at between the late Government and the French Govern-ment." He answered: "From the outset of the negotiations for the funding of the French War debt the late Government laid down, as a fundamental principle, that any payments that France might make to the United States should be accompanied simultaneously *pari passu* by proportionate payments to Great Britain, and a reminder that this principle still holds good was sent to the French Minister of Finance by the right hon. member for Epping last May." He was thereupon asked: "In view of the daily increasing danger that the situation envisaged by this condition may come to pass, is His Majesty's Government taking any steps to indicate to the French Government while there is yet time the increasing liability to which they are throwing themselves open?" He answered: "We are watching with very considerable interest the discussions that are going on in Paris with regard to this matter. I cannot say anything further at the moment than that if the circumstances contemplated in this question arise the Government will certainly insist on the condition laid down by the right hon. gentleman."

It appeared from what Mr. Snowden said on July 9th that he still imagined it to be practical for him to vindicate the *pari passu* principle; but it is amusing to notice that he no longer mentioned the Balfour principle. It was shown in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for June (pp. 777 to 779) that the Balfour principle, in spite of the

Churchill-Snowden vendetta of April, was somewhat beside the argument, and that it was in any case potentially inconsistent with the *pari passu* principle. Mr. Snowden has no doubt been coached a little, and brought up to date, by the permanent officials of the Treasury, who know all about these things. It would be interesting, however, to have an impartial, expert calculation, such as those Treasury officials could do, but could hardly disclose, of the extent to which the Balfour Note, the *pari passu* principle, and the Young Plan are incompatible with each other.

It was on July 11th, two days after Mr. Snowden's state-ment, that M. Poincaré, speaking in the Chamber, made the following observations: "The debts both to the United States and the United Kingdom, M. Poincaré said, were in-contestable, and were not under discussion. What was before the Chamber was the ratification of the agreements. They might regret that these agreements did not contain a clause safeguarding France in respect of Germany's payments, but such regrets were vain in view of the consistent failure of appeals to the creditor countries during the last few years. The agreements must be ratified, because, if they were not, then either or both creditors had it in their power to impose stiffer terms. France was not the only country that had contracted debts. If the total of principal and interest alone were considered, France had been accorded privileged treatment, while in respect of other matters she had received the same treatment as the others. It was absurd to expect conditions that the United States could not give to other countries."

M. Poincaré went on to reveal that he had also been impressed by one of the implications of a general acceptance of the Young Plan of reparation payments. "There was another factor," M. Poincaré said. "If they did not ratify the agreements with their creditors, what would be the attitude of Germany? Would not the answer be: 'You have refused to ratify your agreements. That is a new element in the case'? and Germany would refuse to tie herself to the Young Plan for sixty-two years. The acceptance of the Young Plan by Great Britain and the United States was essential, and they must not be set against doing so by France's refusal to ratify the debt agreements. Moreover, if France elected to pay the debt for the war stores instead of ratifying the whole, the Young Plan would never see the light of day. Ratification was thus inevitable and necessary, and it must be done in a form that would satisfy the creditors. Neither the United States nor Great Britain would accept any reservations whatever, and these artifices must therefore be abandoned. The Socialist-Radicals blamed the Government for not accepting the text proposed by the Finance Committee, and embody-ing the reservations, on the ground that France's position had

thereby been weakened. The Government, however, had not rejected the reservations, but only their incorporation in the ratification Bills, and that on the ground of the declarations made long ago by both the United States and Great Britain, that in no circumstance would a conditional ratification be accepted. Those who sought to overthrow the Government on this account would find themselves in a similar situation, and would merely have to do in two stages what the Government proposed to do in one." (*Times*, July 12th.)

(4) THE RHINELAND.

On the question of the Rhineland the Government's attitude was revealed by Mr. Henderson in the House of Commons on July 5th. All he said was that "he had come to the conclusion that, while it was of the greatest importance that the evacuation should take place at the earliest possible moment, it would not be in the interests of the peace of Europe if that step had to be taken by degrees or stages. They ought to get both the French and the Belgian Governments to take that step with them. He was not sure that the German Government itself would desire to see a piecemeal evacuation. He had no reason to believe that any insuperable difficulty would be placed in the way by either the French or the Belgian Government of completing the evacuation. Everything the Government could do, especially at the coming conference which would deal with the Experts' report, would be done to bring about a speedy and unanimous decision in favour of evacuation." Mr. Henderson was using the piano pedal towards France, as Mr. MacDonald used it at the beginning of 1924. In 1924 Mr. MacDonald was helped by the supersession of M. Poincaré by M. Herriot. In 1929 Mr. Henderson can hardly count on a comparable windfall, and there are those who hope that his eminently proper attempt to humour France will not be carried out at the expense of yielding ground to France. Few students of foreign policy would patiently contemplate any further prolongation of the double anomaly whereby three members of the League of Nations, who are likewise signatories of the Locarno treaties, remain in occupation of the territory of a fellow member of the League who is also a Locarno signatory.

(5) THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE.

The Government announced in the King's Speech that "My Government consider that the time has come to submit to judicial settlement international disputes in which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights. For this purpose they are now consulting with my Governments in the Dominions and the Govern-

ment of India regarding the signing of the Optional Clause embodied in the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice." In the debate on the Address Sir Austen Chamberlain (July 5th) uttered the familiar warning about the Optional Clause. He made the point that there was no definition of what constituted a justiciable dispute, and proceeded to assume the, to him, unusual rôle of differentiating between the Anglo-American type, and the Continental type, of thought on that subject. He submitted that an Anglo-American dispute could probably be better settled by the Bryan-Spring-Rice tribunal of conciliation than by the World Court, which would necessarily be actuated by Continental criteria; and even submitted that in other disputes the League Council or the Kellogg Pact might prove more efficient instruments of settlement than the Hague.

Mr. Henderson spoke on the same day, after Sir Austen had spoken. He left no doubt that the Government had made up its mind to sign Clause 36 of the Statute. The Government, he said, "were not taking the step of signing the Optional Clause without weighing all the implications involved, and it seemed to him that, on both this issue and on the question of opening up normal relations with Russia, perhaps the right hon. gentleman laboured a little unnecessarily the suggestion of keeping contact with the Dominions. The Speech clearly showed, beyond the shadow of doubt, that the very first step that had been taken, both with regard to the signing of the Optional Clause and of entering into normal relations with Russia, was to place the matter before the whole of our Dominions." He added: "With regard to the legal aspect of the Optional Clause they considered that Locarno and the Kellogg Pact ought always to be taken into consideration in any move with regard to the method by which they were going to stabilise the peace of the world. While the Opposition often talked about Locarno and the Kellogg Pact, they did not appear to be prepared to go forward and take what the Government believed to be the next step. Unless they advanced very much further, taking Locarno and the Kellogg Pact as their bases, both those instruments would not be as influential and effective as they might be made if further steps were taken in regard to such questions as the Optional Clause. Nor was the Optional Clause the only step; it was a first step, and until they had had replies from the Dominions they could not decide whether it would be signed with or without reservations." Although Mr. Henderson did not say so, there was other ground for the belief that the Government had decided, as on principle, that in signing the Clause the reservation would be made that for the purpose of the Clause the British Empire must be regarded as a unit, in spite of the separate status attaching to the Dominions as

members of the League : in other words, that no commitment would be made which would empower the World Court to adjudicate between the component parts of the British Empire.

(6) CHINA.

In the case of China, the new Government benefited, not from its predecessor's faults, but from its virtues. Sir Austen Chamberlain had taken a consistently progressive and far-sighted view of Anglo-Chinese needs, and Mr. Henderson had nothing more difficult to do than to continue Sir Austen's work in the same spirit. In his speech of July 6th Mr. Henderson announced that the conversations that had been begun by Sir Miles Lampson and the Chinese authorities—in the matter of the projected commercial treaty, the rendition of Wei-hai-wei, the future utilisation of the British share of the Boxer indemnity, and certain questions arising out of extra-territoriality—were simply being continued. The difficulties were those of routine and of detail, not of elementals. The only disturbing part of the horizon was Manchuria, which, as this paper went to press, was still obscure.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

July 15th, 1929.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA.*

This Diary of St. Helena was edited in 1899 by the late Sir Arthur Wilson and created considerable interest. Lord Rosebery refers to it in his *Napoleon: the Last Phase*, published in 1900, but it secured only a very small public owing to the failure of the publishers, and a new edition is very welcome. Miss Kent in her introduction rightly declares that "this sober, first-hand record of my great-great-uncle's conversations with Bonaparte seems at least worth comparison with other more highly coloured and partisan literature relating to the ex-Emperor at St. Helena." Sir Pulteney Malcolm, the author of the diary, was born in 1768, the third son of George Malcolm of Burnfoot, near Langholm, Dumfriesshire,

one of a family of seventeen which gave several distinguished servants to the State. He entered the navy at ten years old, under the command of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Pasley, Bart., and rose step by step in his profession, serving in almost every part of the world. He was in command of a ship during the most active period of the war with France, and took an important part in the battle of St. Domingo, for which he received the gold medal. He became rear-admiral in 1813; in the follow-

* *A Diary of St. Helena: the Journal of Lady Malcolm (1816, 1817) containing the conversations of Napoleon with Sir Pulteney Malcolm.* Edited by Sir Arthur Wilson. With an Introduction by Muriel Kent. George Allen & Unwin. 6s. net.

ing year he was appointed third in command of the fleet engaged in the war with America; and in 1815 he commanded the squadron co-operating with Wellington's army during the Waterloo campaign. According to family traditions, he was among the guests at the ball given by the Duchess of Richmond in Brussels on the eve of the battle. He received the K.C.B. in the same year. In 1816 the admiral was appointed to the command of the Cape Stations, which included St. Helena, and it is with this period, June, 1816-July, 1817, that the diary is concerned. He was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral in 1821, and in later years he twice commanded the Mediterranean Fleet. He was nominated G.C.B. five years before his death which occurred in 1838.

This Diary has been known as "Lady Malcolm's Diary," but the oldest copy is in the Admiral's handwriting, and it is agreed that on the occasions when he went to Longwood alone the report was written from Sir Pulteney's dictation. There is direct evidence on the point. The Malcolms, moreover, "stood almost alone among the English official community" in their opportunities for intercourse and friendliness with the great exile.

It is useless to-day to defend or attack the attitude of the English Government in refusing Napoleon's demand to be detained in England. England was not ungenerous to a great and defeated enemy, but the position was singularly difficult. Elba had been a failure and the ex-Emperor was still the hero probably of a majority of the people of France. St. Helena was a healthy island in every way, and Miss Kent rightly protests against Herr Ludwig's statement to the contrary in his recent untrustworthy account of Napoleon's life. The Duke of Wellington (then Sir Arthur Wellesley), writing in 1805 after visiting the island, specifically states that "the interior of the island is beautiful, and the climate apparently the most healthy I have ever lived in." Sir Frederick Maugham has recently pointed out, in criticising Herr Ludwig's book, that the French evidence is to the same effect. Herr Ludwig attempts to revive the long since dissipated serious charges against the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, but "the Diary gives no support to those, but shows that the Admiral found the Governor un congenial and disapproved his methods." Sir Pulteney in fact never failed to uphold Sir Hudson's authority and good intentions when in conversation with Napoleon. "Nor is there any sign that Sir Pulteney came under the spell of that powerful personality." In his later years he used to say that of the three great commanders he had known personally—Nelson, Wellington, and Napoleon—it was Nelson, the one under whom he had served, who was by far the most lovable.

Napoleon during his detention at St. Helena always insisted on

keeping the title of Emperor. Sir Pulteney was introduced by the Governor on June 20th, 1816, and the two were received with great civility. The Admiral described him as taller and not so fat as he had been led to expect, and with an Italian cast of countenance. His manner was agreeable and tinged with humour, as when he said to Colonel Wynyard that it was not worth while to have been wounded on such a trifling occasion as the engagement at St. Maura. There was, of course, a certain bitterness, as when he expressed his surprise that the East India Company should be allowed to keep slaves on St. Helena. His admiration for the English income-tax has not been followed in France. Lady Malcolm was struck by the kindness of his expression. "She saw no trace of great ability; his countenance seemed rather to indicate goodness; at a second interview she remarked that it would change with his humour."

On July 4th the Admiral and Napoleon talked of Nelson, and Napoleon admitted that Nelson was the greatest sea-officer who had ever appeared, but he did not consider the French were very brilliant at sea: "They had *tactique*, so had the Prussians on land; but with their Potsdam manœuvres it was incredible how easily he won the battle of Jena." As to Waterloo, Napoleon declared that "by the rules of war I should have gained the battle," and that two causes lost him the field—Grouchy's failing in checking the Prussians, and his great charge of cavalry being made half an hour too soon, "but they performed nobly." He said that if he had won the battle there would have been a change of Ministers in England, and they would have made peace with him. The Admiral did not agree, and plainly Napoleon was very doubtful. The Admiral asked when was the best time for the English to have made peace with him, and Napoleon answered, "When Lord Lauderdale was at Paris; if Mr. Fox had lived it would have been accomplished." At the same interview Lady Malcolm said to Napoleon that her family were under an obligation to him for his kindness to her brother—Mr. Elphinstone—who was wounded at Waterloo on June 17th. Napoleon at once replied, "Yes, he was brought to me; my surgeon said the wound was not dangerous." This throws a sidelight on battles a century and more ago. In fact, Elphinstone had called at St. Helena and sent Napoleon some grateful presents and the conversation arose out of that event.

That Napoleon should have complained of his treatment was inevitable, and one of his complaints was that his letters were common property, that "my old mother, although I forbade her to write to me, wrote to say that she could come to St. Helena and die with me. This was told round the island." Sir Hudson denied that the tittle-tattle came from him. Then there was a good deal of feeling at the reduction of expenditure on Longwood to £8,000. The sum

was impossibly small, and Sir Hudson raised it without permission to £12,000. But £17,000 was the minimum sum to enable the ex-Emperor to live in the style originally permitted. To us to-day it seems a mean reduction, but certainly it is not possible to saddle Sir Hudson Lowe with the meanness. He did what he could.

Talking on January 11th, 1817, Napoleon spoke at length of Egypt. He said that he never had more than 31,000 soldiers, of whom 22,000 returned to France. He realised that Egypt was essential to England since the possession of India depended on English control of Egypt. He said his intention was to have opened the ancient canal between Suez and Cairo. Talking of Corsica and Paoli the Admiral asked whether it was true that Napoleon had even been offered a commission in the English army. He said :

Paoli urged me to enter the English service, he then had the power of procuring me a commission in as high a rank as I could expect; but I preferred the French, because I spoke the language, was of their religion, understood and liked their manners, and I thought the beginning of a revolution a fine time for an enterprising young man. Paoli was angry—we did not speak afterwards, but I always respected him, and so did he me. Once he said, "that young man will be one of Plutarch's ancients." I considered this as a great compliment. The beginning of my rise was at Toulon. The artillery in which I was serving was badly officered, numbers had been privates without education. It was known to the general that I had been well educated at *l'école militaire*; I was the sort of person he wanted; he gave me the command; I was successful, and gained reputation. Fortunately I was in Paris at the revolution of the Thirteenth Vendémiaire (October 5th, 1795). Afterwards I was sent to command in Italy, where I gained further reputation. I then went to Egypt, from whence I returned to France at a fortunate moment, when the existing government was so bad it could not continue. I became its chief; everything else followed of course—*voilà mon histoire en peu de mots*.

That is probably the most interesting passage in the whole diary, and not least in its sublime simplicity. Few realise that Napoleon was nearly in the British Army, and certainly no one else could have put his life-story into some 120 words. It is all there, even the whiff of grape-shot.

J. E. G. DE M.

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KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.*

Professor Hearnshaw is to be warmly congratulated on the accomplishment of a difficult task. *The Centenary History of King's College, London, 1828-1928*, which might have been a

* *The Centenary History of King's College, London, 1828-1928*. By F. J. C. Hearnshaw. George G. Harrap. 21s. net.

lifeless record in less skilful hands, is as readable as it is instructive. There are, of course, occasional pages of statistical and administrative detail which the general reader may be allowed to skip; but the fortunes of the College are so intimately linked with the intellectual and educational life of the time that the book will prove of interest not only to all King's men and women but to a wider circle. For the history of King's is a mirror of the history of the transformation of a narrow little England, mainly Conservative and Anglican, into a democratic Empire inspired by the lofty ideal of equal opportunity for all. The number of distinguished names connected with the College as teachers or learners is astonishing. The author has a merry wit and a keen eye for human weaknesses; but he is justly proud of the record of the great institution of which he is himself an ornament, and which he has watched with affectionate regard as it grew into an ever larger and more useful life.

King's College, as everyone knows, was founded by Anglicans in reply to the undenominational University College in Gower Street. This theological limitation narrowed its influence and impeded its growth till, at the opening of the new century, it was abandoned in favour of the principle of the open door. Professor Hearnshaw looks back on what he rightly calls the "unedifying brawls" of the rival schools of theologians, but he writes with respect and understanding of the piety and scholarship of a long line of eminent Anglican divines. The College has been on the whole very fortunate in its heads. The second principal, Hugh James Rose, was one of the founders of the great High Church revival. Barry was a model of ambitious efficiency, Wace an eminent, though ultra-conservative, scholar. Of the "academic statesmen," Dr. Robertson and Dr. Headlam, who guided the College during the transition from independence to membership of the reconstituted University, Professor Hearnshaw speaks with enthusiasm; and he pays high tribute to the three lay Principals, Ronald Burrows, Ernest Barker and Dr. Halliday, who represent the new era. Jelf, on the other hand, the fourth Principal, is less tenderly handled, though the success of his first decade of rule is generously recognised, and the difficulty of dealing with Frederick Denison Maurice is not only admitted but emphasised. The pages on the dismissal of Maurice are among the most valuable in the book, and we quickly realise that the most celebrated event in the history of the College was not, as is generally believed, an angry snarl of intolerance but in large measure an act of self-defence. The saintly and scholarly Professor had said nothing in the *Theological Essays* published in 1853 which he had not said before, and nothing which could properly be described as heretical; but in abandoning the doctrine

of eternal punishment he was before his time, and in adding, on the title-page, "Professor of Divinity in King's College," appeared to suggest that such unauthorised notions were taught in the institution the *raison d'être* of which was to champion orthodox belief. The Bishop of London and many lesser men were alarmed, and to the Governors it might well seem that not only the prestige but the continued existence of the theological department was at stake. "Both sides were right," declares the author, "that is to say, both sides were wrong."

In addition to the main narrative of the College itself, Professor Hearnshaw follows the fortunes of the School, which has been very wisely moved to Wimbledon, the hospital, of which Lister was the crowning glory, and the women's department which was located in Kensington. The latter is also the theme of an elaborate appendix by Miss Oakeley, who contributes some valuable first-hand information. The author is not satisfied with all the arrangements which have been made over the head of the College, but he rejoices over the failure of the attempt to move the College from the Strand to Bloomsbury. The volume ends with the expression of the author's hope that it may render aid for the centenary appeal which is designed to launch the College on the second century of its useful and honourable life.

G. P. G.

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UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.*

The centenary celebrations of University College, London, attended by the King and Queen, took place in the summer of 1927, and in connection with these celebrations a series of centenary addresses was delivered that traced in detail by specialists a hundred years of continuous effort in the faculties and departments of this great institution. These addresses were published both separately and in conjoint form by the London University Press and give from the specialist and professorial point of view the history of the manifold activities of the College in permanent form. These publications have now been supplemented by a centenary history of the College by the reader of modern history in the University of Manchester, who till recently was on the staff of University College. Mr. Bellot, in his detailed and careful volume (which owes much to the planning and knowledge of Sir Gregory Foster), has added a substantial footnote to the history of education in England, and has specially illuminated a period that has long

* *University College, London, 1826-1926.* By H. Hale Bellot. University of London Press. 25s. net.

been obscure, the history of University education in London in the early nineteenth century, while he has brought into perspective the gradual alignment of the University of London and more especially of its senior college with the great Universities of the Empire. The birth of University College indeed marked the beginning of a new university movement in Great Britain, a movement which has long supplemented in no mean fashion the efforts of the ancient Universities of England, Scotland and Ireland, and has stimulated those Universities into a new fruitfulness of research almost from the very day when the new Whig College was treated with derision from the Tory benches of the unreformed House of Commons.

Some observers have indicated surprise that London should through so many centuries have failed to secure a University of its own. Yet the reasons were very plain. The mediæval Universities were riotous places and wise statesmen preferred that they should grow in obscure country towns rather than in obvious centres such as London or Westminster or Canterbury. The end of the Middle Ages saw, as Sir John Fortescue observes, what was in effect a University in London in the shape of the Inns of Court, and in fact they became post-graduate seats of learning which in the Elizabethan age and the earlier part of the seventeenth century were as fruitful in the region of learning as in the region of professional practice. Sir Thomas Gresham, in the Elizabethan age, attempted to found a University in the City of London, and his foundation still subsists, but it never grew into the standardised form either as a university of doctors or a university of students, though it stimulated, as it still stimulates, original thought in many fields. After the Great Revolution all generalised University education suffered a gradual eclipse even at Oxford and Cambridge, though in fact in the darkest times of the eighteenth century many scholars of the highest repute, drawn from all classes of the community and supplied still by the ancient grammar schools, were quietly at work on the banks of the Isis and the Cam. But the growth of industry and what is known as the industrial revolution had more and more hidden the name of learning, and Oxford and Cambridge took no heed of those who could not adopt the tenets of the Established Church of England. The judges in a series of law cases established the right of nonconformity to teach, but they could not throw open the doors of the older Universities.

It was in these circumstances that reformers of various kinds, educationists like Henry Brougham, social reformers like Jeremy Bentham, Whig thinkers like the elder Mill, leaders of Nonconformity, and leaders of Roman Catholicism like the Duke of Norfolk, saw that an undenominational

tional University for London was the outlet from an intolerable position. Thomas Campbell, the poet, first visualised the idea and drew his inspiration from the German Universities (such as the University of Bonn) and the Scottish Universities, the bountiful mothers of poor scholars. When once the idea was formed a body of proprietors, drawn from every class of English life, was formed, and "the University of London" was created. It was not technically a University in the strict sense of the term, and not even a "godless" University, but it was from the first a seat of learning, a seat that was not endowed, a poor seat of learning in the financial sense but one very rich in spiritual possibilities. Its first effect was a remarkable one. It frightened very serious and earnest churchmen, and within a couple of years King's College arose on the Strand of the Thames near Somerset House, and another seat of learning for poor scholars came to life, both of them older than the University of London, which in due course (1836) came into existence for the original purpose not of teaching but of granting degrees to the students of the real seats of learning. No more interesting history in the region of education is to be read than that of the University of London, the result of a compromise which has had world-wide effects in the creation of a class of external students that enabled the benefits of a degree of substantial standing to be earned by even those who lived far removed from any seat of learning. To-day the great Dominions have their own Universities, but still there are many students of both sexes in the Homeland and abroad who can benefit by the degree-giving powers of the University of London. But that University was destined to develop more and ever more the internal side, the side where the students have an organised collegiate life, and it was that life which owed its origin to the fathers of University College, London.

The inspiration of Thomas Campbell and his fellows coincided with the inspiration of many other workers to create a national system of education. John Bell and Joseph Lancaster started the elementary school system which was well under way before 1827. Soon after Thomas Arnold began the reform of the endowed secondary educational system of England. Mechanics' Institutes and week-day evening "Sunday" schools for adults were laying the bases of adult education, and were in fact creating the universal hunger for learning that University College and King's College were designed to satisfy. The details of the whole movement from the University side, vitally important details, are set forth in Mr. Bellot's book, and London may claim to have been the pioneer in the University side of education for women, though Cambridge and Oxford followed the gracious suit with little delay.

University College and King's College are only a hundred years old, a mere flea-bite of time as University time is reckoned, and the University of London is younger. But in that brief time London has achieved educational miracles. Oxford and Cambridge each had a century or more before the collegiate system began to arise and transform the whole idea of University life. The reverse process has to be observed in the case of London. The collegiate system has begotten a University, and University College is the mother of a whole new movement that extends throughout the British Empire.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

THE THIRD ROUTE.*

This book is the story of an official tour of 17,000 miles in a flying boat accomplished by Sir Philip Sassoon and told by himself. It was a round of inspections of the British oversea air stations in Egypt, the Sudan, Transjordan, Iraq, India and Malta. Record breaking was in no sense the objective, though it was marvellous what was accomplished in a little over six weeks. The countries visited, the stations inspected, the help and hospitality received and appreciated, the difficulties faced and overcome, are all told with brisk and delightful simplicity. Engine trouble and consequential delays were treated as part of a juvenile ailment in a service—the Imperial Airways—which is almost in its teens. Travellers' tales are always fascinating, and if there are no new worlds to conquer, the elements supply the want: "New marvels each returning day," with men and women ever ready to face the difficulties and perils of a new enterprise, ever feeling that every life lost is knowledge gained.

The title of this narrative is *The Third Route*. The rounding of the Cape by Vasco da Gama in 1497 was the first, Lessep's Suez Canal in 1869, nearly four centuries later, was the second, and now comes the third and latest, the air route. Whether in the years ahead some underground route will ever be attempted remains to be seen. The Channel Tunnel, which is in men's minds to-day, may be a forerunner of further and greater enterprises. Meantime the Imperial Airways is likely to do more for the safety of British Dominions, and especially India, at a lower cost than the vast sums from time to time expended on punitive expeditions which have to be undertaken to protect our frontiers. Sir Philip tells the reader of the latest and most promising device before "the intervention of air power, of checking the frequency of raids, namely, by subsidising certain tribes to forgo raiding themselves

* *The Third Route*. By Philip Sassoon. William Heinemann. 15s. net.

in favour of fighting raiders. This new field of activity provides the excitement the tribesmen appear to need, and offers the advantage of a regular and certain income in the place of an uncertain and irregular one." But he feels that air raids are a more effective method of subduing the tribes, with less loss of life on either side, while the extra work of reconstruction after a raid helps to act as a deterrent.

Irak was the first country in which was tried the experiment of maintaining peace and order by air power. It was an experiment that was forced upon Great Britain by the immense cost of maintaining adequate control by ground force. It has succeeded to the utmost of our expectations. When the Royal Air Force was asked to undertake the work in 1921 the annual cost of the military system of control was over £20,000,000. The Royal Air Force undertook to carry out this work at a cost of £4,500,000, and has much more than kept its word. The present annual cost is about £1,750,000, and, if this great reduction has been made possible by the improved condition of the country in recent years, it was the Royal Air Force which brought those conditions into being.

This statement of money saved speaks for itself. Of course, the air stations have to be protected by the local ground forces. "The result has been that to-day there are only five squadrons in Irak instead of eight with which we started."

Sir Philip Sassoon never failed to make use of his forced landings and his inspections. His descriptions of the country and its inhabitants wheresoever he alighted, linked with his knowledge of its past and present history, add to the charm and interest of his narrative. Observation of earth as well as of air always brought its reward. There is nothing, we are told, that shows the ground-plan of a buried city better than a bird's-eye view, so making possible the verification of historical records. Thus, there is charm on every side, and Sir Philip Sassoon declares that he never had a dull moment, and he imparts his enjoyment of the tour enriched with his own learning to his readers. He made light of difficulties, and is confident that Imperial Airways will continue to be a source of protection and pleasure to all using them, in addition to the saving of millions to the British Empire. The glorious episode of the evacuation of Kabul in December, 1928, by the Royal Air Force, of some 600 souls brought to India in safety, must ever be regarded not only as a supreme achievement but as a measure of practical possibilities. The Service which the author commends so heartily will be grateful to Sir Philip for his wonderful story of earth and air and sea, and not perhaps least for the fact that the proceeds of the sale of this admirable book will be given to the Royal Air Force Memorial Fund.

S. DE M.

THE GUILDS OF DUBLIN.*

The complexity of the mediæval gild system and the principles underlying its activity have caused considerable discussion in the writings of historians. During, however, the last fifty years certain theories have been presented which have been generally accepted. Gross, in his great work *The Gild Merchant*, first laid down the true origin and evolution of the English gilds. The results of his researches have never been challenged seriously, with the result that the economic historian possesses to-day certain basic and fundamental theories on which he can build up his own history. In *The Guilds of Dublin* Dr. J. J. Webb has kept these theories before him, and the fact is the more interesting when we realise that the Guilds of Dublin show certain striking, though not fundamental, variations from the typical English gilds. Dublin received its first charter in 1192 from Prince John, who, as king, or rather lord, of Ireland, confirmed it in 1200 and 1215.

The end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth was a period of great significance in the growth of town life, since it was then that a very large number of towns received their first charters of incorporation, and, a more important fact, of economic exclusiveness. The simultaneous rise of a borough and of its gild merchant was not a mere coincidence. This combination was a necessary step in the growth of that economic unit, the mediæval town. The gild merchant, wrote Gross, was essentially "a department of the town administration." Though separate in organisation and governance it did, in fact, carry out the economic policy of the town. The interests of borough and merchant gild were naturally identical, with the result that the two bodies coalesced and became in fact, though not in theory and formal functioning, a single organisation. This gradual absorption has always formed a difficulty for the historian, since there are few documents extant which show the precise relation between the two bodies in the process towards amalgamation. In this respect Dr. Webb has done useful work in showing the position of the Dublin Common Council towards the guild merchant. In Dublin these two bodies never united at all. They always remained two separate bodies with two separate functions. In England the merchant gild tended to coalesce with and to control the government of the town because the latter was an economic unit and the gild controlled its economic policy. In Dublin the position was different. The Common Council and Aldermen had an economic as well as a purely civic control over the city. It was the Common Council, and not the guild merchant which regulated all trading and com-

* *The Guilds of Dublin*. By John J. Webb. Ernest Benn Ltd. 12s. 6d. net.

mercial activity; the guilds were only partly the means of carrying out its policy. The Dublin merchant guild was at first like all English merchant guilds, in that it included craftsmen of every trade. In the growth of trade and industry a process of devolution resulted in the formation of a number of craft guilds. The merchant guild confined itself to trade and commerce and did not tend to absorb, as did its counterpart in England, the town government. The relations between this Guild and the Common Council were, however, very close. Dublin was a staple town, and the merchant guild controlled the passage of staple goods. The merchant guild held its meetings immediately before the assembly of the Dublin Common Council. No reason was given to account for this procedure, but it is suggested, as Dr. Webb states, that "the reason was to enable the Guild Merchant to influence civic legislation in the interests of the merchant through their representatives on the Common Council." The latter was composed of representatives of the various guilds, among which the merchant guild held a predominant position. Its influence over the town authority was certainly very great. This relation between the two bodies leads the student to suppose that the process towards unity which often became complete in England only reached a certain stage of development in Dublin. The reason seems to lie in the peculiar character of the Common Council and the relations of the Guild towards it.

An outstanding feature of the guild system in Dublin lay in the fact that the native Irish were excluded from taking any part in the official economic life of the city. Every guild had a special regulation that no one should be admitted "without he be of English name and blode." The city was really a colony of English merchants and craftsmen. Trade was its life-blood, and in consequence the government was, for the most part, the supervision of this economic life. The Common Council was an autocratic body and controlled the management of the guilds. The guild merchant had appeared at about the same time as the Dublin Charter given by John. As in England, the craft guilds grew out of the original trading guild. But in England this process of decentralisation resulted in the decline of the merchant guild as a purely economic body and its absorption of the local political government, while in Dublin the growth of the craft guilds left the merchant guild a purely trading body, which remained quite distinct from the Common Council. The result was that both craft and merchant guilds held a common relation towards the governing body. There was no struggle as there was in England between the craft guilds and the merchant guilds which had become in fact the local government in the hands of a few tyrannical merchants. In Dublin all the guilds were represented, in proportion to their importance, on the Common

Council. The merchant guild was very strongly represented but it never aspired to domination. It always remained one among many and had to submit to the central body. The endurance of this central co-ordinating assembly seems to be one of the most interesting features of mediæval Dublin. For it possessed what the average English towns lacked: co-ordination and democratic supervision of the whole economic activity of the town. The English towns, in their early charters, were given political government which became controlled by a partisan assembly, the merchant guild. Dublin was also given such a government, but the Common Council had an economic position. In consequence it was able to control, and not be controlled by, the Merchant Guild, and when the other craft guilds arose it was able to maintain a general supervision over them all. It is a significant fact that the guild system retained a dominating position in Dublin until the eighteenth century, while the English guilds, founded about the same time, began to crumble in the fifteenth.

Dr. Webb has made an admirable study of the Dublin Guilds. His book makes an important contribution to many aspects of the subject. The history of the guilds is full of perplexities, and the only way to achieve a lucid and correct account is for the historian to go to the source of information, the original document. Dr. Webb has realised the value of research. *The Guilds of Dublin* is well written and well arranged, and should receive the attention of every person interested in this important subject.

* * *

JOSÉ ANTONIO PAEZ.*

Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham has had a congenial task in writing the biography of José Antonio Paez, the Venezuelan cowboy who headed with General Bolivar the South American revolt against Spain and just a hundred years ago became the first President of the Republic of Venezuela. We are told in the preface that, though Paez was not as great a man as Bolivar and not as great a soldier as San Martin, he had a personal magnetism that the others lacked. His victories against the Spaniards are still remembered, for he repeatedly defeated General Pablo de Morillo, a general chosen by the Duke of Wellington himself for the Spanish authorities, a man risen from the ranks, brave and skilful and greatly to be feared. Paez was born on June 13th, 1790, in a farm upon the banks of the river Carpa, near Acarigua, in the district of Arause and the province of Barinas. He was on all four sides of pure white blood. The story that Mr. Cunninghame Graham has to tell

* William Heinemann. 15s. net.

is a strange one. We meet monsters like Boves, Bolivar's great opponent. That was in 1814 before Spain was free of Napoleon. After Waterloo Morillo was sent out and at the same time Paez began to emerge from the ranks. Many were the battles fought by Paez, and perhaps one of the most notable was the action fought on April 3rd, 1819, known as Las Gueseras del Medio, another Balaclava but a successful one. Not less amazing was the capture of the Spanish flotilla on the river Apure for the purpose of the advance upon Caracas. Paez and his men, mounted as they were, swam out, frightened the soldiers on the boats, and seized the flotilla. "It was possibly the first time in recorded history that cavalry had fought a skirmish in the water, and certainly the last one. Only such men as the Uaneros of those days" could have done it. But this book must be read to be believed: perhaps the ingratitude of the Venezuelans to Paez after he had served as President twice is almost as unbelievable. Nevertheless, he returned to Venezuela after ten years and in 1859 he settled at Buenos Ayres with two pensions, one bestowed by the Argentine and one by the Peruvian Government. He died full of honour on June 18th, 1873.

* * *

LOUIS XI.*

This book supplies English readers in an agreeable and authoritative form with the results of recent research. The distinguished French scholar, who has made the fifteenth century his own, gently compels us to revise our inherited ideas of the King whose features are known to most only through the distorting mirror of Scott and Victor Hugo. To understand his character we must emancipate ourselves from the legends of cruelty, hypocrisy and depravity spread by his enemies, and reconstruct his personality from his three thousand letters and his innumerable ordinances.

The most important part of this volume is the Introduction, which surveys and assesses the sources of our knowledge of a memorable reign. The reputation of Commynes emerges almost unscathed from the ordeal, but Basin appears as the arch-calumniator. Louis XI was not a blend of Mephistopheles and Macchiavelli, but a man of his time, no more cruel, no more crooked, and no more superstitious than his contemporaries. In these pages we hardly ever hear of Tristan and the Barber, who have grown into almost legendary ogres in the course of the centuries, but are shown the military, diplomatic and administrative problems which filled the ruler's time and thoughts. Compared with the crafty tyrant

* *Louis XI.* By Pierre Champion, translated and adapted by Winifred Stephens Whale. Cassell, 15s.

of legend the picture of Louis XI painted by M. Champion seems almost a vindication; yet our author is absolutely impartial. The King, he declares, was a French peasant, greedily adding to his dominions, thrifty, hard, cynical, a bad son and an unloving husband, but brave, hard-working, learning from his own mistakes, and, on the whole, in advance of his time. "He believed in order, national unity, and the public weal."

If France was to advance feudalism had to be overthrown, and Louis XI was the first of its formidable antagonists. Compared with Charles the Bold, whose futile career fills many pages in this volume, the King was a modern man. In M. Champion's words, the fox triumphed over the lion; and it was best for France that he did. It is scarcely necessary to say that the translation by Mrs. Whale, herself a specialist in French history, is excellent.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

The American Federal System,* written by Mr. K. Smellie, will prove a useful book to all those interested in the theory and practice of government in the United States. The author describes his work as "simply a statement of the things that I have found of interest in American political institutions." The sentence hardly does justice to the book, for Mr. Smellie has endeavoured to give a comprehensive though concise account of the various institutions and assemblies through which the American government functions. Before dealing in separate chapters with the Executive, Legislature, and Judiciary, Mr. Smellie has wisely given a general description of the Constitution as it was and as it has become. This is followed by a chapter on the American party system; a study of which is essential to a real knowledge of political institutions in the United States. The corruption of American public life and its consequent demoralisation has been a familiar topic in recent years. Mr. Smellie does not deny its truth but he does see in the national organisation and influence of the two parties a necessary element in the stability of Federal and State Government. The peculiar relations between the three elements in the Constitution have helped to foster this party predominance as a necessary corollary to strong government. The application of Montesquieu's theory of the separation of powers has proved, as the author has made very plain, a not unmixed blessing. Designed originally to prevent the tyranny of the Executive over the Legislature, it has in fact resulted in the irresponsibility of the former and the ineffectiveness of the latter. The President, elected by the people for a definite term of four years, rules in fact through public opinion. He works more through the Press than through Congress. The latter, always more concerned with the interests of its members than with anything else, is afraid to oppose popular opinion, and the President through his daily interviews with the newspaper reporter can interpret and create a public will favourable to his own policy.

* Williams & Norgate. 3s. net.

The administrative powers of the Executive are very great, and the strength of the Senate lies very largely in its participation in the administrative machine. Perhaps the most interesting constitutional feature in the United States is the Federal Supreme Court which balances the scheme of government. It makes tolerable the application of the theory of the separation of powers by enforcing responsibility to the Constitution on both Executive and Legislature. Mr. Smellie, in his final chapter, deals with the history and character of the court. After defining its functions the writer shows its independence and its method of interpreting, in the light of modern conditions, a Constitution which was set up to contend with the problems of a century and a half ago. It is fitting that Mr. Smellie should devote the last pages of his book to an account of the judicial body which is the keystone in the arch of American Government.

* * *

A further volume of that admirable series of guidebooks, known as the Outward Bound Library, has recently been written by Miss Gladys Peto. It is perhaps wrong to call these volumes a series of guidebooks; for they are much more than that. They endeavour to present an authentic account of the conditions of life and of the attractions of each country treated. Miss Peto has resided in Egypt for a considerable period, and is well able in *The Egypt of the Sojourner** to give an unbiassed and true account of the country. She has endeavoured to make her book, if not a complete, at any rate a comprehensive story of Egyptian life. She has a word for every characteristic feature of life in the Land of the Pharaohs, from the peculiar character of Egyptian bathrooms to the modern decoration in Queen Titi's tomb. The book is intended essentially for the intending lady resident and in consequence has a full account of all the incidents attaching to home life in Egypt. She shows the reader a picture of the character of the natives and their ways, especially toward the European. The ancient monuments in Alexandria are dealt with in a very entertaining manner while the tombs of the Pharaohs and their consorts, along with the eternal pyramids, are delightfully described. Descriptions of the memorials of the past are delightful to read; but the pleasure is greatly increased when we are told the best and easiest method of reaching these monuments. Miss Peto has endeavoured to be complete in her account. She has considered the wants of the sojourner and endeavoured to cater for them. This book is the result of a wish to help the European, and especially the Englishwoman, to gain an idea of what Egypt is really like and how to travel about the country. The attempt to be comprehensive in the small scope provided by this series of guidebooks is as dangerous as it is natural. A little about everything often tends to leave the reader uninformed and restless. It may do more harm than good to the would-be traveller. Miss Peto has avoided this danger by building her comprehensive narrative round the generally restricted life of the average resident. She realises that the majority of Europeans resident in Egypt belong to the army or are attached to some European business enterprise. Such people are necessarily restricted by the nature of their work. Miss Peto seems to have these people essentially in her mind and endeavours to give them a guide to their daily life and to their desire for material enjoy-

* J. M. Dent & Sons. 5s. net.

ment. *The Egypt of the Sojourner* caters for a special type of traveller who in the past has been disregarded by the guidebook. If Miss Peto's book is typical all the volumes of this series should be eminently successful.

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M. Marcu Beza, Roumanian lecturer in the University of London, has chosen a particularly happy form of autobiography for his new book, *Rays of Memory** (translated from the Roumanian by Mrs. May Byng), which is in fact sketches of life from many aspects in the Near East. He has used his personal recollections as a tag on which to hang memories both grave and gay of houses and towns, villages and mountains, of men, women and children belonging mostly to that part of Europe where the mysterious shadows of the East and the daylight of the West mingle together in the minds of men. Many of the sketches hang from a mere incident of memory, and yet such is M. Beza's descriptive power that the whole happening is a matter of moment, full of atmosphere and feeling, and his people live: there is Cota with "a pale face out of which great eyes looked mournfully from behind a mist of unshed tears; hair with white threads, uncombed . . ."; "the old muleteer, with a frame bent like a tree against which had beaten many storms"; and Captain Andoni, middle-aged, in "Turkish trousers, a sash and a fez, back to front, with a tassel hanging over the right side of his shaggy, weather-beaten face"; there is the strange tale of the sheik's kiosk and his lovely daughter; the description of the hermits, one in his cave near the Skete of Podrome, the other "Alone, in the deserted tower near Lavra. . . ." In each case the recollection makes a story in itself, making unknown places and people appear familiar, and round them all hangs a little of the mystery of the East. One particularly delightful sketch is the tale of Osman Khoja, teacher of Persian, instructor of the Koran, and formerly bandit of no small power, who, after "the journey of expiation to Mecca" kept only his pistol hidden in his sash to remind him of his former life. For a few years he taught with success, but later fighting occurred in the district and "then drawing forth his pistol, he rushed out to the most critical point of the fight." M. Beza's last tale is of England; and to it he imparts an atmosphere of mystery, yet charm, which shows that to the author, anyway, England has her mysteries although she is far from the wonder-East.

* * *

Miss Caroline Walker in her new book *The Dauphiny, with an account of the Grande Chartreuse and a life of Bayart*† tells the reader much of Grenoble and the French Alps and has made a book that many will like to have on their travel-shelves. We see Vienne—the more ancient Allobrocom—in Roman hands commanding the Rhone and the routes towards Geneva, Italy and Central France. The legend is that Pontius Pilate was Prætor of Vienne before he was sent to Jerusalem and that he returned to Vienne to commit suicide. Famous for wine—*vin poissé*, a favourite drink in Rome—corn, cloth, linen, wood and pottery industries, the merchants became very rich

* Dent. 6s. net.

† Oxford. Basil Blackwell.

and in fact Vienne became a literary centre where Martial was a special favourite. Vienne was fortunate in the early middle ages since the Saracens sacked every other town in Dauphiny. The towns of Southern and Eastern Dauphiny, Tain, Romans, Bourg-de-Péase, Valence, Die, Gap, Tallard and up to St. Jean de Maurenne in Savoy have all points of interest and in former times defended South East Gaul. The account of Grenoble—Cularo in pre-Roman times—is attractive. The name was given by the Emperor Gratian, *Civitas Gratianopolis*, after himself, and from this Gratianopolis and later Grenoble were derived. The history of the Grande Chartreuse, founded in 1084 by Canon Bruno Le Francais and his followers, destroyed in 1132 by an avalanche and rebuilt on the present site, is a fascinating story. But not more fascinating than the numerous legends that adorn the text while a life of Bayard (is Bavart the correct spelling?) is due for the present generation. It would have been as well to give the authorities for the biography. They should include the nameless historian, the *Serviteur* who tells us so much about this great hero of the early sixteenth century.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

"Trent College 1868-1927: a Rough Sketch" by Mr. M. A. J. Tarver, who has been identified with the school for more than a quarter of a century, affords a footnote to the history of modern English secondary education and especially in the relationship of the College to Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Nottinghamshire. The school in its origin was a counterblast to the Oxford movement as expressed in the schools of Dr. Woodward, as the names of the first directors and patrons show. The foundation-stone of the College was laid by the Duke of Devonshire on December 3rd, 1866, and the school opened in April, 1868, with fifty-three boys and by 1870 the numbers had more than quadrupled. The first headmaster was the Rev. Thomas Ford Penn, "a very great gentleman," and he brought in a period of prosperity, vividly described from authentic sources, in work, athletics, and music. In 1872 the school eleven got out strong South Derbyshire for 31. The chapel was opened in 1875. But the glorious sunrise was followed by a period of gloom. The financial scheme was unsound and fever and floods added to other troubles and by the time of Mr. Penn's death in 1883 real difficulties had to be faced by successive headmasters, the Rev. J. R. B. Owen (1883-1890) and the Rev. W. H. Isaacs (1890-1895), and faced well, but the school at last consisted of only forty-eight boys. The turn came with the appointment of the Rev. J. S. Thacker, an "overwhelming personality," who added a very strong staff to the veterans, and the Governing Board was as strong, including Mr. Edmund Hanbury and later Dr. Wace and Prebendary Webb-Peploe. The clouds passed and before 1914 all the earlier glories had returned. The war strengthened the school so far as numbers were concerned and that difficult period, followed by influenza and the great school fire (a blessing in disguise) in

* G. Bell & Sons. 7s. 6d. net.

July, 1922, brought out the real grit of all. It is a record of which any school may be proud and it is well that Mr. Tarver should have chronicled the early days of an institution that should have a great future.

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The true criticism of Mr. Kingsley Martin's painstaking book entitled "French Liberal Thought in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of Political Ideas from Bayle to Condorcet" is that it attempts too much. Many will disagree with the statement of French history in the period but, after all, Mr. Martin is only dealing with one facet of the jewel called France. It is not at all true to say that "by the reign of Louis XV" almost all educated French people "were sceptics in matters of religion," but when Mr. Martin attempts to trace the gradual formation of the creed of the Revolution and to show to what extent "the democratic and progressive principles which dominated nineteenth-century politics were conditioned by the temporary and local circumstances of the French *ancien régime*" he is obliged to deal with the sceptical thinkers only. Yet the doctrine of progress cannot be divorced from Christianity (as Newton well knew) and the so-called "religion of humanity" is, in reality, an ancient phase of Christianity which took passing colour from the Anglo-French Liberalism of the eighteenth century. But Mr. Martin is overwhelmed by a mass of philosophic and economic Benthamite ideas and this is exemplified by the introductory statement that "nowhere except in the United States, where prosperity strangles criticism, do ideas of democracy and progress still command religious respect." Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity are to-day the watchwords of all the Christian Churches.

* * *

Lieutenant-Colonel Geoffrey Brooke has contributed to "The Lonsdale Library" a delightful volume with over ninety illustrations entitled "The Way of a Man with a Horse."† It is doubtful when the horse was first tamed; it was certainly hunted for food long before it was tamed, but apparently in the third millennium before our era it was captured and trained in the plains of Hungary. Colonel Brooke does not deal with this point but he tells us that in the year 2637 B.C. the Chinese used cavalry, and he gives long extracts—excellent instructive reading—from Xenophon's "Treatise on Horsemanship," written more than two thousand years ago. "Throughout this book will be found close parallels between the methods as presented by Xenophon and those of to-day." An owner must make himself conversant with the character and personality of his horse. He must have knowledge of stables and routine; the technique of riding must be acquired; there must be confidence, sympathetic hands, gradual acquisition of the use of the reins, the voice, the legs (with knee-joint flexible). So Colonel Brooke leads the tyro to the art of jumping and to the sport of riding to hounds. Four chapters are devoted to the prevention of disease, one to buying, one to bits and spurs, and seven to specialised riding: an excellent book.

* Ernest Benn. 16s. net.

† Seeley, Service & Co. 21s. net.

Volume 14 of the Transactions of the Grotius Society* (entitled "Problems of Peace and War") not only consists of eight papers read before the Society in 1928 (of which the most notable are "the Real Monroe Doctrine," by Mr. Arthur Barratt, K.C., and "the Constitutional History of Egypt for the last Forty Years," by Sir Maurice S. Amos), but also includes sympathetic notices by Mr. Wyndham A. Bewes of that great jurist the late Lord Phillimore (November 21st, 1845—March 13th, 1929) who for the last two years had been President of the Grotius Society, and of the late Dr. Hugh Hale Bellot (October 19th, 1860—August 12th, 1928) the first honorary secretary of the Grotius Society (1915-1928). Professor J. H. Morgan, K.C., also contributes an appreciation (originally published in *The Times* of August 24th, 1928) of the tireless labours on behalf of international law of Dr. Bellot. Under the honorary secretaryship of Mr. Bewes the Grotius Society is likely to play a substantial part in all future international law problems.

* * *

Mr. Harold Bellman has published an interesting book entitled "Architects of the New Age"† in which he reviews the lives of five great men of the nineteenth century. In an introductory chapter Mr. Bellman considers the nature of greatness and produces a standard whereby genius may be judged. "The men whose names come instinctively to mind as the super-players of the day and generation are those who drew their inspiration 'from a well pure and undefiled,' from the living oracles of God, and from the direct revelation of the Omnipotent. John Bright in England, Abraham Lincoln in America, Joseph Mazzini in Italy, Leo Tolstoy in Russia, Louis Kossuth in Hungary were amongst these Architects of the New Age." The result of informal lectures, these little studies of such great men make very interesting reading, especially for the general reader. The volume is well written and two hours spent in reading it will not be wasted.

* Sweet & Maxwell. 7s. 6d.

† Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Ltd. 3s. 6d. net.

COUVADE.

To the Editor of THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

SIR,—In the notice of my recent book on *The Custom of Couvade* that appeared in your July issue, your reviewer makes the statement: "Strangely enough Mr. Dawson thinks that it [couvade] originated in Egypt." May I point out, however, that the reviewer is under a misapprehension. On page 16 I stated: "There is no trace whatever of the custom in the records of ancient Egypt, and no tradition of it among the modern Egyptians." Again, on pages 59, 60, I discussed the absence of couvade from Egypt, and concluded with these words: "In the entire absence of evidence, therefore, I make no suggestion that couvade originated in Egypt, and its origin must be sought in one of the neighbouring lands of the ancient world." My view on the subject is quite contrary to that attributed to me by the reviewer.

I am, sir, etc.,

WARREN R. DAWSON.

THE LIBERAL SUMMER SCHOOL.*

THE Liberal Party after the war suffered from a severe epidemic of "principles." Liberal leaders seemed to have entered into a conspiracy to confine their speeches to vague generalities about the "principles of Liberalism" and the "great traditions of the Liberal Party." When they did get down to anything more definite it was to try to raise a cheer by reference to Gladstone and Bright, or at best by dealing with the old problems of free trade, proportional representation and land taxation. The good work, on the economic side, of the pre-war Liberal Parliament—trade boards, old age pensions, taxation reform, unemployment insurance, etc.—was forgotten. Free trade was the only economic policy. Some of the leaders went so far as to use their influence actively to discourage any attempts at constructive thinking. Liberals, they said, had often been in opposition in the past; they had always got back to power in the end, and always by the same method: by doing nothing, and waiting for the unpopular acts of the Government to cause the pendulum of public favour to swing back from Toryism to Liberalism. Any attempt at constructive thinking, or any advocacy of a definite policy, would necessarily have the effect of causing a split in the Party and so delaying the return to power.

After a year or two of such leadership, many of the rank and file became sick and tired of attending Liberal meetings to listen to the same old shibboleths. They felt, in view of the existence of two class parties—the Conservative strongly entrenched behind the rights of property, the Labour Party backed by the full strength of the trade unions—that there was no chance whatever for the Liberal Party to return to power unless the people understood that it represented some clear and definite policy distinct from either of the others. Vague principles were not enough. They must be concretely applied to the problems of the day. In particular it was felt by many that, while Liberalism had won the battle on behalf of civil and religious freedom, the fight for economic freedom under modern methods of large scale production was only begun. They felt that the great question of industrial relations, the application of the Liberal principles of freedom and equality of opportunity to the life of the working man and the slum-dweller to-day, and the whole problem of working-class discontent with the present system, required careful examination and hard thinking. There was no sort of agreement among the members of the Party as to what was the Liberal policy in these matters, still less as to the steps by which it could be carried out.

* Inaugural Address delivered at Cambridge on July 30th.

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These were the conditions which gave birth to the Liberal Summer School. Deeply dissatisfied with the complete lack of a constructive Liberal policy, a small group of Manchester business men met regularly during 1918 to discuss the problems of industry. Each of them felt that if he had been a working man he would have been discontented, and even in active revolt, against the existing economic order. They were united, in the words of the introductory note to the "New Way" pamphlets, by "a conviction that these evils cannot be cured by the glib repetition of sweeping formulæ, or by violence or class-conflict, or by mere destruction, but only by hard thinking and good will." Mr. Ramsay Muir was called in to help, and produced *Liberalism and Industry*. The wide and eager welcome accorded to this first serious attempt at applying Liberal principles to the industrial problems of the day encouraged the group to go ahead, and they invited about one hundred younger Liberals to meet at Grasmere. The meeting was blessed by perfect weather, and serious discussion was mingled with walks on the hills and bathing in the tarns. A common aim and outlook emerged pretty clearly, and all those who were present felt that the group must be given some permanent form. The Executive Committee of the Liberal Summer Schools was elected, and has functioned (in a thoroughly undemocratic way) without any re-election from that day to this. The only change has been co-option, as other Liberals were found who, it was thought, could contribute to the work.

The object we had in mind was the formation of a group for constant and serious discussion of economic problems from the Liberal point of view. It was hoped that a Liberal policy would gradually emerge, and that the group might be effective in spreading knowledge of it. You all know pretty well what has happened. Since then we have had our August Summer School each year alternately at Oxford and Cambridge. The first was opened by the late Lord Oxford, who gave us constant help and encouragement. All subsequent schools have been on the same model. We have had a week's hard work, including about sixteen addresses, and any number of discussions; leaders who have been exceedingly helpful in the chair, and the best available people to read papers, generally Liberals, but we have not hesitated to go outside to members of other parties on occasions. About 1924 we formed the Summer School Research Department, which, after two years of work, was merged into the Industrial Inquiry. This, in its turn, produced last year the famous Yellow Book, a definite and coherent Liberal industrial policy. Meantime, members of the School had acquired the *Nation*, which is nobly backed up to-day

by the *Forward View*. The one tragedy of the School has been the disappearance of the *Weekly Westminster*, which, for a few years, under Mr. Ramsay Muir's editorship, did so much to spread our views, especially among the younger generation. At the present time the *Nation* may be called the organ of the Summer School movement, and its high authority on economic and industrial matters is universally recognised. It is difficult to overrate its influence.

It is interesting to look back on the relations of the Summer School group with the party. In 1918 we began moving amendments at the National Liberal Federation meetings. We were looked on very coldly by the leaders, but were successful in getting a good many of our amendments through. It had not entered our heads at that time that we might get to the stage of drafting resolutions. Gradually, as we gained experience, and as our ideas began to be accepted in other quarters, we carried more weight at the National Liberal Federation. At Leamington, to our astonishment, we were invited to come on to the platform, and to move our amendments from there. At Nottingham our views were largely incorporated in the resolutions, but the final victory came at the Industrial Conference last year when a series of resolutions drafted by us, embodying practically the whole of the Yellow Book, were unanimously passed by a special conference of the National Liberal Federation.

Looking back, the change in our position as a Summer School in the last ten years is really very astonishing. From being a rebellious and negligible minority we have become accepted as the prophets of the party. In other words, it may be the case that our work is done, and it is about time for somebody else to come and start a Winter School, and get rid of us!

What have we really accomplished during this period? Broadly speaking, I think, two things. In the first place we have given an economic and industrial policy to the Liberal Party. Ten years ago the official Liberal policy as regards industry was little more than to talk about the "principles of Liberalism." Now we talk about the Yellow Book, which contains several hundred practical proposals for the reform of industry. It is interesting that Labour is still living in the days of principles. Most Labour speeches, at least for electioneering purposes, consist first of all of lengthy and violent abuse of the Capitalist system, and finish up with a few minutes about the blessings that will accrue when the principles of Socialism are adopted. These are never defined, except on the old lines of nationalising the means of production, distribution and exchange; a quite absurd definition, because, as is shown in the

Yellow Book, there are dozens of different stages and degrees of public ownership and control already in existence in a very large proportion of our national industry. The only effective definition of Socialism that I have been able to think of is that it includes everything that goes beyond the proposals of the Yellow Book! But the fact remains that liberal-minded and thoughtful people in all parties accept the policy of the Yellow Book as the best and in fact the only comprehensive practical industrial policy before the country to-day. Nobody now denies that the Liberal Party has a good industrial and economic policy.

From the party point of view, one very important result has followed from the hard thinking done by Liberals, and that is that, whereas a few years ago the thoughtful and progressive younger politicians were rapidly drifting into the Labour Party, during the last few years the drift has been the other way. Generally speaking, at the universities the strongest political group has been the Liberal group. As an interesting illustration of this, there were five mock elections held in Manchester just prior to the general election, three among university students, the other two at the Manchester Grammar School and the Girls' High School. In all five the Liberal was at the top of the poll.

But quite apart from the service of the Summer School to the Liberal Party, I believe that we have rendered a real service to politics throughout the country. As Mr. Stuart Hodgson once said, the success of the Summer School lies in the solid reality of its contribution to constructive political thought. I think we have done something to teach politicians of all parties to think more scientifically, and in a way rather more detached from party than was customary before. We have also done something to bring the economist and the politician into closer touch, to interpret the economist to the politician, and I think there is no doubt that we have had a considerable effect on the Labour Party. In their non-political moments they realise that the Yellow Book really represents what they want themselves, and its adoption by the Liberal Party has, I believe, been a big factor in the relations between the two parties in the first few weeks of this Parliament as against 1924. I believe the Labour Party intends for the next year or two to get on with the policy of the Yellow Book; they know perfectly well that if they do this they can count on our whole-hearted support. I believe that if we get on the industrial side a good Liberal Government for the next two years, instead of the kind of friction and misunderstanding that existed in 1924, it will be largely due to the work of the Summer School, and if that is so we may well feel that our ten years' work has been well rewarded.

But that does not by any means imply that our work is done.

As I have already indicated, our position is much changed. We are no longer a rebellious left wing. We have been taken into the bosom of the party, and our policy so far as it is hitherto developed has been fully accepted. But obviously there is a great deal to do. The Yellow Book, in spite of its size, is very sketchy in many directions. Take, as one example, the question of the Public Concern. As regards the coal industry do we accept the Samuel report as dealing satisfactorily with the whole situation, or is this a case for the Public Concern? If so, should there be a separate concern in each of the eleven districts so as to preserve a certain amount of competition? How should the Boards be appointed so as to ensure businesslike operation? How would they deal with the difficult problem of surplus capacity?

There is a tremendous field for hard work in connection with almost every industry. In this connection one particularly interesting and acute problem arises regarding London traffic control. The proposal worked out by the L.C.C. and Lord Ashfield has been rejected in this Parliament by the Labour and Liberal Parties on the ground that it creates a monopoly without proper public control. The right type of Public Concern has not, in our opinion, been worked out. But it is clear that some monopolistic control of the London traffic is necessary, and what we have done has been to reject the only proposal put forward without putting forward an alternative proposal of our own. Frankly, this does not seem to me to be in accordance with the constructive Summer School methods, and I think that, whatever may be done by the Liberal Party as a whole, one thing which ought, if possible, to be done by the Summer School is to work out a practical constructive proposal for the control of London traffic. It is a question which arises in a less acute form in every big city, especially where the municipality owns and operates the tramways. Obviously there should be some single controlling authority, obviously it is impossible for the tramway authority to be given control over competing bus companies. I hope it may be possible to appoint a committee and to work out some constructive proposals on this matter during the next few months.

One other point which I should like to see further dealt with is the question of what can be done by the Government on the financial side to equalise economic opportunity and to abolish the evils of poverty. Although this question is broadly tackled on the right lines in the Yellow Book, frankly it is dealt with rather superficially, and the conclusions seem to me somewhat half-hearted. In the first place, there is the question of what more can be done to improve the position of the poorer section of the workers by means of direct taxation—income-tax, supertax and death

duties. It is shown in the Yellow Book that real wages are increased something like 14 per cent. to-day by the distribution of benefits in one form or another from the national exchequer. Is this a process that should be continued? If so, how much further can it go, and what are the immediate lines of advance? One particularly important aspect of this which we ought to deal with much more fully is the question of children's allowances, which is skated over very lightly in the Yellow Book. Is the principle sound? Should the allowances be in cash or in kind? Should they be at a flat rate or varied in accordance with the needs of the family? This question is coming up in two very acute forms in the near future. In connection with the raising of the school age to fifteen some form of additional maintenance allowances will be necessary. It is very important that we should be clear as to the form these should take. The Labour Party is inclined to favour a flat rate of say 5s. per child. A paper will be read at the Summer School giving exceedingly strong reasons why we should object to a flat rate, and should insist on any maintenance allowances being based on the needs of the individual family.

The same question will arise in connection with the new Housing Bill which is to be produced in the autumn. With the subsidy at its present rate it is possible for an economical local authority to build a family house with three bedrooms and to let it at 10s. inclusive rent. But this is not low enough for the slums. The slum dweller wants a house at not more than say 7s. inclusive. If the slums are to be cleared such a house must be provided. I have suggested that this should be done by means of a Children's Rent Allowance, but neither the Liberal Party nor even the Summer School has yet given this matter any consideration. If possible, I think it would be highly desirable to appoint a committee to consider the whole question of children's allowances, but with instructions to make special recommendations on these two concrete and immediate aspects of the question—maintenance allowances under the Education Bill and Children's Rent Allowances under the Housing Bill.

These are only illustrations of the kind of work that the Liberal Party ought to be continuously doing. Those I have mentioned are urgent, but there are many others coming within the scope of the work on which the Liberal Summer School has specialised. Quite apart from the economic questions to which we have mainly confined ourselves hitherto, there is the whole field of imperial and foreign affairs, and there is local government, including the great question of rates and grants-in-aid and of public health and education, about which we have done very little. In fact, there are vast problems on every side on which more constructive think-

ing of the Summer School type would be of great public advantage. Unfortunately our energies and capacities are limited, and there does not seem any hope at the present time of effectively tackling these fields.

It is the intention of the Committee to carry on our annual meetings at Oxford and Cambridge as in the past. I hope also that we shall continue, as I have been suggesting, to appoint committees and to produce reports, both on questions that are immediately urgent and on wider questions, as opportunity serves. I hope that our views will still continue to be brought to the attention of the public through the *Nation* and the *Forward View*, as well as to some extent the *Economist*, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily News*, who are always glad to publish our material. But the members of the Committee feel that our original mission of giving the Liberal Party an industrial policy is accomplished. Is there any fresh and different task we can take up? We are perfectly free: we have no constitution, not even an unwritten one! There is only one condition which I think we should all accept, that is, that we should avoid the ordinary fields of political controversy and should confine ourselves to discussion, broadly on Liberal lines but in a non-party spirit, and to constructive work. We shall be glad during the next week to arrange one or two discussions on the work and position of the Summer School, and we shall heartily welcome suggestions as to how its work can be made most useful in the future.

E. D. SIMON.

LIBERALISM AND THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

LORD MORLEY wrote in his *Recollections* that "much of parliamentary debate is dispute between men who in truth and at bottom agree, but invent arguments to disguise agreement and contrive a difference. It is artificial, but serves a purpose in justifying two lobbies and a party division." It may be that the justness of this observation was present to the mind of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, as it must have been to the minds of all who have had any length of experience of parliamentary debates, when in his first speech in the new Parliament he, as Prime Minister, wondered "how far it is possible, without in any way abandoning our party positions, without in any way surrendering any item of our party principles, to consider ourselves more as a Council of State and less as arrayed regiments facing each other in battle?"

If there is to be no Council of State (and Mr. Winston Churchill rudely swept that suggestion aside by his declaration that "it is no use supposing that we can simply meet together as a Council of State") and the parties in the new Parliament are to be drawn up in battle array, what is the battle to be about? Is the fight to be an artificial one, just a sham fight; or is it to be a serious engagement in which vital issues will be joined and determined? And what of the forces of Liberalism in such an engagement? He who is inclined to scoff at the diminished ranks of Liberalism would do well to bear in mind the words addressed to the Independent Labour Party Summer School in August by Mr. Bernard Shaw: "The extinction of the Liberals is more apparent than real." What part then will Liberalism play in the conflict, and with what fortune is it likely to emerge from the fray?

These questions do not admit of ready answers. There is one greater tragedy that can befall the nation than that its political parties should be engaged in a sham fight about real issues; and that is that they should be engaged in a real fight about sham issues. It is, therefore, a matter of primary importance, particularly at the beginning of a new Parliament which is ruled by a minority Government, that the issues themselves should be well and clearly defined.

Already an attempt has been made to set out "the central and dominating fact of this Parliament." In Mr. Winston Churchill's view this central and dominating fact is the preservation and fortification of the capitalist system. In the closing sentences of his speech in the debate on the Address he declared:

As long as His Majesty's Ministers are content to administer and, by administering, to fortify the capitalist system of civilisation on which we have grown great, and on which the United States is growing greater, there is no reason why they should not enjoy, although they are a substantial minority in the country, a lengthy tenure of office. But the moment they attempt to carry into the realm of action any of those fundamental vices and fallacies upon which the whole structure and progress of their party have been built up, and which have been their main inspiration, from that moment they will be swept from power.

Upon this, issue was joined with Mr. Churchill, not indeed by the Government, for the King's Speech contained not as much as a hint of those subversive doctrines which he challenged as being a menace to the capitalist system; but by Mr. Maxton, who expressed very plainly his "complete dissatisfaction with the King's Speech." The capitalist system, which for Mr. Churchill is the foundation of our national greatness, is for Mr. Maxton

the system which has never removed poverty from the masses of the people, which has always had a large margin of unemployment, which has always kept a tremendous gulf between the rich and the poor—a gulf which is widening.

If it was possible, which fortunately it does not appear to be, to make the issue thus joined between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Maxton the dominating fact of this Parliament, the result would be in the main a battle of phrases. In the sense in which the Individualist uses the term Socialist there are hardly any Socialists—certainly not on the Front Government Bench, notwithstanding some of the speeches delivered by some of its occupants on occasion in the country—and in the sense in which the Socialist uses the term Individualist, there are practically no Individualists—not even Mr. Churchill, with all his worship of the Capitalist system. There is, however, a more serious and fundamental objection to this issue being made the dominating fact of this or of any Parliament. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Maxton may quarrel about the merits of Capitalism, the one extolling it as the foundation of our greatness, while the other denounces it as the source of all our ills; but their differences serve only to emphasise the fact that they are in truth agreed that the social order must seek and find salvation in and through its economic system. Their differences are relatively trivial, their agreement is pernicious. Their fight may be a real fight but the issue is a sham one.

Its economic system is unquestionably of major importance to every country, but that system cannot, as the history of the post-war years in this country and in other countries conclusively shows, be made the basis of political reform. Writing three years after the close of the Great War the late Professor L. T. Hobhouse made this observation, which deserves to be pondered over and applied:

The need of a reasoned ethical basis for political reform was more clearly recognised a hundred years ago than it is to-day, and perhaps that is one of the reasons why for a couple of generations the course of political improvement made steady strides, while the lack of such principles may explain why the forces of progress have fallen into disorder and left the world to the reign of violence.

Those early nineteenth-century reformers sought to determine, in the first place, the kind of social order that was in itself desirable; the economic system was formed and fashioned as a means of bringing that social order into being. It may or may not have been a satisfactory means; but whatever its defects these reforms were not guilty of the confusion of thought, that crept in later, of treating it as an end in itself.

No doubt there did in time appear Liberal Members of Parliament even like the Member of whom the tailor, Crossthwaite, in Kingsley's *Alton Locke*, speaks, who believes that wages and contracts and "those things regulated themselves by the laws of political economy, which it was madness and suicide to oppose." Unhappily the confusion spread until in an aggregate form it has threatened to engulf civilised society in the post-war years. The cabin-boy has been placed on the bridge with a result that is known to every unemployed man in Europe. To such an extent have society and our political parties been infested with this confusion that they are governed by that most menacing of lies—the "lie in the soul."

It is no doubt true that without a diffusion of liberty, of property, of knowledge, and of conscientiousness, Democracy is an impossibility; but it is equally true that each of these four essentials of Democracy must always be treated strictly as a means and never as an end, otherwise Democracy must needs be destroyed by its own chaotic condition. Liberty, even when treated as an end in itself, soon deteriorates into the doctrine of "Jack's as good as his master," a nonsensical metaphysical theory and a subversive social force. It may be urged that post-war politics have been coloured by ethical considerations and so much may readily be admitted. The decision, for instance, on the part of the Allies that Germany should pay reparations for the damage wrought by her during the war was not, though it carried with it far-reaching economic consequences, in itself an economic judgment. That decision, the justness of which may be defended from many stand-points, was ethical in character.

Similarly, the creation of seven new European States was the result of mixed ethical considerations. Tariff barriers have been erected by all countries, not as the result of the operation of any immutable and economic law; while the dominant factor in the foreign policy of each has been a sense of fear and insecurity. The results

in all cases have been, as already stated, of far-reaching economic importance, but the causes which have led to them have been deeper and more fundamental than any economic consideration. It is this failure to recognise that first things must be placed first, that we must begin by seeking a "reasoned ethical basis" for our society, which is mainly responsible to-day for our inability to deal satisfactorily with the gravest of our domestic problems—the problem of unemployment. So long as we insist upon treating the unemployment problem as a purely economic problem, to be solved either by maintaining inviolable the sanctity of Capitalism or by eradicating Capitalism and replacing it by Socialism, so long shall we fail to banish the dread spectre of unemployment. The Lord Privy Seal may put forward one economic solution after another, but they will prove nothing but palliatives unless there is a frank recognition that the problem is at root a moral problem. Europe, which before the war provided a market for nearly three-fourths of our export, has to-day nearly seven million people unemployed, and there can be no hope of a permanent solution of the problem of unemployment for the million and more workless persons in this country until, and unless, there is a change in European conditions—conditions, as we have seen, which have been brought about partly by fear, partly by the desire for power, partly by greed, and partly by ill-digested political theories. Western civilisation has converted its moral and economic conditions into a creed, and millions of its subjects are doomed, while this continues, to a life of idleness in dwellings which are veritable hovels.

Mr. Runciman has pointed out that "the troubles of our own times have been increased by the grouping of great concerns wherein the control is remote from the great mass of human beings." This control, he says, is in at least four forms: (1) financial, (2) commercial, (3) technical, and (4) personal. In his view calamity and misfortune will necessarily ensue if the control of the first is "greedy and short-sighted," if that of the second and third lack skill, and if the fourth lacks friendliness and sympathy. This statement gives to the machine its proper and due importance without converting it into a god to be worshipped. Skill obviously is an essential element for the maintenance and development of a civilised State, but there is one thing more important for such a State than even the highest skill, and that is the overriding, clear conception of the ends to be served by that skill. These controls and skill are in themselves non-moral and work well or ill in accordance with the morality of the men handling them. Are the controls and skill to be the agents of greed and fear, or of an order which has a "reasoned ethical basis"?

What has here been said of our domestic politics and of the European situation applies with equal force to the development of our great Empire. The same confusion characterises this sphere; and there are those who believe that the relationship of Britain and the Colonies can be cemented only by a system of penny preferences; Empire crusaders in a will-'o-the-wisp cause. These ideals and methods will do nothing toward the solution of problems such as those which confront the Simon Commission in India, or those problems which confront us in territories like the East African Territories. Pursued as ends the only result will be to make confusion worse confounded. The position in East Africa affords a signal illustration of the differences we seek to enforce. There the most urgent problems are those connected with the disposal of land, the control of labour, and the development of education. The policies adopted in relation to all these may be, as some urge that they should be, avowedly and openly economic; on the other hand, a different result, and a different economic result, would be attained if the test applied in determining policy were one which sought a "reasoned ethical basis" for the social order of the native races of these territories.

The task before Liberalism is to ascertain this "reasoned ethical basis" of government; and, accordingly, to forge and apply the instruments necessary for the maintenance of such a government. This does not mean that Liberalism should set out a number of rigid abstract principles; that was the error into which the French philosophers fell when they announced, as they thought, the rights of man, but only succeeded in formulating, as Hobhouse has said, "the resentment of the French bourgeoisie against aristocratic privilege and monarchical misrule." In a living, ever-changing organism such as society is these general principles can never be more than general statements of what careful analysis reveals as operating in the affairs of men. Signs are not wanting that Liberalism is now bending itself anew to its task. It has already begun the work of careful analysis necessary for its general deductions. How will it fare in the new Parliament?

If this Parliament allows itself to be drawn to do battle on the Churchill-Maxton frontier, it will meet with nothing but disaster. Its life will be short without being particularly merry, and its contributions to the solution of our national difficulties will be of no value. The usefulness and the success of this Parliament, in which Liberal-minded members are not limited to the confines of one party, depend upon the degree with which such members will co-operate in seeking Liberal things rather than content themselves merely to march in "the chorus ranks of partisans." The tentative

wonder of the Prime Minister has already been quoted; not less notable was the speech of Sir Herbert Samuel wherein he showed that

the most effective debates in the last Parliament, and those which most raised the dignity and repute of this House, were those which were free Debates, Debates such as those on the Prayer Book, in which Members were free to vote as they thought right irrespective of any Party affiliations.

Sir Herbert went on to say:

When I say that this Parliament will be an important Parliament in working out the principles and practice of British Government I mean that this may be a Parliament which, more than its predecessors, will act upon those principles, and with the consent and approval of the Government of the day will exercise a far greater freedom in debate and decision than has been customary in recent years. It ought to be, to use an old phrase, the business of the House to exalt the forms of Parliament.

If the hopes thus expressed are realised Parliament will regain much of its lost prestige, and Liberal ideas will be much freer to fashion, and more powerful in their influence on, the legislation of the future years. There is reason to believe that this will, in some measure, be the case. If one is to judge from the number of speeches delivered from the back benches of the Labour and Liberal Parties the hopes of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Sir Herbert Samuel, that the progressive forces shall be united for progressive ends, are fairly generally shared. Mr. Geoffrey A. M. Mander, speaking from the Liberal benches, said:

I can see no reason why the progressive parties in the House should not march together along the same road for the next four or five years without coming to the parting of the ways. It seems to me that we ought to make this a great radical Parliament.

He instanced foreign affairs, the maintenance of free trade, unemployment, and the development of partnership in industry, as spheres which afford ample ground for common and fruitful action.

From the Labour benches, Mr. Charles Buxton, in dealing with the treatment of the subject peoples of the Empire, said:

The policy we (the Labour Party) represent regarding the treatment of native races follows to a very large extent the traditional policy of the Whig and Liberal Parties of the past.

He further declared:

There is another aspect in which it (the Labour policy) harmonises with Liberal conceptions of administration. Our view of the Empire is essentially a free trade and an internationalist view of the Empire. . . . We have never been tempted to accept that naïve belief in the virtues of strong government which has often been expressed in this House by the Conservative Party, and so far our policy is thoroughly in harmony with the traditional policy of Liberalism.

These speeches indicate that Liberalism is not without hope in this Parliament. The vision is there; but it is not only for a lack of vision that a people perisheth. Civilisation oftentimes is overtaken by unnecessary disasters because, like Jonah, though it has a clear message to deliver, rather than deliver it it prefers to pursue the way to Tarshish. Are we to continue in this stormy path? If the progressive parties are dominated by the fear that the success of their common mission will ruin their reputations as political prophets, stress and suffering will go on, and will go on, to that degree, quite unnecessarily.

Let it not be imagined that we decry the skill, in all its variety of forms, that is being applied to solve the difficult and intricate problems of our social and industrial life. That skill is essential for our present welfare and future development, whether it be in dealing with the question of the financial control of industry, the development of the industry itself, or in the distribution of the yields of that industry. All honour to those who, in such numbers, are lending their energies and devoting their abilities to these great tasks. Their efforts are, however, being thwarted instructionally by nationalist ambitions, fears, and greed; and nationally by a lack of conscientiousness which produces mistrust and class hatred with all the vices that spring therefrom to imperil and endanger Democracy. Man must not only master his machine; he must master himself.

The emphasis herein laid on Liberalism in Parliament, important though that obviously is, might nevertheless lead to a false conclusion, unless one views the relationship of Parliament to the national life in its proper perspective. To the degree that Liberalism influences the life of a progressively educated Democracy, the sphere of Parliamentary usefulness will tend to diminish. The real forces to-day which mould the life of the people are to be found in those myriad contacts which the people have one with the other through their societies of all kinds; their occupations in workshops, factories, and what not; their churches; their schools; their sports. Out of these myriad and myriad of contacts there undoubtedly arise issues which demand regulation. These are the only issues which are, strictly speaking, political issues. With the increase of enlightenment, and a greater diffusion of conscientiousness; as Liberalism permeates the general national life, adapting and changing the relationships and inter-actions of that life, there will arise a new Democracy, speaking a language that may well prove strange to our ears; and with institutions of which even yet we have little conception.

R. HOPKINS MORRIS.

THE UNHEALED WOUNDS OF EUROPE.

WHEN the Great War came to an end everyone was resolved that it should be the last war; but everyone had a different method of achieving this result. Some people thought that it would best be done by destroying what they called "Germany's will to war." With Germany dismembered, bankrupt and deprived of ships and guns Europe would become forthwith a haven of peace; and M. Clemenceau, with iron hand in his grey glove, framed his treaties with this thought supreme in his mind. If that statesman had had his way there would have been no mercy for Germans or for any other defeated nation; but others thought differently. Mr. Lloyd George, whilst not objecting to hang the Kaiser, wanted to give to the beaten nations generous terms and would probably have done so had his supporters at home allowed him this amount of freedom. President Wilson had long before laid down his principle of "self-determination" by which, notwithstanding conquest, the conquered races were to have a voice in determining their future allegiance. It was a noble idea, and one which, had it been universally carried into effect, might have brought us really on to the road of peace. But even with him human nature proved to be too unmalleable a substance to be shaped at the will of an individual, and plebiscites went by the board where they were most needed, as in the Tyrol and on the frontier fringes around truncated Hungary.

The outcome of it all was that when the Powers came to repartition Europe and to slice off portions of Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria and give them to their neighbours, they transferred thereby large groups of inhabitants who were thus converted against their will into citizens of another State and placed under the domination of races differing from them in every respect, and in most cases feeling very little friendship towards them. In these circumstances there was not much hope of peace.

It must be admitted that the change was unavoidable. Indeed, it would probably have come about if the inhabitants had been consulted; since, even before the war the position in most of these districts was intolerable. All of them were inhabited by a mixed population. Indeed, it was owing to this mixture of races that trouble had arisen in the past. It was out of the question to leave Slovaks or Roumanians under the rule of the Magyars who in old days had denied to them rights of self-government and had spared no effort to make them abandon their mother-tongue. It was the same with Poland. No one who desired peace in Europe could have left the Poles in Posnan subject to Germany. The Prussian policy of expropriation and compulsory introduction of a German

element into a centuries-old Polish population had made the name of Germany universally hated. And so, there and elsewhere, the transfer of these peoples had to be effected. A million Germans had to be left under Poland, and about the same number of Hungarians were made to swear allegiance to Roumania. Czechoslovakia absorbed three million Germans and nearly one million Hungarians; whilst a similar process was carried through with regard to the Bulgarians in Yugo-Slavia, Roumania and Greece; with the Hungarians in the Banat; with the Austrians in Slovenia and in the Tyrol; and with the Germans in Alsace. In all there must be some ten million of this class of minority out of a total of about double that number in Europe.

But, in measure as this process of compulsory de-nationalisation was inevitable, the more necessary was it to provide that these transferred minorities should be, not only secure from oppression, but accommodated in such a manner as would leave them as contented as possible under their new allegiance. To place millions of Germans and Hungarians entirely at the mercy of Poles or Czechs would have been the height of folly on the part of men who were striving to find a peaceful solution of the problems arising out of the war. And so the Powers at Versailles took a bold step. They insisted that certain States should enter into agreements with them that they would secure to these minorities certain privileges by which, whilst becoming merged in the political organisation of the State, these groups of foreign race and tongue might preserve intact the special features of their race as completely as if they had been allowed to remain in their old country. It is true that this is not the precise wording of the treaties; but it is the meaning of them. Were it not so, the treaties would be no advance whatever upon the old system which M. Clemenceau declared to have failed. This was, certainly, the purpose of the new agreements, and it was on the faith of this that the transferred peoples accepted their transfer. They might have opted to retain their former nationality. In view of this offer they did not do so. They did not wish to quit their old homes provided they could follow their old customs, and most of them would have settled down contentedly in their new conditions had the nations to whom they were allotted given them the treatment which it was intended they should enjoy.

But, unfortunately, this is not what happened. Had the new system been under the control of those who devised it things might have been different. The minorities could have looked for protection to men who had learned their lessons from the experience of the past and who had seen the effect of recklessly closing schools and universities, withholding civic rights and interfering with the

freedom of divine worship. But the power passed into other hands, and although in some of the countries affected there were statesmen who knew well the problem that presented itself, they too found their influence of little use when once the matter got down into the ordinary routine of official administration. The lot of the minorities came to depend upon the idiosyncrasies of a host of minor officials naturally prejudiced against their former rulers and swayed largely by their nationalistic sentiment which since the war has almost assumed the character of a religious creed.

Under these conditions the minorities were, from the first, regarded as enemies and traitors. The least resistance to oppressive laws, or demand for a fuller recognition of their treaty rights, was looked upon as a sign of irredentism. Although the "free exercise of religion" was to be a "fundamental law" the police in Transylvania did not hesitate to send agents to take shorthand notes of sermons preached in the Hungarian tongue. In the years immediately succeeding the war physical violence by the police and illegal arrest and detention were common occurrences. All sorts of devices in numbering the population, or in re-arranging boundaries, were resorted to in order to evade the obligation to provide minority schools. Petty annoyances were universal. In one city no one might speak in German over the telephone. In another town with a purely German-speaking population public announcements of German plays were torn down by soldiers because they were not printed in the national language. Children of German or Hungarian tongue were required to write their examination papers in a language in which they were only half proficient and were thereby intentionally prevented from entering the institutions of higher grade for which their intellectual attainments fitted them. Owners belonging to the minority race were expropriated in order that members of the majority might obtain their farms. In Poland some thousands of German-speaking farmers were deprived of their holdings illegally—as was judicially decided by the Permanent Court at The Hague.

Scores of similar cases might be cited and indeed have been testified to by numerous investigators and recorded in books published at various times. It is true that these events were most frequent immediately after the war and the character of the offence was more grave then than now. But even now there are very few countries where the races are really reconciled to one another, or where the tension between the dominant and subject populations is not still a serious danger. The cause of this can generally be traced to the continual attempts made by the majority to hinder the free development of the minority languages, and to induce the minorities to abandon their separate racial character and become

assimilated to the rest of the nation in every respect. What makes this movement the more serious is that the persons who encourage the majorities in this direction are inspired by a high sense of patriotism. They are not actuated by mere antipathy towards the minorities so much as by a deeply-rooted conviction that unless the groups of foreign origin within the land can be made to forget that origin the land will never be safe. It is argued that, even if adults be unchangeable, the children may be transformed by suitable influence being brought to bear in the schools, and so every effort is made not only to teach each child the language of the State as is allowed by the treaties, but to prevent him from learning properly the language of his parents. It is thought that by these means when a new generation shall have sprung up the minorities will have lost their language and with it their association with their old stock. Thus they will become merged, not only politically, but linguistically and racially, in the normal population of the State.

It is true that some of the people who hold such views see the danger points in this policy but nevertheless they argue that it is only by adhering to it steadfastly that the dangers will be avoided. And they say "we are avoiding a greater danger inasmuch as we are ridding ourselves of an element in our population which if it remains permanently in touch with its old country will tend to break up the unity of the State and, in time of stress, might bring about its destruction." It is impossible to ignore the force of this argument. The only reply to it is that history has shown that it is impossible to root out national sentiment and that the attempt to do so creates the very danger that it is hoped to avoid. It is certain that amongst the minorities the fear lest this policy should be successful has strengthened the resolution to resist it and has put obstacles in the way of obtaining that sense of unity which a more generous attitude might have brought about. Moreover, it is a policy that has serious repercussions outside of the countries concerned. The attempt to interfere with the teaching of German in Poland and in the Tyrol found immediate echo in Prussia and Austria, and international complications have already arisen therefrom which impair the good relations between these Powers and their neighbours. It is of urgent importance to the peace of the world that these complications should not arise and, for this, it is necessary to arrive at some decision as to what is the true meaning and spirit of the minority treaties and see that they are given effect to. If it was intended by the treaties that the minorities should permanently retain their racial attributes, then the policy in all these countries should be honestly directed to attain this end. A stop should be put to official tricks and subterfuges and the majority population should be brought to learn that the might of a

State rests not on hard uniformity in language and habits, but on justice and generosity towards all the varying human elements that make up a great political State.

The suggestion that the League of Nations, or any other outside authority, should approach this problem along the general lines set out above always meets with the objection that action of this kind would be an unjustifiable interference in the affairs of Sovereign States which no self-respecting nation would tolerate. A lot of nonsense is talked about sovereignty, even in that august circle, the Council of the League. The Minority Treaties raise no question of sovereignty. The question is one of contract. Poland, as a Sovereign State, has agreed with other Sovereign States to give her minorities certain treatment. The question is whether she is giving it? This question is not one for Poland to decide, any more than a private individual can settle whether a bargain to which he is a party is being carried through or not. An outside authority is therefore brought in; the Council of the League for some purposes, the Permanent Court for others. This has also been agreed to. So far there is no sacrifice of sovereignty; unless sovereignty implies liberty at any moment to break one's promises. There would thus be no infringement of sovereignty if the Court or the League were to demand facilities whereby the one or the other could ascertain how far the promises were being kept. And yet neither body has dared to do this up till now. In 1920 the Council adopted a report by M. Tittoni in which it was laid down that "the League must ascertain that the provisions for the protection of minorities are always observed." But notwithstanding this declaration the League has devised no means of keeping itself informed except by the occasional examination of petitions presented by injured individuals, or groups, who have had sufficient courage to put themselves into open conflict with their own governments. Considering the risks run by petitioners it is remarkable that so many petitions have been addressed to the League. They prove that conditions in many places have become unbearable. But petitions alone are far from concluding the question, since there are thousands of men and women who are being systematically deprived of the privileges they were intended to enjoy and whose silent discontent constitutes a standing menace to the peace of Europe.

The Council of the League has never investigated the wider question. It has allowed itself to be influenced far too much by technical objections. The words in the minorities treaties which say that any member of the Council shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction of the obligations, were construed by M. Tittoni as meaning that the competence of

the Council to deal with a question arises only when a member draws attention to it. This view is not the outcome of any legal decision and it is doubtful whether any court would place so narrow a limit upon the discretion of the Council. The Council has unnecessarily tied its hands and has done so in spite of the fact that, as the guarantor of the rights of all minorities, it is bound to concern itself in their treatment wherever a question arises, and (to quote the words of the treaties) "to take such action as it may deem proper and effective."

How can the Council decide what action is proper and effective so long as it keeps itself and the League in ignorance of what is going on within the countries that have accepted the minority treaties? The committee who sat in London last April say that the Secretariat at Geneva is in possession of complete information and they evidently think that nothing more is needed. If so, it is permissible to suggest that this information should be made known. If the minorities are now contented; if they are enjoying the privileges intended for them by those who handed them over to their new masters; if they can now look forward to bringing up their children in the language and the traditions of their forefathers without let or hindrance; if all this is so, surely it were well that Europe should know it! It would be a great relief to all to learn that the minority question has really been disposed of. It would indeed do more to consolidate the position and to assure the future of the new States than anything else could. No one desires to attack these new nations. Everyone knows the difficulties they have had to surmount, of which not the least has been that of assimilating men of different race, language and religion into one compact and loyal commonwealth.

What then can the League do? It could appoint at once a small commission of men of independent position and sound judgment to investigate and to report to the Council upon the legal and social position of racial, religious and linguistic minorities in every country within the League. The reason for suggesting an inquiry of a general character is not only that there are States not bound by the minority treaties where the question has already become acute; but also that it is only by dealing with the problem in this manner that it will be possible to induce the States which are bound by treaty to assent to anything which they consider goes beyond their treaty. If all the members of the League would throw open their doors and invite the League to study their methods it would then become possible to arrive at a common ground of action and to take a considerable step in advance along the road to peace.

A study of the question from such a general point of view would do something to remedy what was the initial error on the part of

the Powers at Versailles. It is well known that President Wilson proposed that the treaty of peace should include a provision giving protection to all religious minorities in every land. However, when it was suggested that the clause should be extended so as to include racial minorities, the figures of the negro and the Japanese rose up before him and he dropped his proposition without more ado. Then the Italian plenipotentiary objected to concede special rights to the German and Slav minorities in Italy since no one could possibly be oppressed in that liberty-loving land, and so the clause was omitted from the peace treaty and was inserted in separate treaties applicable to certain countries picked out somewhat in the manner that a schoolmaster picks out naughty boys. Poland and Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugo-Slavia were selected as probable offenders and brought within the reach of the new cane handed to the Council of the League.

This was the great mistake of the Peace Conference. It had no right to assume that these States would behave worse than the others. If minorities needed protection in Czechoslovakia, they might need it equally in Italy or France, or indeed in the British Empire or the United States. No country has an unblemished record in this respect. There is no difference in principle between one State and another; and it was fatal to assume that there was. In fact, this limitation of obligations under treaty has proved to be one of the chief difficulties in the way of the Council exercising its powers on behalf of the minorities. The differentiation in status has caused the minority States to resent and to resist the intervention of the League. They feel acutely the slur placed upon them, whereas, if the treaties were common to all, they would gladly co-operate in finding a means whereby the claims of all racial minorities might be satisfied.

If the Council of the League will treat this question as one of general concern that requires calm and serious investigation instead of truculent recrimination such as has already arisen at some of its sittings it will be possible to make progress towards its solution. If it be objected that an inquiry of the kind will stir up strife, the reply is that this depends upon how the inquiry is conducted. In any case it is necessary to take some risks. It is better to probe a sore than to leave it to become a festering wound; and this is what the minority problem is developing into in more than half the countries of Europe.

W. H. DICKINSON.

ELECTORAL REFORM.

LORD ULLSWATER'S Committee on Electoral Reform has to deal with a constitutional problem of momentous importance. It will be a mere disaster if its members allow themselves to yield to the temptation of looking at their problem solely in the light of immediate Party advantage. The questions upon which they have to report profoundly affect the whole working of democratic representative government. Their reference, we are assured, is to be very wide. They may report on anything and everything that affects the conduct of elections. But there are four heads under one or other of which all their proposals are likely to fall. The most important is the method of voting—the question whether any modification should be made in the present method of deciding results by a bare plurality (not a majority) of votes in single-member constituencies. They will probably also be asked to consider whether it is desirable that the plural vote should be continued; whether there should not be a legal limitation of financial outlay on elections, not only in each individual constituency, but by parties as a whole, and, in this connection, whether political parties should not be required to publish their accounts; and, finally, whether there should not be some legal restriction upon certain electioneering practices, such as canvassing, and the provision of conveyances to take electors to the poll. Nor are these the only questions which are likely to engage their attention. They may be asked to consider the use of broadcasting—the extension of which is likely to modify profoundly the methods of electioneering. They may be asked to consider whether voting should be made compulsory, as in Australia; or whether, alternatively, those who do not use their votes should be struck off the register and made to take some trouble before they regain the voting privilege. In short, they have to consider whether and how democracy can be made a clean, just, efficient, and workmanlike system of government, so far as concerns the organised expression of the nation's will.

I.

Beyond comparison, the most important of all these questions is that of the method of voting. It has long been obvious that our present method—that of electing members by a bare plurality of votes in single-member constituencies—is apt to produce extraordinary results, and to lead to grave distortions of the nation's judgment.

Even when there was a strict two-party system, this method of voting was highly unsatisfactory. A party which was in a minority

in the country could obtain a substantial majority in Parliament, if it won most of its seats by narrow majorities but lost other seats by large majorities. More serious, the system made the verdict of the electorate unreal by reducing to a minimum the elector's freedom of choice. He might be, and often was, limited to a choice between a bad candidate put forward by the party with which he most nearly agreed, and a good candidate who stood for principles of which he disapproved. And his vote would be of no use at all, and would have no influence upon the composition of Parliament and the policy of government, unless he voted for a successful candidate.

But the two-party system has long since disappeared. Since 1880 there have never been less than three parties in this country, and the widened sphere of politics makes it unthinkable that the political ideas of the electors can ever again be so arbitrarily simplified as the two-party system demands. With the disappearance of the two-party system our electoral methods have become more grotesquely misrepresentative than ever. When there are three or more candidates, the elector's choice is no doubt enlarged. But, just because his vote will be wasted unless he votes for a winner, he is tempted to vote, not for the man with whom he most nearly agrees, or who seems to him the best candidate, but for the candidate whom he least dislikes among those who seem to have a good chance. In other words he votes not *for* what he believes in, but *against* what he fears or dislikes; and this negative way of voting is fatal to any honest expression of the national mind.

It is impossible to trace or measure the distortion of the national verdict which is thus produced. But even on the votes as cast, the existing method of voting leads to grotesque results. Thus, in 1918, the Coalition obtained an overwhelming parliamentary majority of 342, when, in proportion to the votes cast, it ought only to have had a majority of between 60 and 70. In 1922 the Conservatives obtained 38 per cent. of the votes cast, yet they got a majority of 72 in Parliament. In the next year they again obtained 38 per cent. of the votes cast, but were placed in a minority of 83 in Parliament. Between 1924 and 1929 the percentage of the total poll obtained by the Labour Party rose by only 4 per cent., yet they nearly doubled their percentage of seats in Parliament. In 1929 the Liberals obtained over 23 per cent. of the votes cast, but only 9 per cent. of the seats. In that election the Labour Party obtained a seat for every 29,000 votes, the Conservative Party a seat for every 33,000 votes, and the Liberal Party a seat for every 91,000 votes. Each Labour vote thus weighed as much as three Liberal votes.

The result of these absurdities is that an appeal to the country

becomes a mere gamble. There is no assurance that any government, in a theoretically democratic country, will really express the predominant opinion of the democracy. An altogether disproportionate, and a highly dangerous, degree of power is thrown into the hands of a wavering and unthinking margin of electors, because they can turn a minority in the country into a sweeping majority in Parliament. And the result of this distortion of public opinion is that the policies of statesmen are also distorted. They are misled by their strength in Parliament, which may have no relation to their strength in the country; and they are tempted to trust to the luck of the gamble. Thus in 1923, having a large majority in Parliament, Mr. Baldwin thought it safe to appeal to the country; he obtained the same support as in the previous year, but was thrown into a small minority. In 1924 Mr. Ramsay MacDonald precipitated a quite unnecessary election on the gambling chance that he might get a clear majority, or, at any rate, that the Liberal Party, which had supported him in office, might be wiped out of existence by the working of a vicious electoral system. Finally, in 1929, Mr. Baldwin and his advisers seem to have thought it impossible that they could be swept out of office, because for five years they had enjoyed a majority of two to one in Parliament. They forgot that even in 1924 they had been in a minority in the country. When the results were declared, they found that though they had obtained 38 per cent. of the votes cast—the same percentage which had given them a large majority in 1922—they had sunk to be only the second party in Parliament, and that the Labour Party, with a smaller vote in the country, had won the right to form a government.

It is utterly undemocratic that a government should be enabled to wield autocratic power when it represents a minority of the nation, and to carry measures against which a majority of the nation has pronounced by the only means open to it. It is extremely dangerous that governments should be tempted to gamble on the results of a vicious electoral system, and to hope that they may gain a parliamentary majority for policies which a majority of the nation disapproves. Yet our existing electoral methods make the first of these things not only possible but likely, while they expose us continually to the evil results of the second.

II.

Three principal modes of reforming the electoral system are widely advocated in this country—the Second Ballot, the Alternative Vote, and Proportional Representation by the single transferable vote.

Both the Second Ballot and the Alternative Vote accept the

single-member constituency, and try to make the best of it. Both would encourage the elector to vote, in the first instance, according to his principles, by giving him a second chance of voting against the candidate he disliked most, if the candidate of his choice failed to secure election. The Second Ballot would do this by providing for a second election within a few days if no candidate obtained a clear majority at the first election; the Alternative Vote would do it by empowering the elector to indicate his second preference, to whom his vote would be transferred if the candidate of his first choice was at the bottom of the poll. The Second Ballot would enable the elector, when giving his second vote, to take account of the movement of opinion throughout the country as shown by the first returns. It would also lend itself to intrigues and log-rolling bargains between parties. Neither system would give to the elector any wider choice than was offered by the three or four candidates who happened to be nominated in his constituency. Neither would give much greater assurance than the present method that the final result would accurately reflect the opinion of the nation. Minority parties, however large, would be apt to find themselves so often at the bottom of the poll (and therefore disregarded in the final count) that they would stand little chance of being fairly represented. Under either system, the result of an election would be almost as great a gamble as it is to-day.

Proportional Representation, on the other hand, would get away altogether from the single-member constituency, which its advocates regard as the chief cause of electoral uncertainty and injustice. It would divide the country into large constituencies, with not less than three members; each elector would have only one vote, but would be entitled to indicate the order of his preference, so that if the candidate of his first choice received more votes than he needed for election, or was hopelessly out of the running, the vote could be transferred. In these large constituencies, there would be a wide choice of candidates, so that the elector's opinions could be effectively expressed; while every vote would count in the final result. Undoubtedly this system would lead to a much more accurate reflection of the state of opinion in the country than any of its rivals. Indeed, the main ground of objection to it is that it would be much too accurate: that it would put an end to the coherence of parties, and lead to the emergence of numerous groups, and to the election of many individual faddists, thus producing a representative body which would make stable party-government impossible. These fears appear to be greatly exaggerated. Every candidate would know that he could not hope for a sufficient body of second or third preferences unless he could count upon the support of one of the great organised parties; and as the building

up of a party organisation on a national scale is both difficult and costly, it is unlikely that parties would be multiplied; though it is probable that there would be an increased elasticity and variety within the parties. Critics of Proportional Representation who point to the numerous parties of France and Germany forget that these parties grew up under other methods of election than Proportional Representation, and that where Proportional Representation has been established, as in Belgium, it has not produced an increase in the number of parties.

Undoubtedly Proportional Representation (and, in a less degree, the Alternative Vote or the Second Ballot) would tend to stabilise the existing balance of parties, and to prevent any party from obtaining a clear majority. But it would only do so if, and in so far as, there was a balance of parties in the country; and in that case, a system which would give a majority to one party would be a denial of democracy. Nevertheless there are many who are so dominated by the traditions of the nineteenth century, when it was normal for the government to command a clear majority in the House of Commons, that they long for a return to this vanished state of things, believe that "stable government" must be impossible until it is restored, and cling to the anomalies of the existing electoral system precisely because the gambling element in it holds out a chance of a majority for a single party. Since the system tends to be most unfair to the smallest party, they think that, if persisted with, it would lead to the destruction of the smallest party, and therefore to the restoration of two-party government. In other words, they believe that democracy can only be made workable on the condition that all independent bodies of opinion, however strong, are denied any share in the government of the country.

This is not only a *reductio ad absurdum* of the democratic principle, it disregards all the lessons of experience. We have not had a pure two-party system since 1880. It is extremely unlikely that we shall ever have it again. It is unthinkable that the opinions of an educated nation on the issues of politics, which are now so wide, should ever again be crushed into two rigid moulds. The three parties of to-day are very sharply distinguished: they are not three parts of a continuous line, but three angles of a triangle, which may in time develop into a pentagon; and they neither can nor ought to be arbitrarily crushed flat. Moreover, experience shows that at least three parties are needed to enable the nation to give a clear expression of its will. In the recent election it would have been impossible for the nation to condemn both protection and socialism, as it manifestly desired to do, and actually did, unless three parties had been in the field: but for the part played by the Liberal Party and its 513 candidates, the verdict of the nation would

have appeared to be either in favour of Mr. Baldwin's policy, or in favour of Socialism; and we know that either of these results would have been a stultification of the nation's real opinions.

Finally, experience (as well as reason) shows that government can be very efficiently carried on when the government party is in a minority in Parliament. This was the case from 1910 to 1915, when a greater volume of important and difficult legislation was carried than in any other period of equal length. It was the case again in 1924, when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald might have carried on much longer if he could have kept his temper and remembered that he could carry nothing for which he could not win the support of one of the other parties. It is the case again in 1929, when the Labour Government is setting out with high hopes of being able to carry on for two years at least. There is no reason why it should not carry on still longer than that, if it continues to accept the conditions and resists the temptation to take a gambling chance in an election.

III.

There is no need to be afraid of electoral reform if we can be satisfied that government can be well conducted in a condition of balanced parties; and if government cannot be well conducted in such a condition democracy is clearly doomed, because the two-party system is dead, and we cannot force back a living nation into that rigid mould without denying it freedom of expression. On the other hand, if government *can* be well conducted in a condition of balanced parties, we shall gain much. Freedom of discussion in Parliament will revive; we shall qualify the crudity of partisanship without sacrificing the virtue of party; Mr. MacDonald's dream of turning Parliament into a sort of "Council of State" in which all parties may contribute to the solution of national problems instead of devoting their strength to discrediting one another will come true; the prestige and influence of Parliament will revive; and the dangerous power of bureaucracy will at last be subjected to the free criticism which it needs. These boons, unattainable under a two-party system and the Cabinet dictatorship which springs from it, can be attained under a three-party system, and are being, to some extent, realised to-day. If that is so, the coming of the three-party system represents a real advance for representative government, and we ought to rejoice in, rather than to fear, any reform which will give it stability.

There are two ways in which government can be carried on when parties are balanced. The first is by means of a coalition, on defined terms, between two of the parties for the formation of a government; or (what amounts to the same thing) the formation

of a temporary alliance without a sharing of offices, for the period of a single parliament, to carry out a predetermined and publicly announced policy upon which both parties are agreed. Such a coalition or alliance is apt to lead, ultimately, to coalescence. It has done so in the past, as in the case of the Peelites in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the Liberal Unionists at its close. But this was mainly due to the working of the electoral system. Under the existing system, two parties cannot be close allies in Parliament without making an arrangement to avoid conflict in the constituencies; and for that reason the allies have tended to lose their identity, and to be merged in a new party. Under a system of Proportional Representation, which would secure to each its proper strength in Parliament, this difficulty would vanish; and two parties could form a coalition or an alliance without abandoning their propaganda in the country or sacrificing their identity.

But it is also possible for a party in office to carry on without any formal agreement with any of its rivals, provided that its leaders will recognise and accept certain principles which naturally arise out of the condition of balance. In the first place they must recognise that they cannot hope to carry any measure on which they will not be supported by at least one of the other parties—that is to say, any measure for which there would not be a majority in the nation. Thus the Labour Government of 1924 was able to rest alternately upon the support of the Liberals and the Conservatives—upon the Liberals (for example) when they wanted to carry a housing programme, upon the Conservatives (for example) when they wanted to increase armaments. In the second place they must, on all minor matters, be prepared to accept the judgment of Parliament, and not to resign unless they are defeated upon some vital issue; in other words, they must be prepared to allow a freedom of debate such as the two-party system has commonly refused. In the third place they must recognise that a minority government has no right to force a dissolution at a moment convenient to itself, but that no dissolution ought to take place until every means of carrying on government without a dissolution has been tried. On the other hand, the "opposition" parties must abandon the notion that it should be their primary object to oust the government; they must, while preserving the right of free criticism and doing everything in their power to forward the ideas for which they stand, recognise that "the King's Government must be carried on," and do their best to ensure that it is carried on efficiently. The traditions of party strife, and the noxious doctrine that "it is the duty of the opposition to oppose," are so deeply rooted in our political system that it may seem Utopian to expect such conduct from opposition parties. But, in a condition of

balance, the expectation may fairly be entertained without attributing any undue degree of magnanimity to politicians. For one at least of the opposition parties will realise that if it joins in ousting the government it will reap no reward, since the spoils of office will fall to the other party. And both will know that anything like factious opposition, leading to uncertainty, will arouse the anger of the electorate.

One further condition, however, is needed to ensure the smooth working of party government when parties are balanced. The gambling chances of the present electoral system must be destroyed, and each party must be assured that its full strength in the country will be reflected in the House of Commons whenever an election takes place. Once this is ensured, governments and oppositions alike will have little desire to precipitate an election except upon some vital and major issue which both are eager to fight out in the constituencies; and in such a case an appeal to the country is both healthy and desirable.

The conclusions to which our argument leads may be briefly summarised as follows: (1) The existing electoral system is a mere parody of democracy; it leads to grave distortions of the nation's judgment, and it turns politics into a gamble. (2) Any effective electoral reform, such as would ensure fair representation for all solid bodies of opinion, would stabilise the present balance of parties and finally destroy the two-party system. (3) But the two-party system is already dead: it could only be revived (if at all) by an artificial suppression of large bodies of opinion, and by an artificial restriction of the elector's freedom of choice, which would make democracy unreal and intolerable. (4) At least three parties are needed (as the recent election has shown) to give the nation a chance of giving a clear verdict on the issues submitted to it. (5) The fear that "stable government" will be impossible in a condition of balanced parties has been shown by experience to be unfounded. It can be made perfectly workable, given the adoption of certain reasonable conventions, of which the most important is that a minority government ought not to have the power of dissolution until every means of carrying on without a dissolution has been tried; provided that the temptation to gamble on the results of an election has been removed by a just electoral system. (6) The adoption of these conventions would bring about a real improvement in parliamentary government; it would restore the powers and freedom of Parliament, and get rid of the worst evils of party while retaining its virtues. (7) Thus a real and great advance is now open to us; but it can only be secured by a solid measure of electoral reform, preferably a system of proportional representation.

IV.

I have not left myself space in which to discuss the various minor topics which Lord Ullswater's committee may be called upon to discuss. If I were a dictator, I should enact that no voter should be placed upon the register except on a personal application, to be made at a fixed time, not in the heat of an election; and that every voter who did not use his vote should be struck off the register, and required to make a fresh personal application. This provision, while maintaining the universal right of all adults to a vote, would tend to exclude the slack and indifferent who do not take their responsibilities seriously, and would save us from the domination of the wavering mass which now determines our future.

As for the plural vote, it is obviously undemocratic. But it provides an element of stability. I should be prepared to abolish it only on condition that a real measure of electoral reform, ensuring the proportionate representation of all important bodies of opinion, was at the same time adopted. This would involve the abolition of university seats. In theory they add a useful and distinctive element to Parliament. In practice they have seldom done so. The right place for the representation of universities is a Second Chamber.

The restriction of expenditure on elections is a much-needed reform. The existing restrictions are in practice largely nullified by the colossal outlay which is sometimes made by central party organisations. It has been asserted that the Liberal Party squandered vast sums in this way at the last election. But its total outlay for all purposes was less than the outlay of the Conservative Party's central organisation on bill-posting alone. I should restrict this outlay to a definite amount per candidate; and I should require a detailed, and publicly audited, account of the expenditure of all political parties, together with a statement of the sources from which their funds were derived. In the case of paid officers of any type who devoted the whole or a part of their time to electioneering work, I should require that their salaries be debited to the account of the party for which they worked. I should like to prohibit canvassing and the use of vehicles for the transport of electors, if I could think of any means of doing so which would be effective.

All these provisions would contribute to make elections more sober and more rational. But none of them is of more than insignificant importance in comparison with the reform of our methods of voting. That is our primary need: the preliminary condition of a great improvement in the system of parliamentary government which would restore the lost prestige of Parliament.

RAMSAY MUIR.

THE MEANING OF IMPERIAL TRUSTEESHIP

"It is now becoming a commonplace of talk that British policy requires more exact definition, that general terms like Trusteeship are of comparatively little value, and that this country has everything to gain by an authoritative declaration of the rules that are to guide its Colonial administration in protecting the land and labour of backward peoples."—*The Times*, July 29th, "East Africa—The Next Step."

A NEW political party, coming for the first time into responsible power, has found itself called to deal at critical points with a number of crucial issues in domestic, foreign, and Imperial policy. The outstanding Colonial issue involves the whole future of the relations between Europeans and Africans. Action has to be taken upon the Report* of Sir E. Hilton Young's Commission. Last March in this Review it was emphasised† that its leading recommendation was 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.

Another important decision is challenged by a Bill just passed in Southern Rhodesia proposing to restrict the right of natives to buy or occupy land. Legislation affecting native interests in Southern Rhodesia is reserved for sanction by the Imperial Government, which thus remains in this respect trustee for the natives. The right proposed to be abrogated is guaranteed in the King's Letters Patent, establishing the Colony's constitution.

The principle expressed in the Covenant of the League of Nations (Article 22), that Imperial Powers must be regarded as trustees for the interests of peoples under their sovereignty "not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world," was not new to British Imperialism. It had long been accepted in regard to our rule in India. In regard to Colonial possessions, however, the use of the word trusteeship had not been familiar. The reason for this difference was that Englishmen of the Victorian period habitually thought of our Colonies merely as outlying British communities under the sovereignty of the Crown, in which British traditional principles of justice, liberty, and equality of civic privilege could not fail to be respected and enforced. The words of the Covenant, that "the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation,"

* Report on Closer Union of the Dependencies in British East and Central Africa (Cmd. 3234).

† Three members of the Commission have thanked the writer for doing so.—O.

imply that the duty of European Imperialism towards these communities is to be regarded as similar to that declared by Britain in India, namely, that they are to be helped to become "*able to stand by themselves*." But this was not the only declaration made in the Covenant. By Article 23 all members of the League "*undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control*," that is to say, Great Britain and all the other parties to it pledged themselves to adhere to those principles which Englishmen had already been wont to claim without any misgivings were in force throughout the King's Dominions.

In 1923* the Imperial Government announced that it recognised in regard to all the African territories under its authority the principles of trusteeship declared in Article 22. And the same notable document went a good deal further in saying what they meant, namely, that in regard to such territories

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 must prevail. . . . In the administration of Kenya His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population, and they are unable to delegate or share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races. . . . In their opinion the *annexation* of the East Africa Protectorate, which . . . has thus become a *Colony* . . . in no way derogates from this fundamental conception of the duty of the Government to the native races. As in the Uganda Protectorate, so in the Kenya Colony, the principle of trusteeship for the natives, no less than in the mandated territory of Tanganyika, is unassailable. This paramount duty of trusteeship 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. . . . Meanwhile the administration of the Colony *will follow the British traditions and principles which have been successful in other Colonies*.

These declarations would naturally, and congenially, convey to most home-dwelling Englishmen a fairly clear understanding of what was meant. Unfortunately, however, owing to some of the methods adopted during the last thirty or forty years of Imperial development in Africa, and in the understanding of a good many who have been active in that development, they have appeared disconcertingly paradoxical. As the Hilton Young Report puts it:

They have in some quarters come to be regarded either as a threat of injustice, which it is right to resist, or as a pious declaration which was never intended to be taken seriously.

The reason is that, during that period of the development of our new Imperial Estates which began after the "Partition of Africa,"

* Kenya White Paper (Cmd. 1922).
† Italics mine.—O. See also page 307.

(i) the interests of the African natives have not been regarded as paramount, and no one engaged in the process has ever pretended they were, or ought to be, so regarded; far less that where they conflicted with those of Europeans the latter must give way, and (ii) the Imperial Government has, in various general relations and in various particular instances, omitted or failed to secure "*just treatment of the native inhabitants under their control*," and has markedly departed from "*the British traditions and principles which have been successful in other Colonies*."

In order to illustrate what it is to which the British Government pledged itself both in the Covenant and in its own subsequent declarations, I will briefly recall the leading case in which the proceedings of British Imperialism diverged from the traditional principles to which these subsequent declarations have appeared to promise a wholesome and very needful return. When Mr. Rhodes was pressing his schemes for British Cape-to-Cairo dominion, he met with stubborn resistance on the part of the Home Government against any project of annexation, or even of establishing further Protectorates. It was insisted that he must make his own arrangements with native chiefs and a company be formed to exercise over British subjects, but not over natives, any powers of Government that might be found necessary.

Lord Salisbury, in granting the British South Africa Company's Charter, promised and intended to safeguard the rights and property of the local natives. All that Rhodes had acquired from Lobengula, their paramount chief, was leave to seek and extract minerals in such locations as he should assign. It was expressly presumed that the Company had no concession of land and no right to alienate farms or township holdings to Europeans. The Charter specially stipulated that "*careful regard shall always be had to the customs and laws of the class or tribe or nation, especially with respect to the holding, possession, transfer, and disposition of lands*." The Company, from the outset, ignored this obligation, Dr. Jameson having, in fact, promised, by an agreement kept secret from the British authorities, to grant farms and "*loot*" to all who joined in his expedition. When these operations began to develop, and Lobengula protested, Lord Ripon sent a telegram pointing out that they were unauthorised, and requesting that Jameson should be instructed to "*moderate his proceedings*." The first Matabele War followed, and Lobengula's death and the ensuing confusion made it difficult to maintain control: but thenceforward the Company entirely disregarded that clause and claimed and exercised unrestricted ownership as in fee simple of all the land in the country. After the Company's further proceedings had provoked

the second Matabele War, the Colonial Office abandoned its earlier position, and in an Order in Council of 1898 merely prescribed "that the Company shall from time to time assign to the Natives land sufficient for their occupation, whether as tribes or portions of tribes and suitable for their agricultural and pastoral requirements."

This change of attitude towards native land rights was made in order to facilitate the development of the country as an agricultural property, Mashonaland having failed to pay as a gold-mining proposition. The assignment of even such reserves was delayed for more than twenty years, Europeans in the meanwhile picking out the lands most advantageous for settlement. When reserves were at length defined, in 1920, there were still 264,680 natives left living as tenants at will, and subject to rent, on lands outside of them most of which were, according to native "customs and laws," their own ancestral property. In 1925 the Southern Rhodesia Land Commission reported that there were then 274,272 natives so living. These natives have no legal property whatever in their holdings. "Large numbers,"* say the Commissioners, "are being given notice to leave the land, as farms become more extensively developed and large estates are cut up." . . . "The late Government inaugurated a policy of charging each adult male who occupied Crown Land a rental of £1 per annum." The Hilton Young Commission calls attention to the need for safeguarding rights of natives similarly situated on the enormous properties alienated in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

Thus British Imperialism having, in framing the Charter, shown its intention "to follow the British traditions and principles which have been successful in other Colonies," that is to say, to respect native land rights, had, by the year 1898, been induced in furtherance of the commercial system of European settlement to forsake those principles and to adopt in their stead those of the Boer voortrekkers in dealing with Africans. The British Imperial principles had already been established† with success within the sphere of British authority at the Cape, but had been repudiated‡ in the Boer extensions of occupation northwards, where, on any land desired by Europeans, the native only remains on sufferance as a squatter, a labour tenant or a bond labourer. That was the principle which the chartered company followed in "developing" Southern Rhodesia, which persists to-day even on the lands still in the hands of the Government, and which it is proposed to maintain.

In 1917 the Company was declared by the Privy Council to have

* Report of Southern Rhodesia Land Commission, 1925. See especially ss. 168-173 and 310-313.

† See *The Cape Colour Question*. ‡ *Bantu, Boer and Briton*. By Professor W. M. Macmillan (Faber & Gwyer).

no title to unalienated Rhodesian land, which was adjudged to belong to the Crown. Similar judgments, Orders in Council and legislation have made all lands (not alienated or excepted) in Northern Rhodesia, Swaziland, Nyasaland, and Kenya likewise the property of the Crown; and in Kenya* reduced the natives even in the reserves to the position of Crown tenants-at-will without any kind of legal property in their holdings. This is the greatest scandal of all our dealings with Africans, and it is felt, and has been protested against both by natives and by their local European sympathisers, as the strangest injustice to which they have been subjected.

No wise man would desire to upset the Privy Council's decisions. Juristically fictive, imaginative, arbitrary, and even cynical as they are, they establish the only basis on which an Imperial Government desiring to protect and do justice to natives could find a firm footing. Moreover, they embody the very sound principle that, fundamentally, land belongs to the King, that is, to the State: a principle not uncongenial to African native ideas. But those judgments cannot be held to imply that the Crown owns those lands without obligation to regard estates and interests legally, customarily or equitably established in them. Even where a country is annexed by conquest (as is held to have been the case in Southern Rhodesia) such private interests are not expropriated. Far less could they be held to have been so in a Protectorate established by treaty.†

The Southern Rhodesia Land Commission took some pains to insist on the fact that the "customs and laws with respect to the holding, possession, transfer and disposition of lands" in that territory are well established and ascertainable. So are they in Kenya and elsewhere. They are unwritten, and are therefore not familiar to many Europeans, but the discussion and settlement of questions arising upon them forms an important duty of tribal chiefs and elders.

We have declared ourselves the natives' trustees. Natives have repeatedly claimed that their land-rights, laws, and customs ought to be respected. According to their convictions it is iniquitous that they should be ignored, and that when they have never vacated their lands or alienated their interests in them the Crown should ignore those rights, impose rents upon them, or sell to Europeans and leave them in the positions I have referred to. Any trustee for natives must be deemed trustee for their interests in real property as against the domain of the King. The King is as

* See judgment of Barth, C.J., 1921.

† See above, page 304.

much bound in this situation to do justice* to natives' rights as to any other estates in real property encumbering his ownership. The course which any government professing trusteeship ought to follow is clear. It ought to ascertain, recognise, and uphold in its Courts, as against the Crown as nominal residuary owner, the rights and interests in land existent in native law.

Within the reserves the equities can be decided as now by the native councils, backed by the authority of the Crown. Outside of the reserves either these rights when proved ought to be asserted by the trustee and recognised by the courts, in which case the charging of rents, as in Southern Rhodesia, is an extortion—or, should it be desired on legitimate grounds of public expediency to expropriate them, they ought to be indemnified as in civilised countries. This obligation has, in fact, been often admitted where the Colonial Office has had control, but not always or fully. It has been and is ignored in regard to lands alienated by the Chartered Company or the Rhodesian Government. Elementary principles of British justice demand that these anomalies should be redressed and that the concessions to Afrikaner voortrekkers' principles, which gained prevalence between 1893 and 1898 in Rhodesia, should be reversed. If this obligation were not otherwise obvious it is made incontestable by our declaration of trusteeship for natives, by our renewed declaration that we would deal with them justly and by the crowning declaration that we would follow the British traditions and principles which have been successful in other colonies.

I have spoken thus lengthily about land because in that connection it is so especially obvious that any government committed to those declarations I have quoted must act on principles absolutely distinct from the principles—equally clearly defined—of Afrikaner dealings with native rights—which have so influentially prevailed both in Rhodesia and in Kenya.

The Hilton Young Report discusses very helpfully the meaning to be assigned to the phrase "paramountcy of native interests." What is required, it considers, is,

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 and an adequate measure of protection and assistance for their development, and, thirdly, to allow nothing to interfere with those conditions. Subject to these requirements the Government must do all in its power to help the immigrant communities.

* When the Masai sought legal protection from being evicted, for the benefit of a leading settler, from the reserve assigned to them in perpetuity by a formal treaty, the Court disclaimed competence to deal with this action against the Crown. I recall this notorious bit of chicanery because it furnishes a typical illustration of the reasons why Kenya settlers were staggered and even derisive when it was announced that the Government was trustee for natives and their interests were paramount.—O.

It ranks native interests in the following order: land, economic development, government services, and taxation; labour, education, administration, and political institutions. It puts land first, and political institutions last. In Kenya the topic of political institutions has been seized upon as the primary subject to be discussed. The reason is no mystery. It has been neatly expressed in a speech of an elected member of the Legislative Council:

The position of the labour market is serious. You will never solve the problem until you have control of the country—when you have that you will immediately solve it. The policy of the Government should be that every male native must work. . . . If that policy were to be applied we should have the politicians at home determined to do us in. There is no solution except to get control of the country in our own hands.

But the Commissioners rightly conceive the order of precedence. For, as they warn us (echoing the words of Sir George Grey, in respect of the same issues, long ago, at the Cape), in dealing with Africans the most important thing is that we should act justly and it is in regard to land that Europeans have dealt with natives in the manner which appears to them most unjust. No African native accepts or will ever accept as just the principles on which commercial Imperialism in South and East Africa, as distinguished from British Imperial policy on its old lines, has dealt with their interests in land. Next to land, African natives feel the burden and question the justice of European rule in regard to taxation. Labour comes next. The compulsion to labour is veiled and is for the most part indirectly applied through land policy and taxation. Tribal Africans are accustomed to duties of *corvée* for tribal purposes. But they feel as unjust and oppressive the increased demand and rigour of compulsory public labour which has been introduced in Kenya and Uganda. They also detest the Registration and Pass Laws enacted in order to keep them at work. No trustee government can pretend to believe that these laws were enacted in native interests, or in any interest save that of European employers. With regard to education ambitious natives desire to get what they may, but they are not stung by any sense of injustice in not obtaining it, except in so far as a few of them realise that much of their taxes goes to educate Europeans and comparatively little for natives.

Next in importance to land, then, comes taxation. Here our duty as trustees is obvious. It was in Southern Rhodesia, under the Chartered Company's rule, that a new departure was made in the British Colonial financial practice by imposing upon the poorest class of the population heavy direct poll* or hut taxes. The

* In addition to *rents* for occupying their own land.

example was followed in Kenya. It is unnecessary to discuss how far these taxes were fixed with the motive of making natives work for white men. If we are to follow "the principles which have been found successful elsewhere" (and which were departed from have been vindicated by unhappy experience) we shall approach the question of what is proper taxation simply from the point of view of comparative equity and capacity to pay. The Commission on East African Government, appointed by Mr. Thomas in 1924 and disbanded by Mr. Amery, was asked to examine into the incidence of taxation. Mr. Ormsby Gore's sub-committee which visited East Africa did not report on the equity of rates of taxation; all it said on the subject was that the primary reason why Kenya natives went to work on estates was to earn money to pay their taxes, and that more of the taxation levied there from natives appeared to be spent for the benefit of Europeans than for their own. These questions still demand to be cleared up. The nominal direct tax on natives in Kenya is 12s. per adult male. From the figures of official returns it would appear that the actual incidence must be at averages of 23s. to 30s. per adult male. The Kenya tax is twice as high as those of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. If natives leave their homes to work the maximum they can earn on liberally-paying estates is 12s. a month. A local report on labour supply alleges that the average value of native production in the reserves does not amount to more than 70s. to 90s. per annum per family. Manifestly such rates of taxation on very impecunious people are grossly excessive. Quite independently of the question* whether the produce of taxation is fairly spent, the official statistics present an incontestable case for inquiry.

The dictum that native interests are to be paramount is one that can easily be ridden to death or argued dialectically to be absurd. But it is not necessary to claim even so much as that. All that is required is resolutely to repudiate and to eliminate the Afrikaner ideas of the proper and legitimate manner of dealing with natives which have been allowed to infect British Colonial policy in one corner of what is still called the British Empire. Not more is necessary than the observance of Article 23 of the Covenant—to be just, and to act in accordance with the British traditions and principles which have been found successful in other colonies. The general duties of government are equally obligatory in respect of the rights of all citizens whether European, Indian, or native. Its primary duty is justice: not development. That is good *Magna Charta* doctrine. So far as the Government has assumed the

* The Governor of Kenya did institute an inquiry into this question, but the results have never been published. They were, I am informed, too inconvenient.—O.

rôle of trustee for the interests of people "not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" the duty of the Colonial Office is to ensure that the personal interests of its wards are clearly recognised, represented, promoted and vindicated, so as to ensure that those interests do hold their own under the conditions now being imposed upon them. The whole of the early development of Kenya Colony has been warped by being handled on the basis of the assumption, not that native interests were to be paramount, not that the Government were trustees for native interests, but that the paramount duty of government was to promote the rapid settlement and exploitation by Europeans of the country's resources and to use all its power and influence to promote this development by getting natives to work on estates: the interests of the natives coming in only at the tail end of this process through the economic and educational benefits to be gained by them in the earning of wages and through "contact" with Europeans.

The only safe foundation of policy—for it is one which no Englishman will repudiate and the observance of which these Africans were promised in the name of the Queen—is what I have indicated: just treatment, their rights in land, refusal to discriminate between liberties on racial grounds, refusal to revive the fallacy, which in the West Indies after the abolition of slavery went far to ruin those colonies, of assuming that the progress and prosperity of mixed populations depend on weighting public policy in favour of estates cultivation and adjusting taxation and civil rights to subserve the maintenance of a "labour supply." That policy may enable some Europeans to get rich quick, as a few, especially land-jobbers, have done in Kenya: but it is not necessary for the healthy development of European estate economy and it becomes very quickly disastrous and ruinous to it.

With regard to political institutions, which the Hilton Young Report puts last, there is at this moment less essential need for overhauling existing arrangements than in regard to any of the other topics. The only just course (and experience has proved that it is a safe and prudent one) is to establish, for the electoral* political franchise, a common standard of qualification, to develop political and administrative experience through institutions of local government, and, until the franchise for an elective legislature admits of a fair general representation, to keep the control of policy in the hands of the Crown's representatives.

What is urgent is to resume the investigation, initiated by the first Labour Government, into the actual quality of the administra-

* The question whether the native districts should not again be made a Protectorate has to be considered, but I cannot enter upon it.—O.

tion. A critical and honest review of the existing conditions in all the East African colonies is needed to satisfy Parliament that those just and equal principles of British Imperial rule which, prior to the Imperial development period, were assumed as axiomatic are, in fact, being observed. The fiscal and financial administration of Kenya and similar governments, and not only their land and labour policy, need to be criticised by the Colonial Office from the point of view of the natives for whom it is trustee as stringently as those aspects of administration have repeatedly had to be overhauled in the West Indies and other Crown Colonies, where the control or dictation of policy has been similarly in the hands of one economic class.

When in the light of such reliable understanding definition is given to the principles in accordance with which we propose to exercise our trusteeship, I should feel very little fear of any difficulty in their acceptance by all political parties in this country, or of any risk of the maintenance of such policy being upset by local class interests.

The laws and customs of Africans, recognised in their own communities as of sacred authority, are essentially a structure of civilisation. The idea of law, which it is the function of the chief or council to enforce, is a social possession which no Imperial power professing to aim at building up civilisation can afford to tamper with. If cherished and approved institutions are treated as negligible demoralisation is quickly engendered, whilst, if the rights they embody are overridden merely, or even apparently, because it is advantageous to Europeans to override them, confidence in the justice of European civilisation is also made impossible, all social sanctions are weakened and the claim that the King acts justly is rendered in the eyes of the natives an empty pretence. The authority of chiefs, the native equities in regard to land, have far too often been superseded from deliberate motives of European Colonial policy. A demoralised and uncontrolled proletariat is thus being created, the members of which it is part of the same policy, as we see to-day in South Africa, to exclude from equal rights in political and industrial life. This and the accumulating resentment the process engenders are the encroaching dangers in Africa. No enduring African civilisation can be built up on such foundations.

OLIVIER.

MRS. FAWCETT.

"SHE was one of the greatest of women, and none can replace her": so ends a tribute, one of many, to Mrs. Fawcett in *The Times*. This is true, but it is the "make-up" of the woman which must interest all. She grew up in an age when women were distinctly not emancipated. I do not refer only to their position in the State, but their place in human society was absolutely bound in by conventional ideas as to women's brain power, and in what true modesty required, and their obvious function in the progress of the race. Mrs. Fawcett says that she was either the seventh or eighth child of her parents, and she was certainly "lucky" in being a member of a large family. She notes also the date of her birth, one of the many periods of Reform. The Repeal of the Corn Laws, the Irish Famine, and, she says, the following year saw "the downfall of half the old autocratic Governments in Europe." These events and similar ones have often formed the cradle from which greatness has arisen. Unconscious influences and new ideas of liberty have often been breathed into different lives. Moses saw an Egyptian ill-treating a child of Israel: he slew the oppressor and fled. Abraham Lincoln saw a female exposed naked for sale in the slave market, and he vowed if he lived he would do his greatest to stop this abomination. Lord Shaftesbury watched a pauper's funeral with its attendant brutalities, when a boy in Harrow School. The state of his native town of Nottingham, with its drunken and lawless crime, was the cradle from which sprang General William Booth.

The interesting thing about Mrs. Fawcett was that she was a Reformer, but never diverged from the beaten path for women. She married early, a husband exceptional in every way. He had conquered and overcome with mind over matter physical infirmity. He had become a Member of Parliament and a Professor of Cambridge University. All Liberal causes he had embraced, and Mrs. Fawcett appeared as a wife after the correctest pattern, and took her place in an intellectual society. To the end of her life she said that she had always been "lucky"; her face was a lucky one. The unwrinkled freshness, the inspiring smile, the humorous twinkle of her eye, all crowned with light hair, which seemed never to have even a silver thread in it to the very end, were the hall-marks of a "lucky" mind. We must grant, however, to her rich personality the luck of being born amid surroundings which encouraged the use of women's brain power, and gave to them the golden key to knowledge. You cannot educate a man or a woman without their being able, if mind and heart are attuned, to enter into "the glorious liberty of the children of God."

Mrs. Fawcett has told of the humorous little incident which first turned her mind on to the individual standing of women. She heard herself described in a police court, where she was charging a woman for theft. The charge-sheet ran thus: "Stealing from the person of Millicent Fawcett a purse containing money, the property of Henry Fawcett." She was then in the eye of the law "a goods and chattel" belonging to her husband.

Among her attributes was courage, not of the passive enduring type, but of the hopeful militant kind. Florence Nightingale used to say and to act on "The Son of God goes forth to war," and at the darkest hour of our cause, by instinct, Mrs. Fawcett went out to war. It seemed to inspire her with fresh plans, to draw out mysterious powers in the unconquered soul. How often have I watched her, after some seemingly disastrous defeat, when many of us thought the cause thrown back for years, come into the committee-room, her face beaming with smiling defiance. So and So, has announced that she will give such a sum every year till we win. Then she would state the position we were now in, listen to the committee's views, clear in her own perceptions, and driving straight on through sometimes stormy opposition—always with a fixed principle and an assured plan. She would often end, not having convinced us all, but sending us forth shamed back, to take up the task eternal by her steel-like fortitude and good cheer. As we broke up, how often, released from the formalities of committee work, she would narrate to one and another a humorous story, or make fun of her own actions in the fray.

The one stern trial she encountered was in her attitude to militancy. Her strong sympathy with the injustice of the woman's position made her understand the movement; besides, one of her nearest and dearest was in it. Her emotion at their treatment, her sense of the crass stupidity that met force with superforce, her sense that we should not win the cause, neither would the opponents, almost broke her down. I have seen her shaken to her soul's unconquerable depths, but preserving her outward calm as a leader. Truly, none can replace her, but all must feel that she was the pattern of a true woman, an inspiring influence. We recognise more and more, as the mass of democracy sweeps down the "ringing grooves of change," that the individual leader, man or woman, will come to the front: the wind bloweth where it listeth, and from time to time such leaders will be born, but they can never be made.

Mrs. Fawcett was essentially an Englishwoman of the true bulldog type. A free woman, brave, tenacious and practical. It has been noted that East Anglia, her birthplace, has sent forth many adventurers and pioneers. In her autobiography, which should be in the hands of every woman, *What I Remember*, a gem among

such memoirs, there is a little scene of her handsome old father entering the breakfast-room with a newspaper in his hand, calling out to the children, "Heads up, and shoulders down, Sebastopol is taken": this was in September, 1855. Which of us who remember her will ever think of this gallant little woman save with "head up and shoulders down," throughout her long and happy life? Once more Mrs. Fawcett was lucky in no common degree, for she lived to see the whole enfranchisement of women. She saw it in their social standing and in education. She saw the doors which led to professional life flung open. She lived to see them free citizens of a free country. She lived to drink one cocktail, and to see the first woman Cabinet Minister. She had no fears that the women of the future would fail in any of these dearly bought liberties. Safeguarded by the womanly in them, she believed in their future, and in their succeeding race. May the banner she unfurled be kept ever flying at the nation's masthead, and may none forget the joyous, steadfast life's work of Millicent Fawcett.

FRANCES BALFOUR.

A REVIEW OF UNEMPLOYMENT REMEDIES.

THE Labour Government has, on taking office, found itself confronted with over a million registered unemployed persons, some three quarters of whom are wholly unemployed on the day of counting, the remainder being on short time or belonging to the casual labour class. As regards size, therefore, the problem is not markedly different from what it has been, on the average, throughout the last six years. The position is grave, but it does not necessarily justify predictions of national catastrophe, nor is it without parallel in other countries, for, last winter, Germany had to provide relief for over 3 million unemployed. A less alarmist view of the British figures is that out of 12 million persons, working in trades covered by Unemployment Insurance, about 8½ million were steadily employed all the year. Of the remainder the majority experienced only short and comparatively harmless interruptions of wage-earning, amounting to, say, three or four weeks in the year, and, at the highest estimate, not more than 400,000 persons were believed to endure long spells such as would be really harmful to themselves and an undue burden to the Unemployment Insurance Fund or to the Poor Law. The latter figure of 400,000 may well be an over-estimate, even though it includes all the hard cases in the distressed coal-mining areas, the elderly or infirm workers everywhere who inevitably lose their grip on the labour market, and all the sediment of the industrial world that is to be found in the large centres of population in every country.

What then is likely to be the new Government's policy for combating unemployment? So far as can be seen at present, it will not be sensational, nor will it differ in essentials from that of their predecessors. At the outset a good move has been made in concentrating the executive authority in the hands of one Minister, Mr. J. H. Thomas, instead of dividing it between four or five departments. This is particularly necessary in so far as the Government intend to stimulate employment by development works of various kinds. Mr. Thomas has already been able to draw from the pigeon-holes of the departments many projects for new main roads, railway reconstruction, dock, harbour, gas and water improvements, and last but not least, for the development of Overseas Dominions, colonies and mandated territories. Railways stand particularly near to his heart.

The progress of many of these schemes is now to be hastened and doubtless there will be a further instalment in the autumn session of Parliament. For only by the cumulative effect of a large programme of works, simultaneously pressed forward, can the new

"Minister of Employment" hope to make any impression on the unemployment figures. The trouble is not so much to find the money as to find enough ways of spending it. In an individualist State the range of trades which can be directly affected by public expenditure is severely limited. Operating on so narrow a basis, probably not more than one-tenth part of the industrial field, no government can reasonably hope to stimulate employment in the myriad occupations of industry as a whole. Nothing can be really effective which does not lead to an all-round rise in the economic temperature. On the other hand public money and State credits can play a useful part if they can be spent in ways that add to the efficiency of the industrial machine. The great thing is that the works should be conducted on strictly economic lines; they must be valuable for their own sake and not merely for the sake of the temporary employment they give, and they must be staffed by the best labour available. Indeed the benefit to the unemployed may well be more indirect than direct. That, however, is, in no sense, a reproach to the policy. The real fallacy lies in trying to employ the unemployed *as such*, regardless of their value for the work in hand, and that is the temptation to which hard-pressed Governments are all too prone. But if they yield to it, if they attempt to mix wage-earning with relief, they are doomed to fail, as their predecessors have failed. On the other hand, so long as the new Ministers are only interested in economic and productive schemes to be carried out by suitable labour engaged in the open market, they are on safe lines. They will, at least, avoid the pitfalls of relief works.

Another line of attack to which the new Ministers are more or less committed is to withdraw from the industrial field old people over 65 years of age and young people under 15. For the former an increase of the contributory old age pension, beyond the 10s. a week now payable at 65, is being considered, while, for the latter, the raising of the compulsory school age to 15 has been announced to take effect in 1931. Admittedly serious administrative difficulties stand in the way of both these proposals and the Government are thinking twice about them. In the case of the workers over 65, many are still hale and hearty and possess qualities with which their employers can ill afford to dispense. Moreover, how is the State to forbid anyone, however old, to work, if there is still a genuine demand for his services? Raising the school age is less complicated in theory, but it should be regarded as an educational step to be taken for educational reasons and not merely as a means of decreasing the supply of persons seeking work. In any case it is well to remember that the retention of one working juvenile at

school does not always mean one more opening for an adult. There is no such equation.

How far will these measures go towards "conquering unemployment"? Many of them are advisable in themselves and worth promoting for their own sake, if the money can be found, but Mr. Thomas will deserve well of the State, if, without the aid of some unforeseen wave of prosperity, he succeeds in reducing within a year the percentage of the registered unemployed from 10 per cent. to 8 per cent. Such a result will dissatisfy those who are sanguine enough to look for quick and showy achievements by the new Government. But such people are unreasonable; they ignore the extent to which unemployment is a deep-seated characteristic of modern industry and particularly of post-war industry. They think, too, that the whole trouble began in the year 1920, whereas Great Britain only began to count the workless properly in that year. Moreover they take too little account of the movement known as "rationalisation," which is leading to unimagined economies of labour force in many industries, and they overlook the temporarily damaging effects of an age of transition which is transforming the whole face of world economy.

But, if the hope of conquering unemployment proves to be illusory, that only adds all the greater emphasis to the other aspect of the problem, namely, the helpful treatment of the men and women for whom wage-earning employment cannot be found. Here is a task to which the new Ministers will certainly respond with quick sympathy, and, indeed, they are finding that, although much has been done in recent years, there still remains scope for improvement and new experiment. Naturally the scheme of Contributory Unemployment Insurance covers almost the whole field so far as the provision of maintenance is concerned. That scheme has proved an immense boon to the 12 million insured persons and has undoubtedly taken the edge off post-war unemployment in Great Britain. After six waiting days, benefit is payable to genuine unemployed persons at the rate of 17s. a week to men aged 21 or over, with dependants' allowances of 7s. for an adult and 2s. for a child. For the majority of the unemployed who only come on the registers for short spells, not exceeding three or four weeks in a year, the payment of benefit, eked out by other savings in many cases, is just the kind of assistance they need. It tides them over the wageless periods and is all the better for being drawn as a right (in return for contributions) rather than on proof of family necessity.

On the other hand, there are the chronic cases, men who are more out of work than in it because of some personal lack of quality, or because they are permanently stranded in areas or

trades of diminishing employment. For these the payments of benefit out of the Insurance Fund, often for years on end, is more open to question. Moreover, it is due to this policy of past Governments of stretching out the insurance scheme to cover types of unemployment for which it was not originally devised, that the fund has run into debt to the extent of nearly £40 millions. Was this the right policy? It has meant the imposition of high contributions on industry, to the amount of 8d. a week from the employer and 7d. a week from the worker. On the other hand, it has avoided the confusion and almost inevitable waste which would have been involved in a separate secondary scheme of State relief for the chronic cases. To leave them all to be relieved out of purely local funds by the condemned Poor Law Guardians was, in any event, not politically possible.

Some day, possibly in the next Insurance Bill, the duration of benefit which is now theoretically unlimited in certain cases, will have to be curtailed and it may be that special types of unemployed persons will be dealt with on different lines (as they are, for instance, in Germany) but, whether some secondary kind of State maintenance is provided or not, the Labour Government can scarcely be expected to tighten up the conditions as a whole. They are more likely to relax them. It remains, therefore, to adjust the finance of the Insurance Fund so as to enable it to pay its way. Obviously no increased contributions can be demanded from workers or employers. Only the State can fill the gap, and this is the course which the new Government is adopting. Whereas hitherto the State contribution has been only 6d. for each adult male contribution, in future the Exchequer is to pay an amount equal to one-half of the joint contribution of the employer and worker, which will be 7½d. in the case of a man over 18 years. By itself this small increase in the State share, amounting to between £3 and £4 millions per year, is scarcely likely to restore the Insurance Fund to solvency, but, perhaps, Ministers are also counting on some reduction in the burden of unemployment or on some supplementary scheme of State donation such as is indicated above.

Nowadays, however, interest is centred, not only on the minor readjustments of the Fund out of which maintenance is provided for unemployed persons, but also on the supplementary measures such as transfer, training and other forms of work-treatment, which are opening a new chapter in the science of treating unemployment. The million unemployed are no longer looked upon as an undifferentiated mass who can be subjected to one kind of treatment, either strict or lax. They are seen to be of many kinds with needs as various as are the duration and cause of their unemployment. To pay out a weekly benefit to all is not the last word in State

policy. It may be merely the beginning. In many cases other measures of a restorative character are also necessary, if only as a means of economising the burden on State funds. Such ideas were more common twenty years ago than they have been since, but they are coming to the front again to-day. It is recognised that the worst feature of prolonged idleness, even when mitigated by weekly benefit, is the loss of personal quality, the inertia and despair which make men unfit for re-employment.

This "creeping paralysis" has been perhaps the most formidable obstacle in the depressed districts, where the problem of dispersing the unwanted surplus of labour has not yet yielded to treatment, in spite of the strenuous efforts of the authorities. The Ministry of Labour has found itself forced to recreate the quality of employability in the unemployed miners and others before attempting to move them to industrial occupations in other parts of the country. For the most part it is the young men under 25 for whom successful provision has so far been made; the problem of the older and married men has proved more intractable. Institutional training, coupled with transference, aided and directed by the central authority, has emerged from small beginnings three and a half years ago into a recognised method, approved by all parties and destined, perhaps, for a great future. For unemployed men, married or single, between the ages of 19 and 32, who since the war have had little or no opportunity of learning a trade, there are now two kinds of intensive training, one for the purpose of enabling selected men to migrate overseas and settle in the Dominions of Canada or Australia, the other for creating in young men an employment value, which they have lost or never possessed, in order to prepare them for a fresh start in the more prosperous districts of this country.

As regards the latter type of training the Ministry of Labour has established centres in some 8 different areas and this number is being increased to give an estimated output of 7,000 men in the current year. Nothing in the nature of definite apprenticeship training has been attempted as yet in these centres. The men are simply turned out, in six months or less, as "handymen" after a short but varied acquaintance with the use of tools, chiefly those used in the building trade. Lately, however, an effort has been made to widen the range of the instruction and to relate it to specific industrial demands. Courses are now given in oxy-acetylene welding, electric welding, sheet-metal working, coach trimming and hairdressing, in all of which trades there is an unsatisfied demand for semi-skilled men of the improver class. A few courses have also been arranged with the Local Education

Authorities as a means of transforming ex-colliers into waiters and chefs!

It will be seen that although the proportion of the unemployed affected is still small, these training facilities already make a substantial contribution to the industrial needs of young men and a valuable aid to migration. Their importance lies as much as anything in the recognition that a large part of modern industry is not only blind to the needs of its youthful workers, but is wasteful of what should be a most precious asset. It is, indeed, against nature that the means of regular wage earning should be denied to so many young men in their prime.

As regards the older men the experiments in training merge into what might be called "treatment by work." Two camps or colonies have been set up which are known as Transfer Instructional Centres, and the emphasis should be on the word "Transfer" rather than on the word "Instructional." They are a stepping stone to new work in a new place, but they scarcely attempt to give any technical training. At Blackpool the men live in lodgings; at Firmin's Wood in Northamptonshire accommodation is provided. Their aim is to take men away from the hopeless districts, provide them with hard outdoor work, physical exercises, and good food to restore their bodies and a regular disciplined life to restore their working habits, and finally, after an eight weeks' course, to help them to become absorbed into the industrial life of busy and expanding towns where most of them will probably find their best chance of employment on road schemes or the like. What measure of success will attend these new kinds of centres cannot be estimated until the first results are reported. In some ways they seem to bear a family likeness to Test Work under the Poor Law and, as such, they call up visions of many a dismal failure in the past history of British unemployment. On the other hand, as no man is bribed or coerced into going to a centre against his will, he may be assumed to accept the labour and the discipline because he really desires self-improvement. That is a vital asset, but all the same, much will depend on the quality of the human material selected and enrolled at the centres in the first instance. At present no adult training under the Ministry of Labour is compulsory, though, some day, it may (in certain cases) be made a condition for the receipt of benefit.

There are several other types of training and expedients for resettlement, some of them managed by private associations, but they cannot all be described here. Brief reference must be, however, made to the special provision for juveniles and for women. The Juvenile Unemployment Centres have a longer history than any of the modern experiments in institutional training for men;

they date back to the Armistice in 1918. Since then they have had their ups and downs, but they are sure to be regarded with favour by Miss Margaret Bondfield, the new Minister of Labour. Indeed, all parties agree in principle that no boys and girls between 14 and 18 ought to be left unprovided with some sort of supervision and occupation during their spells of involuntary unemployment. None the less, only about one hundred centres now exist with an average attendance of 7,000, the majority being in the distressed coal-mining areas. The difficulty in making more complete provision is that there is no way at present of utilising existing educational classes and that in most places there are not enough unemployed young persons to justify a special centre for them alone. Moreover, these Centres are run on different lines from the Centres for adults described above. They have to be within reach of the homes of all unemployed juveniles in attendance. There is no fixed period for the course. Every juvenile is urged to get a job as soon as he can, and the average stay is only three or four weeks. All this makes organisation difficult and obviously puts a limit to the opportunities of giving any serious instruction. On the other hand, in areas where a Centre is available, attendance is compulsory for all juveniles between 16 and 18 who are in receipt of benefit. Sometimes this obligation has been resented by the boys and girls concerned, but such feelings seem to have diminished. At any rate, it speaks well for the Centres that in 1928 nearly one-half of those in attendance were under no monetary persuasion to attend, since they were, for various reasons, not eligible for benefit. In their case the motive was partly a positive liking for the three hours' daily instruction and partly a desire to keep in close touch with the Authorities (Ministry of Labour) who could give them the chance of migrating (with financial aid) to new employment in London or elsewhere. In the last year and a half over 3,500 juveniles have been transferred from the depressed areas to employment in London and other southern towns through this machinery.

Training courses for women workers also have a long history dating back to the days of demobilisation of war-industries and even to the early days of the War, when women's work-rooms were started under official control. Nowadays the training is directed to reversing the effects of the War and to enabling women, for whom there is now no place in industry, to return to domestic service. In that occupation at least there is always room for more recruits, provided they are not wholly without experience. There are now facilities financed by the Ministry of Labour for training about 2,000 women and girls a year in the rudiments of housework, cookery, laundry and personal hygiene. A small maintenance grant

is paid during the course instead of allowing the trainees to draw benefit as in all the other schemes.

Taken as a whole the various training courses described above now cut a considerable figure. Their annual output or "turn-over" must be about 25,000 men and women, not counting some 50,000 juveniles who attend the juvenile unemployment centres for short periods. Their success in maintaining the morale and in raising the employment value of men and women whose previous prospects were blank has already been proved, and, judged by this standard, there is still room for expansion and new development. They are, however, subject to important limitations; they are costly to the State, and there is always the danger of outrunning the absorptive capacity of industry. Moreover, their very existence raises awkward implications which sooner or later will have to be faced. How do they stand in relation to the normal educational system of the country? and is the State committing itself to a new form of subsidy to private industry by giving certain kinds of industrial training which hitherto employers have had to provide in their own workshops?

These are abstract questions at present. From the angle of the student of unemployment the training experiments represent at least a valiant attempt to check the demoralisation caused by long or frequent unemployment and to effect this by something better than the sham remedy of relief works, while at best they may be hailed as an indispensable addition to the equipment of the modern state in dealing constructively with one of the most malignant evils of the industrial system.

R. C. DAVISON.

FREEDOM OF THOUGHT.

THE free-thinker should be as romantic a figure as the freebooter, though naturally more respectable. He should resemble the freebooter in seizing his intellectual goods wherever he finds them, since he has sworn allegiance to no master. The genuine free-thinker will be a man whose mind is eager, adventurous, and receptive, one who refuses to neglect any field of inquiry which prejudice would close to him just as he refuses to adopt particular conclusions which authority would force on him. He will be the intrepid explorer of new paths, and also the patient re-examiner of the ancient ways, lest haply the wisdom of the present has undervalued the insights of the past or should fail to understand itself through forgetting the pit from which it was dug.

In actual current usage, the connotation of the term is more restricted, and a free-thinker is simply a man who refuses to accept the ready-made opinions of social convention and religious orthodoxy and who repudiates the old external authorities of Church and Bible. Then by a curious perversity the application of the term is still further restricted, so that to be a free-thinker it is not enough simply to reject infallible authorities, but you must also deny the convictions that have so often been held on authority. A man may have all the marks of a genuine free-thinker, yet if he reaches positive conclusions concerning God, immortality, and the specific doctrines of Christianity, his claim to be a free-thinker must be disallowed. On the other hand, if he has once reached negative conclusions, if he is an atheist or if he has embraced materialism or some philosophy which enables him to retain all the Epicurean negations, if in a word he has closed his mind on some of the most difficult and enthralling subjects of intellectual inquiry, then he may proudly call himself a free-thinker, presumably on the principle of *lucus a non lucendo*. This misuse of the term, which is fostered in the literature of current rationalism, leads to strange results. Thus, the late J. M. Ellis McTaggart, inasmuch as he emphatically rejected Theism, must be reckoned a champion of free thought, but inasmuch as he believed in personal immortality, he must be struck off the list of free-thinkers and be presumed to have fallen from grace. Either the term should be confined to those who are unable or unwilling to make up their minds on any ultimate questions or else it must be applied to all who think for themselves, to those who reach positive conclusions as well as to those who rest in negations.

Modern secularists who are prone to claim monopoly in free thought fail to realise that their monopoly is protected by no

patent, and that in claiming a monopoly they betray their loss of the intellectual commodity which they are presumed to monopolise. The vigorous movement which in the days of Huxley cleared the road for Darwinism against the embargo of theological prejudice, is now showing traces of that mixture of complacency and ignorance which marked the older opposition. I think it was Dr. Rendel Harris who once described ecclesiastical and fundamentalist theologians as endeavouring to stay the advance of the theory of evolution by putting up a notice-board, "No Road—By order, Moses." To-day we find scientists like Sir Arthur Keith endeavouring to prejudge any re-interpretation of the nature and implications of the evolutionary process by the use of a similar board, inscribed "No Road—By order, Darwin." Darwin was as meek as Moses and would have been even more shocked by this misuse of his authority.

A more recent example of the obscurantism which now tends to appear in the ranks of free-thinkers may be found in Mr. Campbell Swinton's attempt to deny *à priori* the alleged facts of spiritualism, by taking his stand upon the great principle of the uniformity of nature, which he interprets as leaving "no room for the play of spiritual or other forces that are not subject to the laws of nature." A moment's reflection discloses the fact that this distinguished scientist is taking his stand on a principle which is either an irrelevant truism or else an obvious fallacy. That dead men tell no tales is not a necessary deduction from the great principle of the uniformity of nature, and if it should turn out that they do, no law of nature would be broken by the discovery. The men who are most sure that they represent the scientific temper seldom understand it and possess most uncritical ideas of the nature and scope of science itself. Formerly, the theologians transgressed by dogmatising on matters of history and natural science outside their own domain. To-day, scientists are tempted to similar transgression by making confident pronouncements on matters which do not really fall within the province of their particular science or within the province of science in general, in the narrow meaning which is usually attached to the term in this country.

At the basis of this inversion of rôles lies the Comtist tradition. Among intellectuals, though Positivists form but a small group, Positivism is a widely-diffused atmosphere. Comte's brilliant but superficial hypothesis, whereby it was assumed that for intelligent educated persons religion had been superseded by philosophy and that philosophy was destined to be superseded by positive science, is easy to grasp and alluring in its specious simplicity. It follows from this hypothesis that any one engaged on inquiries connected with positive science may be regarded as

intellectually A 1, while those who dally with metaphysics may be classed as B 2, and the reactionaries who take theology seriously must be graded as C 3 if they are not to be recognised as mentally deficient. The men of the Positivist temper and outlook pour scorn on the metaphysicians and regard theologians as beneath contempt. The representatives of free-thought to-day consciously or unconsciously obey this old tradition, and cannot see that so long as they are guided and limited by Positivist prejudice their freedom of thought is purely illusory.

That Comte's law of three stages contains only a small modicum of truth and is in no sense a scientific principle was obvious to men with historical perspective when he first promulgated it, and has become more obvious since that time. The error of Comtism closely resembles the heresy of Sabellianism. Sabellius regarded Father, Son, and Holy Ghost as three successive phases of the manifestation of deity in time, and assumed that the Father merged into or was superseded by the Son, while the Son similarly merged into or was superseded by the Holy Ghost. This bold confounding of the Persons in the Trinity owed its attractiveness to its immediate utility as an interpretation of religious history, but the more resolutely it was applied to that end, the more completely it broke down. So with Comte, his root-error lay in treating three distinct and abiding and probably inseparable human interests as if they were three successive phases in the intellectual development of mankind, and the more resolutely his law was applied to the explanation of the facts in history which give it plausibility, the more hopelessly it broke down. Comte himself refuted his celebrated law by formulating the religion of humanity—a religion which cannot be regarded as a part of positive science, and which by the very fact of its formulation proves that positive science is no substitute for religion.

Moreover, Comte worked with a conception of positive science at once too narrow and too broad. He had too narrow a conception of scientific method and too broad a conception of the scope of the method he recognised. He assumed that all genuine positive science must approximate to the methods of physical science and be characterised by the discovery of laws of uniformity, by exact measurement, and by the power of prediction. In the days of Comte, it was assumed that history must either be developed into a science with these characteristics or else be regarded as a pleasant form of mental relaxation rather than as a serious intellectual pursuit. Since then the manifold attempts to turn history into a science approximating to physics have definitely failed, and it does not seem probable that the latest venture of this kind—the morphology of Oswald Spengler—will be any more successful than its

predecessors. Progress in historical inquiry has only deepened a healthy distrust of generalisations of the Comtist or Spenglerian order. To the modern historian who is conscious of the development of his science, the most important phenomena are in their nature incapable of repetition, cause and effect are neither exactly measurable nor yet commensurate with one another, and prediction, such as lies within the power of the astronomer, is for ever impossible.

These characteristics of history as a science are often regarded as proving its inferiority to physics and allied natural sciences. Their true significance lies in indicating that history is concerned with an aspect of reality which can never be investigated by the methods appropriate to physics. History as a science is not inferior to physics, it is radically different from physics. If we prefer in our insularity to restrict the term "science" to physics and similar investigations, then we must constantly remind ourselves that science and knowledge are not coincident or equivalent ideas. Science, in the sense in which Comte used the term, can never include all that we actually know, and there is no reason to suppose that the knowledge of the past furnished by history is less fundamental or less important for us than the findings of physics and natural science.

If Comte's idea of scientific method was too narrow, his idea of the scope of science was too broad. He assumed that positive science could give us the answers to all our questions or at least to all our legitimate questions. Positive science will furnish answers to all we ought to ask, and if positive science cannot answer, as it obviously cannot, the questions with which men have wrestled in religion and philosophy, then there is plenty of room for us to deny ourselves by curbing our curiosity, though this form of self-denial may not bring us nearer God. The validity of these assumptions is, to say the least, highly questionable, but it never occurs to the average free-thinker that they are even open to question. He is still obsessed with a conception of science which is naïvely uncritical and absolutely indefensible. The verdict which Acton and Simpson passed on the school of Comte in reviewing Buckle's *History of Civilisation*, was severe and yet substantially just:

"The whole system of positive philosophy is the work of under-educated or half-educated men, adepts in physical science but ignorant of the principles of any other, who insist that all science must have the same method as theirs, and that metaphysical realities must be measured and explained by physical laws.

If the expression "under-educated or half-educated" seems a trifle arrogant and occasions resentment, it may be remembered that,

with the growth of knowledge and of necessary specialisation, we are all inevitably under-educated or half-educated. The charge against Comte and his school is not so much that they were under-educated, but that they were not aware of their limitations and erected the defects of their education into a system. And to-day in a world of half-educated historians and half-educated scientists, under-educated classics and under-educated mathematicians, it may be safely affirmed that the historians and the classics are more keenly alive to the defects of their education than the scientists and mathematicians. At least, it is hardly possible for the modern historian to ignore or condemn science; it is quite easy for the modern scientist to despise or forget history.

If philosophy is essentially concerned with criticising and co-ordinating the presuppositions and the findings of the particular sciences, then neglect of history is a sure mark of a defective philosophy. Mr. C. D. Broad has recently contributed to the proceedings of the British Academy a charming and discriminating tribute to John McTaggart Ellis McTaggart, for which all who knew the Cambridge philosopher even distantly will be profoundly grateful. McTaggart stimulated many to an interest in metaphysics, who yet never felt inclined to adopt his system. The secret of their reluctance to embrace his conclusions might be found in Mr. Broad's statement that McTaggart "viewed the claims of history to be a serious subject with an amused contempt which some of his colleagues found hard to bear." It was this absence of background that led Mr. H. G. Wells to describe McTaggart's philosophy, in one of his novels, as recalling a spider's web spun across a cannon's mouth. Many things may be true that are not dreamt of in a philosophy based on contempt of history.

In the instance of McTaggart, this neglect of history was not the result of devotion to science or mathematics, since he cared almost as little for science as for history. The mathematical bias is more obvious in a brilliant living philosopher, the Hon. Bertrand Russell. About a year ago, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* published an enthusiastic and justly appreciative article on Mr. Russell's work as an interpreter of the philosophy of mathematics. Incidentally the writer observed that in order to take in the full significance of Mr. Russell's work it was necessary to turn one's back on all the humanism of the past. This sentence reveals in a flash the strength and weakness of Mr. Russell as a philosopher. If mathematics were an adequate basis for philosophy, this amazingly brilliant analytic thinker might have provided an outline of philosophy in which the modern mind could find some satisfaction. But to base a philosophy on mathematics without history is like attempting to fly with one wing. And unhappily Mr. Russell

has little or no sense of the past. Such a sentence as this from his outline of philosophy—"Historical facts often have importance in the present: for example, wills or laws not yet repealed"—could never have been penned by any one who had ever tried to conceive the world as history. To find a parallel to such a ludicrously inadequate conception of the influence of the past upon the present, it would be necessary to go back to Henry Buckle's view that "after a century or two, no vestiges are left of the greatest crimes or most splendid acts of goodness." Presumably Buckle had never listened to Bach's Passion Music. The position of Mr. Russell is hardly less absurd than that of Buckle.

The same lack of historical perspective is apparent in Mr. Russell's flair for intellectual novelties. He is busy at the present time commending to the British public the Behaviourism and Instrumentalism (an improved edition of Pragmatism, apparently) now in vogue in the United States. If we do not at once fall down and worship the new idol which Mr. Russell has set up, he attributes such hesitation to British insularity and anti-American prejudice. Yet any one with a training in history will suspect that Mr. Russell is mistaking a passing phase in the development of the American mind for a fundamental revolution in the world of thought. Mathematically trained minds are often radical and revolutionary in their thinking, and if they neglect history they readily incur the nemesis that awaits the revolutionary—the nemesis of becoming a reactionary without knowing it. For the revolutionary who despises the knowledge of the past is constantly seen running down blind alleys, intellectual and practical, which he fondly imagines to be new thoroughfares, whether to some intellectual Eden or to some earthly paradise.

It would be rash and unjust to charge all free-thinkers with neglect of history, when one remembers the many great historians from Hume to Bury who have accepted the negations of free-thought. Yet the Hon. Bertrand Russell is far and away the ablest protagonist of free-thought in the narrow, conventional, irrational-rationalist sense of that term, and in his case contempt for history is the obvious prejudice which protects his snobboleths. The same contempt for history accounts for the throng of his uncritical admirers. But there is another serious limitation of interest which is frequently and even usually associated with free-thought. The free-thinker, when once he has made up his mind in the negative, seldom takes any further interest in the thought and experience of those who continue to believe. A paragraph from Lord Acton's essay on George Eliot's life provides a striking illustration of this tendency.

The breach with zealous Churchmen was not new, but it was now irreparable. She knew their ways from the old books and early recollections; but in the active religious work and movement of her time she shows no more concern than in Plato or Leibniz. . . . The literature of ethics and psychology so far as it touched religion dropped out of her sight, and she renounced intercourse with half the talent of the world. The most eminent of the men who pursued like problems in her lifetime, among the most eminent who have thought about them at any time, were Vinet and Rothe. Both were admirable in their lives and still more in the presence of death: and neither of them could be taxed with thralldom to the formulas of preceding divines. George Eliot disregards their existence. At Heidelberg she passes before Rothe's house without alluding to his name. Although she knew and highly valued M. Scherer, she did not remember that he was the friend of Vinet, or that the history of his opinions is as remarkable as anything to be found in the *Apologia* or told in her own biography.

Mr. Lawrence Hyde, in his challenging book *The Learned Knife*, notes the same defect among rationalists from another side. He draws attention to the way in which "the more elevated type of contact with God is being constantly obscured" by being identified with the crudities of popular religion. Then he adds:

And this, I may say here, is a matter in which rationalists are not altogether free from blame. For it is to be observed that when writers like, for instance, Mr. Wells, Mr. Bernard Shaw, or Mr. Bertrand Russell wish to exhibit the wretchedly limited character of the religious attitude, we never find them attacking the beliefs of such people as Coleridge, Newman, Eucken or Professor Otto. Instead, they are content to secure a cheap victory by throwing stones through the windows of the little Bethel at the end of the street.

Mr. Wells and Mr. Bernard Shaw are not rationalists in exactly the same sense in which Mr. Bertrand Russell is, yet all three lie open to this particular censure. It is only necessary to recall Mr. Shaw's preface to *Androcles and the Lion*. His discussion of Salvationism and the religious significance of the death of Christ is mainly a playful exhibition of his skill in throwing brickbats through the windows of a little Bethel. He has never thought to consider the meaning of the Atonement to men like F. W. Robertson of Brighton or McLeod Campbell or Moberly.

Similarly, Mr. Russell in his little book, *What I Believe*, when he has occasion to discuss Theism is content to refer his readers to his treatise on Leibniz, published nearly thirty years ago. Yet, since Leibniz, theology has been revolutionised by Kant and Schleiermacher, while at the time Mr. Russell was publishing his book on Leibniz, William James was delivering his Gifford lectures which opened a new epoch in the discussion of the nature and

validity of religious experience. There is no evidence in anything he has written that Mr. Russell has ever read a page of Schleiermacher and Ritschl, or of such massive thinkers among his contemporaries as Von Hügel and Ernst Troeltsch.

It is easy to remain a rationalist if one renounces intercourse with half the talent of the world, or if one refuses to consider seriously any side of human experience which might lead in the theistic or the Christian direction, but it is difficult to see on what grounds thinkers with such limited interests base their claim to be free. Any one who was asked, Why are you not a free-thinker? could legitimately answer, Because free-thinkers do not think freely: they walk by a faith that has ceased to inquire into the real foundations and actual influence of some of the profoundest convictions that have ever occupied men's minds or stirred their hearts.

H. G. WOOD.

LABOUR, LORD LLOYD AND EGYPT.

FROM the tone of some of the speeches made during the recent discussions in Parliament it might be supposed by the ignorant and unwary that in the matter of the resignation or "dismissal"—the use of such a term is surely ridiculous in the face of the letters exchanged between Mr. Henderson and Lord Lloyd—of the late High Commissioner in Egypt the Labour Government has acted in an arbitrary and high-handed manner, and that some prejudice has been done to the cause of the maintenance of harmonious relations between this country and Egypt. Such a supposition is entirely devoid of justification, and it cannot be too emphatically stated at the outset that without damage or injury to anyone the Labour Government has within so short a time of its assumption of office succeeded in making a gesture which leaves no doubt in the mind of the expectant East generally of the essential liberality of its attitude towards the Eastern problems which will fall to be considered by it. From Egypt eastwards through the Arab countries and Persia to India and the Far East the impression had been steadily gaining ground during the life of the late administration that British foreign policy in the East was imbued with reactionary and imperialistic tendencies, and the meaningless fetish of "continuity of foreign policy" was generally held by Eastern interpreters as indicating the improbability of any change of attitude on the part of the new Labour Government. Mr. Henderson has therefore done a signal service to the cause of British interests in the East by creating a friendly atmosphere for the discussion of outstanding and future problems—and that without any break of policy, which remains continuous without being rigid or immutable. And he has done equally good service perhaps in demonstrating to the discomfiture of his most vigorous critics that his more enlightened attitude towards Eastern problems was largely shared by all the more reasonable elements of the late Conservative Government. That fact was indeed suspected by many competent observers of the Eastern situation, and Mr. Henderson's skilful handling of the papers left by his predecessor has served the purpose of hoisting with their own petard the reactionary element which sought to embarrass him on what is little more than a personal issue. He can now go ahead knowing, and knowing that the country and the world know, that, so long as he handles the Egyptian problem wisely, he will receive at any rate the moral support of a large section of the Conservative Party which, when that party was in power, was generally overruled by a small, able, and hopelessly reactionary element. Mr. Baldwin and Sir Austen Chamberlain at any rate know too much about the difficulty and delicacy of the

Egyptian problem to be likely to seek to make any enlightened attempt at its solution in harmony with the leaders of Egyptian opinion their base of attack on the Labour Government. Mr. Churchill and his allies will be left to cry unechoed in the wilderness, and it is much to be hoped that the whole question of the future of Egypt will be well beyond reach of their dangerous attentions by the time that they next sit on the Treasury benches. Briefly stated, their attitude is that the "iron hand" alone will serve to secure in perpetuity the essential interests of Great Britain in Egypt; and in that attitude they enjoyed the whole-hearted concurrence of Lord Lloyd. It is therefore up to the Labour Party to prove the correctness of the contrary thesis by handling the problem on lines whose results will speak for themselves. A good beginning has been made involving the retirement of one of the ablest men of modern times—the more the pity that he was so deeply imbued with the traditional outlook for which there is no suitable field in the modern world—and the results must be commensurate with the greatness of the sacrifice if the sacrifice is to be justified at the bar of history. With sure, if dramatic, touch, Mr. Henderson has aroused great expectations, and the Labour Government is capable of fulfilling those expectations without the slightest sacrifice of essential British interests. There is, therefore, every reason for gratification at its triumph in the last bout of its first short session; and the East is already ringing the bells of praise and thanksgiving. The main danger is the possibility of reaction after the initial excitement, and the East, particularly Egypt, must possess itself in patience until the inevitably slow processes of government can transform the manifest goodwill of the British Government into action which will meet with the common approval of the British and Egyptian peoples. At the same time the Labour Government must proceed on its course steadily and with courage in the knowledge that its success will effectively kill the spirit of reaction in the field of foreign affairs.

It is Mr. Churchill who has taken the lead in belabouring the Labour Government for the firm action it has taken as a necessary preliminary to the resumption of negotiations with Egypt for a settlement, which still remains where it was left by the unilateral British declaration of 1922. That matters should remain indefinitely on that footing is unthinkable and undesirable, as was recognised by Mr. MacDonald when he discussed the situation with Zaghlul Pasha in 1924, being fully aware that his Parliamentary position ruled out any solution which did not fully commend itself to the combined majority against him. To a lesser extent that situation still obtains, though the desirability of an early settlement has become more urgent in view of the recent accession to power in

Egypt of a "dictatorial" form of government. Such a form of government is admittedly a *pis-aller*, which can scarcely be expected to commend itself to a Labour Government in Great Britain and has already been condemned by Egyptian opinion; and Egyptian opinion condemned it not because it was an Egyptian dictatorship but because it was no more than a transparent veil behind which it was easy enough to recognise the features of the real ruler of Egypt. The likeness was the likeness of Lord Lloyd, and all enlightened elements of the population of Egypt fret and blush at the tacit assumption of their unfitness to manage their own affairs.

There is now happily no room for doubt that the Labour Government intends to give its serious attention to the settlement of the Egyptian problem; and the matter is already under the consideration of a Cabinet committee. Whether the lines on which the discussions of the committee are running are at all faithfully reflected in the summary of its probable decisions published recently in *The Times* on the authority of the London correspondent of the *Mugattam*, it is perhaps idle to speculate. The summary certainly indicates the main features of an agreement which would meet with the ready acceptance of the nationalist element in Egypt, which has grown less truculent than of old by experience and by study of the legitimate interests of Great Britain and other nations; and there is little in it to suggest any serious jeopardy to such interests. But the crux of the matter lies in two points, an agreement on which would probably clear the atmosphere for a comprehensive understanding on other aspects of the situation in Egypt. The removal of all British troops to the Canal zone would be a friendly gesture involving no risk to British or foreign interests and leading perhaps on the contrary to the more considerate treatment of such interests by an Egyptian Government conscious of a real responsibility. And the separation of the Sudan problem from the problems of Egypt for independent consideration on its merits as between equals on the basis of the condominium arrangement of 1899 would meet the legitimate anxiety of British elements concerned to safeguard the progress made already in a large and still undeveloped country, in which England and Egypt nominally share the responsibility for the welfare of the local population. The settlement of these two problems would presumably be followed by the appointment of an ambassador in place of the High Commissioner, and the continuance of the further negotiations necessary to a complete settlement with Egypt in an atmosphere of good will would be assured. And there is perhaps something to be said for the piecemeal settlement of the problem in preference to an all-embracing comprehensive agreement into which the somewhat undesirable element of bargaining would inevitably enter. It is not to be doubted by any Egyptian that the British Government enters upon

what should prove to be the final stage of the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations in the right spirit; and the British Government need not flinch at the fact that the right spirit is one of maximum concession to Egyptian sentiment conditioned only by its responsibility to jeopardise no legitimate interest. If we admit the moral and legal right of Egypt to rule itself there is no essential conflict between the interests of Egypt itself and the rest of the world.

If the British Government tackles the problem on these or similar lines Mr. Churchill is scarcely likely to modify his attitude of hostility to what he calls "sloppy surrender" or to cease to warn British officials the world over of the fate that awaits them if they model their attitude on the principles of Lord Lloyd. From the tenor of his remarks one might suppose that the fate of the late High Commissioner in Egypt is unparalleled in the annals of the British Government; but he has held high office far too often not to know better, and there is at least one incident in his own career of which he might have been reminded with effect had he been upbraided by his own conscience rather than by the proverbially short memory of his parliamentary opponents. And curiously enough the first act of the incident in question was played at Cairo though it related to a neighbouring country.

After the Mesopotamian rebellion of 1920 the British Government had decided to set up in that country a provisional régime pending a comprehensive settlement on the basis of the wishes of the population of Iraq. The provisional régime took effect under the auspices of Sir Percy Cox as High Commissioner, who had instructions to take such steps as were practicable to elicit an expression of the wishes of the people. Those steps were being taken when at the end of the same year Mr. Churchill took office as Secretary of State for the Colonies and thus became responsible for the affairs of Iraq. As he was perfectly entitled to do he called a conference at Cairo to discuss the future administration of Iraq and, as he was perfectly entitled to do, he came to the conclusion that Iraq would best prosper under Faisal as king. He decided accordingly on a modification of British policy in that sense and took the necessary steps to give effect to it. Without discussing the merits or demerits of the policy then adopted, it may be stated without fear of contradiction that it involved a definite departure from that already proclaimed to the people of Iraq and that it was regarded by many important elements in the population as a breach of the promise previously made that the people themselves should choose the form of their future administration. At that time the late Saiyid Talib Pasha was Minister of the Interior in the provisional administration set up by Sir Percy Cox, and the writer of these lines was Adviser to his Ministry. Assurances had been made to us both during the discussions at Cairo that no change

of policy was intended; and the announcement of the change in somewhat equivocal terms both surprised us and created the honest conviction that the change involved a breach of British promises. Saiyid Talib adopted an attitude of frank opposition to the new policy, and his opposition was overcome by his deportation in circumstances which are best forgotten; while his adviser, who was appointed temporarily to act as Minister, was given every reasonable chance of readjusting his views to the proposed new dispensation. That proved impossible in the circumstances and, when Faisal on his arrival complained that the effective control of the machinery for his "election" as king was in unsympathetic hands, the writer of these lines was summoned to the presence of the High Commissioner and informed that his retention of office was incompatible with his attitude towards the policy of His Majesty's Government. He accordingly did the only thing possible in the circumstances and placed his resignation in the hands of Sir Percy Cox; but he neither had nor sought a friend at court to make a pother about his "dismissal," though the complete *volte-face* of British policy in Iraq probably merited Parliamentary inquisition quite as much as the present alleged change of policy in Egypt. Such incidents are inevitable features of the public service and quite in accordance with its best traditions; and Mr. Churchill should not cavil at them when they involve his friends, seeing that he himself can be shown to have made use of them in what at the time he doubtless believed to be the best interests of his country.

The above is a brief and frank statement of an incident which marked Mr. Churchill's tenure of the office of Colonial Secretary; and it may perhaps serve to show that it is in no way misrepresented or exaggerated if it is read in connection with the appended text of a statement prepared at the time by the "dismissed" Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior in Iraq for the information of the British advisory staff under his control. It runs as follows:

"You will doubtless be hearing rumours of recent developments at Baghdad, and I think it is up to me to let you know how matters stand in so far as I am concerned.

"You are aware that from the beginning of the new régime I have stood unswervingly for the principle of the right of the people of Iraq to decide their own future for themselves and, up to a point, I have felt that the line I have adopted was in accord with the policy of His Majesty's Government as declared from time to time by the High Commissioner.

"Recently, however, and particularly during and since the Egyptian Conference, it has become increasingly clear that His Majesty's Government is changing or has changed its ground and that, while they are not prepared to recant publicly their original policy of a free election, they expect their officers in Iraq to secure the appointment of the Amir Faisal as King by all the means at their disposal.

"My study of the situation, as it has developed since last October, has convinced me that, while the people of Iraq are prepared to accept any solution imposed upon them by His Majesty's Government, the great majority of them, if left to a really free expression of their wishes, are averse to the election of Faisal or anybody else from outside.

"My own attitude, as frankly explained by myself both to the High Commissioner and to Faisal, is therefore either that His Majesty's Government should appoint Faisal—in which case their officers would have no option but to accept the situation loyally or resign: and I may say that I personally would have accepted the situation—or that they should reaffirm the principle of a free election and make it quite clear to all concerned that no other solution is acceptable.

"What has apparently been decided upon amounts in effect to a combination of the above two mutually incompatible principles and, so far as I can understand the situation, officers of the Government are called upon to maintain on the one hand that a free election will be held and to make it clear on the other that only one solution is thinkable.

"I have had an opportunity of discussing the matter frankly with Faisal, who has I understand declared his dissatisfaction with my attitude. I have also discussed the matter with the High Commissioner, who has made it clear that, my attitude being what it is, he considers it impossible that I should remain at my post. In these circumstances I have ceased to be Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior, and all that remains for me to do is to bid farewell to all the officers who have worked with me during the past months and to thank them for all they have done to lighten the burden of what has after all been a somewhat thankless task.

"It is with the most lively regret that I sever my connection with Iraq, to which I shall never cease to wish good luck and prosperity in the uncertain future."

The records of His Majesty's Government can doubtless produce numerous parallels to such incidents; and it is scarcely likely that Lord Lloyd himself has been responsible for the fuss made of his case by his friends. Had he so wished he had every opportunity of stating his case in person in the House of Lords. And his abstention from such a course points to the sole conclusion that Mr. Churchill and his friends have raised the matter for no other purpose than to embarrass the Government and to frighten it off the paths of sweet reasonableness in the field of foreign affairs. In doing so they have placed unsought laurels on the brow of Mr. Henderson and they have gratuitously advertised the friendly and pacific tendencies of current British foreign policy. The new Government therefore starts on the Parliamentary recess with the added prestige of a successful vindication of its liberal tendencies in foreign affairs. And that is all to the good in view of the coming negotiations between Mr. MacDonald and President Hoover.

H. ST. J. B. PHILBY.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ARMENIANS.

FOUR years ago, in Athens, an Armenian professor told me that owing to the treatment of his nation by the Turkish Government he had lost sixteen relatives by cruelty and violence. He mentioned one uncle who was killed in Aintab market-place with an axe, and another, a graduate of Yale University, who with other Christians was burnt in a wooden church. Martyrdom, except when remote and vicarious, has never been popular among ordinary people, and to the average Englishman it is disagreeable even to hear of a man being killed with an axe or burnt to death in a few minutes. We are inclined to blame such victims as though they had contracted odd habits which not only lead to their destruction, but are unpleasant and irritating to ourselves. Yet, as a long list of notable men such as Lynch, the Armenian historian, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Bryce, Bishop Gore and Dr. Nansen, to mention only a few names, have on closer acquaintance with these same tiresome Armenians become admirers of their nation and champions of their cause, I venture to enter the lists in the hope of inducing others to study the facts for themselves and learn, as I have learnt, to respect an ancient race.

It is well known that the Armenians were the first people to accept Christianity as their national religion, but few are aware of the important rôle which they played among the ancient civilisations. Five centuries before the Christian era they were experienced soldiers, and one of their princes was the schoolfellow of Cyrus the Great. The world in which the Armenians first appear in history was a surprisingly circumscribed region, and if we lay a penny on a small map of the world and include Italy and the Persian Gulf, the circle will cover the sites of Ur, Babylon, Ninevah, Thebes, Cnossos, Memphis and many other cities strangely remote to-day, even when we stand where they stood and touch some remnant of their glory. It is hard to believe that dreary wastes, whose inhabitants are now the lizard and the camel, were once busy centres of the world, and that to possess these dust heaps Egyptians, Assyrians and many other races thirsted and marched and poured out their blood. Yet at Dog River (Lycus) in Syria, one may see inscriptions left by many armies, and, according to Baedeker, one of them in cuneiform refers to Nebuchadnezzar the Great. This circle was once the home of nearly everybody who was anybody, Aryan, Semitic or Hamitic. Here arose great religions, here man tamed fire, dug the earth, used wheels, wove materials, made pottery and worked in metals. It was the battlefield, the mart and the university of early civilisation.

Twenty-five centuries ago a people who are supposed to be of

Indo-Germanic stock left Southern Russia and wandered round by the Balkans to this desirable residential district, in which they settled by the mountains of Ararat and were known as Armenians. Here they seem to have entered into the civilisation of the period, and been influenced by Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Greeks and Romans, the ablest teachers of the times. Dowered with many natural gifts, they became statesmen, scholars and craftsmen and, living on the great highway between Europe and Asia, they acquired the arts of trade and war.

In the first century B.C. Armenia under Tigranes II was the most important nation in Western Asia. Thirteen of his race sat on the Byzantine throne, and by arms and statecraft the Armenians did much to support the tottering Eastern Empire. In A.D. 301 they accepted Christianity, and irrevocably proved their spiritual allegiance to the culture and dominant faith of the West. In spite of stronger nations and alien creeds around them, they clung to that exigent faith for sixteen centuries, an amazing feat which has recently been crowned with a martyrdom perhaps unique in history. Since the beginning of the Great War more than a quarter of the whole nation has perished. This wholesale massacre was not caused by private hatred or cruelty on the part of the Turks, some of whom protested against it. It was a political move organised by the Young Turk Party, which, irritated by European criticism of Turkish treatment of the Christians, seized the opportunity of war to carry out a policy more deadly even than that of Abd-ul-Hamid, who had put to death a hundred thousand Armenians in 1895 and 1896.

The persecution began in 1915, and the *élite* of the Armenians, intellectuals many of whom held European degrees, were banished from Constantinople into Asia Minor and, with a few exceptions, disappeared. This was followed by other and similar barbarities affecting the whole country, and the resident Armenians were deprived of their property and driven from their homes. The usual plan was to arrest the men, draft the younger ones into the army and banish the women, children, and old men, thus adding deportation and the separation of the members of families to the methods of Abd-ul-Hamid. Thus uprooted from their surroundings, the terrified exiles were hunted over mountain tracks and parched deserts where they dropped from thirst and exhaustion. Some were burnt to death and many were drowned. In one bend of the Euphrates such a barrage was made by dead Armenians that the course of the river was changed for about a hundred yards. Young women sought death for fear of a worse fate, and mothers drowned their babies to avoid the agony of watching their sufferings.

During a long journey in 1925 I had constant intercourse with the

exiles in France, Corfu, Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, Syria and Palestine, and I know that the horrors of that persecution cannot be exaggerated. In a group of students under the Armenian professor to whom I have referred, I made a careful examination and found that, owing to cruelty and violence, each student had lost on an average twenty-seven of his immediate relatives. While staying at Aleppo I often motored over deserts with an Armenian boy who ten years earlier had crossed those wastes with his family, all of whom had perished with thousands of other innocent people. An American lady, Dr. Mabel Elliott, who worked at Constantinople among Armenian girls who had escaped from Turkish harems, writing of their sufferings, says, "It was incredible that these girls could have endured them and survived to sit there telling of them. Some sat quietly with folded hands talking on and on in a low voice, growing whiter and whiter till there was no blood in their lips. Others became excited, little by little lost their self-control and ended screaming and sobbing." That terrible first year of the war was followed seven years later by further massacres at Smyrna, for which Great Britain was in part responsible.

To-day the remnant of the nation is scattered over the earth. A million and a quarter are crowded into the little Republic of Erivan under the ægis of Russia, where they are working hard to support themselves in spite of the scarcity of cultivable land and lack of capital to undertake necessary drainage and irrigation. Southern Russia, the Caucasus, Roumania and Greece shelter some, others more fortunate have found homes in France and North and South America. Of the multitudes that poured into Syria some are earning their livelihood, but thousands are still huddled together in miserable camps where they have been for years. In spite of the wretched surroundings, I was astonished at the restraint and law-abiding behaviour of the exiles. In the Beirut camp they had organised their own police, prohibited gambling and the sale of alcohol, and erected churches and schools by voluntary labour. Here and there one saw carefully-tended flowers, and they did all they could to make decent homes of squalid little huts that protected them from neither heat nor cold. Earthen floors and leaking roofs of hammered-out kerosene tins are responsible for all kinds of sickness, particularly during a winter as severe as the last. In such surroundings and with the present high price of food in Syria, the general level of health is lowered and there is much tubercular trouble. As for the children—but it is better for those of us who have our own not to think of the fate of those children, seeing that about two years ago forty of them died in one day in Beirut camp. Knowing the passionate love of the Armenians for their children and the promises we made

to protect the nation, it seems to me that British honour is involved in those graves in Beirut.

Armenia fought for us in the war and lost 200,000 of her men, she held the Turks on the Caucasian frontier for five months, and ten years ago the Allies promised again and again to protect her and give her a national home. Notwithstanding this, Dr. Nansen wrote to me in August last of the settlement of Armenians in Erivan, and said: "It seems so sad to give up hope." Our neglect of an Allied nation is often explained, particularly by officers who had experience on the Eastern front, by the excuse that the Armenians are not worth protecting. Were this so, it would not justify our Empire breaking her promises. The Armenians suffered proportionately more than any other combatant in the war, and if at times some of them were crooked and ungrateful, what of that? They lost their homes and their wealth, the women were ravished, the aged and very young were slaughtered. If some became cruel and deceitful, if they stole a fraction of the two hundred million pounds' worth of property that was taken from them, if at times their honour could not bear the strain imposed upon it, it is for us who suffered less to show them a nicer conscience. We have not done so. There are many excuses for the Turk, I know of none for our policy of heartless neglect. So clear was our duty to Armenia in 1924 that the Right Hons. H. H. Asquith and Stanley Baldwin wrote to the Right Hon. Ramsay MacDonald, then British Prime Minister, asking the Government to make a grant for the relief of the Armenians. This appeal, though backed by cogent reasons, received no support from Government.

At the first Assembly of the League of Nations in 1920 a keen interest was shown in the Armenian people, and their welfare has ever since been the care of the League. Early in 1925 Dr. Nansen with a commission of experts went out to Russian Armenia (Erivan), and in the following September he asked the League for a loan of £900,000 to drain and irrigate land for further settlement. Though the proposal met with much sympathy from the best elements of the League, and no one could deny the justice of the cause, the Government of Great Britain refused its support with the result that Dr. Nansen's scheme fell through. Promises of guarantees from France, Italy, Germany and other Powers, the idealism of the Duchess of Atholl and Lord Robert Cecil, the lofty philosophy of M. de Brouckere, the moving eloquence of Dr. Nansen, nor even the letter of 1924 signed by the Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin, could stand against the materialism of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was a fateful day for Armenia and her friends, and for the reputation of the British Empire at the League.

At a meeting in September, 1927, the League Council decided to

make a further appeal, and by last Assembly (1928) various nations had offered assistance, mostly in credits, and Dr. Nansen had received £100,000 from Armenians in Europe. Since then there has been no attempt on the part of the Allied Powers to make a united and adequate effort to provide a national home for the refugees, and it is still true, as Dr. Nansen wrote in *Armenia and the Near East*, that "No European Government or statesman troubles now about what has happened, to them the everlasting problem seems finally and definitely settled in blood."

There is a brighter side to the picture, and while governments have failed, private enterprise in Great Britain, France, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and elsewhere, has come to the rescue with a sympathy that has done something to console the outcasts and save the honour of Western Europe. With the approval of the French Government, admirable work is now going on in Syria where in 1925, when I visited the country, there were a hundred thousand of the exiles, a large proportion of whom were in the camps to which I have referred.

About five years ago Miss Karen Jeppe, a Commissioner of the League, with help from Sweden, organised two small land colonies on a tributary of the Euphrates. I visited these groups, and after seeing the misery of the camps at Beirut, Damascus and Aleppo, it was delightful to find oneself among busy and contented workers. They had built mud houses like large beehives, erected a dam for irrigation, were growing maize, millet, cotton, wheat and vegetables and had planted hundreds of mulberry trees for the development of the silk industry. As we sat at supper, they told me with pride that almost everything on the table was grown by themselves. These successful rural settlements showed that what had been done for hundreds could be done for thousands of the refugees from the camps.

In 1926 a Committee associated with the International Labour Bureau was appointed with the support of the French Government as the Mandatory Power in Syria. Dr. Nansen acted as its President and representatives of pro-Armenian societies were included in its membership. Many circumstances favoured the removal of camp dwellers to rural settlements, and there was plenty of suitable land to accommodate a number of refugees who were experienced agriculturists. After much investigation the Sandjak of Alexandretta was selected as the best region for the establishment of rural groups. The district offered many advantages, it was near the coast, land and water abounded, many Armenians were already residing in the neighbourhood, and the Syrian population was less hostile than in some parts of the country. A suitable Armenian Chief for the colonies was found in

the person of Moses der Kaloustian who enjoyed a wide influence among his countrymen. Under him, a Mudir or Mayor for each village was appointed, supported by a council of three members chosen by the villagers.

The first settlement in this district was at Ikiz-Keupru on Jebel-el-Ahmar, a mountain of the Amanus range. The colony has an area of about 1500 acres of mountainous land of wood and pasture and lies to the west of Antioch. The Commissioners' representative, M. Georges Burnier, reports that the colonists have worked well at building houses and cultivating the land, and that the herd of cattle is multiplying. So generous were the terms of settlement that the refugees feared a trap, and it was only after much persuasion from Kaloustian that they were willing to accept the offer. When they saw the property and learned that it was to be their own, they were overcome with gratitude and emotion and flung themselves so eagerly into the work that they built houses and were living in them in six weeks. At Souk-Sou, near the port of Alexandretta, about 250 acres of land have been purchased and the colonists are well and happy. They grow maize, wheat, onions, tomatoes, cucumber and watermelons, and the old mulberry trees are once more being cultivated. Three miles from Souk-Sou two other centres have been started at Kirik-Khan with a total of fifty-six families. Two groups have been settled on the plain between Antioch and Aleppo where there is plenty of water and the soil is rich, though unfortunately these low-lying villages are malarial.

An official report to the last Assembly of the League of Nations (September, 1928) gives a summary of the operations in progress. Three hundred and seventy-five families were being settled on the land at a cost of about £45 per family. Urban settlement schemes were in progress at Aleppo, Beirut, Kirik-Khan and Alexandretta to establish 1,158 artisan families at an approximate cost of £30 per family. In all about 7,660 refugees were being settled at the modest cost of under seven pounds per head. The urban settlements are being financed by the Lebanon Government, the International Near East Association and other sources, with the object of providing decent homes for refugees who have obtained work but are still living in the camps. The agricultural schemes not only supply homes but land on which the refugees may work for the support of themselves and their families, and by their produce increase the wealth of the district without coming into active competition with their Syrian neighbours who are but indifferent cultivators. This rural development is due to the British United Committee which, owing to the generosity of subscribers in Great Britain, Australia and Canada, has undertaken to supply the necessary funds. Loans are advanced

to agricultural groups who undertake the responsibility of gradual repayment, and the sums thus returned will be applied to the settlement of other refugees. This system encourages care and economy and appears to be working admirably.

If these details seem dull on paper they are anything but dull to men who have been exiled for years and sought in vain for regular work. Now, with homes and land, they can look forward to a future for themselves and their children in one of the most fertile districts of Syria and amid scenery of indescribable loveliness. Forests of fir, oak and ash cover hills whose colours range in that clear air from tender greys and blues to deep purples, while here and there a gorge reveals a glimpse of sunlit sea. The Amanus Mountains are a continuation of the Armenian highlands, and Jebel-el-Ahmar, which runs down into the sea, forms the last outpost of the Armenian race towards the Arab world. To the east lies Antioch, once the "Crown of the East" and the home of half a million people. Here the Armenian Tigranes "King of Kings" resided for a while before he bowed his neck to the Roman yoke. Here Paul and Barnabas preached, and ten centuries later the flower of Western Christianity in the Crusades massacred the inhabitants of the city. Over the great caravan route from Central Asia and India camels brought eastern merchandise to Antioch which the city traded through her port of Seleucia to the maritime nations of the West. Fifty miles to the north is the Pass of Issus near which Alexander defeated the hordes of Persia.

But to the Armenians the district has more vital associations than these, for it was the scene of the one happy event in their national tragedy of 1915. In July of that year the Turkish authorities ordered six villages to prepare for banishment. Greatly daring, the villagers defied the Turk, and some four thousand persons with food and ammunition, sheep and goats and the sacred vessels of their churches, escaped to the recesses of Jebel-el-Ahmar where they entrenched themselves. There with remarkable skill and courage they held out against 3,000 Turkish regulars and a huge mob of infuriated Moslems. Hoping for assistance from the sea, the Armenians set up two large banners appealing for help, and on the fifty-third day of the siege they were rewarded by the appearance of a French cruiser, with the result that the whole party of survivors were safely transported to Port Said. The initiative and courage shown on this occasion should refute the charge of cowardice so often brought against the Armenians.

If all the Armenians are not the saints they are sometimes represented to be, they have sterling qualities that the world can ill afford to lose. I know the failings of their race, as they have terrible cause to know the failings of mine, but I gladly accept them for

the many qualities that Armenians and Englishmen mutually honour and love. Through a long and tragic history they have shown characteristics that mark them as belonging to the very few who are capable of the highest culture. Their intelligence, their aptitude for the fine arts, their love of learning, their appreciation of beauty, and their devotion to religion, proclaim them to be desirable citizens of the world. In an age when the herd instinct is in the ascendant and crowds bow before dictators, the proud individualism of the Armenian is a salutary element of human progress. This spirit, which places the seat of sovereignty in the human will, found expression in the rise of the Paulicians in the seventh century. This reforming sect advocated the reading of the Bible and asserted the priesthood of all believers, but rejected the worship of saints, images and relics. In spite of merciless persecution their tenets spread widely, and they seem to have been precursors of the Protestant Reformation.

Two courses both wise and practicable are now open to us by which we may in some measure redeem our unfulfilled promises and restore the Armenians to their rightful position. The first is the statesmanlike scheme approved by the League of Nations and heroically supported by Dr. Nansen, to develop Armenia (Erivan) so that it may become the national home of any Armenian who desires to speak his own language and follow his own traditions. The second is to remove refugees, thousands of whom are still in miserable surroundings in the camps, to good urban quarters or to establish them in rural colonies in the north-west of Syria. The settlement of families on the land is of particular interest to us as it depends on the financial support of the British Committee. This scheme provides work as well as homes, and as the money is loaned to the villagers and they have the double responsibility of spending it to the best advantage and finally repaying it, this form of assistance does not wound the self-respect of the recipients.

Fortune seems to smile on us to-day, for with one hand she offers us the opportunity of redeeming our national honour while with the other she holds out unlimited gladness to bestow upon innocent and afflicted people. Can anyone who believes in the social implications of Christianity wish that more than a million of those who first accepted that faith should be unable to develop their native land of Erivan for the lack of a sum of money equal to one-quarter the cost of a battleship? Can any Englishman think that our Empire is justified in permitting thousands of our Allies in the war to remain year after year in pestilent camps, when a loan of about £10 per head would establish them in homes with cornfields and vineyards in the fertile littoral of Northern Syria?

JOSEPH BURTT.

LATIN AMERICA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

WHEN the traveller enters the magnificent harbour of Rio de Janeiro and sees "the ~~summit~~ sea, the emerald islets that stud its bosom, the palm-fringed shores and the colour of the vegetation upon the mountain slopes, fit setting for the handsome buildings, esplanades and avenues which unfold to the view," he may think that he is coming to a land of beauty and romance. This anticipation will not be borne out by his subsequent experiences. South America is not a land of beauty; even the Andes, though the second highest mountains in the world, have not very much fine scenery; viewed from the Argentine side the gigantic Aconcagua looks like a magnified mud-heap, with a few streaks of white near the summit. On the Pacific side, except where dominated by the great nitrate deserts, the aspect is more gracious and sylvan, but the Andes are, on the whole, disappointing.

Neither is South America the land of romance. Its people have the hard Latin intellect; they are materialistic and practical. In the great towns the inhabitants are mostly interested in money-making, and in the less advanced Republics they like a quiet life. In Argentina and Chile the commercial side is very prominent, indeed it has been unduly emphasised by itinerant authors. In Mendoza an Irishman, who had lived there many years, remarked: "These people have nothing to talk about; its all *uva uva*" (grapes—the one industry of Mendoza). In general, the leading men in the important Republics are principally occupied in getting and spending, and the spending is done in a regal manner, which strongly impresses those who visit Buenos Aires and Santiago. Except in Peru, there is little trace of ancient history. The buildings are new, the churches date from the Spanish occupation or later, nor does the history embodied in the names of the stately streets and *plazas* go back further than a century. In many respects South America is not an interesting land to the traveller.

Notwithstanding, the country is one which no one will regret having visited. The people are friendly to strangers, and of a quick intelligence; there is everywhere a section, small in South America as in all other countries, of highly cultured persons. There is a literature which, though completely neglected in our own land, presents features of interest almost unparalleled in the history of modern letters. There is, then, every reason why we should study the recent history of these large and wealthy groups of Republics.

It is possible that the popular conception of Latin America is somewhat vague. It may be that it is still considered the land of revolutions, and it is true that the nineteenth century bore

a plentiful crop of wars and insurrections, which deeply coloured the reports of travellers and residents alike. Darwin, who visited Peru in 1835, remarked: "No State in South America, since the declaration of independence, has suffered more from anarchy than Peru. At the time of our visit there were four chiefs in arms contending for supremacy in the government; if one succeeded for a time in becoming very powerful, the others coalesced against him; but no sooner were they victorious than they were again hostile to each other." In fact, the disturbances prevented him from seeing anything of the interior or obtaining any knowledge of the country. It would be a long task to tell of all the wars and revolutions which were rife during the first seventy years of independence.

But now it is hoped, and with good reason, that these calamities are things of the past in the greater part of Latin America. Venezuela had a good deal of trouble in the early years of this century, and Ecuador was disgraced by some savage barbarities, which occurred in an insurrection about fifteen years ago. Within the last few years Brazil—which had enjoyed a tolerably tranquil history—experienced a destructive outbreak in the State of São Paulo. Mexico, however, is the only real exception to the general improvement. The explanation of the turbulence in the past is to be found in the peculiar circumstances which followed the Wars of Independence.

The people were politically immature and, moreover, had the Latin prepossession for a strong executive, and when this collided with a rival executive, trouble was engendered. Further, it was their misfortune to shake off the yoke of Spain at a time when there was universal belief in the efficacy of Parliamentary institutions. These, even to-day, sit very uneasily on Latin countries, and were unsuitable to the peoples of South America. However, in 1825 each new Republic devised a constitution closely modelled on that of the United States, and the results were very unfortunate. An incongruous political system, imposed upon an ignorant, often semi-Indian population, bred chronic disorder. The "revolution," in every case, was stereotyped. Party A had enjoyed power and the consequent emoluments for some years. Party B secretly amassed arms and munitions, and made a bid for power—with rifles instead of voting papers. Whether the rising was suppressed or successful, it was accompanied by more or less bloodshed. Tranquillity was most often secured when some strong man, like Porfirio Diaz in Mexico, Zelaya in Nicaragua, or Balmaceda in Chile, ruled as dictator, but his disappearance was usually catastrophic in proportion to his strength and the force required to get rid of him. But Chile, Argentina, and Brazil had between them but one sanguinary revolution in the last seventy years; the large amount of foreign capital invested in those countries has had a stabilising

effect. And to-day it is frankly acknowledged that our fashion of Parliamentary government is not suited to those peoples; they are ruled in Latin manner by a President, who manipulates Congress and the various strings of government, and it is now usual to effect a change without serious disorder.

It was about the year 1825 that the various Latin American Colonies made themselves independent. The independence of Peru and the other Colonies in the northern parts of the Continent was due to the military genius of Bolívar, the great Venezuelan general. He, however, had no illusions as to the political capacity of his followers, and, before he died, predicted the trouble which actually came to pass. After many aimless wars Argentina fell into the hands of the tyrant Rosas, who ruled it for nearly twenty years, while Paraguay was the prey of dictators of a somewhat more benevolent type. Peru's condition we have already seen. The lesser Republics were more turbulent still. Chile and Brazil (then ruled by an Emperor) were more tranquil. The Central American Republics and Mexico were about as bad as the worst parts of South America. By the middle of the century Peru and Argentina had greatly improved, but both suffered severely later in the century from foreign wars. The Paraguayan Dictator Lopez, one of the exact type of the "detestable tyrants" predicted by Bolívar, aimed at being a Napoleon and trained a large and efficient army. So arrogant was his dealing in foreign affairs that he became involved in a long war with Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, which only ended with his death on the field of battle. This was a serious setback to the incipient progress of the three countries, while Paraguay has never recovered to this day; for many years women carried on almost all the work of the community, most of the males having perished in the war.

Peru with Bolivia became involved in a most unfortunate war with Chile (1879-1883) and, being defeated, lost her valuable nitrate territory; further, the uncertain fate of Arica and Tacna was a source of resentment and possible hostilities for nearly fifty years. Peru, which is surpassed by no country in natural riches, has recovered very slowly, and is, at the present date, by no means as prosperous as a country of her resources ought to be. An obstacle to her progress has at last been happily removed. An article on the subject of the unfortunate Arica-Tacna dispute appeared in these pages (April, 1926). Early this year it was settled by direct negotiation between the two countries. Tacna, the larger area, is to go to Peru, and almost the whole of Arica, which includes the fine Chilean railway to La Paz in Bolivia, will be the property of Chile. *The Times* (which alone among our newspapers has an excellent service of Latin American news) may be quoted as giving an important amplification of the treaty: "Chile cedes Tacna to Peru

and retains Arica, the dividing line starting at a point on the coast to be called Concordia . . . Chile cedes" a site for a port "in the bay of Arica for the exclusive and unfettered use of Peru, and Chile has undertaken the cost of erecting buildings for a Peruvian Customs and railway terminal at Arica. Chile will give up possession of Tacna thirty days after the signing of the Treaty."

An even better solution might have been to give both provinces to Bolivia, which has been without a sea-coast since the war, and she could have compensated the two disputants in cash. A loan for that purpose could easily have been raised. However, the settlement is a great achievement. It is characteristic of Spanish America to call the town Concordia as a commemoration of the triumph of peace. So, after the settlement of the dangerous boundary dispute between Chile and Argentina, the two nations set up a statue of Christ on the frontier among the mountains.

The United States, though unsuccessful in the negotiations, will be pleased that the matter was not referred to the League of Nations, which, indeed, would probably have refused jurisdiction. Soon after the Great War Bolivia made an elaborate appeal to the League, which was refused on the ground that the affair had been settled long before.

The subject of the war of 1879-83 was the nitrate regions, and their possession has greatly enriched Chile. Though an immediate cause of war, the nitrate and other great industries, which began to develop in the 'seventies, have done more than anything else to assuage turbulence. It is needless to tell the well-known story of Argentina's meat, wheat, and wool, or the coffee and rubber of Brazil. A very large trade sprang up between Argentina, Chile, Brazil, and England, and South America has long been one of our best markets. Mexico became tolerably peaceful and prosperous under Porfirio Díaz, but Central America and such Republics as Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela long remained in a wretched condition. However, by the end of the nineteenth century Latin America, as a whole, had reached a moderate standard of tranquillity, and many of the Republics were very prosperous. Mexico is the only one of them which has deteriorated since 1900. From the time of the flight of Díaz in 1910, her history has been confused and troubled. When stability of political conditions is restored her natural wealth will ensure her a great future.

The actual physical features of Latin America are tolerably well known. Mexico is a land of mountains and prairies, rich in minerals, and with great capacity for cattle. The coast zones yield tropical products, of which sisal (hemp) is the most valuable. Oil, gold, and silver are the most important exports. Central America is, for the most part, mountainous, and it has both on the Atlantic and Pacific side a tropical belt, of which bananas are the chief

product. Costa Rica exports every year bananas valued at about £1,200,000. On the lower hills coffee is a very important product; the Costa Rica coffee is perhaps the best in the world, and the exports are not much short of £2,000,000. The five Republics closely resemble one another in general features, all producing large crops of coffee and bananas. Another product important to the United States is chicle, used for the manufacture of chewing-gum. All the Republics, except Salvador, are under-populated, and their considerable mineral resources are very imperfectly developed. Upon little Costa Rica the making of the Panama Canal has had most effect; it is now practically a preserve of the United States.

Now that the five Republics have ceased to war among themselves, there is every prospect that they will make progress. If left to themselves, undisturbed by concession-mongers and filibusters, and if they steer clear of civil turmoil, they will doubtless achieve a modest prosperity. Much cannot be expected from them in view of the scanty, indolent, and exceedingly ignorant population.

Early in this century the United States began effective work on the Panama Canal. It was, of course, necessary for them to have a free hand in the Canal Zone—a strip in Panama, which was then a Department of Colombia—and in 1903 the Hayes-Herrera Treaty was negotiated with that country, by which Colombia agreed to cede a strip ten miles wide on consideration of a payment of £2,000,000 and an annual rental of £50,000. But in the same year the Colombian Senate refused to ratify the treaty. This was extremely exasperating to the United States, but the Senate was perfectly within its rights. The rejection happened in September. It was most unwelcome to Panama itself, which was profiting largely by the Canal, and on November 3rd a revolution broke out in that Department. Colombia had some troops on the Isthmus and could easily have sent more by sea, but the United States forbade the assertion of her authority or the landing of Colombian troops at Colon, and in a few days large reinforcements arrived from the United States. The independence of Panama was promptly recognised. President Roosevelt denied that his Government fomented the insurrection, and further represented it as a spontaneous outbreak on the part of the Department against the action of Colombia. But the affair was too opportune to be accidental, and the support given by the United States to Panama would have been a *casus belli* if Colombia had been a strong Power. An American publicist refers to it as a “clear violation of international law,” while another wrote in the *North American Review* (shortly before the United States made reparation) that “our national honour was dragged in the mire.” The Republic of Panama was not recognised by Colombia for nearly eleven years; finally, on receiving an indem-

nity of £5,000,000 from the United States she consented to the recognition.

The proximity of the United States and their forceful policy are a source of extreme anxiety to Mexico and Central America. The United States makes every effort to conciliate them, and, indeed, studies Latin American affairs and literature with an ability and an energy that might be an example to us, but the past actions of the North American Republic and also the present policy—particularly in the case of Nicaragua—have created suspicion and distrust which no handsome speeches and professions will allay. The Monroe Doctrine especially excites their apprehension. They resent its implication that the United States is a paramount power in the Western Hemisphere as dangerous to their sovereignty and independence. At the present moment Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and several others hesitate to give their adhesion to the Kellogg Peace Pact, because they fear that this would imply a recognition of the Doctrine, and it is true that a Senator is already speaking of reservations to ensure that “the treaty will not in any way weaken or imperil the Monroe Doctrine.”

The South American Republics form the largest and most important group. As might be expected in a great Continent, the physical features are extremely varied. The chief wealth-producing area is the Pampas, the life of Argentina, which yields an enormous volume of pastoral and agricultural products. Much of Uruguay and Brazil is of a similar character. The Andes run from north to south, occupying the whole west coast region of South America. In the south they are perpetually belaboured by rain and wind and, in general, covered with timber, which is little exploited owing to the inhospitable climate and lack of communications. In Central Chile the slopes and foothills have a delightful climate and produce valuable crops, especially grapes and wheat. Most of the Republics produce excellent claret. Further north there is the great nitrate desert, to which the prosperity of Chile is largely due. Further north still are thick chains of mountains, many of them extinct volcanoes, and here it was that the Spaniards obtained a great part of that mineral wealth which filled the Elizabethans with dreams of El Dorado. In most parts valuable mines are working, but they are a shadow of their former selves.

Peru, Ecuador and Colombia have a hot and sometimes moist coastline, somewhat resembling the coasts of the Central American Republics. Peru produces a great quantity of sugar and cotton, and about one-third of the world's cocoa comes from Ecuador. Colombia and Venezuela export much coffee, and Colombia is also prominent in the banana trade. But in coffee Brazil outstrips every country in the world and produces about four-fifths of all that is consumed.

Perhaps it is the forests which are the most impressive feature in South America. They cover vast tracts in almost every Republic. No travellers experience greater hardships than those who explore them. The insect pests are intolerable, the rain is often incessant, and in many places the Indians are extremely dangerous. There is much travellers' literature dealing with the insect pests. Some sixteen years ago Major Fawcett, who had been employed on boundary work on the Bolivian frontier, read papers before the Royal Geographical Society on his experiences. He remarked: "There are jiggers for the toes; ticks in myriads; guanacos, a small white insect something like a tick, with an infinitely more irritating bite; microscopic ticks, known as the 'haputama,' or 'bichu colorado,' which burrow under the skin, venomous great spiders known as 'apazancas,' vampires, and ants." This is but a small part of the tale, and most people will agree with Sir Martin Conway's comment: "I am thankful to say I have not been in the parts of Bolivia described to-night." It is painful to be obliged to add that Major Fawcett returned to these forbidding regions and for several years all trace of him was lost; it was recently reported that he and his companions had been massacred by hostile Indians.

President Roosevelt and many others have described their river experiences—here the piranha is prominent, a savage fish which "will rend and devour alive any wounded man or beast, for blood in the water excites them to madness." The Amazon is the largest river system in the world; its numerous affluents would dwarf all but the very greatest European streams. Then the Parana, flowing into the sea between Argentina and Uruguay, is half as long again as the Ganges, and the Paraguay is quite equal to the Volga. It is a wonderful sight to see the Parana at Rosario, two hundred miles north of Buenos Aires, where it is twenty miles broad, studded with green islands and plied upon by great ocean-going steamers.

The ordinary traveller does not see much of the forests; he usually spends most time in the cities. They are all laid out on the old Spanish pattern with straight streets intersecting one another, relieved by spacious *plazas*, and there are always fine parks, and usually zoological and other gardens, and racecourses. Buenos Aires has about two millions of inhabitants and Rio half as many. São Paulo was a handsome, progressive city; it may be hoped that the recent damages have been repaired. Montevideo and Santiago are handsome and opulent. There are also such capitals as Quito and La Paz, situated at an elevation not very much lower than the summit of Mont Blanc. Remote Begota is a seat of culture, and enjoys a beautiful climate. But with many people Lima is the favourite city of South America. Though small, it is lively and pretty, and has more amenities than is usual in South America. The inhabitants have a charming courtesy, and the women are beautiful beyond even the South American standard. Among its

amenities are good hotels and restaurants. It used to be a constant complaint of tourists that South American hotels were bad and dear. During the last twenty years there has been an appreciable improvement, but there is room for much more. The people are glad to see foreigners and are indefatigable in showing them all that there is to be seen. Long ago, desiring to visit a Central American Republic, I wrote to the Consulate in London asking about a passport. The reply was: "No passports are required; we are delighted for strangers to visit us," and that is the spirit throughout Latin America.

It would require special articles to deal with Latin American literature and journalism. The Spaniards left a legacy of culture, and in early days there were classical poets on the old Spanish models, such as Olmedo and Bello. The Muse has always been strictly meditated, nor has she proved thankless. The Modernista Movement, inaugurated by Ruben Dario in 1888, is the most important literary movement within living memory; he used French models—the Parnassians and Symbolists and others—to revivify poetry and the Spanish language, but he was an original genius and an accomplished writer of prose. Chocano, the Peruvian, and José Asuncion Silva, the Colombian, are only less distinguished than he in the same school. The novels of *Amalia*, by the Argentine Marmol, and *Maria*, the work of the Colombian Jorge Isaac, are famed in both hemispheres, and many other fine works of fiction might be named. There is much brilliant literary criticism—the Uruguayan J. E. Rodo is outstanding. Historians and publicists have obtained world-wide celebrity. Brazil, the only Portuguese-speaking Republic, has produced many distinguished writers. The South American Press is, in some respects, the best in the world. The greatest nations might be proud of *La Nacion* and *La Prensa* in Buenos Aires. The *Journal do Commercio* of Rio is one of the most influential in the Continent. *El Mercurio* of Santiago and *El Comercio* of Lima are newspapers of distinction, and no large town is without one or more good journals. Periodicals, weekly and monthly, are numerous, and many of them very good. The majority of the distinguished Latin American authors have done much of their best work in the press.

This condensed review of a great congeries of nations is necessarily very imperfect. Nothing has been said of sport—very popular and partly fostered by English influence—architecture, painting, mining, and stock-raising. It is hoped, however, that this survey has called attention to the salient characteristics of a remarkable people, all intensely national and race-conscious, and, as regards the upper classes, second to none in intelligence and verve. They have emerged from their youthful trials and during the remainder of the twentieth century may be relied on to play no small part in the world's history.

W. A. HIRST.

THE BRITISH FRIENDS OF THE ITALIAN RISORGIMENTO.

WHEN in 1795, on the Ligurian Riviera, Horatio Nelson met the British diplomats Trevor and Drake, accredited by the Government of King George III to the King of Sardinia and the Genoese Republic respectively, the last thing these men thought about was the interests of the inhabitants of that Italian territory which had become the manœuvring ground for the struggle against Republican France. Those unhappy people, starved by the British naval blockade and by the privateers of both sides, plundered by the armies of France, Austria and Sardinia, who cared nothing for the theoretical neutrality of Genoa, had become mere pawns in the strategic game of the belligerents. Yet the name of Italy had been well known and beloved of the British of the ruling class for many centuries, and in spite of the ceaseless political and religious differences dividing them, Catholics and Protestants, Jacobites and Hanoverians, Whigs and Tories, all had made the pilgrimage to the land which preserved such treasured memories. Italian artists and men of letters, not the least of whom was Barette, had in more recent times made the cultivated English public realise how the tradition of Italian culture still survived and was ever being renewed, and at the end of that same eighteenth century a gallant leader of men, Italian by blood even though a native of a land handed over to foreign rule, Pasquale Paoli, had succeeded in deserving the admiration of a wide circle of enthusiastic spectators of his deeds, as we may gather from the significant words of John Wesley. It was but vain illusion, if anyone hoped to be able to count on a conscious effort of the British Government and people to help the Italians to seize, in the almost fantastic welter of events of the last decade of the eighteenth century, the opportunity of making for themselves an independent fatherland once more. Nelson himself was to appear implacable in his uncompromising hostility to the Neapolitan Liberals who supported France when they fell into his hands after the collapse of the Parthenopean Republic. For some time longer, at least until 1809, the British diplomatic and military representatives in Italy, although they had come into contact with refugees such as Vittorio Barzoni, whose intelligent co-operation they appreciated, did not cease to regard the modern Italians as a people without any political future.

In 1809 some wise counsellors, Count Stadion in the first place, had induced the Emperor Francis of Austria, in the new war which he had almost foolhardily undertaken against the overwhelming forces of Napoleon, to appeal to the national sentiment not only of the Austrians of German race, but also of the Hungarians and

Italians. The successes achieved in the first instance by the Archduke John in Venetia were, to a certain extent, the result of this far-seeing policy. Great Britain, acting on the suggestion of the emissaries sent from Vienna, particularly of Count Sallier de la Tour, a Savoyard nobleman in the Imperial service, ended by accepting that programme, although some of her military chiefs, such as Sir John Stuart, the victor of Maida, were opposed to it. When in the summer of 1809 British forces occupied the islands of Ischia and Procida, they were visited by two delegates of the "Patriotti italiani," representatives of the secret societies hostile to Napoleonic rule. These delegates had a conversation with Sir Henry Bunbury, the future Secretary of State for War, who may be regarded as one of the first Englishmen favourably disposed towards Italian national aspirations. For the moment, however, the rapid evacuation of the islands and the obvious reluctance of the Italian emissaries to collaborate with Queen Mary Caroline, wife of King Ferdinand IV of Naples, prevented these good intentions from leading to tangible results. The scheme of making the emancipation of the Italian people coincide with the British victory over Napoleonic rule was soon afterwards made the basis of the whole plan of action of the new commander-in-chief of the British forces in the Mediterranean, Lord William Bentinck. This chivalrous English gentleman, generous and impulsive, impatient of delay and of compromise, deserves to be regarded as the true Paladin of the cause of that oppressed people in the councils of King George, or, to be more accurate, of the Prince Regent, who was ever under the watchful guardianship of the all-powerful Viscount Castlereagh. The slight interest which the latter took in Italian affairs and his repugnance for Liberal ideals paralysed and in the end nullified the courageous initiatives of Bentinck.

In spite of the loyal support which he found in the Prince of Belmonte and in other Sicilian statesmen, Lord William Bentinck only succeeded in galvanising with difficulty, for a few years, the old Sicilian Constitution by modelling it on the British. But the seed was not sown in vain, and was destined to bear fruit, inasmuch as it enlisted the supporters of independence in the Anglo-Italian legions, which, commanded by La Tour and Catinelli, after a first unsuccessful attempt at Viareggio, landed at Leghorn in the winter of 1814. From that port Bentinck issued his famous proclamation to the Italians, which seemed to place under British protection all those who rose to liberate the peninsula from French domination. The immediate disavowal by Castlereagh of that promise was a bitter delusion for all those who, like Baron Trecchi of Milan and Filangieri of Naples, had at once addressed themselves to Bentinck for assistance in founding a Constitutional Kingdom of Italy. But

before the Tory Government had, with its open approval of Austrian ambitions in Italy, put an end to the beautiful dream of British-Italian co-operation, two gallant British generals, MacFarlane and Sir Robert Wilson, raised their voices in favour of the Italian cause. Witnesses of the enthusiasm with which the Milanese, after the revolution of April 20th, 1814, had placed their confidence in England, they insisted in vain that the British Government should not abandon those who had put their trust in it. While MacFarlane was still in Milan the soldier-poet Ugo Foscolo called on him and presented him with the writings of the Italian general Montecuccoli and an address in the name of the citizen militia.

Not many months later this great Italian, wounded to the quick by the ruin of his ideal of an independent kingdom, which the words of the British officers had made him believe possible, but still more indignant at the flattering offers of the new Austrian dominators, was to leave his own country and seek refuge in England, which he regarded as the home of all liberties, even when she refused to confer them on other peoples. From the moment he arrived in London he was received as a friend at Holland House, which in that year, 1816, opened its doors to Italians with such generous hospitality as to fill the poet with enthusiasm. From the journal of the fourth Earl of Holland, then a very young man, we see how those noble and cultivated gentlefolk of the house of Fox had made of their shade-embowered home on the threshold of London the home of the Italians. A few years later when the exiles of 1814 were followed by others escaping from the Austrian persecutions against the Carbonari—Pecchio, Arrivabene, Berchet, Santorre di Santarosa—the sympathies of the Hollands and of all those who shared their political views concerning Italy, the victim of so many misfortunes, were extended even more cordially to the worthy Italians who had renounced all the comforts of life, sacrificing themselves for the common ideal of freedom. At this time, if eminent Englishmen of Whig views, or in any way inclined to compassion for the ills from which Italy was suffering, went to spend a few months in that country, they were no longer solely interested in antiquities, pictures, landscapes and music, but inquired anxiously into the political and social conditions of the country through which they were travelling, as we may gather from the memoirs of Hobhouse and Lady Morgan, and above all from the splendid testimony contained in the works of Byron and Shelley.

This sympathetic understanding of their sufferings on the part of Englishmen who came in yearly increasing numbers to Italy and mixed far more than they do to-day in Italian life, proved an inestimable blessing for our great-grandfathers whose fate it was to live in the period of reaction, and a comfort to them in their

constant trials. No doubt the influence of French political men and writers on Pellegrino Rossi, Terenzio Mamiani, Guiseppe Ferrari and others of our leading patriots was considerable. But another band of Italians of that generation and the next was indebted to Great Britain for its spiritual and practical formation. Without anticipating later events, down to Cavour's famous speech of February 9th, 1859, when he was to assert that "from England I have acquired the greater part of the political notions which have guided me," we need only remember that, with every fresh check to the Italian reformers, a new flood of refugees inevitably poured into the British Isles. They were usually gentlemen of historic names, highly educated, military men, survivors of the Napoleonic epic, men of letters, scientists, in a word truly select groups, capable of deeply influencing the opinions and sentiments of the Englishmen with whom they came into contact. It thus happened that after the risings of Emilia and Romagna in 1831 the leaders of the movement were forced to take refuge in Corfu, whence many of them afterwards came to settle in England.

Of all these victims of the risings of 1831 and of their ruthless repression, the most effective spokesman to the British public was Antonio Panizzi of Modena. Every citizen of London who for one reason or another has occasion to cross the threshold of the British Museum, might well remember that so splendid a utilisation of the treasures of the past for the intellectual service of the nation is to a large extent the work of this Italian exile, whose biography has indeed been written by one of his English admirers, Fagan. All the scholars who came into contact with Panizzi were led to this simple consideration—of convincing evidence to the English mind—that a régime by which a man like Panizzi was outlawed did not deserve the esteem nor consequently the support of the Cabinet of St. James.

Although in a different manner, due to his logical extremism, Mazzini aroused on his arrival in London a few years later an analogous movement of opinion, as is proved by the abundant English literature on the Genoese agitator and his letters. Of all the English friends of Mazzini, who were soon to become the friends of his martyred country as well, the most famous were Carlyle and his wife, but the most faithful were the Ashursts. The extent of the influences which operated in the various strata of the ruling class in favour of the cause of Italian independence was suddenly brought to light by the episode of the letters seized by the British police the contents of which, communicated by the Queen's Ministers to foreign Governments, were alleged to have been the determining cause of the massacre of the Bandiera brothers. The luckless youths were in correspondence with Mazzini, and from

an examination of his letters the Secret Service had secured the information which made possible the ambush of the expedition in Calabria. A member of the House of Commons, Mr. Duncombe, called the attention of Parliament to the unsuspected abuse by officials of the British Government in opening the letters of private citizens, while other officials of that same Government deemed themselves authorised to communicate extracts of the correspondence to the police of foreign Governments oppressing Italy. Although the responsible Minister, Sir James Graham, tried to assume the counter-offensive by denouncing Mazzini as one who had induced others to commit murder, and Lord Aberdeen chivalrously extended loyalty to his colleague by intervening in the debate, the incident assumed in both Houses and in the Press proportions beyond all expectation. Jealous of the inviolability of private correspondence, wounded in their national pride, men of the calibre of Macaulay and of Carlyle threw themselves into the struggle, and the Cabinet itself was obliged to accept the motion in favour of a secret commission of inquiry. We have only to glance at the hundred pages devoted to this debate in the proceedings of the British Parliament to realise the sensation produced among the great majority of the governing class itself by the painful discovery that Great Britain had become, at least for a moment, the irresponsible agent of the manœuvres of *agents provocateurs* operating against Italian patriots. It seemed to many English gentlemen, perhaps the most genuine representatives of that moral and social type which abounded in Early Victorian England and sacrificed everything to its sense of honour, that they had contracted a debt of conscience to repair the wrong done to Italy.

The opportunity of paying this particular debt was not delayed, with the awakening of the hopes of the reformers throughout the peninsula after the assumption to the Papacy of Pius IX. Yet it was necessary that Englishmen of the old school, imbued with at least two centuries of anti-Papal prejudices, should gain a great victory over themselves by applauding, as they actually did, the first acts of the new Pontiff. Lord Palmerston, whom Bolton King, the English biographer of Mazzini, indicates as one of the political men who had been most perturbed by the events of 1844, had in 1846 again become Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. In 1847 he sent the Earl of Minto, father-in-law of the British Premier Lord John Russell, on an extraordinary mission to the Pope. In his instructions Lord Palmerston had made clear the intentions of the Queen's Government, which was sending Lord Minto to Rome "not as a Minister accredited to the Pope, but as an authentic organ of the British Government, enabled to explain its views and to declare its sentiments upon events which are now passing in it,

and which, both from their local importance and from their bearing on the general interests of Europe, Her Majesty's Government are watching with great attention and anxiety."

When the situation had been rendered more serious by the hazardous action of Prince Metternich in threatening the Pope by the military occupation of Ferrara, Lord Palmerston did not hesitate to warn the Austrian Government of the consequences of any further intervention on its part in the internal affairs of the independent Italian States. Throughout these months of ceaseless preparation for Constitutional reforms, while the French Minister Guizot supported Prince Metternich in the maintenance of the existing order of things, the British Cabinet alone supported and encouraged the reforming princes of the Peninsula and favoured the attempts to establish a customs union. Later, on the outbreak of the separatist revolt in Sicily, Lord Palmerston allowed Lord Minto to undertake the thorny task of attempting to bring about a conciliation between the Sicilian patriots and the King of Naples, a task which was impeded by the uncompromising attitude of both sides. After the Five Days' Revolution, when the people of Milan expelled the Austrians from Lombardy, British policy was definitely orientated in favour of the insurgents. The Provisional Government of the French Republic, which had arisen on the ruins of the fallen July Monarchy, now adhered, although with its own particular views due to its form of government, to the plan which led first to Baron Hummelauer's proposal that Austria should renounce Lombardy, and then to Anglo-French mediation between Austria, emboldened by her victory in August, 1848, and the King of Sardinia, who had been driven back within his old frontiers.

A proof of the courage with which Russell and Palmerston pursued the carrying out of this programme is seen in the fact that, after Milan had fallen again into the hands of Field-Marshal Radetzky, the British Government, in order to oppose the triumphant reaction in Lombardy and Venetia, succeeded in silencing the traditional scruples of the Foreign Office at the idea of a French predominance in North Italy, and left General Cavaignac, then at the head of the executive power in France, to effect the intervention of French Republican forces without delay and even alone. Not less energetic was the attitude which Palmerston assumed and maintained in the following year, acting in full agreement with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs (who was the great historian and political writer de Tocqueville) after the catastrophe of Novara. The combined efforts of the two great Western Powers served to restrain the victorious Austrians. The champion of the Austrian victory, Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, never forgave Palmerston, and demeaned himself to the point of having attacks against him

printed in the semi-official newspapers which the Government of the Lombardo-Veneto published at its own expense in Milan. But King Victor Emmanuel II and his Minister, Massimo d'Azeglio, in their writings which are now being published, expressed their fullest gratitude towards a man who, in spite of faults of exuberance, which sometimes overwhelmed his colleagues in the Cabinet and even the Premier himself, Lord John Russell, so acted that England appeared to the Italians in their hour of trial their only hope of salvation.

But the name which comes most spontaneously to mind when Italians wish to record the generous support extended to the cause of their redemption is that of Gladstone. Of all his constant political activity on behalf of the noblest ideals of progress and justice, one episode stands forth in the memory of my compatriots, that of his letters to Lord Aberdeen on the Neapolitan situation. Warned by Panizzi before starting on the journey to Southern Italy which he undertook on account of the health of one of his daughters, and yet more perturbed during his stay at Naples by his conversations with Giacomo Lacaita, the legal adviser to the British Legation in that city, Gladstone was induced to attend as a spectator the sittings of the High Criminal Court which had been summoned to try the authors of the Constitutional movement of 1848. He was thus able to acquire the most absolute conviction that the proceedings against the ex-Minister Baron Carlo Poerio and his companions in misfortune were nothing but a monstrous travesty of justice, the work of *agents provocateurs* and false witnesses. After the condemnation of the illustrious victims, he wished to visit the prisons in which they were to be immured for many long years condemned to hard labour, chained together with common criminals. Availing himself of his position as a British Member of Parliament, he obtained permission to see the horrible penal establishment of Nisida, truly a sepulchre of the living. After going through this harrowing personal experience, Gladstone, as his biographer Lord Morley writes, could not rest until he had done all that he could to put an end to those abominations, or at least to denounce to the public opinion of the world the negation of justice under which the subjects of King Ferdinand of Naples were suffering. On that occasion he appealed to the leader of the most advanced section of the Tory Party to which he belonged, Lord Aberdeen, recognised as the spiritual successor of Sir Robert Peel, and to enable him to attempt discreet but effective action on the Neapolitan Government he drafted the first of his famous letters. No sooner had this, pure champion of the European balance of power—a policy which he supported for love of peace on the morrow of the Napoleonic wars—read Gladstone's bare narrative of the facts, than he realised the

prejudice which the Conservative Party would suffer, unless it delivered itself from all responsibility for such anarchy described as civil government by the instruments of Bourbon tyranny. In consequence of the letter Lord Aberdeen made an urgent appeal to Prince Schwarzenberg to prevent the Neapolitan police from continuing to wreak vengeance on the patriots. This was followed by the Austrian Prime Minister's tardy and sophistical reply containing insolent allusions to British rule in Ireland, and the publication by the indignant Gladstone of his letter without the explicit authority of Lord Aberdeen. A deep impression was produced on public opinion by these revelations and by the publication a fortnight later of a second explanatory letter.

It is easy to understand how even those who had been Gladstone's political opponents, such as the Radicals who predominated in the association of the friends of Italy created after 1848 at Tottenham Court under the ægis of Mazzini, tried to exploit the significant but extraordinary fact of one of the most eminent personalities of the Conservative Party coming forward to stigmatise the abuses of a foreign Government. Independently of the repercussion of Gladstone's action on the political situation in Great Britain and on the Continent, what was so remarkable was that the bold intervention of a man, who was then merely a private English gentleman travelling through Italy, gave rise to a series of polemics, speeches and pamphlets which ended by convincing the Neapolitan Bourbons themselves of the necessity, at all events of the practical opportuneness, of attenuating the evils for which they were held responsible by the public opinion of almost the whole civilised world. In 1852, when the Count of Aquila, brother of the King of Naples, came to England, he felt it necessary to inquire of Lord Palmerston on what conditions the Neapolitan Government might regain the friendship of the British people. The British statesman did not hesitate to draft a memorandum in Italian on this subject, which proves the importance attached in Great Britain to the painful situation forcibly imposed on the Italian people, and which the most representative Englishmen considered it their duty to ameliorate without delay. Whatever the good intentions of that prince may have been, he was unable to open the eyes of his Royal relative to his evil counsellors, so that, as we know, diplomatic relations between the two Courts were broken off in consequence. Relations were afterwards re-established, but when Ferdinand was succeeded by his weak and irresponsible son Francis II, Lacaita, who had played so large a part in providing Gladstone with the material for his famous letters, was able to base himself on the traditional sympathies of the British Liberals for the undeserved sufferings of the South Italian patriots, in order to wrest from Lord John Russell,

in a celebrated interview, a promise to refuse to blockade the Sicilian coast, then almost wholly in the hands of the Garibaldians.

In the meanwhile the audacious yet carefully thought-out policy suggested to King Victor Emmanuel by his Prime Ministers d'Azeglio and Cavour, had borne fruit. Comradeship in arms between the Sardinian and British troops in the Crimea had put the seal on the cordial co-operation between the small Constitutional Kingdom so loyally ruled by the House of Savoy and the great world-Power, whose character as the vindicator of free institutions Russell and Palmerston, even if occasionally in disagreement, vied in maintaining. It was at this time that Sir James Hudson, representative of Queen Victoria at the Court of King Victor Emmanuel II, deeply impressed by the magnificent spectacle of a whole people aspiring to political resurrection, willingly lent his support to the policy of the Turin Cabinet and became its interpreter and champion at the Foreign Office. On the morrow of the war of 1859, which had been won with the decisive intervention of the troops brought to Italy by Napoleon III, but had been unexpectedly suspended by that Emperor at Villafranca, British politicians, supported by a strong movement of public opinion, in which Protestant hostility to the Temporal Power of the Pope was discernible, made it possible for Ricasoli, Farini, and above all Cavour, to more than make up for the delay in the liberation of Venetia by means of the annexations of Central and afterwards of Southern Italy. The Government of the new Kingdom of Italy succeeded in securing the sanction of official Europe for this whole series of essentially revolutionary acts, thanks not only to the substantially constant support of the Emperor of the French, but also to the solidarity which Napoleon found in this audacious policy of his at the Cabinet of St. James. The friends of the Italian Risorgimento then proved very influential in the counsels of Queen Victoria, and prevailed, as is ever more clearly proved by Her Majesty's correspondence, even over her own disapproval of *coups de main* such as the expedition of the Thousand. But it cannot be too often repeated that behind the great stage where, in the full glare of the footlights, before the eyes of an astonished Europe, politicians and diplomatists of the most authentic class of gentry came forward to secure the right of citizenship for the Italian nation now emerging from its long period of lethargy, there was a dense crowd of obscure citizens supporting this same policy, the crowds which went into the streets enthusiastically to acclaim Victor Emmanuel II and Garibaldi on the occasion of their never-to-be-forgotten visits to London.

Not less significant was the expression of grief in both Houses of the British Parliament and in the Press at the tragic and unexpected death of Count Camillo di Cavour, the great statesman

who confessed himself the disciple of the famous English masters of the science of government, and had made the sympathy of the British public as well as the support of Napoleon III the pivot of his bold political scheme, which Providence enabled him to realise in a manner almost miraculous.

Even in the less brilliant period following the death of Cavour, during which the successors of the great Piedmontese statesman struggled to consolidate and complete the Kingdom of Italy, they could count on the confidence which a creation apparently so fragile as that Kingdom inspired among a whole series of men expert in the difficulties of international politics, who were capable of appreciating the demands of the situation in the light of moral principles. The wide measure of support secured by the Whig Ministries in the past decade when they so consistently placed themselves on the side of Italy, came, it is true, to split up into many tendencies, and the British friends of the new Italy now operated independently of each other, according to individual political sympathies and religious and philosophical tendencies—Lord Clarendon in the diplomatic world, Lord Shaftesbury among the most rigid Protestants, the Brownings and the Rossettis among the men of letters and artists, to say nothing of the clan of Mazzini's devotees, who were reluctant to resign themselves to the idea of an Italy reconstituted otherwise than in the Republican reform.

Even in the midst of this great variety of tendencies, the inheritance of sympathy for the Italian Risorgimento, which Gladstone's generation transmitted to the following one, was so conspicuous that we can gather up its elements among all classes of the British people to this very day. After 1870 Italy was obliged to renounce her traditional foreign policy based on the agreement between France and Great Britain, and turned towards the Central Powers, seeking a guarantee of stability in the Triple Alliance. Yet this system of alliances did not satisfy those responsible for Italy's foreign policy except inasmuch as it was completed by agreements with Great Britain. In 1891 the Marquis di Rudini, under whom the Italian Parliamentary Right returned to office, succeeded through the future King Edward VII's visit to Italy in securing an expression of this British support which conferred on Italy's position as a member of the Triple Alliance a peculiar character. It may indeed be asserted that, even during the various crises which separated the two groups of Powers most profoundly and were destined to lead to the definite rupture of 1914, Great Britain and Italy always remained on terms of the closest understanding. This may be regarded as a presage of the renewed military and diplomatic collaboration between the two peoples in the World War. I need not mention the many occasions on which Italy's present Prime Minis-

ter, Signor Mussolini, has repeatedly insisted in the most unequivocal language on the value which he attaches to the maintenance of Italo-British friendship.

In the course of this very rapid review an endeavour has been made to show that these sentiments, which are deeply rooted in the Italian spirit, correspond, by a process of logical reciprocity, to a similar state of feeling on the part of the British people, a state of feeling inspired no doubt by classical, humanistic and religious remembrances, but which never attained so high a level as in the hour of the great trial when, it may be permitted to say without vainglory but with legitimate pride, the men of the Risorgimento proved worthy of the cordial and efficacious esteem of their British contemporaries.

GIUSEPPE GALLAVRESI.

A CENTURY OF SONG-POETS.

ONE has occasionally wondered, while listening to the slightly lugubrious if compelling strains of Tosti's "Goodbye," what proportion of the many admirers of the sporting and historical romances of G. J. Whyte-Melville* may be aware that the novelist composed the words of that still popular ballad, with its woeful refrain of "goodbye, summer, goodbye . . . goodbye. . . ." The writer well remembers being present at Dame Melba's first Albert Hall concert, now some thirty years ago, when she sang this song and the composer played the *diva's* accompaniment. I afterwards ventured to ask Sir Paolo Tosti, whose colloquial English was far from perfect, how he so invariably and successfully managed to accent each individual word in his settings of British lyrics. He modestly replied that he believed he had acquired the art by close and painstaking study of "your so eloquent language," and that he had been greatly aided by his determination to get at and conquer its underlying meanings.

In an article of this description, it would be absurd not to accord pride of place among modern English song-writers to Mr. Frederick E. Weatherly, K.C. An octogenarian now, some of the songs that have made his name and fame are by this time such ancient history that it is nearly inconceivable they should have emanated from the brain of one alive to-day. I would instance such strains as "Darby and Joan," "Fiddle and I," "Nancy Lee," "The Old Brigade," "The Midshipmite," "Three Maids of Lee," "To-morrow will be Friday,"—these were already old when many of us were children, and when more of us were yet unborn. Mr. Weatherly's secret has been the dual one of versatility and the ability to write simple, unaffected English in verse-form, coupled with no ordinary sense of humour. Proof of this versatility may be found in a glance at some of the names of the many composers who have set his lyrics. For Sir Arthur Sullivan he wrote the words of that old and touching favourite "The Chorister," for Sir Frederick Cowen "The Children's Home," for A. H. Behrend "The Gift," for Sir Paolo Tosti "Beauty's Eyes," "My Dreams," and "Parted," for Michael Maybrick (Stephen Adams) "The Holy City," "The Star of Bethlehem," "Nirvana," "Thora," and others. Among the most deservedly popular of these was Behrend's "The Gift," with its sonorous and wholly appropriate conclusion :

* Killed while hunting in the Vale of Aylesbury, December 5th, 1878.

The mother lifted her eyes above :
 " Grant her Purity, Truth, and Love."
 And the Christ-child look'd on the mother mild,
 " Thou hast chosen the best for thy sleeping child :
 Be not afraid ; though life be sore,
 I will be with her for evermore."

This poet is a west countryman, and in that direction his muse has found inspiration in such lyrical strains as " Green Hills o' Somerset," and, for Mr. Wilfred Sanderson, " Up from Somerset." For the last-mentioned composer he also wrote " Friend o' Mine," " Easter Flowers," and " Glory of the Sea," and for Miss Hope Temple (Madame André Messenger) " In Sweet September." To many it may appear that, judged by twentieth-century standards, Mr. Weatherly's compositions savour of the old-fashioned and the hyper-sentimental. The fact remains that an unusual gift of adaptability enabled him to continue producing, from far back in the reign of Queen Victoria until well into the reign of King George V., work that has received the honour of musical settings—and in many instances settings that have achieved an unapproached popularity—from an altogether exceptional company of renowned native and other composers, past and present.

If Mr. Weatherly be the *doyen* among British song-poets, I take it that to Miss Maude Valérie White belongs that distinction among our song-composers of high rank. One of her earliest, as it was one of her most widely-acclaimed, efforts was the setting of " The Devout Lover," written by that many-sided man—poet, playwright, critic, editor, swordsman, sportsman—Mr. Walter Herries Pollock, with its romantic invocation to self-surrender and chivalry :

It is not mine to sing the stately grace,
 The great soul beaming in my lady's face. . . .

Mr. Pollock had adapted for the stage, in collaboration with Sir Walter Besant and with the title *The Balladmonger*, Banville's *Gringoire* ; and " The Devout Lover " was introduced into this playlet and sung during its original run at the Haymarket Theatre in Sir H. B. Tree's production. No doubt the song derived a part of its more than deserved popularity from the publicity thus acquired in a leading London theatre.

Miss M. V. White also made brilliant settings of one or two of Shelley's loveliest lyrics, most notably his " To Mary," which furnished that popular tenor Dr. Ben Davies with one of his most perfect interpretations on the concert-stage. Another woman-composer to essay the difficult task of setting Shelley to music was the late Ellen Wright, whose " Violets " attracted so wide a public. She included a most finished rendering of that poet's exquisite " I arise from dreams of thee " in a song-cycle which was also

remarkable for settings of Robert Burns' " O my luv's like a red, red rose " and of a tiny poem entitled " When I awake." Sir Charles Santley, whose noble voice interpreted it, told the present writer that in his judgment this was the most perfect " little song " in our language. A difficulty arose, on the question of copyright, touching the identity of the poet of " When I awake," the lines having been handed to the composer simply as an unsigned newspaper cutting. They eventually were traced, I believe, to the authorship of Lady Weigall, and they run as follows :

. . . And so, when evening shadows creep
 And night falls softly o'er the lea,
 You touch my eyelids and I sleep,
 And sleeping, dream of Heaven and thee.
 And when some summer morn shall break
 That finds me fill'd with death's cold dew,
 You need but kiss me : I shall wake,
 And waking, be in Heaven with you.

There are doubtless few songs in the English tongue in which the words are more completely wedded to the music than is the case with Sullivan's immortal " Lost Chord."* It will be recalled that their author was Adelaide Anne Procter, the gifted daughter of " Barry Cornwall." Like her father she was a friend of Charles Dickens, and some of her verses, which she afterwards collected as *Legends and Lyrics*, originally appeared in *Household Words*. As for " Barry Cornwall " himself, the late Sir Edmund Gosse has said of him, in an illuminating passage, that " his lyrics do not possess pathos or real passion or any very deep magic of melody, but he has written more songs that deserve the comparative praise of good than any other modern writer except Shelley and Tennyson." Incidentally, he enjoyed the affectionate friendship—for apparently " to know him was to love him"—of a *coterie* that included such differing temperaments as Thackeray, Dickens, Carlyle, Scott, Browning, Tennyson, Keats, Swinburne, Landor, Wordsworth, Macaulay, and Charles Lamb. " Barry Cornwall " issued four volumes of poetry, notably *English Songs* (1832), of which several received musical settings, including the one in which he apostrophised the ocean as " the sea, the sea, the open sea, The blue, the fresh, the ever free."

It is still customary to speak of the musical versions of some of Tennyson's ballads with a tolerant smile for the Victorian drawing-room and the lisping youth who would warble to the ringleted maiden that

the planet of love is on high,
 Beginning to faint in the light that she loves
 On a bed of daffodil sky.

* Composed by Sullivan literally at the death-bed of his brother Frederick.

Granted that "Come into the garden, Maud," was inevitably and immeasurably the most popular of Tennysonian songs, one or two of his briefer lyrics received more or less adequate treatment from then contemporary composers. I would instance the unforgettable lines entitled "All along the Valley,"* which were set by the Victorian woman-composer who preserved the *nom de guerre* of "Claribel" (Mrs. Barnard):

... those two-and-thirty years seem'd a mist that rolled away,
And all along the valley, by rock and cave and tree,
The voice of the dead seem'd a living voice to me.

It was reserved, of course, for a composer of renown to do something like justice to this poet's stately hymn of farewell, "Crossing the bar."

If there was comparatively little in the muse of Wordsworth, Southey or Scott to attract the seeker after melodious musical possibilities, the same cannot be said of Burns. It would not be easy, indeed, to say offhand what verses of his have and have not been set in some form or another. But there are a few which "jump to the mind" at once from sheer familiarity, so potent has been and still is their appeal to the popular taste. There are fewer richer contrasts to be found than in the strains of such deathless songs as "Auld Lang Syne," "My heart's in the Highlands," "Green grow the rushes, O!" "Ae' fond kiss," "Highland Mary," "Comin' through the Rye," "John Anderson, my Jo," and "Thro' Groves o' Sweet Myrtle." ("The heroine of this song," says Cunningham, "was Mrs. Burns, who so charmed the poet by singing it with taste and feeling that he declared it to be one of his luckiest lyrics.") Many of the ballads belonging to the last nine years of the poet's short life were contributed to George Thomson's *Collection of Original Scottish Airs*, and W. M. Rossetti has eloquently said:

In this work he wrote the words for many long-popular melodies, a field for the exercise of his genius which roused his heartiest and most generous sympathies. The ideal Scotchman is the man to whom Burns' poems must come home. He is in fact the demigod—the prophet, priest and king—of Scotland, the Scotchman who, more than any other man or men, knits together Scotchmen all over the globe. . . . We have to recognise in especial three superb gifts in Burns' poetry: a power of clear piercing expression, a perfect soul of singable or declaimable song, and a sympathy so vivid and intimate as to pass continually into the domain of imagination. Though he wrote so many poems for musical airs, he had little or no technical knowledge of music; he even had no ear for tunes, and his voice was unmelodious, at any rate in earlier youth.

* Properly, *In the Valley of Caunteretz*.

The words of "Robin Adair" have been attributed to Burns, but were almost unquestionably the work of the beautiful and romantic Lady Caroline Keppel, a daughter of the Earl of Albemarle. She had a love-affair with one Robert Adair, to whose union with their daughter her parents were bitterly opposed; but eventually love conquered all obstacles and they lived happy ever after. None other than Handel is said to have said that he would rather have composed "Robin Adair" than any of his own works. The melody was based upon that of an old Irish air, "Eileen Aroon," which was popularised in eighteenth-century London by Tenducci, a leading operatic tenor of that period. "Robin Adair" was sung with tremendous effectiveness by John Braham, the tenor of whom Sir Walter Scott said that he was "a beast of an actor but an angel of a singer."

If Scotland claims her Burns, Ireland must ever rejoice in her Thomas Moore. Among this poet's most unforgettable lyrics that were set to music must be mentioned "The last rose of Summer," "The Harp that once," "She is far from the Land," "The meeting of the Waters," "Rich and rare were the Gems she wore," "Dear Harp of my Country," and "The Minstrel Boy"—the latter not to be confounded with James Hogg's poem of the same title. Says one of Tom Moore's commentators:

Before Moore left Ireland at all, he had cherished a notion of writing words for the beautiful music of his native land, and had already made verses suitable to various airs, which he sang with effect in the houses where he was entertained. About 1807 he entered into an arrangement with Mr. Power, a music publisher, to furnish words for a collection of these national melodies, Sir J. Stevenson supplying the accompaniments. Moore himself provided many of the airs, and all the changes in the melody were the poet's own invention. These melodies were undoubtedly the keystone of the author's fame: none of his longer poems exhibit so much of excellence with so little of that which can be cavilled at by critics.

To which Moore himself has modestly added that:

with respect to the verses that I have written for these melodies, as they are intended rather to be sung than read, I can answer for their sound with somewhat more confidence than their sense; yet it would be affectation to deny that I have given much attention to the task, and that it is not through want of zeal or industry if I unfortunately disgrace the sweet airs of my country by poetry altogether unworthy of their taste, their energy, and their tenderness.

Similarly, Eliza Cook, the Victorian poetess who confessed to upwards of 600 short lyrics and ballads, wrote "A Sailor's Grave," not to be confused with W. F. Lyte's words set by Sullivan. She was also responsible for "The Old Armchair," this last-named

lyric being set and sung by Henry Russell, who performed a similar service for G. P. Morris' "Woodman, spare that Tree," and for Mrs. Crawford's "The Slave Ship." That lady's "Kathleen Mavourneen" and "Dermot Asthore" were admirably set by F. N. Crouch.*

We have to thank Samuel Lover for the poetry of the old, familiar strains of "Land of the West" and "Rory O'More." Balfe was indebted to A. Bunn for the inspiration of at least three of his most popular compositions, "Then you'll remember me," "I dreamt that I dwelt," and "The Heart bow'd down." J. Tully made appropriate music for the melancholy strains of Tom Hood's "Song of the Shirt," and J. A. Wade (1800-75) was the author of "Meet me by Moonlight alone."

Among the numerous popular song-compositions of Sir Henry Bishop were "Home, sweet home" (but its poetry, of course, was by the American J. H. Payne), "Should he upbraid," and "My pretty Jane." Concerning the last-named there is another romance. In early Victorian days, the manager of Vauxhall Gardens required a new song of the popular order, and, together with Edward Fitzball the lyric-writer, he called upon Sir Henry Bishop (who acted as musical director at Covent Garden, Drury Lane, and Vauxhall successively). Bishop was not at home, but observe the sequel. "Fitzball caught sight of a piece of manuscript music-paper in the wastepaper-basket. Snatching the music-paper from the receptacle, Fitzball found that it contained his song 'My pretty Jane.' Without waiting for the composer's return, the pair of depredators went off with the song, which was sung that same evening by one of the principal tenors of the day and received with tremendous applause. Thus, by a lucky accident, was preserved a song which for so many years was one of the greatest successes of Sims Reeves." The romance to which I refer above was contained in the circumstance that Edward Fitzball as a young man lived in a Cambridgeshire village where also dwelt a farmer's daughter who rejoiced in the name of Jane. It was, in fact, while seated on a stile one day immediately after his Jane had passed by that the enamoured youth was inspired to write the words of the song. He is also known to have painted a portrait of the farmer's winsome daughter. Fitzball, by the by, was the lyricist of Vincent Wallace's familiar "Scenes that are brightest."

Jean Ingelow, a Lincolnshire poetess whose output was deeply influenced by the work of Tennyson and of Mrs. Browning, and who was for the most part deeply religious in her inspiration and outlook, produced several volumes of verse and fiction between 1867 and 1887. She came to be read by a fairly wide public, and the

* We are indebted to Dr. Alfred Perceval Graves for "Father O'Flynn."

most popular, as well as the best, among her shorter pieces was entitled "High-tide on the Coast of Lincolnshire." It received the compliment of a chaste and musicianly setting by Sir Joseph Barnby, who made fullest use of its pathos and tragic *dénouement*.

Another of the nineteenth-century songsters to be immortalised in melody was Mrs. Hemans, whose "The Better Land" and "Casabianca" ("The boy stood on the burning deck") have survived her for nearly a hundred years already. The Baroness Carolina Nairn was responsible for that old favourite "O we're a' noddin," Lady Anne Barnard for "Auld Robin Gray," and Mrs. Emma Willard (1787-1870) for

Calm and peaceful shall we sleep,
Rock'd in the cradle of the deep.

To Charles Kingsley we are indebted for the poetry of (among others) "Oh, that we two were Maying," "The Three Fishers," and the perhaps sickly-sentimental "Farewell" with its adjuration to "be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever." Charles Mackay was the poet of "Cheer, boys, cheer," Haynes Bayly of "She wore a wreath of Roses," and Bayard Taylor of "The Bedouin Love-Song."

We have to hark back to Stuart and even to Elizabethan times for the source of a number of ballads of renown. Thomas Campion, who quitted this earth in 1620, wrote the words of "Cherry Ripe," but so also did Herrick in the better-known version. Nicholas Rowe wrote "Ah willow, willow," Martin Parker "Ye Gentlemen of England," Robert Herrick the expressive and rousing "To Anthea," Henry Carey "Sally in our Alley." Of the best among the sea-melodies, Campbell gave us the poetry of "Ye mariners of England" and John Gay (also the poet of "O ruddier than the Cherry") "All in the Downs." Dibdin was so prolific in nautical pieces for song-tunes—to name but a few, "Tom Bowling," "The jolly young Waterman," and (from his comic opera of 1811, *Round Robin*) "The Lass that loves a Sailor"—that he has frequently been credited with the authorship of:

'Twas in Trafalgar's Bay
We saw the Frenchmen lay,
Each heart was bounding then. . . .

Such, indeed, is far from being the case. The words of "The Death of Nelson" were by S. J. Arnold, and this patriotic tribute to our great sea-hero gained an instantaneous success on its interpretation by Braham and lesser vocalists. "The Bay of Biscay" was by Andrew Cherry, and "Rule, Britannia!" by James Thomson.

Whether because or in spite of the exquisite singing quality of

A. C. Swinburne's muse, very little of his work has come within purview of the song-composer. Nothing out of *Atalanta in Calydon* nor from *The Triumph of Time* has yet, I believe, tempted the aspirant, though more or less tentative settings have been made of several of the gems of verse in the *Poems and Ballads*. These include portions of the mischievously lilting "An Interlude" and of the delightfully restrained "Leave-taking," with its despairing note of resignation to the inevitable :

Let us rise up and part; she will not know.
 Let us go seaward as the great winds go,
 Full of blown sand and foam : what life is here?
 There is no help, for all these things are so,
 And all the world is bitter as a tear.
 And how these things are, though ye strove to show,
 She would not know.

It remains to add that Mr. Clifton Bingham was probably Mr. Weatherly's most formidable rival in the field of lyric-writing, and that "I Fear no Foe" and "Thy Sentinel am I" were among Edward Oxenford's* most popular efforts. Mr. Edward Teschemacher also turned out many tuneful examples. Sir Conan Doyle's "Who carries the Gun?" was set by Mrs. Alicia Needham, and his "Song of the Bow" and Sir Henry Newbolt's splendid "Sailing of the Longships" and "The Torch of Life" by Miss Florence Aylward, the composer of that long-popular melody, "Beloved, it is Morn."

At least one of Mr. Kipling's soldier-songs has been set in a tuneful version, whilst in Sir Harold Boulton we have a lyric writer of really outstanding merit : his *Songs of the Four Nations* have been accorded warm recognition, and "Glorious Devon" and "The Skye Boat-Song" are among his successes. But "the words, the words, the words!" is still the sustained lament of the composers. This is a more than ever pressing need, and from all quarters I am informed that suitable lyrics are a greater rarity than perhaps at any previous period. Again, as "Guy d'Hardelet" once expressed it to me, "Many lyrics which begin charmingly fail to keep it up, and the end is rarely strong enough."

PERCY CROSS STANDING.

* Died in March, 1929.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE PROBLEM OF EGYPT.

MR. BALDWIN, who continues to add to his reputation as one of the healthy influences in European politics, made a remark in the House of Commons on July 26th which, unconsciously on his part at the time, aptly illustrated something that was there and then taking place. What he said was this : "The responsibility of Parliament is peculiarly great in these matters of foreign affairs, because if disaster comes, if bloodshed comes, as it often has in our history, the politicians always escape. The worst that can happen to the politician is loss of office, and the men who give their blood are generally those whose hands have had nothing to do with the laying of the train that led to the explosion." Mr. Baldwin was then given, as he has often been given, the tribute of applause from the benches of his political opponents.

That aspect of the politician's responsibility deserves to be emphasised ; when it is emphasised from a front bench on the floor of the House of Commons itself, it carries all the greater weight.

Now it happened that another occupant of that same front bench was on the point of providing a contrasting illustration of the politician at his worst : at his most irresponsible and most mischievous. Mr. Winston Churchill, if one is to judge by what he does and says, thinks less than Mr. Baldwin, and is less cautious about the harm he may do.

The case in point was the case of Egypt. Mr. Churchill had already started the mischief two days before Mr. Baldwin spoke. He continued it after Mr. Baldwin had spoken, thereby suggesting that he had not been impressed by his chief's philosophy. The position was that Lord Lloyd had been dismissed from the post of British High Commissioner in Egypt. Now if Mr. Churchill had taken the trouble to be informed about the records of the late Government, of which he himself was a member and whose papers were therefore open to him, or if, being informed about them, he had maintained a due sense of his responsibility as a public person, he would have acknowledged the wisdom and even the generosity of Mr. Henderson's treatment of Lord Lloyd. Instead, he did something that lacked both chivalry and statesmanship.

There had been differences of view between Lord Lloyd and Sir Austen Chamberlain long before the Labour Government came into power, and the Conservative Cabinet, as Mr. Churchill obviously must have known, had been engaged with the resultant problem up to the very eve of the election. It was clear, therefore,

that the dossier bequeathed by Sir Austen Chamberlain to Mr. Henderson presented as an immediate, urgent matter to Mr. Henderson the question whether Lord Lloyd should continue in office in Cairo. That question in that urgency would have faced whatever Government had resulted from the election.

The Labour Government promptly decided, as it was competent to decide (and as any other Government would probably have decided) that Lord Lloyd's qualities were not the qualities needed in Cairo at the present time. It was Mr. Henderson's view, as it had been Sir Austen Chamberlain's, that the independence granted to Egypt in 1922 should be honoured in the spirit by the elimination of all but the minimum of interference by the British Government in Egyptian affairs. Lord Lloyd by contrast, as is clearly shown by the correspondence, took a more robust but more antiquated view of the British Empire's interests, and advocated what he imagined to be a policy of the firm hand in Egypt.

He was entitled to his view, and was in duty bound to express his view to London: but his view could necessarily be nothing more than a contribution to the material on which the Government in London had to form its policy. The opinion deliberately reached by Mr. Henderson was that Lord Lloyd's view was so opposed to that of the Government that he could not be expected sympathetically to carry out his duty of interpreting the Government's future policy to Egypt. That was a matter of elementary commonsense.

Having reached that conclusion, however, Mr. Henderson proceeded in a quiet way to arrange for the transfer of Lord Lloyd to another post without raising any public curiosity or public emotion. Mr. Henderson telegraphed, under official secrecy, to Lord Lloyd asking him to see him in London, and at the same time intimating that his resignation would be acceptable. An interesting thing then took place. Lord Lloyd saw Mr. Henderson. It was arranged at the interview that Lord Lloyd should resign. Lord Lloyd thereupon submitted the draft of a letter he proposed to write to Mr. Henderson in that sense. The letter ran thus: "Since my return from Egypt I have been thinking over, in the light of my recent conversation with you, the situation caused by the advent of a new Government in England and the policy which I understand is to be pursued in regard to Egyptian affairs. I have had every hope and desire to continue to serve under the new Administration; but I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that my views are not likely to be in sufficient harmony with yours as to enable me conscientiously to discharge my duties to His Majesty's Government."

The terms of that letter were something of a test for Mr. Henderson's statesmanship, for in one important respect they were less than fair to the Government. The fact was that in the

preceding interview not a word had been spoken about the Government's projected policy towards Egypt (that policy not having yet been formulated) and that Lord Lloyd's resignation was invited on the general ground of his antipathy to the 1922 arrangement, as interpreted by the old, and as likely to be interpreted by the new, Government.

When Lord Lloyd therefore implied that his resignation was due to his own reaction against the new Government's policy, Mr. Henderson would have been justified in refusing to accept the letter on the ground of its being inaccurate in fact. He deliberately, however, decided, in the public interest, to allow Lord Lloyd to ride off in that way, and on the same day (July 23rd) he acknowledged the letter not only courteously, but magnanimously. "I have informed His Majesty's Government (he wrote) of your lordship's decision to tender your resignation of the post of High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan which you have occupied during the last four years. His Majesty's Government fully recognise the sincerity of the motives which have led you to place your resignation in their hands. In accepting it with regret they desire to express their appreciation of the eminent services rendered by you in the high and responsible positions you have held in Egypt and elsewhere."

By so agreeable a formula it was hoped that little public attention would be paid to the matter, that Lord Lloyd would be saved any personal embarrassment, and that the Anglo-Egyptian problem need not be embittered or side-tracked by irrelevant personal controversy. On July 24th Mr. Henderson, being asked in the House of Commons if he had a statement to make about the post of High Commissioner in Egypt, colourlessly answered that "I have to inform the House that I have had an interview with Lord Lloyd as High Commissioner, during which he handed me his resignation, which His Majesty's Government have accepted."

It would have been in the best interests of all concerned if the matter had been allowed there to drop. Politicians at question time, however, with the rare exception of men like Mr. Baldwin, are less alert for the interests of all concerned than for tactical scores on party lines. A Unionist member at once asked if Lord Lloyd's resignation "arose in any way from the policy intended to be taken by His Majesty's Government." Mr. Henderson thereupon found himself hoist with the petard of his own magnanimity in having allowed Lord Lloyd to put into writing the pretext above alluded to, and had to answer "yes"; but by so doing he was compromising his own position. He had therefore to let the cat wholly out of the bag by stating that "I had sent an intimation to Lord Lloyd before the latter left Egypt which was based upon my reading of

the attitude that he had adopted towards the policy of the late Government."

There seemed no escape for Mr. Henderson in self-defence to say so much. His far-sighted desire to avoid vulgar and irrelevant controversy had been defeated by a lack of control on the benches at Westminster. On hearing Mr. Henderson's statement Mr. Churchill sprang to his feet and angrily demanded to know if Lord Lloyd's resignation had been "extorted." There being no retreat, Mr. Henderson now confessed that "the telegram that I sent to Lord Lloyd was of such a character that I think most people would have accepted it as an invitation to terminate his position."

Mr. Churchill had presumably forgotten his own recent part, as member of a Cabinet with collective responsibility, in that very matter, and incontinently added this question: "May I ask the Foreign Secretary whether he will lay papers or make a statement showing the grounds of difference which led the Government to force Lord Lloyd to resign, as he said he did? Will he lay papers or make a statement in time to enable this House to debate this question fully on the only opportunity open to us, which is on Friday next?"

From that moment it was inevitable that the papers would have to be laid, or the full facts disclosed, without delay. It was inexpedient to do so for the simple reason that there can seldom be anything gained by the exposure in the full blast of publicity of the virtual dismissal of a diplomatist stationed abroad; and in the present case there was all the more reason against it because the facts might be misunderstood by other diplomatists, and because by the same token undue encouragement might be given to the wrong type of political opinion in Egypt and elsewhere in the East.

Mr. Churchill's lack of control, his disregard of the facts dating from the period of his own office, his failure to resist the temptation to make a party score, seemed at any rate to explain Mr. MacDonald's words two days later when he said that it was impossible to justify the mischief of what Mr. Churchill had done.

Throughout the intervening day (July 25th) the House of Lords had waxed hot and acrimonious, although there was little substance in their temper. The inimitable Lord Brentford in his new place majestically, and no doubt innocently, put his foot through the plain facts of the case by stating that "I desire to state categorically on behalf of the late Government that Lord Lloyd in no way disregarded any instructions sent him by the late Government; that Lord Lloyd had the fullest confidence of the late Government up to the very end of their term of office, and that from time to time

Lord Lloyd was thanked by the late Government for the way he was carrying out the grave and difficult duties of his high office."

On the very next day Mr. Henderson read out in the House of Commons the late Government's own dossier of intermittent disagreement with Lord Lloyd, involving the definite overruling of Lord Lloyd on certain important occasions. It is one of the strange misfortunes of "Jix's" political life that whenever he plunges into the field of foreign affairs (and wild horses will not keep him from that field) he is immediately exposed as having missed his own point. The range of his exposure has been wide: first on the subject of Russia, next on that of the United States, now on Egypt. When on May 12th, 1927, he sent his "bobbies" to raid Soviet House, the headquarters of Arcos Limited, he did not know that he was also raiding the offices of the Russian Trade Delegation, which were protected, or ought to have been protected, by diplomatic immunity. He thereby made inevitable the rupture of diplomatic relations with Russia which it was the formulated policy of the Cabinet to avoid. A year later (July 14th, 1928) Sir William chose in public to speak on the big subject of peace and disarmament, and courageously took the occasion to lecture the United States on the theme that "deeds speak stronger than words," sublimely unaware that on that very day Sir Austen Chamberlain had drafted the British acceptance of the Kellogg Pact and that it was tactically expedient at that moment for the Cabinet to take precisely the opposite line from that taken by Sir William. A few days later (July 23rd, 1928) Mr. Baldwin, having reaped some of the effects of "Jix's" misdirected zeal, announced to the House that "had I been speaking on that matter I might have expressed it somewhat differently," and went on by contrast to refer to "the wisdom and reticence of most of my colleagues in most of their speeches."

Lord Brentford, however, was no worse than some of his colleagues who spoke in the House of Lords on July 25th, 1929. Lord Birkenhead began to talk about "a scandal and an insult"; Lord Carson hurled the epithet "futile" at the newly glorified head of Lord Passfield. Yet the epithet could more fairly have been applied to the scene then and there enacted by Lords Brentford, Carson and Birkenhead.

On July 26th Mr. Baldwin moved the adjournment of the House, but spoke with moderation and sense. He gave Mr. Henderson his opportunity, made inevitable by the events of the two preceding days, of revealing the recent phase of Anglo-Egyptian relations, and of the unsatisfactory relationship obtaining between Lord Lloyd and the Government, first of Mr. Baldwin himself and now of Mr. Mac-

Donald. At the same time he intimated that no change had taken place in the attitude now adopted by the Labour Government towards Egypt and the attitude it adopted in 1924.

Inasmuch as the attempt to harmonise Anglo-Egyptian relations is now known to be a major concern of the British Government, and as experience shows that an uninformed public opinion, whether expressed at Westminster or elsewhere, has it in its power to defeat the ends of good diplomacy, the main outline of the situation, as now presented to London and to Cairo, ought to be clearly distinguished from the political and propagandist tittle-tattle.

The real outline is clear enough. In its essence it has not changed since 1922. Before 1922 Egypt was a British Protectorate, having been declared to be such in 1914 when the outbreak of the war put an end to the Turkish suzerainty over the country. In 1922 the British Government by Declaration put an end to the Protectorate and recognised Egypt as an independent kingdom, the status of independence being, however, modified by the reservation to the absolute discretion of the British Government of four elements in the Egyptian problem, namely: (1) the security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt; (2) the defence of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference, direct or indirect; (3) the protection of foreign interests in Egypt and the protection of minorities; (4) the Sudan.

Those points were reserved "until such time as it may be possible by free discussion and friendly accommodation on both sides to conclude agreements in regard thereto"; and it was stipulated that, pending the conclusion of an agreement on those points, the *status quo* should hold. The Sudan was regarded by British opinion as a clear matter for reservation because the Convention signed by the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs and by Lord Cromer on January 19th, 1899, stipulated that Great Britain was "by right of conquest" entitled "to share in the settlement and future working and development" of the Sudan. The Milner Commission of 1920 expressly excluded the Sudan from its discussions, and in its report stated that its suggestions did not apply to the Sudan, for the reason that the Sudan was "a country entirely distinct from Egypt in its character and Constitution." In a letter written by Lord Milner to Adli Yeghen Pasha on August 18th, 1920, that point was made at some length. One sentence ran: "No change in the political status of Egypt should be allowed to disturb the further development of the Sudan on a system (namely, the provisions of the Convention of 1899) which has been productive of such good results." The reservation of the Sudan in 1922 was made in conformity with the Milner recommendations. What the Convention of 1899 prescribed was that the supreme military and

civil power was to be invested in the person of a "Governor-General," who was to be appointed on the recommendation of the British Government by a decree of the Khedive of Egypt, and whose proclamations were to have the force of the law.

More than one attempt has been made to reach an agreement about the four reserved points. A short time after Mr. MacDonald formed his first Ministry in 1924 it was arranged that Zaglul Pasha should come to London for an exchange of view. Although the arrangement was made at the beginning of May, Zaglul was so shy that he actually did not come to London till the beginning of September. Mr. MacDonald's last act as Foreign Secretary in 1924 was his attempt to agree with Zaglul Pasha, and the attempt failed.

Zaglul no doubt imagined that the first Labour Government in Great Britain would meet the extremist Egyptian demand not only half way, but the whole way. He did in fact start the proceedings by demanding the withdrawal of all British forces from Egyptian territory and of the financial and judicial advisers; the elimination of British influence in Egyptian foreign policy; the abandonment of the British claim to share in any way in the protection of the Suez Canal or in the protection of foreigners and minorities. In 1924, therefore, official Egyptian opinion demanded simply the abandonment by Great Britain of all interests and of all rights in Egypt. Mr. MacDonald rejected that claim. Some of the sentences he used on that occasion retain their practical value to-day because on July 25th, 1929, Lord Passfield stated in the House of Lords that "with regard to these four points and the Sudan the Government has made no change in policy and has no intention of making any such change in policy"; and on July 26th, 1929, Mr. Henderson in the House of Commons, referring to "a very full, frank and important statement made in the year 1924 by the present Prime Minister," observed that "I think that the present Prime Minister would probably be prepared to tell the House that the policy outlined in that statement remains his policy to-day."

The 1924 statement took the form of a Memorandum addressed to Lord Allenby, at that time British High Commissioner.

On the subject of the Suez Canal Mr. MacDonald then wrote: "Though I have by no means abandoned hope that, on further consideration, the basis of an agreement acceptable to both countries can be found, the attitude adopted by Zaglul Pasha has rendered such agreement impossible for the present. I raised the question of the Canal straight away because its security is of vital interest to us both in peace and in war. It is no less true to-day than in 1922 that the security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt remains a vital British interest, and that

absolute certainty that the Suez Canal will remain open in peace as well as in war for the free passage of British ships is the foundation on which the entire defensive strategy of the British Empire rests. The 1888 Convention for the free navigation of the Canal was an instrument devised to secure that object. Its ineffectiveness for this purpose was demonstrated in 1914, when Great Britain herself had to take steps to ensure that the Canal would remain open. No British Government in the light of that experience can divest itself wholly, even in favour of an ally, of its interest in guarding such a vital link in British communications. Such a security must be a feature of any agreement come to between our two Governments, and I see no reason why accommodation is impossible, given good-will.

"The effective co-operation of Great Britain and Egypt in protecting these communications might in my view have been ensured by the conclusion of a treaty of close alliance. The presence of a British force in Egypt provided for by such a treaty freely entered into by both parties on an equal footing would in no way be incompatible with Egyptian independence, whilst it would be an indication of the specially close and intimate relations between the two countries and their determination to co-operate in a matter of vital concern to both. It is not the wish of His Majesty's Government that this force should in any way interfere with the functions of the Egyptian Government or encroach upon Egyptian sovereignty, and I emphatically said so. It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to assume any responsibility for the actions or conduct of the Egyptian Government or to attempt to control or direct the policy which that Government may see fit to adopt."

Mr. MacDonald likewise recorded his detailed view of the case of the Sudan. Zaglul Pasha had demanded simply that Great Britain should withdraw wholly from the Sudan and leave a free hand therein to Egypt. Mr. MacDonald's was a minority Government in 1924 as it is in 1929, but it seems unnecessary to assume that what he wrote in 1924 (and what we are told he still maintains) was anything but his considered, objective opinion. "As regards the Sudan," he wrote, "I drew attention to certain statements which His Excellency had made as President of the Council of Ministers before the Egyptian Parliament during the course of the summer. On May 17th, according to my information, Zaglul Pasha stated that the facts that a foreign officer was Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian army and the retention in that army of British officers were inconsistent with the dignity of independent Egypt. The expression of such sentiments in an official pronouncement by the responsible head of the Egyptian Government has obviously placed not only Sir Lee Stack as Sirdar, but all British officers

attached to the Egyptian army, in a difficult position. I also had in mind that, in June, Zaglul Pasha was reported to have claimed for Egypt complete rights of ownership over the Sudan and characterised the British Government as usurpers.

"His Excellency observed that in making the above statements he was merely voicing the opinion not only of the Egyptian Parliament, but of the Egyptian nation, and I gathered that he still adhered to that position. Such statements, however, must inevitably have affected the minds of Egyptians employed in the Sudan, and of the Sudanese personnel of the Egyptian army. They have indeed made it appear that loyalty to the British Government is something different from and inconsistent with loyalty to the existing administration of the Sudan. As a result, not only has there been an entire change in the spirit of Anglo-Egyptian co-operation which has in the past prevailed in the Sudan, but also Egyptian subjects serving under the Sudan Government have been encouraged to regard themselves as propagandists of the Egyptian Government's views, with results that if persisted in, in the absence of any agreement, would render their presence in the Sudan under the existing *régime* a source of danger to public order.

"... So far as my conversations with Zaglul Pasha turned on the question of the Sudan, they have only served to show his persistence in the attitude disclosed in his previous public utterances. I must adhere to the statements I made on the subject in the House of Commons. About that neither in Egypt nor in the Sudan should there be any doubt. If there is, it will only lead to trouble.

"In the meantime the duty of preserving order in the Sudan rests in fact upon His Majesty's Government, and they will take every step necessary for this purpose. Since going there, they have contracted heavy moral obligations by the creation of a good system of administration; they cannot allow that to be destroyed; they regard their responsibilities as a trust for the Sudan people; there can be no question of their abandoning the Sudan until their work is done.

"His Majesty's Government have no desire to disturb existing arrangements, but they must point out how intolerable is a *status quo* which enables both military and civil officers and officials to conspire against civil order, and unless the *status quo* is accepted and loyally worked until such time as a new arrangement may be reached, the Sudan Government would fail in its duty were it to allow such conditions to continue.

"His Majesty's Government have never failed to recognise that Egypt has certain material interests in the Sudan which must be guaranteed and safeguarded—these being chiefly concerned with

her share of the Nile water and the satisfaction of any financial claims which she may have against the Sudan Government. His Majesty's Government have always been prepared to secure these interests in a way satisfactory to Egypt."

The 1924 attempt to reach agreement ended, therefore, in head-on disagreement. In 1927 Sir Austen Chamberlain renewed the attempt and came near to success. He tried bravely and patiently for nine months: but at the end he had to face the supreme disappointment of discovering that Sarwat Pasha, with whom he had negotiated, had run ahead of Egyptian opinion, even as represented by his own Cabinet. On March 4th, 1928, Sarwat Pasha went to see Lord Lloyd in Cairo to inform him that the Anglo-Egyptian draft Treaty of Alliance had been rejected by his Cabinet, and that he himself had tendered his resignation to the King.

The crux from the British point of view of the 1927 draft treaty was the wording of one passage at the beginning of Article 7, namely: "In order to facilitate and secure to His Britannic Majesty the protection of the lines of communication of the British Empire, and pending the conclusion at some future date of an agreement by which His Britannic Majesty entrusts His Majesty the King of Egypt with the task of ensuring this protection, His Majesty the King of Egypt authorises His Britannic Majesty to maintain upon Egyptian territory such armed forces as His Britannic Majesty's Government consider necessary for this purpose. The presence of these forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt." When Sir Austen was pressed by Sarwat to accept the words "pending the conclusion at some future date of an agreement by which," etc., he felt great difficulty in giving what he called "even a provisional and personal assent" to it. He was concerned, as he wrote to Lord Lloyd, "lest this wording should give rise at some future time to a suggestion that it necessarily implied that at some time, however distant, His Majesty's Government would . . . withdraw His Majesty's forces from Egypt and entrust to the Egyptian Government alone the whole protection of the lines of communication of the British Empire where they pass through or over Egyptian territory. His Excellency was, however, able to assure me that this was not the intention or meaning of the wording which he had proposed to me. He said that it was his hope that if this treaty were ratified a time would come when His Majesty's Government would feel that it was as safe to leave the defence of Egypt and the protection of British interests in that country to the Government of Egypt as they now felt it safe to leave the protection of similar interests in the Dominions to the

Governments of those Dominions. All he asked was that His Majesty's Government should not absolutely bar the possibility of realising an Egyptian aspiration.

"It was on this assurance that I agreed to recommend Sarwat Pasha's proposals to the British Government. I am bound to say that I found my colleagues at first shared my doubts, and for the very reason which I had expressed to His Excellency, namely, their reluctance to use any words which at some future time and by persons unacquainted with what had passed between His Excellency and me might be thought to imply an obligation on His Majesty's Government sooner or later to conclude an agreement of this character. I therefore repeated to His Majesty's Government the explanation which Sarwat Pasha had volunteered to me, and on this understanding and in pursuance of His Excellency's assurance His Majesty's Government have accepted his text."

There were minor points on which Sir Austen felt some difficulty, because he could not accept them without exceeding his instructions. The Cabinet, however, on having those points submitted to it, authorised Sir Austen to accept. At the same time "His Majesty's Government in Great Britain" obtained the consent of "His Majesty's Governments in the Dominions and India" to the draft treaty.

The preamble to the treaty revealed the fact that Sarwat Pasha had abandoned both his original formula about non-interference and his later alternative suggestion that no reference be made to that subject. The preamble contained this wording: "Being anxious to eliminate the possibility of interference in the internal administration of Egypt." Article 1 would establish the alliance "in consecration of their friendship, their cordial understanding and their good relations." By Article 2 Egypt would undertake "not to adopt in foreign countries an attitude incompatible with the alliance or liable to create difficulties for His Britannic Majesty and not to conclude with a foreign Power any agreement which might be prejudicial to British interests." Article 3 would bind Great Britain, "subject always to the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations," to come immediately to the help of Egypt as a belligerent if Egypt be involved in war "by reason of any attack or act of aggression whatever." Article 4 would prescribe Anglo-Egyptian consultation about measures to be adopted in case of a threat to the good relations of the two countries or of danger to the lives or property of foreigners in Egypt. By Article 5 Egypt would undertake to train her army by British methods and to employ only British subjects if she wanted the services of foreign officers or instructors. By Article 6 the King of Egypt would undertake "to furnish to H.B.M. in Egyptian territory all the

facilities and assistance in his power, including the use of his ports, aerodromes and all means of communication."

Article 7 was the article that at first alarmed Sir Austen Chamberlain. After making the stipulation quoted above it continued: "After a period of ten years from the coming into force of the present treaty, the high contracting parties will reconsider, in the light of their experience of the operation of the provisions of the present treaty, the question of the localities in which the said forces are to be stationed. Should no agreement be reached on this point, the question may be submitted to the League of Nations. Should the decision of the League of Nations be adverse to the claims of the Egyptian Government, the question can, at their request and under the same conditions, be re-investigated at intervals of five years from the date of the League's decision." By Article 8, "in view of the friendship, etc., the Egyptian Government, when engaging the services of foreign officials, will, as a rule, give preference to British subjects," and "nationals of other Powers will only be engaged if no British subjects possessing the necessary qualifications and fulfilling the requisite conditions are available." Article 9 would impose on Great Britain the obligation of using all her influence "with the Powers possessing capitulatory rights in Egypt to obtain the modification of the capitulatory régime now existing in Egypt so as to make it conform more closely with the spirit of the times and with the present state of Egypt." By Article 10 His Britannic Majesty "will use his good offices for the admission of Egypt to the League of Nations and will support the request which Egypt will present to this effect. Egypt for her part declares herself ready to accept the conditions prescribed for admission to the League." Article 11 would provide for a British Ambassador in Cairo with, however, precedence "over all other foreign representatives." Article 12 made the whole treaty subject to the duties of either party under the League Covenant. Articles 13 and 14 were technical. An Annex described the detailed arrangements agreed on for carrying out the treaty, especially that part of it referring to the British army of occupation.

Although Sarwat Pasha had agreed with Sir Austen Chamberlain that such a treaty would fairly settle the problems at issue, he found that he had reckoned without Zaglul Pasha's apostle, Nahas Pasha, who proceeded single-handed to smash the treaty. The Wafd had a majority in the Egyptian Parliament, and Sarwat Pasha proved to be a man of straw. On February 26th, 1928, Nahas Pasha informed Lord Lloyd that it would be useless even to pursue the discussion of the treaty, because it "clearly failed to provide for the complete evacuation of Egyptian territory by the British army." The effect of that laconic veto, imposed by a political

leader outside the Government, was that the treaty was rejected before it was even considered by the Egyptian Cabinet. Sarwat Pasha was thereby shown to have been competent, not to negotiate a treaty, but only to prepare a treaty for submission to Nahas. On March 1st, 1928, Sarwat Pasha informed Lord Lloyd that his Cabinet would not sign the treaty, and on March 4th handed to Lord Lloyd the text of his Cabinet's rejection together with the information that he, Sarwat, had resigned. The kernel of the Egyptian Government's answer was the sentence, "My colleagues have reached the conclusion that the draft, by reason both of its basic principles and of its actual provisions, is incompatible with the independence and sovereignty of Egypt, and, moreover, that it legalises occupation of the country by British forces."

It was revealed by Mr. Henderson on July 26th, 1929, that during the preceding four years Lord Lloyd had been a source of embarrassment to Sir Austen Chamberlain. He showed with chapter and verse that Sir Austen Chamberlain's policy had been "a minimum degree of intervention in purely internal affairs in Egypt and a liberal interpretation of the Declaration of 1922" and that "in numerous instances" Lord Lloyd was "clearly out of sympathy with both these objects." Little is to be gained by reproducing the details of that melancholy aspect of the matter. The responsibility for their disclosure by Mr. Henderson must rest upon Mr. Churchill. The climax was reached on May 28th, two days before the election, when Sir Austen, it appears, was compelled to call Lord Lloyd's attention to a complete restatement of the principle on which the Government was conducting the Anglo-Egyptian relations.

Mr. Henderson therefore took up the threads of Anglo-Egyptian relations where Sir Austen Chamberlain left them, and made it clear that the spirit of 1924 and of 1927 still inspired his policy. What fortune was in store for the third attempt to solve the problem had not been revealed when this paper was written.

THE HAGUE REPARATION CONFERENCE.

On the eve of the reparation conference public attention in Great Britain was directed to an aspect of the work in hand which had not before been adequately recognised. Mr. Snowden made public the result of a careful analysis of the potential effect on British interests of an unmodified application of the Young Report. From what Mr. Snowden said, it became clear that the conference itself would not run without controversy. He said it during the course of that crowded last day of the session, Friday, July 26th. Mr. Lloyd George had given him a lead by calling his attention to certain aspects of the Young Report, which he submitted deserved to be

closely studied. Mr. Lloyd George's speech itself gave another illustration of that recovered quality of thought and expression which made him "the Prime Minister of Europe" up to 1922, but which he has hardly manifested since. Political adversity has, it appears, done him no harm.

Mr. Lloyd George appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to use his influence towards the modification of the Young Report in one important respect. He did not criticise the reduction in the amount of Germany's indebtedness, but did criticise the way in which the resultant sacrifice was distributed among the creditor nations. He made the point that the loss fell almost exclusively to Great Britain, with the virtual result that the Spa percentages were revised to the detriment of Great Britain and to the advantage of France and Italy; and moreover that, the German payments being now for the first time divided into two categories, the unconditional and the postponable, the payments due to France and Italy were earmarked from the first category, while those due to Great Britain were earmarked from the second.

Mr. Snowden thereupon made his first public statement on the subject since the day when, just before the election, he frightened M. Poincaré into a policy of ratifying the Churchill-Caillaux agreement. No Government was committed to an acceptance of the Young Report, which was merely the advisory opinion of experts. "About the beginning of last May," said Mr. Snowden, "the American Chairman of the Committee put forward a proposal before the Committee as to the German annuities which aroused indignation in this country. The differences between the proposal rejected and the proposals which finally appeared in the Experts' Report were differences of degree only." Mr. Snowden then declared as a matter of policy that "the Government are willing to agree to the amounts which have been proposed for the German annuities. We have no desire to increase the amount of the claims which Germany might be called upon to pay. That is the one point in the report on which I think there will be very general agreement. The scheme is that there should be thirty-six annuities starting at £85,000,000 and rising to £120,000,000, an average of £99,500,000, but outside that or rather beyond that there is war debt cover for the next twenty-two years between 1966 and 1988, and there the amounts begin at £85,000,000 and gradually fall to £45,000,000. Of this average annuity of about £100,000,000, £33,000,000 is unconditional and the rest is postponable. France is allocated a large share of the unconditional annuities, but has to provide a guarantee fund of £25,000,000 in case of the operation of the postponement provisions of the report. We are given no appreciable share of these unconditional payments, but five-sixths of the free amount goes to France

and most of the rest to Italy. Our share of the annuity might be compared to the ordinary shares of a perhaps not very sound concern, whereas the unconditional payments might be regarded as first-class debentures. The reason, I understand, why France got five-sixths of these unconditional annuities was the desire of France to have first-class securities which they could commercialise or mobilise."

Mr. Snowden in a later part of his speech worked out in figures the extent of the sacrifice allotted to Great Britain. Mr. Lloyd George had put it at £2,000,000 a year. "It is more than that," said Mr. Snowden. "It works out at an average of £2,415,000 a year, which goes practically all to Italy and France, but mainly to Italy. Of the £2,400,000 Italy gets £1,840,000. The sacrifice which Great Britain is called upon to make by the acceptance of the report reduces our share of the annuities by just under £2,500,000 a year. We are supposed to get from the unconditional annuities and the debt payments just enough to meet our future payments to America. If we got all that we could expect under the proposals of this report we should just get, with the interest from our European debtors, enough to pay the future annual payments of interest to America. There would be no surplus to Great Britain. In the case of France there would be a surplus of £21,000,000 a year after the British debt payments had been met. All the other creditor Powers, too, would have surpluses beyond their outgoings. Assuming that the payments were regularly made, and thereby we were covered in our future payments to America, that did not give us the conditions we laid down, because there was already about £200,000,000 of difference between what we had paid to America and what we had received from our Continental debtors. If, therefore, the recommendations of the committee were accepted, we should have to sacrifice, not merely £2,500,000 a year by the changed distribution, but to abandon all hope of ever getting anything towards the £200,000,000 of arrears. . . . In regard to deliveries in kind, the Government cannot agree, unless, of course, they are finally compelled to do so, to accept the proposals in the report. We shall have something to say in the conference upon the distinction which has been made between the postponable and the unconditional annuities, and the fact that we have no share at all in the unconditional annuities."

Mr. Snowden dwelt on the "magnanimous, generous, quixotic" sacrifices made by Great Britain in the past and protested that the limit had been reached. "I realise," he said, "what a difficult task I shall have at the approaching conference. I can only say that I shall do my best to maintain the just interests of this country. I do not know to what extent we shall succeed; but whatever the

result of the conference may be, I can assure the House that there will be no sacrifice of British interests."

It is seldom that a British delegation has gone into an important international conference with its views so clearly formulated and published in advance. It remained for Mr. Snowden to show how far he could impress the other delegates with the justice of a case which to all impartial people needed little proof.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

August 4th, 1929.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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GREEK STUDIES AT CAMBRIDGE.*

The new Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge was wise in devoting his inaugural lecture to the vital question of the future of Greek studies, and, incidentally, the future of his Chair. His famous predecessor, Henry Jackson, who died in 1921, said to Professor Robertson almost at the end of his life, "it is strange that I should have lived to see the end of Greek studies in Cambridge." Jackson was Regius Professor from 1906 to 1921, and consequently it was not an unnatural if not an obvious statement, for though there were distinguished Grecians enough to approach some of the multitudinous regions of research—the primary goal of the Chair—in Greek studies, yet there was reason to believe that at Cambridge, at any rate, the attractions of and facilities for the study of applied science were rapidly cutting off the supply of undergraduates upon which the study not only of Greek but of humanism generally depends.

Prophecies of this type are not uncommon in the turning points of intellectual progress. Our knowledge of the heavens was declared by Auguste Comte to be approaching its necessary limits just before the discovery of the spectroscope sixty years ago. Henry Jackson had seen the successful and necessary assault against compulsory Greek,

* *The Future of Greek Studies: An inaugural lecture delivered May 6th, 1929, by D. S. Robertson.* Cambridge: At the University Press. 2s. net.

he had also seen his own university apparently giving resources that it could hardly afford to the applied sciences and leaving humanistic studies to go on as well as it could with resources that found their origin in the Tudor age. He possibly did not trouble to realise that this tragedy—and it is still a tragedy—might find its solution in a higher atmosphere where the humanism of science and the humanism of letters are one. But whether that is so or not, eight brief years have shown that Henry Jackson was as wrong as Auguste Comte. The post-war world has seen that applied science is not enough for a world that is making up its mind to have done with international war, and even international competition, in the same way as the Renaissance world made up its mind to be done with private or feudal war. The humanism, in which Greek studies must take senior place, must balance the study of applied sciences in all the great seats of learning.

Professor Robertson is not at all anxious as to the supply of students, and curiously enough at about the date of his lecture official figures became available to show that the study of Greek in the secondary schools generally—and not only in those ancient foundations which, like Westminster, have contracted the habit of providing Regius Professors of Greek—has spread and is spreading with extraordinary rapidity. Professor Robertson has no anxiety about numbers: "The Cambridge Classical School, so far as the number of students is a test, is now in a very flourishing state." He indeed expresses a warning note when he says

The causes that govern such fluctuations are extremely difficult to analyse, and though there seems now good ground for optimism, it is obvious that Greek is a branch of study which depends for its prosperity on a belief in its intrinsic value and interest scarcely susceptible of definite proof. It can still, perhaps, count on the continuance of a rather indefinite traditional prestige, but it cannot, like some branches of Natural Science, hope for any large measure of incidental support from those who care only for what they believe to promote the direct material benefit of the human race.

The answer to this is contained in the official figures of the Board of Education as to the growth of Greek studies in the schools. If the schools are supported by the Universities throughout the land and throughout the Empire there can be no doubt as to the future of Greek studies. Is Cambridge itself supplying the adequate stimulus to the work of the schools? After all, everything depends upon the attitude of the Universities. If the Universities are materialistic the hunger for humanism may die out in the schools. Oxford and Cambridge create, in the long run, the atmosphere of the secondary schools. Cambridge, with its famous succession, Erasmus, Cheke, Porson, Dobree, Jebb, must do much to forward the good work.

In fact, to children and young students of linguistic ability, Greek offers an attraction that only practical teachers realise. Young people do not foresee, of course, the essential difficulties of the language, but the first step is a great step. Professor Robertson declares that

this irremovable difficulty of the actual language has always seemed to me the chief danger to the future of Greek as an instrument of general training. It is, perhaps, a little too difficult, and there is some truth in the complaint that, for many of those who do not carry it beyond the school stage, Greek is dropped just before the ridge is mounted from which wide views of its delightful landscape begin to open out. The problem, however, concerns University teachers only indirectly, for in my experience very few of those who study Greek as undergraduates here feel at the end of their time that they are sent away empty. The University still receives, and seems likely to receive, a steady supply of students adequately grounded in Greek; and ready and eager to get what good they can out of the Classics; the problem for the University teacher is what that good really is, and how it can be given.

As a matter of fact, that school problem of the effect of a school grounding in Greek applies also to Latin and higher mathematics. In all cases the subject is dropped "before the ridge is mounted from which wide views of its delightful landscape begin to open out." A school is not a University. The most it can do is to give a sense of thoroughness in learning, a perfect grounding and a love of learning for its own sake. The student with a taste for tongues, or penchant for mathematics, will not lose his potential powers and will escape that curse of modern education, a scrappy sampling of all sorts of subjects. The classics and the mathematics taught at school by a first-class teacher with a sense of thoroughness will do something more than provide the Universities with apt undergraduates. From the point of view of the Regius Professor of Greek all is well, for he has his pupils. The supply of students is assured. In the very dark days of the eighteenth century great Greek scholars appeared and in many cases were drawn from the very classes that to-day are once more taking their places in the secondary and the revived grammar schools. The supply of Greek scholars of the first rank seems, therefore, in this age assured.

The question then arises what is the ultimate object of the study of Greek. The new Professor is quite clear on that point: "Greek is learnt for the sake of reading and appreciating the works of the greatest Greek writers, including the philosophers. That is to my mind almost the whole justification for the general teaching of the subject, and it is overwhelmingly sufficient." It is not only a question, moreover, of the æsthetic appreciation of these masterpieces, though Professor Robertson boldly proclaims his view that

"no later European literature, however splendid, can replace the Greek as a foundation of culture, a standard of taste, and a source of imperishable wonder and delight." Apart from these absolute merits, direct acquaintance with the inseparable literature of Greece and Rome

makes living, as nothing else can, the social and political conditions, and the general and philosophic thought of the civilisation on which our own is chiefly based: it shows us the ideas that govern a great part of our taste and conduct, as they grew and spread before their branches were entangled with the different beliefs and standards that entered Europe in the first centuries of the Roman Empire. The value to men of every variety of belief and temperament of the direct contact with the pre-Christian Western World seems to me quite inestimably great.

It perhaps may be added that Classical Studies, and Classical Studies alone, can reveal the fundamental historical significance of the period of the Renaissance and of the Reformation, and can alone explain the spread of the highest conceptions of law throughout the regions of barbarism in the western world. The work of the scholars of the Renaissance, and later and perhaps earlier periods—I refer especially to the First Renaissance and the School of the Glossators—has opened to the modern scholar opportunities of research, severe indeed, but intensely fruitful, that will give new riches to a world that needs humanism in a sense that no other age has needed it, since to-day the whole world is demanding the spiritual things that in earlier ages were the goal of a few scholars. To devote great linguistic and intellectual gifts to Classical and perhaps especially to Greek studies is a worthy ambition for any young man or young woman. The result under stimulating guidance must enrich the whole world. That is the goal that the Classical Schools all over the world are aiming at, and certainly Cambridge, the ancient home of Greek studies, will not fall behind if the University and the givers of material gifts support the new Professor in his noble enthusiasm for his splendid theme.

J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY.

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SCHOOL BROADCASTING.*

A new development on a considerable scale in school broadcasting is to begin in the coming autumn. In February last the British Broadcasting Corporation constituted a Central Council for School Broadcasting to provide machinery for ensuring continuous contact

* *Broadcasts to Schools: Programme September, 1929, to June, 1930. Syllabus September 23rd to December 13th, 1929.* British Broadcasting Corporation.

between the Corporation on the one hand and on the other the Board of Education, the Local Education Authorities and the whole body of teachers. Mr. Fisher is the Chairman of the Council; there are two representatives of the Board of Education, one representative each of the Association of Education Committees, the County Councils Association, the London County Council, four representatives of the National Union of Teachers, two for the joint committee of the four Secondary Schools Associations, one each for the Independent Schools Association, the Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools, the Training College Association, and the joint committee of the three Technical and Art Associations. In addition to these sixteen representative persons (of whom three only are women) there are fifteen nominated members (of whom two only are women), while Scotland is represented by three persons and Northern Ireland by that eminent educationist Mr. Bonaparte Wyse. The Council in February elected an Executive Committee to transact business on its behalf, and to report to it for confirmation. "This Committee was given the power to form appropriate sub-committees and to co-opt thereon suitable persons from outside the Council. In this way provision was made for securing the advice and co-operation of teachers and specialists in the different subjects in which courses for teachers are broadcast."

The educational public would like to know the composition of the Executive Committee and the various Subject Sub-Committees (when formed). The only criticism on the composition of the Council is that it contains too few women, while (apart from the Chairman, a host indeed in himself) the various Universities of the country are not officially represented. It is especially necessary at the present time to link the various universities with all new movements in school education. Special provision is made for Scotland, but it is almost as necessary in the case of Wales, and a Welsh Sub-Council as well as a Scottish Sub-Council should be formed.

The Council has already approved for the school year 1929-1930 a somewhat elaborate but not too ambitious programme set out in the syllabus now published, and detailed arrangements, including pamphlets, will be supervised by Subject Sub-Committees consisting of a member of the Executive Committee, at least one "recognised authority on the subject," and three teachers from the schools of the type for which the course is designed. Apparently the name of the member of the Executive Committee and the specialist are not to be published, but "the names of the teachers chosen to serve on each sub-committee will be found in the pamphlet issued in connection with the course concerned."

Secondary schools will be served by readings in foreign languages—Latin, French, German, and (possibly) Spanish—for twenty

minutes (2.0 to 2.20) on Mondays, and these readings may prove of great value and especially in the case of Latin. With the present rapid revival of Greek these readings should also include Greek. In addition on Thursdays there will be special talks for secondary schools from 4.15 to 4.30, and these will include a series of six fortnightly talks on Flying, including a brief history of flight and some account of modern practice and achievement. Such talks will be of great interest, but it may be doubted whether parents generally will be in favour of the new departure. Alternately with these Flight Talks will be talks on Current Affairs, which no doubt will be very interesting, though the departure may also not be pleasing to all parents.

The talks on speech and language will continue to be valuable, especially as "it should be understood that no attempt is made to force a standard speech upon the schools," and nothing will be said to disparage the use of local dialects. These talks will have peculiar value in the Welsh schools, where there can be no question of attacking the local language, while it is specially important to give the Welsh children the best English possible. The courses on Rural Surveys and Farming should be welcome, while the talks on Nature-Study are specially important, in addition to familiar courses on History and English Literature and the provision of the reading of great plays. The famous courses on Music by Sir Walford Davies and on Elementary French by M. E. M. Stéphan will under the new system have an ever-growing vogue, while the talks on Athletics, a new departure, will be at any rate popular, and should be of value, as these are to be given by eminent athletes. The new scheme will no doubt justify itself, though rapid success is dependent on the thorough collaboration of head masters and head mistresses and class teachers. At first the new work will be somewhat of a burden on the teachers, but after a brief period they as well as their pupils should gain substantially by the influx of new thought.

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THIRTY YEARS IN THE SOUTH SEAS.*

The author, or rather, the transcriber, of this book has chosen a good title, since if there was ever an epic of the sea this is one. The Preface, written from Honolulu by the transcriber, should be well studied, for it is the keynote of the book. It is well to remember that this record begins in 1867, which date to some of its readers sounds almost modern. Yet the Age of Sail, the glorious age in

* *John Cameron's Odyssey*. Transcribed by Andrew Farrell. Drawings by Charles Kuhn. Macmillan. 18s. net.

which the great discoveries of continents were made, in which the great battles which proclaimed the naval supremacy of England were fought, was still dominant and still provided the means by which the oceans were ploughed and the sea-traffic carried on. The Age of Steam was emerging, or the Age of Machinery as Mr. Farrell terms it, and now to-day comes that hybrid of the ocean, the flying boat—which promises, in a not far distant future, to outstrip the passenger boat or ocean liner. John Cameron witnessed the end of Sail, and he saw the end of the little kingdoms of the Pacific, which he had known and loved.

John Cameron had the call of the sea in his veins. His namesake and kinsman, John Cameron, was his inspirer. A strike in the Glasgow firm for which the boy was working gave him his opportunity, and he signed on for three years as an apprentice on board the bark *Ida*. He was seventeen at this date, 1867, and for thirty years he sailed the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans. His voyages and adventures fill the pages of this volume, wonderful tales of "moving accidents by flood and field" and hair-breadth 'scapes. "I ran it through, even from my boyish days, to the very moment that he bade me tell it." Written in vivid Scottish prose the transcriber did well in editing and revising, where necessary, this epic of the sea, so that the present generation can compare to-day with yesterday, and note the improvement and laws that govern life on the high seas and to-day prevent in most cases the sailing of unseaworthy ships fit only to be scrapped. Life aboard these old sailing ships was one continued fight with the elements, and all too often ended in wreck, death, or starvation on a desert island. Happily John Cameron lived to tell his tale—he died at the age of seventy-five—and long enough to welcome the safeguarding of men who "go down to the sea in ships." The story of *The Wandering Minstrel*, illustrating the unreformed sea-world, is a thrilling one, and the pathos of its doom and disappearance is set down with loving memories of the past.

Day was settling into night when I bade the old *Minstrel* farewell. Many sailors look on their ships as almost human and regard a wreck with some such sadness as they would feel in gazing on the corpse of a dear friend. Why not? Does not a ship have her moods, her whims, her vagaries? Is she not vibrant with life, as if pulses ran through her frame? Must she not be watched with unremitting vigilance, like a beautiful and beloved but capricious woman? Does she not bear the hopes and fears of men from port to port, even as ourselves centre about women from cradle to the grave?

This passage gives some idea of the pathetic sea stories and "yarns" which will warm the hearts of many old sailors who will read this book with joy. John Cameron is buried in Japan. For

him no epitaph could be more fitting than a phrase from Tennyson's "Ulysses": *I cannot rest from travel*. The copious notes, and the plentiful illustrations give an added charm to a book of adventure which is a living footnote to the modern history of the South Seas.

* * *

THE EXCHANGES OF LONDON.*

It is a strange thing that hitherto there has not been a book that describes as a whole the gigantic commercial machinery that is comprised in the London Exchanges. There are many books dealing with the Stock Exchange and some dealing with Lloyds and the Baltic, and perhaps others, but the whole subject has never been brought into perspective. Mr. S. W. Dowling, a barrister and an authority on banking, has, however, lectured on the subject for the Institute of Bankers and for other authorities and he has been moved to write a book dealing with the origin and various methods of the London Exchanges as an entity. He tells us that his book is primarily

designed with the object of presenting a broadly painted picture of London's commerce as a whole, so far as the Exchanges are concerned, rather than with that of describing each of these great institutions as separate and unrelated portions of it. It is hoped that this method of treatment will help students to realise the wide range of the commercial life of London, and to obtain a comprehensive conception of big business which could not possibly be acquired by the study of a single section of it, such as the Stock Exchange or Lloyds, although any one of the Exchanges is worthy of exhaustive study as a separate subject. A chapter is given to each Exchange, and after an outline of its history and development an attempt is made to explain the methods of business, and in some cases the contracts used, as well as to describe the Exchange itself.

Every point is tested by the authority of specialists in the various Exchanges, and the work, comparatively brief (for so vast a theme), entirely achieves its purpose of presenting the commerce of the heart of the Empire as a related and magnificent whole.

Ten Exchanges are considered in detail: the Royal Exchange, opened by Queen Elizabeth in January 23rd, 1571; Lloyds (tracing its sources to Edward Lloyd's coffee-house in Tower Street in about the year 1689); the Stock Exchange, which took that designation in 1773; the Metal Exchange (which dominates the prices of the world in copper, tin, lead, and zinc); the Rubber Exchange, "the nerve centre of the rubber trade"; the Coal Exchange, dating from

* *The Exchanges of London*. By S. W. Dowling. Butterworth & Co., Bell Yard, W.C. 7s. 6d. net.

the eighteenth century; the London Iron and Steel Exchange, dating from 1919 (it held its first meetings at the Cannon Street Hotel almost upon the site of the "Steelyard" of the Hanseatic League); the Baltic Mercantile and Shipping Exchange, dealing with grain-ships, timber, oil seeds, flour, tallow, etc., founded over two centuries ago with its business centres at two ancient London coffee-houses; the Corn Exchange, an immemorial Exchange which was originally in Cornhill and early in the eighteenth century was transferred to Thames Street and obtained its present title in 1746, the two buildings of the Exchange (representing separate movements) being situated in Mark Lane; the Wool Exchange, also an immemorial Exchange, which, in its London activities, dates from the public sales held from 1821 at Garraway's coffee-house in Cornhill. All of these exchanges give Mr. Dowling the opportunity of much historical writing. The actual Exchanges dealt with in this excellent book are supplemented by a chapter dealing with Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade and a valuable chapter on the Port of London Authority. This gives the opportunity of connecting historically those commercial activities that are physically related to the greatest port in the world.

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THE IRISH CONSTITUTION.*

The Irish Free State is the youngest member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and a work explaining its new position as a Dominion should be an important contribution to the study of post-war Ireland. In *The Irish Constitution* Mr. Barra O'Briain has attempted "to give in a concise form and in non-technical language, an exposition of the general principles of Irish Constitutional Law as they exist to-day." Mr. O'Briain has given his book an historical setting by recording the series of events culminating in the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, which resulted in Ireland becoming a self-governing State. The point is made that Southern Ireland wished to become an independent republic, and that the British Government insisted that she should remain within the British Empire, with the result that Ireland received Dominion status. In his analysis of the constitution the author insists that in spirit and in practice it makes Ireland an independent State. He declares that the clauses in the constitution defining the power and authority of the Crown are designed to satisfy an outworn theory.

* *The Irish Constitution*. By Barra O'Briain. Talbot Press. Price 7s. 6d. net.

The other British Dominions beyond the seas are proud of their imperial position and see in it the means of greater progress. Mr. O'Briain, however, is inclined to look at the problem of imperial relations from a purely republican standpoint. Ireland wished, it is urged, to be absolutely independent of all imperial ties. Unable to achieve this, she had to make the best of what she could attain and remain inside the Empire; but on conditions which were merely formal and nominal.

The spirit of a constitution may often be seen more clearly in its working and in the institutions which grow up and flourish under it than in the cold print of its text. The Republican element in the texture of the Irish constitution becomes more marked when we regard the institutions which have come into being under it.

As an example of this republican basis, Mr. O'Briain considers the question of conferring titles of nobility. In theory, but not in practice, the King can exercise his prerogative of bestowing honours. Such honours may or may not be mistaken, but surely the author cannot defend their abolition by quoting from the American, Alexander Hamilton, when he points out: "Nothing need be said to illustrate the importance of the prohibition of titles of nobility; this may truly be denominated the corner-stone of republican government; for so long as they are excluded there can never be serious danger that the government will be any other than that of the people." Hamilton wrote in another age and in one of vast social differences. He thought of an upper-class which tended to deprive the people of their rights. But to-day the position is different. Heredity is not the only or chief begetter of class as the modern world knows too well. Plutocracy has always threatened democracy and is a far greater danger to-day to popular government than aristocracy has been in the past. Mr. O'Briain has mistaken shadow for substance. Moreover, since the publication of the work, the Free State is even now considering the question of the bestowal of honours.

In a very interesting chapter on the legislature in the Irish Free State the reader is shown that by the forty-ninth article of the constitution, "save in the case of actual invasion, the Irish Free State shall not be committed to active participation in any war without the consent of the Oireachtas." Mr. O'Briain remarks that "it removes from the Executive the power of committing the country to war against the wishes of the majority of citizens." In the past many conflicts might have been prevented had the wishes of the people, and not those of the Executive, prevailed. The motive, therefore, behind this clause in the constitution is

excellent. It may, however, well be asked whether, in practice, this is a true safeguard against a hasty decision of the Executive. In the United States the President cannot declare war without the consent of Congress. The President has, however, been able to disregard this check on his authority. President Wilson wished to fight Germany but he had not a majority in Congress. He simply sent the German Ambassador his papers and ordered him to leave the country. This constituted an act of hostility and Germany, to preserve its honour, declared war on the United States. If the American President can act thus, it seems not unreasonable to ask whether, under similar circumstances, the Irish Executive might not follow a similar course.

Mr. O'Briain has an illuminating chapter on the judicial power in the new State. The framers of the constitution, in their endeavour to construct a perfect democratic government, studied the various constitutions of the world. From the United States they derived one of the chief functions vested in the American Supreme Court. The Irish Free State, in common with several of the post-war constitutions of Europe, now possesses a court whose function it is to interpret the spirit and letter of the constitution. It is perhaps a safeguard against sudden change of the constitution which in theory can only be amended by a special procedure, but a court of this type has great power as the American case-law shows. During the brief seven years of its existence, however, the High Court has had few cases of constitutionality to decide, and in these cases its powers seem to have been justified. According to Mr. O'Briain, it is a sore point that the Supreme Court in the Free State is not supreme. In framing the constitution, it was intended, we are told, to wipe out the appellate jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, sitting at Westminster. The British Government insisted on the exercise of this residuary jurisdiction of the Crown. The sixty-sixth article of the constitution lays down that "nothing in this constitution shall impair the right of any person to petition His Majesty for special leave to appeal from the Supreme Court to His Majesty in Council or the right of His Majesty to grant such leave." When the author declares that this "allows no appeal to the Privy Council as of right," the reader must wonder what constitutes a right.

Mr. O'Briain's book deserves close study, since, in spite of some passages that may prove provocative to some readers, the book provides a valuable interpretation of the various elements in the new Irish system of government. It is well arranged, and has the great advantage of providing the full texts of the constitution and of the treaty which brought the constitution into being as well as other valuable appendices.

THE REMAKING OF VILLAGE INDIA.*

Mr. Brayne has been in charge of Gurgaon, a dry district of the Punjab bordering on the United Provinces, since 1922, and has there effected a change both material and mental little short of miraculous. Examples of welfare work we have in plenty. Many of the large industrial firms in India have built model villages for their employees. Missionaries have founded settlements for their converts. Quite a large body of men, the Sepoys, have lived under conditions realising some of the welfare aims while in the Indian Army. But the disheartening feature of all these efforts has been that their good effects are invariably limited to the place and period when they are made. Coolies leaving the lines, soldiers leaving the army, nay even students leaving Indian and European Universities, bring back to the villages but little of their acquired culture. Mr. Brayne has tackled the villagers in their homes and demonstrated to them the practicability of a happy and prosperous life developed on their existing resources. As head of the district he had a power and influence denied to missionaries, but coupled with it a missionary enthusiasm foreign to most men in his official position. His wife has tackled the almost larger task of the two, teaching the village women, in an equally devoted spirit. The question raised by this book is how this work is to continue and spread so as to give a happy and prosperous India in our time. It is the largest question before the Indian Empire to-day, vitally affecting 300 million Indians. The British have spent one and a half centuries in charge of the government of India without venturing on that fundamental interference with the lives of the people essential to their well-being. Religious tolerance and civil liberty have been the slogans, but willingness to leave well alone has undoubtedly played a large part. Mr. Brayne's book cannot but awaken us to the essential immorality of this attitude. At the same time he demonstrates that these fundamental interferences can be made without incurring resentment; once the spirit is appreciated they are welcomed even before success is fully proved. In more fortunate countries such reforms have usually been initiated by private enthusiasts, Government following only when public opinion has formed. In India Government must lead; the public opinion of 300 million uneducated peasants is impossible to obtain; what is obtained in its place is the criticism of the Indian *literati*. The fear of this criticism is apt to limit the action of the Government to the bestowal of a blessing and to preclude the allotment of men and funds. Should criticism be made of lack of progress, the

* *Socrates in an Indian Village*, with a foreword by the Right Hon. Lord Irwin, price 7s. 6d. *The Remaking of Village India* (being the second edition of *Village Uplift in India*), price 5s. By F. L. Brayne, M.C., F.C.S. (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.)

Gurgaon experiment itself would be cited to prove the contrary! Now Mr. Brayne's gospel has probably reached the ears of a million cultivators, about one-tenth of whom have benefited to any extent so far. Literature, loud-speaker lectures, even envoys from Gurgaon, are ammunition, but where are the guns? We have seen co-operative credit in India started with such enthusiasm, settle down to a rate of progress which, unless materially enhanced, will not permeate the peninsula for two centuries.

To conquer the poverty and disease in agricultural India in one generation, three hundred Mr. Braynes are needed, all continuously and enthusiastically backed by the local government concerned both in British India and in the Native States.

Finance appears to offer no serious drawback. Mr. Brayne's figures are perfectly astounding in showing how little the reforms cost and how amply the expenditure is returned after the very first harvest. The question is not so much can this work be undertaken as can we afford to neglect it any longer? And this is a business question quite apart from being a human one. Second to China, India is the biggest undeveloped market in the world, a market that will remain undeveloped till its cultivators' prosperity is assured.

S. A. B.

* * *

SEEKERS AND SAINTS.*

This is an interesting setting-forth of the demand in all ages for spiritual food for the soul of man. Modern discoveries and excavations have brought to light evidence from very early times of this psychological demand. The value in human life and the betterment of the world depend on the spiritual health of the individual and of the nations inherent in this demand. This spiritual demand or aspiration of man was, we must believe, breathed into him by the Creator and, in however rude a form, it has always ascended to Him who implanted the instinct from the days of the world's childhood to this day. "Praise to the Highest," as in the *Hymn of Cleanthes*, is the speech of aspiration reaching up in adoration beyond the limits of the Temporal to the Eternal, which, as Mr. Ferrar shows, is the aim of all races, "East and West, Christian and Pagan." It is these mystics, this small "Communion of Saints," this "Cloud of Witnesses" of all races and creeds who give the "Inner Light" to our existence.

The first of these *Seekers* that Mr. Ferrar deals with is *Cleanthes*, a religious genius, the pupil and successor of Zeno the Stoic. He was not the product of educated thought, but a Phœnician merchant whose trade in purple dye brought him to Athens more than two

* *Seekers and Saints. Studies of Religious Experience.* By W. I. Ferrar. S.P.C.K. 6s. net.

hundred years before Christ. There he lingered for eighteen years, fascinated, as Mr. Ferrar says, "by the spirit of inquiry in the air": now, as then, "the desire of the moth for the star, the day for the morrow," the something beyond man's grasp, which makes life worth living. Cleanthes lived up to his Stoic creed and beyond it, in its austerity and simplicity of life and peace. The secure haven of Stoic peace was something more than the system of which certain fragments have preserved the memory; "something bigger and deeper; a life, a force more mystical and less logical, must have been in the early Stoics, something more able to convert from darkness to light than abstract propositions and a clean-cut intellectual system."

So we approach the *Hymn of Cleanthes*. Its haunting music may well express that which common sense looks for in the Stoic origins. Does it not present a mysticism which was perhaps more the secret of the power of Stoicism than its dogmas and logic? Its composition by the successor of the founder, its accurate preservation, and the regard in which it was held in antiquity guarantee its place as a real expression of what men understood Stoicism to be—a real expression of its soul. It is a Person that the poet addresses, not a mere personification:

"But thou, O Zeus, Giver of all, Cloud Veiled, Lord of the thunder, save men from their grievous ignorance! Scatter it, Father, from their souls! Do Thou grant them the wisdom, by faith in which thou guidest all things in righteousness." And there the hymn ends in a pæan of praise. This Study of *Cleanthes* has already appeared in THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

There are a dozen other sketches of these *Seekers* from diverse countries and centuries and various faiths: Egyptian monasticism; Greek, Roman, French, English, Irish; Saints of the East and West, including George Fox, the founder of Quakerism; and last of all George William Russell, well known to literature as A. E. Mysticism, with wide knowledge and practical good sense, saved Russell from extremities and eccentricities. He is Irish to the core, never, or hardly ever, doubting the triumph of his quest, though he is conscious at times of clouds that dim the brightness of his vision: what Irishman knows not those moments? In the concluding quotation from his *Collected Poems* A. E. has attained to the knowledge of himself, a knowledge that makes the *Seeker* very humble:

When I first discovered the King in his Beauty, I thought I would be the singer of the happiest songs. Forgive me, Spirit of my spirit, for this, that I have found it easier to read the mystery in tears and understood Thee better in sorrow than in joy! That though I would not, I have made the way dark and thorny, and have wandered in too many by-ways, imagining myself into moods that held Thee not.

Through the ages, through the centuries, the aim is ever the same—the striving after the things of the Spirit. May that soul never fade away, but ever help on the Seekers and Saints of whom the world is not worthy. All readers of Mr. Ferrar's collected studies cannot fail to be grateful for their production.

S. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Canon W. J. Brown, the Director of religious education in the diocese of Wakefield, in his pamphlet entitled *The Labour Government, Education, and Church Schools*,* while keeping "utterly aloof from politics" declares that "the Cabinet is indeed a remarkable combination of earnest, able men," and that "it cannot be fairly alleged that the Labour Party as represented in the Cabinet is either materialistic or irreligious." What is its attitude to education, with special reference to Church schools? "Education is the fundamental public service; upon it depends literally everything. . . . A democracy to discharge its duties and obligations honourably and intelligently must be educated. The British public, unfortunately, is not only half-educated, but on the whole has no particular interest in education. This is due, in part, at any rate, to a lack of appreciation of the value of education. . . . What is urgently needed is a more active and sympathetic co-operation of all parties interested in education—local authorities, managers of voluntary schools, employers of labour, representatives of the professions, as well as teachers and parents." Canon Brown has omitted the universities. Yet in a sense they are the most important. They co-ordinate the whole system, and with their rapidly growing extra-mural work are making adult education a real and universal thing. Now, Labour, the argument proceeds, "in season and out of season, has advocated, almost with vehemence, that the largest possible opportunities for education should be within the reach of every child irrespective of his social or financial position. And now Labour is in office." Canon Brown assumes that the new Cabinet will do much, but so far as raising the school age (which he earnestly desires), he thinks it well to leave it to the local authorities (who have the power, with the consent of the Board of Education) to raise it. The raising of the school age means secondary education for all, though (*pace* Canon Brown) not necessarily free education. Those that are able to pay should pay. Canon Brown sees this, but suggests "the provision of first-class secondary schools for those whose parents desire to pay fees." But why is that necessary? All the old endowed secondary schools have small fees that can be remitted if necessary in the form of scholarships. But the weakness of the position in the secondary schools, and to some extent in the elementary schools, is religious education. There is an "inadequate presentation of Christianity." Canon Brown feels that "for religious teaching to be really effective it must be related to a definite religious organisation" in order to make

* The Faith Press. 6d.

the child feel and know that he belongs to a Divine Society. Canon Brown looks to the 10,000 Church schools to work this miracle, schools that stand for "religious education, fellow service." He desires the Church school system, which he thinks is passing away, to hand these principles on to council schools in the sense that parents (who are ratepayers) should have the right to the denominational teaching for their children which they desire. The case for the parent was not really argued when the great controversy arose nearly thirty years ago. In those days there was much bitterness, which has now passed away. The fear then was that the Church of England should dominate the position, especially in the case of the single school area. To-day, the fear is that secularism should dominate the position. In the old single school areas the post primary school is nearly always a council school. Canon Brown argues his case with care and his case should be studied with care. But, after all, the Church of England must reorganise their schools. The Roman Catholics are doing it. The difficulty with the Church of England is that it has not a solid front in the matter of education, and rich members of that Church are singularly mean so far as education is concerned.

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Sir Robert Donald, who has already published books on Hungary and the Saar, calls attention to another distressful part of the new Europe in *The Polish Corridor and its Consequences*.^{*} Basing his record on personal investigation, and bringing a trained eye to bear on the rough edges of the post-war settlement, he draws a darkly tinted picture of Eastern Europe, sharply censuring the victorious authors of the treaties for their clumsy handiwork, and sympathising with the German populations who have been handed over to States less civilised than themselves. This instructive volume provides more than the title suggests, for we hear not only of the Corridor, which is declared to be the most menacing storm centre on the Continent, but of Memel, Danzig, and Upper Silesia. There is plenty of historical and statistical material in these pages, but there are also descriptions of famous cities and buildings such as one finds in books of travel. For instance, we have a chapter on Marienburg, the glorious old castle of the Teutonic Knights, elaborately restored by the Kaiser and his immediate predecessors. The illustrations are numerous and excellent, and will stimulate the desire of readers to visit the stage of so much history and conflict. The whole drama, as presented by Sir Robert, is one of unsettlement and deterioration, materially and culturally. Among the most valuable chapters are those on the Cashubes of the Corridor and on Danzig, the latter including a survey of the "miracle of Gdynia," the port created by Poland at vast expense on the coast a few miles west of Danzig. The later portion of the volume is devoted to the familiar theme of Upper Silesia, which, but for the persistence of Mr. Lloyd George in insisting on a plebiscite, would have been transferred in its entirety to Poland. The closing chapter, entitled "The Consequences and the Future," sketches the possible ameliorations which, however, "will remain dreamy speculations unless economic and political co-operation is brought about between England, France, and Germany." The time when France ceases to back Polish claims is, we fear, very remote.

^{*} Thornton Butterworth. 12s. 6d.

James Ford Rhodes,^{*} by M. A. De Wolfe Howe, is an attractive portrait of one of America's leading historians by one of her most accomplished biographers. Like Henry Charles Lea, the distinguished recorder of the Spanish Inquisition, Rhodes only turned in middle life from business to scholarship; but the transition was rapid and painless, and within a few years he had conquered a position of which any professor or professional scholar might be proud. His *History of the United States from 1850* is perhaps the most important historical work produced in America during the last forty years; and though the two supplementary volumes, bringing the story to the end of Roosevelt's second term, are rather sketchy and disappointing, the seven volumes devoted to the causes of the Civil War, the struggle itself, and the decade of reconstruction are a triumph of lucid narrative and balanced interpretation. If his style had been equal to his learning and his judgment, Rhodes would have been as popular as Parkman or Mahan. His *magnum opus* is the cause and the justification of this biography; but the man himself is singularly attractive—interested in everything, an omnivorous reader, the friend of scholars and statesmen, shrewd, lovable, independent. Mr. Howe is right in pronouncing it a life of exceptional happiness; and it was no less useful than happy. Many famous names meet us in these pages, but the biographer rightly keeps them in due subordination to the central figure.

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The position of the British Empire in the international politics of to-day is one of peculiar importance. The constitutional character of this Commonwealth of Nations is unique in the history of the world. Composed of a number of autonomous nations, owing a common allegiance to the Throne, and with a common purpose, it is at once both decentralised and unified. The internal relations between these component parts are still in a state of evolution, and while this continues, the attitude of the outside world must remain tentative and doubtful. It is therefore natural and right that the University of Chicago should have devoted the fourth series of lectures on her Harris Foundation in 1927 to the consideration of this all-important problem. The Harris Foundation was instituted in 1923 in order to provide for "the promotion of a better understanding, on the part of the American citizens, of the other peoples of the world, thus establishing a basis for improved international relations and a more enlightened world order." The 1927 course on *Great Britain and the Dominions*[†] was undertaken in a series of lectures by a number of distinguished public men drawn from all parts of the Empire. In the first three lectures Sir Cecil Hurst, of the British Foreign Office, introduces the whole subject, by describing, with an historical background, the new status of the Dominions towards the Mother Country and the conduct of relations with the outside world. As a result of the Imperial Conferences of 1923 and 1926 the Dominions have acquired the right of having a voice in foreign affairs affecting the Empire as a whole. This is a great advance on the position in 1911, when the British Prime Minister emphatically declared that the conduct of all foreign relations by any or all parts of the Empire must be conducted by the

^{*} Appleton & Co., New York and London. 15s.

[†] Oxford University Press. 15s. net.

Foreign Office in Whitehall. To-day the position has been so altered, in accordance with the famous resolution enunciated at the Imperial Conference in 1926, that any responsible member of the Empire may make treaties on its own behalf without the concurrence of the English Cabinet. This principle is followed when the Empire acts as one unit. A British Empire delegation is composed of a series of plenipotentiaries acting on behalf of, and responsible to, a number of separate Dominions. Great Britain retains a priority of function: that is to say, the Dominions leave the conduct of international affairs in the hands of Great Britain in so far as they find it compatible with their own interests. The Harris Foundation Lectures provide an exposition of these different problems and the divergent policies which they necessarily involve. The peculiar economic position of Canada in regard to the United States makes it essential for her to have her own diplomatic representatives. Australia and New Zealand, on the other hand, wish for a Monroe Doctrine of their own and are quite content to leave their foreign relations substantially in the hands of the British Foreign Office. There is a difference of method because there are different paths to progress. But there is one essential unity. A common purpose, inspired by a common citizenship, binds the parts into a whole which is probably the most potent force in the world to-day.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The publication of "The Restoration and the July Monarchy,"* by J. Lucas-Oubreton, translated from the French by Mr. E. F. Buckley, makes the eighth volume of *The National History of France*, and brings the history up to the revolution of 1848 and the abdication of Louis-Philippe. In this volume of the series (as in its predecessors) the period is treated graphically and gives a very vivid impression of France and her people during the first half of the nineteenth century; of the difficulties which beset Louis XVIII, Charles X, and finally Louis-Philippe and their ministers, and of the methods by which all of them, in their own ways, did their best for an un-united France which did not really know what she wanted. Those restless years, however, produced some of the greatest men and women in French literary history as well as those of political distinction, such as Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, George Sand, and Madame de Girardin, to mention only a few of those who found that the rise and fall of kings and ministers did not stem creative work of other kinds.

The chief aim of Mrs. Laura M. Ragg in writing a book on "Crises in Venetian History"† is to supply the visitor to Venice with an historical knowledge of the places and antiquities he wishes to see. The admiration which an old building or memorial of the past provides is greatly enhanced when its past history and associations are known. In the Preface Mrs. Ragg writes: "I determined that I would connect each outstanding and critical episode or group of events with some building, picture, or object which may be viewed easily by

* Heinemann Ltd. 12s. 6d. net.
† Methuen & Co. Ltd. 12s. 6d. net.

the tourist. The illustrations have been selected with the same intention." This roughly denotes the character of the book. It should prove a useful and interesting volume to the visitor to Venice, because with its help the antiquities may become once again associated with the reality of the past and cease to be an isolated relic, unconnected with the present. Though primarily written for the individual who knows Venice, it can be read with profit by those who have never visited the city. It should give them a picture of the former greatness of Venice and encourage them to make a real acquaintance with the great republic.

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Mr. Herbert W. Jordan's brief new work, entitled "The New Company Law as it affects (a) Private Companies, (b) Public Companies,"* will be useful to directors and secretaries of both classes of companies. The new law is contained in the Companies Act, 1929, which comes into force, by Order in Council of July 5th last, on November 1st, 1929. The new Act rapidly follows the Companies Act, 1928 (dealt with by Mr. Jordan and Mr. Stanley Barrie in an "A B C Guide" published by Messrs. Jordan, 5s. net, last year). The latter Act "was the legislative result of the recommendations of a Board of Trade Committee appointed in January, 1925, to consider and advise what amendments were necessary to the law affecting Companies" and was, as the Preface to the "A B C Guide" states, debated in Parliament "solely with the view to giving just consideration to the respective claims of industry, the investing public, and the community generally." Section 92 prohibiting "share-hawking" came into operation on the Act receiving the Royal Assent on August 3, 1928, but the remaining provisions were delayed in operation until they were embodied in the prospective Consolidating Act, now the Companies Act, 1929, which, in fact, embodies the famous statute, "The Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908," and the amending Acts of 1913, 1917, and 1928. The Act of 1929 abandons the scheme of the Act of 1908 and instead divides the huge subject-matter into thirteen Parts, "each dealing with a definite phase of the law." Mr. Jordan watched the passing of the Act in all its stages and considers that the care shown in Parliament will result in a measure that will check undesirable practices and make the detection of fraud easier. He considers that the fear that the Act will lead to abundant litigation is not well founded. A number of ambiguities that existed in the former Acts are now eliminated.

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It is interesting to record the belated publication of "A Short Catalogue of Books Printed in England and English Books Printed Abroad before 1641 in the Library of Wadham College, Oxford,"† compiled by a Wadham man, the late Mr. Henry Albert Wheeler, in 1918. Wheeler died on August 4th, 1919, at the age of 38 years. Mr. J. C. Squire, who knew him, contributes an interesting biographical introduction. Mr. Squire neglects the opportunity of dealing with the contents of a library which comprises many items of literary merit. It contains, for instance, the first and second folios of Shakespeare's work; a considerable selection of Bibles; a *Don Quixote* in English, by Thomas

* Jordan & Sons, Chancery Lane. 4s.
† Longmans. 10s. 6d. net.

Shelton, of 1620; Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois: A Tragedy*, of 1613; three of John Fletcher's comedies (1639 and 1640); Florio's Dictionary (1589) and his Montaigne (1603); John Ford's tragedy, *Love's Sacrifice* (1633), and his *Perkin Warbeck*; Ben Jonson (1616); Thomas Middleton's *A Mad World, My Masters* (1640). It would be interesting to know where these books came from. Wadham College should certainly issue a brief history of its Library. The catalogue is a very excellent piece of work.

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Mr. G. D. H. Cole, in his impressive volume entitled "The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy,"* adopts the somewhat dangerous but fascinating mantle of a prophet in view of the fact that Socialism has to face problems that are not the problems of twenty years. "Pre-war Socialism could afford to seek after perfection, because it was not in a hurry: post-war Socialism needs practical results." So Mr. Cole believes in the expansion of our overseas trade by the reorganisation of our internal economic life. The unemployed must be got back to work by the creation of a National Labour Corps and a Board of National Investment. The State must control combines, there must be a co-ordinating Power and Transport Commission. Mr. Cole does not seek to introduce uniformity, but to regulate the diversity of new enterprises on new principles. He thus deals with wages, birth control, the supply of capital, the banking system, land, trade, and prices. Mr. Cole sees "in the relations between Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions no relationship that in any way menaces the world's peace," though that statement does not apply to other parts of the Empire. Finally, he deals with local government, education, and the Labour budget.

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Mr. Frederick Philip Grove, in his volume entitled "A Search for America: the Odyssey of an Immigrant"† describes the work and struggles of a young man of European birth—a Swedish father and a Scottish mother—who, suddenly and unexpectedly left without the great fortune that he had anticipated, tried his fortune in America. Work was obtained after a struggle and the descent (or ascent) began to the worker's world, but the experience was a very hard one for a man who had had great possessions. It is not easy to be a very second-rate waiter. But he progressed and his Odyssey was begun, and slowly his tie with Europe was broken. The breaking of the tie actually happened when reading Matthew Arnold's essay in which he calls Lincoln "crude." The crudeness of Lincoln was what America needed; but Mr. Grove did not feel that, but the fancied insult to his new country. There are many exciting passages in the book and some that Dickens would have treasured. Mr. Grove is very frank and is very American, and writes English fluently and well.

* Macmillan. 15s. net.

† Brentano, 31 Gower Street, W.C.1.

THE TENTH ASSEMBLY.

EVERY Assembly of the League of Nations is very much like every other, but not so much so as to submerge its own peculiar features. This year the peculiar features have been more conspicuous than usual. The Assembly happened to be the tenth in the series of ordinary sessions so far held, and the completion of this first decade was regarded as the attainment of a not unimportant milestone on the road. After long disappointments and delays the foundation-stone of the League's new buildings was to be actually laid, and the event was regarded as denoting a permanence and stability which it was well to have thus popularly emphasised, however confident supporters of the League might have felt regarding it even without such extraneous demonstration. The Tenth Assembly, moreover, followed immediately on the Conference that had closed a few hours earlier at The Hague, and the relation between the two meetings was important. On the one hand the healing atmosphere of Geneva seemed to be needed to lower temperatures raised to a little more than the normal level by the exigencies of Mr. Snowden and the unwonted clarity of his methods of expression. On the other hand, the decisions at The Hague removed many obstacles from the path of the League. The anomaly of the occupation of the territory of one League member by the forces of three of its fellow-members was too glaring to be ignored, however little might be said about it in public. As long as the occupation continued there remained, and could not but remain, a certain shadow over the relations between Germany and the Allied countries at Geneva. Reparations directly concerned the League of Nations less, but the existence of that unsolved problem left delegates perpetually uneasy, for it meant that conversations on a matter of the first international moment must still be pursued outside the League, thus postponing further that concentration of all international effort which is looked for at Geneva as the fulfilment of the League's true function. With reparations settled and the naval disarmament question well on the way to settlement, what may be termed counter-attractions to Geneva have almost vanished.

As regards *personnel*, moreover, the Tenth Assembly was the most notable so far held. The attendance of States was a record. With Costa Rica only still in process of effecting her return to League membership the number of States within the League is fifty-four. Of these, fifty-three took their seats in the Assembly Hall on the appointed date, the single absentee being Argentina. Her delegation walked out of the Assembly Hall in 1920 and has never walked into it again, in spite of the many hopeful rumours of a change of heart at Buenos Aires. Argentina has still not re-

signed her membership of the League, and her Government sends delegates to sit on the various League Commissions; but internal political rivalries are involved, and it remains uncertain whether the defection of a country whose absence, when coupled with Brazil's complete withdrawal, is a serious matter must be regarded as permanent. Bolivia, Peru, and Honduras, however, reappeared after many years. More Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers were found in the delegations than ever before. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, of course, was conspicuous among the former, and another notable recruit was M. Venizelos, who, though he was a member of the Commission which drafted the Covenant at Paris in 1919, and sat at the League's first Council meeting in 1920, had never been present at an Assembly before.

The outstanding feature of the Assembly was unquestionably the British Delegation. No observer, whether he approved or frowned on the delegation's activities, could fail to recognise that. Nor could it have been otherwise. France under Briand, Germany under Müller and Stresemann, Italy under Scialoja, as usual representing Mussolini, might be expected to tread at Geneva the paths they habitually trod. No one, continuity of foreign policy notwithstanding, expected to find the feet of Mr. MacDonald fitting neatly into the foot-marks imprinted by Sir Austen Chamberlain in bygone years. The only question was how great the difference would be. And that the Assembly very soon discovered. But apart from its policy the delegation attracted attention both by the quantity and quality of its *personnel*. When it expanded its pinions to their fullest spread, complacently annexing the adjacent seats to which Bulgaria had rightful claim, the delegation displayed before the eyes of delegates a full octet—three Cabinet Ministers, Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Graham, at the head, Lord Cecil, who need not be further characterised, coming next, with Sir Cecil Hurst, Mr. Dalton, Mr. Philip Baker, Mrs. Hamilton and Mrs. Swanwick to complete the tale. Of that populous companionship it may be observed that never before had the British Delegation included three Cabinet Ministers or more than one woman; and that in Mr. Dalton and Mr. Baker it introduced young blood with a success that more than justified the experiment.

Mr. MacDonald's declarations were awaited with the greater anxiety and eagerness in view of Mr. Snowden's attitude at The Hague. The fact that the first international Conference since the new Government came into office was dominated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and thrown into considerable agitation by the views he quite properly found it necessary to express, had led many continental observers to believe in all seriousness that a complete reversal of British foreign policy, and in particular the destruction

of the Anglo-French Entente, was in immediate prospect. The Assembly at Geneva would provide the decisive demonstration of the accuracy or otherwise of that view. It did provide it, and the effect was reassuring. On certain points, notably in its decision to sign the Optional Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court, Mr. MacDonald's Government took quite a different line from Mr. Baldwin's, but it happened to be a line entirely to the satisfaction of the Assembly. In other matters, such as support of the Convention on Financial Assistance, Mr. Henderson adopted a position identical with Sir Austen Chamberlain's, and again it happened to be a position of which the Assembly generally approved. The speeches of Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Henderson from the Assembly platform were prudent and tactful, though it was felt that Mr. MacDonald might have gone as far in cordiality towards the French as he did towards the Germans. But, broadly speaking, the delegation succeeded well in its obvious endeavour to indicate that, while it took not quite the same exclusive view of the Anglo-French Entente as its predecessor, its purpose was in no wise to destroy the Entente, but so to broaden it as to make the relationship of Great Britain with France and with Germany identical.

It is perhaps a little dangerous to attempt to diagnose the Assembly while it is still in progress. But the stage is well set, and the main characteristics of the Assembly have by this time emerged. The Tenth Assembly, if present appearances form a reliable guide, is opening a new period of consolidation and construction in the history of the League. The unfolding of that process demands attention. In the year a British Labour Government was last represented at Geneva, 1924, the Geneva Protocol was hatched and cast upon the world. While many of the criticisms levelled against that instrument were based on obvious misconceptions, it may fairly be described as an endeavour to find a short cut to established peace. Between 1924 and 1929 the situation has greatly changed. The Kellogg Pact, whose signature was universally saluted by the delegates to the Ninth Assembly, had been ratified and brought into force before the Tenth. By an instrument standing outside the Covenant members of the League had accepted even more extensive obligations to refrain from war than the Covenant itself imposed. The League, confronted with that new factor in the international field, had laid on it a task well described by the British Prime Minister when he urged in his Assembly speech that the Paris Pact should "not only be a declaration on paper, but be translated into constitutions and institutions that will work for the peace of Europe." The Assembly, in other words, was carried back once more to the basic aim defined in the opening words of the Covenant: the promotion of international co-operation and the achievement of

international peace and security. That means a steady application to the task of improving and extending the League's machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes, for the prevention, and if need be the repression, of war, and for the removal through international co-operation of those factors which, if they do not precipitate actual hostilities, are at any rate fatally detrimental to "that good understanding between nations on which peace depends."

The fulfilment of that duty found its expression, so far as the Tenth Assembly was concerned, in the steps taken to strengthen the authority of international law and in particular of the Permanent Court of International Justice; in the proposal to amend the Covenant with a view to bringing it up, so to speak, to the level of the Kellogg Pact; in the scheme for Financial Assistance to States threatened with aggression; and in the series of proposals put forward by various delegations for removing the economic obstacles to trade throughout the world, and primarily in Europe. The Permanent Court figured largely in the Assembly discussions. Two new judges had to be elected to take the places of Lord Finlay and Dr. André Weiss, but that was only incidental. More important was the revision of the Court Statute with a view to obviating delays in the administration of justice and tightening up the qualifications of judges. More important still, potentially, was the approval of a formula the acceptance of which by the United States would enable that country to become a full member of the Court. Even more important again was the series of declarations with regard to the signature of the Optional Clause. Here, while public opinion had been maturing in many countries, there can be no doubt that the attitude of the British Government supplied the indispensable stimulus.

If the Optional Clause were universally, or almost universally, signed, it would mean that any dispute turning on questions of law or questions of fact went automatically to the Court at the instance of either litigant. That universal acceptance of the Permanent Court's jurisdiction had always been contemplated by the original framers of the Court's statute, and it was only because certain countries, particularly Great Britain and France, were unwilling to go so far at once that this universal jurisdiction had to be accepted by States singly rather than by the collectivity of the States as a whole. When the Tenth Assembly opened some eighteen States had signed and ratified the Optional Clause. In his opening speech Mr. MacDonald announced that Great Britain was about to sign and that he believed all the Dominions would do the same. In the course of subsequent discussions Canada, India, and Ireland made declarations to similar effect on their account. Australia's intention to do so was frustrated for the moment by the

fall of the Government in that Dominion, and South Africa and New Zealand refrained from any public declaration. In addition, France and Italy, Greece and Peru, announced that they were signing the Clause, the number of new signatures thus being eleven, which means that over half the members of the Court will be bound *inter se* to accept its jurisdiction in all appropriate cases. There is little doubt that other signatures will follow at an early date. The prestige and authority of the Court are thereby substantially enhanced, and it is consequently the more important that at the election of Judges in 1930 close attention should be paid to the *personnel* of the Bench, which is by no means of the standard that might reasonably be demanded.

The Court, of course, deals with only legal or justiciable cases, leaving some other method to be invoked for that large class of disputes which turns on some broader issue. To meet that need the General Act of Arbitration and Conciliation was framed in 1928, and a number of further signatures to that instrument too were promised during the Tenth Assembly, the movement towards the provision of a mechanism for peaceful settlement for every emergency being thus carried some steps further. That process is a logical fulfilment of the intention of the second paragraph of the Kellogg Pact which contents itself with the negative statement that no dispute shall be settled except by peaceful means. To that extent the Pact is less far-reaching than the obligation of League members would be if the General Act gained wider acceptance. The other provision of the Kellogg Pact, however, providing for the absolute exclusion of war between individual States, goes further than the Covenant, which does admit the legality of such war in certain circumstances, rare, but nevertheless definitely recognised. There is logic, at least, in the desire to harmonise two documents signed by substantially the same collection of States, one of them declaring war between individual States to be sometimes licit, the other denouncing it as invariably illicit. That consideration carries on the whole more weight than the contention that the Covenant is too important to be lightly touched, and that a discrepancy between Pact and Covenant is of no serious moment in practical working. On the whole the British delegation's suggestion that the subject should be fully explored by a qualified committee between the Tenth Assembly and the Eleventh was a reasonable way of dealing with the situation.

As for the Convention for Financial Assistance, it must be regarded as in its sphere an instrument which the Council may in certain emergencies find it extremely serviceable to employ, but which is the less likely to be actually invoked from the very fact of its being available in case of need. Simple and practical though

the scheme undeniably is, it has given rise to misinterpretations so baseless as to seem almost deliberate. So far from increasing the material responsibility of members of the League, it in reality diminishes it, by making it possible for the Council in time of crisis to make a demonstration in favour of one disputant by granting it financial credits, instead of pronouncing against the other by methods which might involve a distasteful display of open hostility. The support of one of two conflicting States implies condemnation of the other, but implications are less provocative than overt acts.

One of the features in which the Tenth Assembly most strikingly differed from its predecessors was in the new prominence given to economic problems. Great Britain had never before sent a competent Minister concerned primarily with economic questions to Geneva, and it argues no disparagement to the Prime Minister's or the Foreign Minister's speeches to say that Mr. William Graham, within his limited field, achieved as notable a success as any delegate who mounted the tribune. He was far from being the only speaker to emphasise the paramount importance of action by the League for the reduction or abolition of tariff barriers. M. Hymans had dwelt on that as strongly as the British delegate, and M. Briand, in outlining his European Federation with a basis mainly economic, had rivetted the attention of the whole Assembly on the economic problems of the moment. This is a sphere in which diagnosis is a simpler matter than cure. The results of the Economic Conference of 1927 have been frankly disappointing; for though tariffs have not on the whole been raised appreciably, and though it may be claimed with justice that the League's efforts have at least prevented their average height from being increased, they have not in fact been substantially lowered. A survey of the League's endeavours in this field revealed a variety of different methods as feasible, and in proposing to select one or two commodities, notably coal and sugar, for special treatment, the British and the French delegations had the results of some important League investigations to justify them. Mr. Graham's proposal for two years' abstention from all tariff increases was an echo of a suggestion made earlier by M. Hymans, the Foreign Minister of Belgium, and in the course of subsequent discussion the German delegate, Dr. Breitscheid, gave it as his view that such a "tariff holiday" must have a duration of three years at the least. The decision of the Assembly on these matters has not been taken at the moment of writing. Whatever it may prove to be, it is certain at least that the Assembly as a whole is showing a new realisation of the paramount importance of economic factors in international

relations, and a continuous extension of that side of the League's activity appears inevitable.

A review of the main characteristics of the Tenth Assembly must necessarily omit all mention, or anything more than the barest mention, of the mass of permanent activities in the fields of health, or transit, or child welfare, and in respect of mandates, minorities, or the settlement of refugees, on which reports by various expert bodies were submitted, examined, and approved, with alteration or without. One word, however, must be said about the structure of the League itself. It is useless to face new tasks unless the machinery for coping with that is equal to all needs. The League's machinery in the past has, on the whole, been singularly efficient, but it would be strange if the experience of nine years had nothing to teach. At the Tenth Assembly certain weaknesses in all three organs of the League, the Assembly itself, the Council, and the Secretariat, became apparent. Apart from the almost intolerable handicap of the arrangements in the concert hall in which the Assembly is doomed to deliberate until its own new buildings are completed, the composition of the body of delegates itself is capable of distinct improvement. It is thoroughly bad for the League, though intelligible enough from the point of view of the States concerned, that various distant countries, particularly those of Latin-America, should habitually send to represent them at Geneva in September some one, or possibly two, of their diplomats stationed in some European capital, most frequently Paris. That is largely a matter of finance, for the transport and daily expenses of a full delegation for a month at least can be quite a serious matter to one of the lesser Latin-American Governments. There was, accordingly, much sound sense in the proposal made by Mr. Hambro, the Norwegian delegate, that the League itself should defray on a reasonable scale the Assembly expenses of three delegates from every country. This would mean that States would be relieved of the direct expense but would have, of course, to increase their annual contribution to the League's budget slightly to meet the necessary demand. The actual sums expended would be little more than at present, but under the new arrangement States that happened to be situated near Geneva would in effect be contributing something towards the expenses of those more distant. The sums concerned are not of sufficient magnitude to be worth quarrelling about, and the political value of attracting to Geneva men of weight in distant countries who can go back and bring the League idea to bear on their countries' policy would be very great. A decision on this is likely to be taken next year.

The Council, however, stands on the whole more in need of reform at the moment than the Assembly. As to its decision to

reduce the number of its regular meetings from four to three not much need be said. There were obvious reasons for regretting this, but as the change is definitely experimental reversion to the quarterly meetings is possible enough. In any case, it is a question of convenience and efficiency more than of principle. Where principle is more involved is in the election of the Council, events this year providing a rather disquieting example of the gradual restriction on the Assembly's choice in this matter. The three retiring members of the Council were Poland, Roumania, and Chile. Poland three years ago was granted permission to stand for re-election on retirement, and she received an almost unanimous vote. In regard to the second seat, it has become an acknowledged practice to elect one Latin-American State each year, and to allow the Latin-American delegates to choose their candidate for themselves. This time their favour was first divided between Uruguay and Peru, and finally conferred on the latter, which the Assembly thereupon complacently elected. For the third place there was even less competition. The Little Entente is considered, or considers itself, entitled to a seat on the Council at all times, and two of its partners, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania, having served their terms consecutively, Yugoslavia dropped into Rumania's place as a matter of course. The *personnel* of the new Council is not to be regarded as inferior to that of the old, but combined with a general dissatisfaction at the increasing inevitability of the succession of a particular State to a vacant seat there exists an equally general perplexity as to how the difficulty is to be avoided. It is clearly a matter to which thought should be devoted in the immediate future.

Finally, there is the Secretariat itself. It is an extremely able body, combining in no ordinary degree genuine efficiency with sincere enthusiasm. But after nine years it is reasonable that it should be overhauled. Considerable concern was expressed last year at the tendency of certain Governments to try to get their nominees into the Secretariat for the sake of the influence they may exert, and that is only one of many dangers that need to be foreseen and avoided. The incompatibility between the reasonable desire to bring in new blood from time to time and the equally reasonable demand of League officials to be given security of tenure so that they can make their work at Geneva a life's career, raises another problem that must be exhaustively studied; and the British delegation was clearly justified in bringing in a proposal to that effect.

The balance-sheet of the Tenth Assembly must be finally cast when the Tenth Assembly is over. But if it is too soon to estimate its achievements, there is abundant material for an estimate of its

spirit. Someone spoke in the Assembly's earliest days of a new wind blowing at Geneva. The expression is just, and there is not much doubt about the quarter from which the new wind set. It was discharged on the Assembly by a British delegation inspired, it may be, in the view of some, by an excess of zeal, but determined at least that the League should be a body that acted, not merely a body that talked. New winds can blow too strongly, as new brooms can sweep too clean. But at Geneva, as elsewhere, the enthusiast is much more likely to be held in check by the resistant forces of the *status quo* than the reactionary is to be stimulated into imprudence by eloquent visionaries. The new wind at Geneva last month quite certainly did more good than harm.

H. WILSON HARRIS.

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE AND AFTER.

I.

THE Conference of The Hague revealed the changing character of European relations more clearly than any meeting that I can recall since the war, and cleared the ground for diplomatic activities. It is far too early to assert dogmatically how such relations will be developed, but that the whole problem is altered was made abundantly evident. Not the vague suggestion at Geneva of an attempt to establish European unity can deceive any intelligent person into the belief that diplomatic alignments of countries have, in the eyes of diplomatists, lost their importance. Geneva offers us from time to time a fine political revival meeting; and although it is not my purpose to decry political revival meetings, it may properly be doubted whether their diplomatic effects are more lasting than are those of religious revivals. We do not judge the sentiments and morals of a community by its behaviour in an evangelical camp; we judge them by its conduct in everyday life. The difference between The Hague and Geneva is the difference between Saturday and Sunday.

It is assuredly not my desire to write anything which may be considered discouraging to peace-workers. But it is well to test from time to time the true diplomatic position, and not be misled by special demonstrations. Now it so happens that The Hague Conference furnished us with an exceptional opportunity of examining the various attitudes, actual and potential, of European nations towards each other. It is in this sense that I would wish to review the proceedings of The Hague. With the facts we are already familiar. They have perhaps been more adequately reported than the facts of any previous conference. The delegates of the principal creditor countries of Germany apparently expected that practically no difficulties would arise as to the acceptance of the Young Plan, which experts, acting in anything but an expert spirit, had elaborated after four months of strenuous bargaining in Paris—bargaining which was not allowed to affect their main instruction, namely, that they should not so much determine Germany's capacity to pay, as devise a scheme by which all the Allied debts to each other and to the United States of America should be covered by German payments for a period of years corresponding to the period of Allied liabilities, plus a more elastic sum for what were frankly called "reparations proper."

Germany, it might reasonably have been thought, would have protested against paying anything but "reparations proper"—which amounted to one-third of the proposed total—and have disputed any obligation to pay Allied debts. But Germany was not

prepared to take this stand. It did not consider it good policy to point out the astounding tactical blunder of the Allies. It was moved by political, and not by purely financial motives, as were the Allies. The substitution of the Young Plan for the Dawes Plan was undoubtedly advantageous even from the financial standpoint—though in any event the Dawes Plan was drawing to its end. And though there has been a singular silence on this point, it is fairly obvious that Germany mentally reserves the right, at some subsequent date, of challenging the basis of the Young Plan—that is to say, the demand of the Allies that Germany shall pay their war debts. Five years hence (or, shall we say, ten years hence?) there will probably be much heard of this issue, about which everybody has been so reticent; and therefore, I, for one, cannot regard the Young Plan as the "final and definitive" settlement which we were promised. But the political advantages of temporarily accepting the Young Plan as "final and definitive" induced all the parties, including Germany, to ignore its fictional foundation. It was therefore taken for granted that the Young Plan would not be subjected to criticism, that it would be formally passed, and that the conference would thereupon devote itself to its chief task—namely, the ascertaining of the conditions in which foreign troops, which have been maintained at least four years too long in Germany, should be withdrawn.

The French were genuinely surprised that Mr. Snowden should, at the beginning, denounce the Young Plan as unfair to Great Britain. Certainly the British claims were entirely reasonable. Whatever reduction in German payments had been consented to under the Young Plan, should have been suffered by the Allies proportionately, and there should have been no tampering with the Spa percentages. Nor did it appear right to assure France the bulk of the unconditional German payments—those which are not subject to the operation of a moratorium. Again, although many of us supported, on grounds of expediency, the system of reparations in kind, when inability to agree on reparations was producing chaos in Europe, yet experience has proved that these exceptional and enforced transfers of goods must, by interfering with the normal course of trade, be to the detriment of somebody, and in the case of coal that somebody is Great Britain. Mr. Snowden was entitled to ask for amendments of the Young Plan in these respects. But his dissentient voice, suddenly heard in an atmosphere of complacency and pretence—for the whole business of reparations, as it has been conducted, is make-belief and connivance—startled The Hague delegates. They supposed that Mr. Snowden was merely bluffing, or, at the worst, was blackmailing them—a common enough practice—and could easily be satisfied.

When it was seen that he would wreck the conference rather than be fobbed off with trivial presents, and so upset all the arrangements tacitly agreed upon in advance, indignation rose to unprecedented heights.

Mr. Snowden was not playing the altogether unreal game that has usually been engaged in at these international conferences, where public diplomacy is employed for the greater glorification of the public diplomatists—but where the real diplomacy consists in private manœuvrings and combinations in the lobbies and hotels. He was a man in earnest, who held himself aloof from intrigues, who cared nothing about the characteristic formation of a majority against him. Susceptible to no cajolings, no promises, no menaces, the old diplomatists, with their cunning secret give-and-take covered by ostentatious triumphs in the cause of "peace," did not know how to approach him. The Continental Press fulminated against him as it never did even against Mr. Lloyd George. It may be that the manner of Mr. Snowden was unnecessarily provocative. His intellectual superiority was expressed disdainfully. It may, indeed, be open to question whether the British interests immediately at stake were in themselves sufficiently vital to deserve such intransigent championship at the risk of upsetting the whole European apple cart. But when all reservations are made, it is undoubtedly true that British influence on the Continent had fallen very low, and that it was high time somebody should make a stand against the growing tendency to take British acquiescence for granted. Great Britain has for several years counted for exceedingly little in European councils, and a somewhat violent reaction was needed.

Continental diplomacy is little understood in England. Elsewhere I have recently written, in a paradox which I do not hesitate to repeat, that what Europe now chiefly needs is a pact by which peace, like war, should be outlawed as an instrument of national policy. It has become far too easy to talk of peace in and out of season. The *status quo*, however explosive it may be, is maintained, when it suits national policy, in the name of peace. Peace serves particular diplomatic purposes which are not necessarily desirable. Pertinax, not long ago, affirmed of a certain statesman that he behaves like a man profoundly pessimistic about the destiny of his country, who is persuaded that it holds more than it can defend by its own forces, and is therefore anxious to fix the national patrimony in the law of nations. That remark cannot be too carefully pondered. It is significant that peace is treated as the synonym of security, instead of being treated as a synonym of justice. The "atmosphere" of peace might often be more accurately described as a smoke-screen. The guns of peace were,

of course, turned on Mr. Snowden. It has come to this: that we cannot discuss figures prepared by experts without being branded as disturbers of the peace. Whenever national and natural rights are put forward without the usual accompaniment of pacifist rhetoric, there goes up a cry of alarm: "Hush! don't wake the baby!"

But in abusing Mr. Snowden, the organs of the diplomatists revealed, in their anger, the grievous divorce between illusion and reality. At a time when we hear much of the so-called United States of Europe, and the policy of façade would show us all to be concerned only for our common welfare irrespective of nationality, a number of diplomatic possibilities, which are discussed in the Chancelleries, were imprudently exposed. Most of them can be dismissed as impracticable, but they were, in an outburst of candour prompted by unthinking ire, sufficiently disclosed to throw a vivid light on certain underlying diplomatic conceptions! A good deal was said about a Franco-German friendship. A good deal was said about a Franco-Italian friendship. A good deal was said about the end of the Entente Cordiale—as though there could be an Entente Cordiale after the signing of the Locarno Pact, to say nothing of the general intention of the Covenant! There was speculation on the probable effect of the re-allocation of payments on the smaller nations; for the greater nations, of course, magnanimously offered to give England a little more at the expense of the smaller nations, and England, with a romantic gesture, refused to benefit at the expense of the smaller nations. We are accustomed to this search for allies, this practical implication that safety depends not on the League of Nations or the Kellogg Pact, but on one's own strength, increased by the strength of others with whom one is linked. But never was the admission made so openly as during the Conference of The Hague.

Take the case of Italy first. France has been, for various reasons, at loggerheads with Italy. Many people go so far as to foresee serious trouble in that quarter. Italy has established a sort of protectorate in Albania; and Yugo-Slavia, furious at the rivalry of Italy in the Adriatic, has formed a special association with France. The danger is increased by Yugo-Slavia's membership of the Little Entente—which includes Rumania and Czechoslovakia—whose relationship with the Quai d'Orsay is well known; and by Italy's partisanship of Central European and Balkanic claims. Another underlying cause of the Franco-Italian quarrel is the French dislike of the Italian régime. France prides itself on being Republican and Democratic. With its missionary temper, it cannot bear the spectacle of Dictatorship and incipient Imperialism. But the specific dispute between France and Italy

concerns such matters as the status of Italian settlers in Tunis and the boundaries of Libya. Attempts to bring France and Italy together have been repeatedly made without success. Suspicion on both sides seems to make a *rapprochement* impossible. Unexpectedly, France and Italy found themselves ranged on the same side at The Hague. They and Belgium gained under the Young Plan, at any rate in a relative sense, while Great Britain lost. They were compelled, therefore, to resist the British attack on the Plan. They acted together, they proclaimed their solidarity. Both French and Italian journalists, forgetting Franco-Italian differences, welcomed Franco-Italian co-operation. There is nothing like a common enemy for making friends of nations, and England had become the common enemy. Here was a simple business proposition on which France and Italy were not in accord with England; and immediately neglecting their much deeper disaccord, France and Italy indulged in the diplomatic day-dream of a Franco-Italian alliance.

The idea was nonsensical, for as soon as France and Italy decided to give Mr. Snowden the greater part of what he wanted, the Franco-Italian association lost its *raison d'être*. A few days later, another "incident" at Nice, where Italians were fired upon, changed the whole tone of the Italian Press, and I again read the old deplorable diatribes against France. But the point is not that a Franco-Italian understanding of a solid permanent character is a probability of the near future; the point is that, despite Geneva, diplomatic thought is directed towards the making of alliances which are, rightly or wrongly, represented as necessary against a third party. Nobody would rejoice more than the present writer at the disappearance of Franco-Italian bitterness, but it would be unfortunate were it to disappear merely because a fresh bitterness has taken its place.

Among the more or less veiled menaces of The Hague was the menace of a Franco-German understanding from which England would be excluded. This menace, too, has passed, and indeed, in my opinion, is extraordinarily foolish. Yet it was expressed in black and white by men who were, not long afterwards, to sing the litanies of peace at Geneva. We have heard of Franco-German reconciliation for a long time, but such reconciliation can scarcely be sincere while the Rhineland continues to be occupied. I have always largely discounted German and French oratory on the relations of the two countries; for my experience has suggested that while one man is sitting on the head of another, their warmest protestations of friendship are somehow vitiated. Now France has promised to bring military coercion to an end before July of next year. The second and the third zones of the Rhineland will be

evacuated, and Germany will be relieved from foreign troops after the prolonged and unprecedented period of occupation which will have lasted nearly eleven years. That is an extremely important result of the Conference. Not until after the promise is completely fulfilled shall we be in a position to judge the true trend of European diplomacy. All that has been said during these years has been said with an exceedingly interested motive. There has necessarily been, whether instinctively or deliberately, dissimulation. Peace talk has served Germany's purpose, though it has doubtless also served the purpose of those who wish to temporise, who realise that a friendly speech helps to retard a friendly act. That a new era is opening for Europe we have been informed many times; and I do not doubt that a new era will veritably open next July. But it would be hazardous to predict the nature of that era. It may be that the rather false rhetoric of the old era will be given real substance in the new era. I certainly hope so. Yet the contrary may happen. When restraints are removed, when policy is free, when there is no need for further dissimulation, it is conceivable that Germany will vigorously reassert its sovereignty and make its demands in an altogether different manner. It was this possibility which induced some of us to plead for an earlier removal of restraints. They had to be removed some time; and it seemed to us that the longer they were imposed the more unpleasant would be the reaction. Had they been removed spontaneously, generously, some years ago, Germany might have been truly grateful; and, feebler, would have been less disposed to attribute its relief to its own strength.

However this may be—and it would be unwise to be dogmatic—it was the British stand on finances that determined the decision to withdraw the troops unconditionally. Great Britain accepted the rôle of lightning conductor. The fight had raged about figures; and nobody wished to renew it about soldiers. Even while Mr. Snowden was accused of wrecking the Young Plan, Mr. Henderson was announcing that, whatever the French did, the British would evacuate. Those who tried to put the blame for the prospective failure to relieve Germany on the shoulders of England, were confounded; for England was offering to evacuate, with or without the Young Plan. France could do no more; and so the threat of a Franco-German *bloc* against England collapsed. But France could do no less; for otherwise there would be an Anglo-German *bloc* against France. Hence the abandonment of the condition that part of the German debt should be "mobilised" before evacuation; hence the abandonment of the condition that a special supervisory committee should operate in the Rhineland after evacuation.

For good or for evil, the evacuation of the Rhineland, restoring liberty to German diplomacy, is the most critical event since the war. On the whole, while I rule out a Franco-German alliance of the blatant kind advocated by the German industrialist, Arnold Rechberg, the chances seem to be that, with the return to normal relations, those normal relations will be better than they were before the war. Certainly there is among the people a more vivid consciousness of the meaning of war, and a greater desire for peace. At any rate, normality is necessary—even a troubled normality is preferable to the abnormality of the past decade. The risk has to be taken; and happily the die is now cast.

On a third point it appears desirable to sweep away some popular misunderstanding. It has been asserted that The Hague has killed the *Entente Cordiale*. But the *Entente Cordiale* has been dead for a long time; and it would be more accurate to state that France and England became aware of the fact at The Hague. The *Entente Cordiale* is an ambiguous phrase; if it merely refers to some sentimental attachment of France and England, it is of no consequence whether it is used rightly or wrongly; but if it is supposed to have some diplomatic meaning, then the supposition is utterly erroneous and mischievous. There is not, and there cannot be in present circumstances, any special lien between France and England. Before the war the phrase signified an agreement on specific disputes, followed by a rather ill-defined military and naval understanding; it was part of the preparation for a hypothetical war. During the war, the *Entente* became a definite alliance. After the war, in the process of peace-making and the application of treaties, the former allies, though frequently disposed to quarrel, were obliged to present a common front against Germany and the other defeated countries. But whatever remained of the *Entente Cordiale* vanished into thin air when the Locarno Pact was signed. That Pact, from the British point of view, calls upon Great Britain to act impartially as between France and Germany. England could no longer take the side of France automatically; France and Germany were henceforward on an equal footing. That is the law of Western Europe, and if it is not incompatible with the *Entente Cordiale* (used as a diplomatic term) it is difficult to imagine its object. It is nevertheless true that Sir Austen Chamberlain did not always appear to realise that he had himself effected such a change in Franco-British relations, and that England was not entitled to have a first-class friendship with one country and a second-class friendship with the other. The belief that France and England had obligations towards each other was unfortunate; for when England was unable to follow France (into the Ruhr, for example) its desertion was regarded as disloyal; and, in the alternative, British

subservience deprived Europe of salutary leadership. Now I will not pretend that Mr. Snowden's plain intimation at The Hague that England would in future exercise an independent judgment, and would not always be the sacrificial goat on the altar of French or other Continental policy, immediately improved Franco-British relations. But I do suggest that, when the commotion has died down, the shattering of the *Entente Cordiale* not only increases British prestige, and makes England a country properly to be reckoned with in Europe, but secures for England the friendly respect of France, and for France the friendly respect of England. England, too, like Germany, is at last free to practise a diplomacy of its own. In the so-called "liquidation" of the war, the *Entente Cordiale* had also to be "liquidated." It was a relic of the war, just as much as is the occupation of the Rhineland.

And now that there is this new-found all-round freedom, how will the nations of Europe use their liberty? That question may or may not be answered at Geneva, where schemes have been put forward that, after the first unthinking cheers, demand critical examination. Whatever conclusions we may hereafter reach, however, The Hague has made possible a new approach to the problem of organising Europe, either on the old lines, which have proved to be perilous, or on the new lines, which have still to be tried.

SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

II.

Now that the din has died down and the dust of conflict has lifted from The Hague Conference, it is possible to see in their true proportion the questions which were debated with such heat in and around the Binnenhof for nearly a month. The first reflection which occurs to an observer who was there is that there was something unreal and fantastic about it all, the Conference appearing in retrospect like the fight of the lion and the unicorn in "Alice through the Looking Glass," with all the drums in the town beating and the plumcake in danger of disappearing in the uproar. Only the cake was not really there at all, for it has still to be made, although it had been so nicely divided by the experts. In fact, The Hague Conference, on looking back, seems strangely like a queer dream, in which the principal actors move like the chessmen in Lewis Carroll's story.

Of course, if you were a mathematical expert you had the time of your life at The Hague, and simply wallowed in percentages, calculations about debts, and conditional and unconditional payments. When it comes to a dispute about money no one will admit that they are out for cash alone, but everyone asserts that a question of

principle and prestige is also involved. The same rule holds good with nations, and if there is a moral to be drawn from The Hague Conference it is that international debts and reparations, if they are not wiped off the slate, are likely in the near future to prove no less explosive material for the peace of Europe than the dynastic questions of the eighteenth century. If The Hague Conference has succeeded in throwing this danger into relief it has served some purpose. For the rest, whatever monetary success Mr. Snowden may have gained in holding out for our fair share of reparation under the scheme of division laid down by the Paris experts, it was achieved at such a cost in the frayed nerves of the parties concerned, that the game was not worth the candle. The issues at stake were too paltry on which to threaten a breach of our good relations with France, or to run the risk of wrecking a reparation settlement, on which the evacuation of the Rhineland depended. To hold out for more than three weeks for an additional trifle of a million pounds more or less in our share of the German annuities was to overlook the essential aim of the Conference, which was to turn the next corner in a problem which has more than any other stood in the way of the return to normal conditions in Europe, and which cannot be settled without the help of America. Mr. Snowden's argument was, of course, all right; we have been "let down" in the international debt settlement, and the authors of the Young Report might, in view of this, have conceded to us better terms by applying the percentages agreed upon at Spa to the new division of the spoils of war. On this score a certain amount of kicking and resisting was quite justified; but to press it to the point at which resistance to the Young Plan threatened to wreck the Conference, and hold up the evacuation of the Rhineland, and thus blight all the efforts of the League of Nations to reduce armaments, and perhaps endanger Ramsay MacDonald's pilgrimage to the United States, suggested a strange lack of judgment. A man with the fixed idea that he is in the right and everyone else in the wrong, that he is the appointed saviour of his country's honour and prestige, with a mission to restore it to its rightful place in the world, is the last sort of statesman who should be sent to an international conference on a question which, above all, required a clear head and sober judgment if conflicting claims were to be adjusted. Now, the very fact that Mr. Snowden was proclaimed by all the die-hards as a national hero, ought to have made him pause. For to set sail on an international sea, sown with uncharted rocks, with such a crew, was the very way to court disaster. It was all so unnecessary, for Mr. Snowden had an excellent case, and had no need to suggest that he was making up in noise what he lacked in sense. Since, however, no one doubted his ability,

the delegates of the other creditor nations naturally came to the conclusion that he was bluffing, or was eager to gain votes at home, and, urged on by the clamour of their Press, mounted their high horses also. For every whoop that the British Press gave, the welkin rang with the answering shouts of the newspapers on the other side. The French journalists shouted to Briand not to give another *sou* more to the "insatiable Shylock" from across the Channel. The Italian journals talked of the "voracious greed" and the "downright hypocrisy" of the British.

M. Jaspar, the Belgian Prime Minister, did his best to keep the Conference going by acting as an intermediary between the other creditor delegations and the British headquarters at the Grand Hotel at Scheveningen, while Adatci, the Japanese Ambassador in Paris, passed with impassive face through the crowd on mysterious errands of peace. Briand sat in his tent, as fearful of the dour Yorkshireman as was Achilles of Ulysses. He was not to be enticed into the open, lest he too should be drawn into slaughtering figures like sheep. It was not until three weeks had passed that the two statesmen, who should have been in close contact from the first, had a serious talk on the situation, and their meeting was due to the diplomacy of Adatci. It is not for nothing that Adatci is chosen by his Government to attend international conferences. If anyone could have done so, he would have saved the Geneva tripartite Naval Conference. But that was a quarrel between relations, which is always more difficult to settle.

Until the eleventh hour of the Conference the issue was in doubt. It was in the early morning of August 28th that the word "settled" flashed through the darkness of the great quadrangle of the Binnenhof, where some two hundred journalists had been waiting since five o'clock in the afternoon to hear the result of the final meeting of the representatives of the five creditor nations and Germany—Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, and Japan being the five. The journalists whiled away the time by making frantic rushes at any delegate of importance who appeared at the door of the stairway which led to the mysterious upper chamber under the colonnade, where the discussion was going on. A day before, the British had turned down the "last offer" of the other nations, which they declared to be their final attempt to meet Mr. Snowden's demands. Mr. Snowden's answer was that it was "inadequate." But this left the door open to further negotiations, for it was a reply very far removed from the harsh words "ludicrous and grotesque" which he had applied to the first offer of the four creditor nations. In the morning of the last day a few more million marks were scraped together, and the Italians were persuaded to guarantee seven million marks annually which they had discovered in the Czecho-

slovak cupboard, as part of the "liberation debts" which were due to them. The surpluses which arose from the overlapping of the Dawes and the Young Plans had already been allotted to the British without so much as asking Germany's leave, although she claimed her share of them. Altogether quite a respectable sum had been put up, but, according to the British, it did not amount to more than fifty per cent. of the 2,400,000 sterling or forty-eight million marks which Mr. Snowden asked should be granted to him on the distribution of the total German annuities. He was also, he said, determined to get a larger share of the unconditional annuities, amounting to six million sterling, France having been allotted five-sixths of this category, a valuable concession, for the capital of the unconditional annuities can alone be mobilised. But this after all was a quality and not a quantity demand, for it was merely intended to increase the debenture stock, so to speak, in the German reparation account at the expense of the ordinary. Thus, by a book-keeping arrangement, Great Britain was to receive six millions more sterling a year in the event of Germany being granted a moratorium on her conditional or postponable annuities. This was Snowden's demand, and in the end he got fifty-five million marks, or rather less than fifty per cent. of his requirement, while he obtained about seventy-five per cent. of his claim for additional payment on the distribution of the total annuities.

The British Chancellor of the Exchequer was very far from getting all that he asked for; fortunately for the Conference, he came down from his high horse at the end, assisted by a tug at his coat-tail by Mr. Arthur Henderson, who, although Foreign Secretary, was forced to play the rôle of observer while his colleague rode flashing through the lists. It may be surmised that it was not the rôle which Mr. Henderson would have chosen to play. In the last session of the Creditor Powers and Germany, when the British representatives sat in one room, and the French, Italians, Belgians, and Japanese waited in another, after the Germans had tactfully retired from the scene, Mr. Henderson is said to have asserted himself with some effect. He threw himself, if reports flag from the mast, and persuaded the other creditor nations to come to terms. He had already shown great diplomatic ability in his handling of the Political Committee over the question of the Rhineland, and it may be said that it was largely due to his ability that the Conference was finally saved from disaster. Up to that time Mr. Snowden had stood out for ninety-nine per cent. of his demands, as a matter of justice which involved the prestige of his country.

The final settlement could not have been arrived at without the help of the Germans, who surrendered their claim (contested, by the

way, by the creditor nations) to the undistributed surplus of the Dawes Plan. They also agreed to contribute 50 per cent. of the cost of the continued occupation of the second and third zones of the Rhineland, the British and the Belgians consenting to retire altogether by December 31st, 1929, when the second zone will be evacuated. This concession was not obtained without some vigorous kicking on the part of Dr. Stresemann and Dr. Wirth, the Minister for the occupied regions. But if the Creditor Powers stood firm in their demand for a substantial contribution to the remaining cost of the occupation, the Germans had the satisfaction of obtaining a fixed date for the liberation of their soil, for M. Briand promised to see the last French soldier out of the Rhineland by June 30th, 1930, provided the Young Plan were ratified by Germany and the Creditor Powers. Moreover, the creditor permanent commission of control will not be set up in the demilitarised area. But in the event of a dispute concerning this area, the conciliation machinery of the Locarno agreements will be used with a final appeal to the League of Nations, if necessary. It is well worth Germany's while to make this sacrifice, although Dr. Stresemann bitterly complained that he was entitled in any event under the Treaty of Versailles to the freedom of the Rhineland. He has, indeed, maintained for some time past that, since Germany was fulfilling her treaty obligations in the matter of disarmament and reparations, she was entitled to be free of control. To make the Germans contribute to the continued cost of the occupation did not seem just to Dr. Stresemann. If, however, he had refused to bear this burden, the Germans in their turn would have endangered the Conference and run the risk of losing all the advantages of the reduced and fixed reparation, and the earlier evacuation of the Rhineland, which the settlement gave them. And now perhaps the French will permit the plebiscite which will free the Saar from the control of the League of Nations to be taken at an earlier date.

Mr. Snowden, although he did not get all he wanted, struck a very good bargain. He of course argued that he would not have got so much if he had not squared up to the other Creditor Powers. It was no doubt true that Sir Austen Chamberlain had given in too much to the French. But the present writer distrusted Snowden's argument that a fight was inevitable and had to come quickly. This was the old military argument for preventing war, and the fact that it set all the die-hards and colonels of the *Morning Post* type chortling over the folly of trusting to good sense in international affairs and to the League of Nations and disarmament, ought to have given Mr. Snowden cause to reflect. There was surely some half-way house between his method and the complacency of Sir Austen Chamberlain from which he could have

conducted his campaign without letting loose such a storm; and it is my belief that if he had followed a more moderate course he would have succeeded in obtaining the compromise which he ultimately accepted in half the time. For the settlement which was announced in the courtyard of the Binnenhof on the early morning of August 28th was far from being an absolute triumph for the British case. According to the announcement which was made by Mr. G. F. Steward, the British Press Official, Great Britain was finally allotted ninety-six million marks for thirty-seven years as an extra "guaranteed annuity" under the Young Plan. Of his original claim for a fairer distribution of the total annuities Mr. Snowden maintained that he had obtained about eighty per cent., the French protesting that he had made a miscalculation of four million marks, for he had added in the interest he would receive on prepayments from the International bank (which has still to set up) in reference to the British debt payments to America. Moreover, they protested that the British had included in their calculations the equivalent of the sum which they were in any event entitled to under the Dawes Plan to cover initial debt payments to the United States. Thus the French scaled down what Mr. Snowden had obtained to sixty-one per cent. of his original demand.

All this afforded an amusing comment on a conference which began in a sort of dog-fight and ended with both sides still making faces over the figures of the final arrangement. I am not going into the complicated calculations which set everyone's head spinning that last eventful night at the Binnenhof. Suffice it to say that whereas we got the major part of our demand for an increase in the distribution of the total annuities, we had to be content with an additional fifty-five million marks in the unconditional or a trifle less than fifty per cent. of our requirements. But the great point was that whatever we got was guaranteed by the other creditor nations, so that we could with justice say that as far as unconditional payments were concerned we came very well out of the business. After all, ninety-five or ninety-six million marks more a year for the first thirty-seven years of the Young Plan will amount to a tidy sum. The only question was whether it was worth making such a fuss about the division of a spoil which, before the thirty-seven years are out, may prove such an embarrassing addition to the budgets of all the creditor nations that they will be glad to reduce German payments again.

For it will surely have dawned on the American people before that time that it is their interest also to reduce their war claims on Europe. Moreover, who knows whether the Germans will be able to continue to pay these large sums? The Paris experts who drew up the Young report seemed to have a reasonable doubt on this

score, when they divided the German annuities into two classes, conditional and unconditional, and provided for a moratorium, during which Germany would be obliged to pay only thirty-three millions sterling.

To return to the details of the final settlement, the British obtained a valuable concession in the matter of deliveries in kind. For the Italian Government consented to buy a million tons of British coal a year for three years for the Italian State railways, and this should give additional employment to some 10,000 miners in Wales. Mr. Graham, the President of the Board of Trade, made a very strong case against deliveries in kind for reparation payments, pointing out that the tariff discriminations made in their favour aggravated unemployment in Great Britain. This is particularly true of deliveries in coal, and an experts' committee at The Hague is considering what further should be done to regulate the transitional period under the Young Plan, at the end of which deliveries in kind are to be substantially reduced. Once more we come back to the point that reparation payments, however ingeniously contrived, tend to cut across the normal channels of trade.

Before the war Mr. Norman Angell wrote a book called *The Indemnity Futility*, in which he dealt with the argument that a victor can make money out of war by the collection of an indemnity. He pointed out that the only way in which a conquered country can pay a large indemnity is in goods or services, or the expansion of its export trade. But the great disadvantage of such payments is, as Mr. Norman Angell said, that the victor or victors are in no mood to see the foreign trade of the vanquished enemy enormously expand—no mood, that is, to accept the only condition of payment. Furthermore—Mr. Angell repeats the argument in the September number of *Foreign Affairs*—the modern State has not sufficient control over the channels of trade to enable it to cope with such an increase of the exports of a foreign State. But to attempt to secure payment in money as apart from the movement of commodities would utterly disorganise the exchanges.

This, as Mr. Angell points out, seemed to him, when he wrote his book in 1909, a self-evident argument. It has been immensely strengthened by what has happened since the war, and there is hardly an economist of note who does not accept Mr. Angell's thesis to-day, although, as he observes, *The Indemnity Futility* was treated with the utmost derision in expert circles at the time. But he adds that there is still not one educated man in a hundred who can explain why Germany cannot possibly pay these sums unless she exports goods. If there were, America would not demand that European nations should pay their debts and also raise its tariffs so as to prevent more European goods from being sold in America.

Germany at the same time is surrounded by a network of tariffs in Europe which greatly impede her trade. M. Briand, although he is not supposed to be an economic expert, is on right ground in proclaiming the necessity of a new economic organisation for Europe, if European nations are to raise their standard of living. It is certain that if tariffs are not lowered in America and in Europe reparation and debt payments will press with increasing severity on the great masses of the people. The German payments have fortunately been reduced under the Young Plan, and they have been adjusted to the burden which her European creditors ultimately have to pay the United States. A time will come when all that Germany is to pay under the Young Plan will be handed over to America, if indeed America can afford to receive it. That is the test of the whole business: Can the creditor nations in their own interest continue to receive these reparation and debt payments? The answer to this question will largely depend on the good sense of the United States, in which we may surely put some confidence.

HUGH F. SPENDER.

THE ELECTION AND THE LICENSING COMMISSION.

IT is difficult to say to what extent temperance reform influenced the recent General Election. Considerable effort was made by the Temperance Societies and by the Licensed Trade organisations to bring the issues prominently before the electors. Of how far they were successful no one can speak positively. In my part of the country the question took a considerable place and each of the Cornish candidates was asked to declare himself definitely on the main issues of Local Option, Sunday Closing, and the control of the supply of liquor in registered clubs. Probably the county of Cornwall is more interested in this question than most of the rest of the country, but judging from conversations with my colleagues in the House, I think the temperance question played some part everywhere throughout the constituencies. Shortly before the Election the three parties were asked through their leaders to state their position and policy upon temperance reform. Mr. Baldwin made it clear that nothing in the nature of temperance reform was to be expected from a Conservative administration. Sir Herbert Samuel was able to refer to the resolutions of the National Liberal Federation at Yarmouth committing the Liberal Party to a series of reforms including Local Option and a Time Limit. These resolutions were based on the report of the Committee of the Liberal Candidates' Association. That report, published under the title of "Liberal Temperance Policy," was the most valuable contribution to temperance literature of recent years and demands the study of all social students interested in this intricate problem. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald stated that the Labour Party would appoint a Royal Commission to survey the whole subject and that this Commission might be able to report in sections so that legislation dealing with the more urgent aspects of the problem need not be delayed. At the same time, Mr. MacDonald referred, with approval, to the support which had been given by his Party to the principle of Local Option.

The Temperance Council of the Christian Churches took effective steps to secure that every candidate was challenged to declare his attitude on the three questions of Local Option, the supply of liquor in clubs, and Sunday closing of liquor bars.

The organisations of the Licensed Trade recognised the importance of the fight and brought all their forces into action. In addition the Club and Institute Union made its powerful appeal through its huge membership, and the Fellowship of Freedom and Reform (if we are to judge from its activities in Cornwall) must have spent considerable sums in its special propaganda. The

Morning Advertiser surveyed the electoral arrangements with confident preparedness. "The Trade are admirably organised for such a business as a General Election and are already hard at work in taking all the necessary steps for inducing every elector over whom they can hope to exercise any influence to vote the right way." During the campaign the same journal published a list of candidates under the heading "Candidates who favour Trade Aims and Policy," stating that these candidates had declared themselves as being in favour of the aims and policy of the licensed trade organisations. The list contained 168 names.

Then came the clash of May 30th with its surprises and disappointments. The broad result was a considerable change as far as the representation in the House affected temperance reform. Out of the 168 candidates in the list of the *Morning Advertiser* 81 failed to secure election. Amongst those who fell were many whose names have been closely identified with the licensed trade and kindred organisations. Prominent temperance leaders, some of whom had been out of Parliament for years, came back to the House, and the group of members who expressed themselves as favourable to temperance reform represents undoubtedly a substantial part of the whole House of Commons. It has been estimated that known temperance reformers in the present House are at least three times as many as in the late Parliament. Then came the King's speech with the words:

My Ministers have decided that the time has come to investigate the whole field of legislation relating to the sale of and supply of intoxicating liquor, and on their recommendation I propose to appoint at an early date Commissioners for this purpose.

The names of the Chairman and members of the Commission were eagerly awaited and many questions were put in the House indicating something of the prevailing interest. On July 25th Mr. Clynes informed the House of the terms of Reference:

To inquire into the working of the laws relating to the supply and sale of intoxicating liquors and into the social and economic aspects of the question, and to examine and report upon proposals that may be made for amending the law in England and Wales in the public interest.

It is understood that a separate commission is to be set up to consider the position in Scotland, but the promised announcement of the Secretary of State for Scotland has not yet been made. No one can complain that the terms of reference are restrictive in their scope. A wide field is left open to the Commissioners, and the decision, will, of course, rest with them as to the limits within which their inquiries will be made.

Mr. Clynes was not able then to give the names of the Commis-

sioners, but he announced that the Chairman would be Lord Amulree. The Government are to be congratulated on this appointment. Better known as Sir William Warrender Mackenzie, K.C., Lord Amulree will bring to the work of the Commission an exceptional experience and knowledge. He has been concerned in important inquiries from time to time and has acted as arbitrator in industrial disputes. He has presided over the Government delegation which inquired into industrial conditions in the United States and Canada and was Chairman of the Departmental Committee upon the working of the Early Closing Acts relating to shops. He was also Chairman of the Railway National Wages Board. Further, Lord Amulree is a recognised authority on the law relating to licensing. Every practitioner knows that the indispensable law book on this question is *Paterson's Licensing Acts*, the familiar yellow volume at all Brewster Sessions. Lord Amulree was the editor of this book from its tenth edition to the twenty-first. The Government are fortunate in securing the services of a distinguished public servant who is thus specially qualified for the control and guidance of an exhaustive inquiry into a complex social question of mixed law and fact.

After the rising of the House the names of ten Commissioners were given to the public. It is understood that these names are only an instalment and that ultimately there will be twenty Commissioners. No Member of Parliament is included. It has been suggested that Members, if appointed, would be subject to the embarrassing pressure of interested organisations. The Commissioners so far appointed are representative of the several sections of public opinion. The interests of the licensed trade have most effective representation in Mr. Thomas Skurray, Chairman of the Brewers' Society, and Mr. John Morgan, Chairman of the National Consultative Council of the Retail Liquor Trade and President of the Licensed Victuallers' Defence League of England and Wales. Mr. B. T. Hall, the Secretary of the Club and Institute Union, will bring to the Commission an intimate knowledge of the whole history of the club movement. His public utterances, made of course before he was appointed to the Commission, have not suggested that the inquiry is likely either to have any fruitful result or to reach its conclusions with undue expedition. It is, however, all to the good that in an inquiry which is bound to deal with the club problem, the club movement will have present at its sittings its most experienced advocate and determined champion. The Rev. Henry Carter and Mr. Arthur Sherwell will represent the temperance point of view. Both these gentlemen have, of course, outstanding claims as leaders of temperance thought. The Licensing Justices will have as their spokesman Mr. G. A. Bryson, the Chairman of the Birmingham Licensing Committee. Mrs. Barton,

the Secretary of the Women's Co-operative Guild Movement, is so far the only woman representative. The inquiry is one dealing with conditions closely affecting the lives and interests of women and children. It is, therefore, to be hoped that when we have the names of the other Commissioners we shall find that at least one other woman has been appointed. It is also desirable that some representative of the great Friendly Societies should have a place upon the Commission as well as someone who can speak with authority upon the medical aspects of the alcohol problem. Some of us would like to see Mr. G. B. Wilson, the Political and Literary Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, one of the Commissioners. His experience and sustained study of the economic aspects of the problem would be invaluable. Of course, such an appointment might not be approved by the licensed trade. *The Licensing World*, the official organ of the Licensed Victuallers' Central Protection Society of London, is already angered by the appointment to the Commission of Mr. Carter and Mr. Sherwell, and declares that :

The liquor question is one that concerns wholly and solely those engaged in purveying and those who consume liquor, and it is an impertinence, ludicrous in every sense, that fanatics who have no concern whatsoever with either the making and selling or the drinking of liquor should have any say in the matter at all.

The writer of this protest might very well be referred to a study of the statute book showing how the community has constantly sought to protect itself from what has been always recognised as a dangerous trade. Let him carry his reading far enough back, and he will come to the Act of 1552 with its preamble :

For inasmuch as intolerable hurts and troubles to the Commonwealth of this Realm do daily grow and increase through such abuses and disorders as are had and used in common ale-houses and other houses called tippling houses. . . .

In answer to a question I put to him in the House, the Home Secretary stated that he thought the Commission would be able to commence its work before the House resumes its sittings in October. This does not now seem likely, especially as the names of the remaining Commissioners have yet to be announced. It will be expected, however, that the Commission will pursue its inquiries diligently and will report with such expedition as is consistent with an effective survey.

The Commissioners will undoubtedly have regard to the deliberations and recommendations of the Royal Commission which reported upon the workings of the licensing system in 1899. That Commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Peel, presented its findings in its Majority and Minority Reports. Those recommendations have had an important influence on all subsequent proposals for legisla-

tion. The Commissioners were unanimous in their opinion that the number of licences should be drastically reduced and the Licensing Act of 1904 was ostensibly an attempt to give legislative effect to that opinion. We have now had the experience of a quarter of a century and it cannot be denied that the Balfour Act has substantially failed in its operation. Originally it was claimed by the supporters of the 1904 Act that under its reduction scheme over two thousand licences would disappear annually. As a matter of fact, up to the beginning of 1928, only 15,727 licences have been withdrawn under the scheme, during a period of twenty-three years, and of this reduction two-thirds was effected in the first ten years of the compensation scheme. Of recent years the rate of reduction has fallen considerably and practically continuously. In the year 1927 only 437 licences were withdrawn. Side by side with this slowing down of the reduction of licences, there has been a gradual increase in the amount paid in compensation for licences. During the first five years of the operation of the scheme, the average amount per licence was £881 as compared with £1,886 in the year 1927. The net reduction in the number of licences has now actually fallen below the average annual decrease during the years just prior to the passing of the Act of 1904. The failure of the Act of 1904 is due to many causes. In the first place there has been a rise in the average value of the licences withdrawn. Generally speaking, the licences of smallest value were first dealt with by the justices, and as these have gone the larger houses coming under the scheme have been made the more valuable by the growing limitation of the monopoly. Another considerable factor has been the alteration of the basis of assessment by the Kennedy judgment in 1906, so that compensation was made to include the loss of the wholesale trading profits by the brewer where he owned the tied house. The effect of the Kennedy decision practically doubled the amounts paid in compensation with disastrous effects upon the working of the scheme. Further, there has been no uniformity of action on the part of Licensing Compensation Authorities. In England and Wales there are 152 Compensation Authorities and of these 38 in the year 1927 made no levy at all, whilst 35 imposed less than the maximum authorised by the Act. Again certain Benches have been influenced against the withdrawal of licences by the knowledge that the registered club might easily spring up in the place of the suppressed public-house. All those who have experience of the licensing courts know how familiar is the appeal of the advocate who is resisting the withdrawal of the licence. "If you take away this house," he says, "you are likely to have before long a new club in the immediate neighbourhood with the difference that whilst the police have control of the licensed house they have virtually no control of the club." That is an

argument which the magistrates find it difficult to resist. One licensing bench a few years ago adopted this resolution :

Resolved that no action be taken this year to refer to Quarter Sessions the question of the renewal of licences; and the Clerk to inform the Clerk of the Peace that the reason of the Justices for passing this resolution is that their efforts to reduce the number of licensed houses in this district have been in a great measure stultified by the establishment of clubs in the immediate neighbourhood of such licensed houses as have been closed on the ground of redundancy.

All these considerations have contributed to the increasing ineffectiveness of the Act of 1904, and we are still confronted with the evils of over-licensed areas condemned by the Peel Commissioners in 1899. The public will look to Lord Amulree and his colleagues for some effective recommendation arising from the failure of the Balfour Act to accomplish the unanimous recommendations of the Commission of 1899.

Reference has already been made to the clubs and the Commissioners will, of course, be obliged to consider this important aspect of the licensing law. Whilst the number of licences, as we have seen, has been reduced by 15,727 under the provisions of the Act of 1904, the number of registered clubs during the same period has practically doubled. On January 1st, 1905, there were on the Register 6,589 clubs as against 12,775 on January 1st, 1928. In contemplating these figures and their significance the temperance reformer might well quote Milton's lines :

What boots it at one gate to make defence,
And at the other to let in the foe ?

The Licensing Justices throughout the country have been pressing for some reform, and they complain that their work is made the more difficult in view of the ease with which the new club can be established and the difficulty under the existing law in securing effective supervision. There is a growing opinion that clubs should be brought under some sort of public control and periodical review analogous to, but not necessarily identical with, the control exercised by justices over licensed premises. The conditions on which a new club can be set up are at present utterly inadequate. Some power of inspection should be secured, and it should be made impossible until after a considerable period for a club to be established in premises previously used as a licensed house. Two Bills have been introduced into the late Parliament by Mr. Hudson, the Member for Huddersfield, and Dr. Salter, the Member for Bermondsey West, dealing respectively with existing clubs and newly registered clubs, and these proposals will, it is assumed, receive the attention of the Commissioners.

How far the Commissioners will travel in their inquiries and what field they will cover in their recommendations, no one outside the Commission has a right to say. The proposals for Local Option will necessarily come under their consideration, and regard will be had to the results of the experience of the working of the Local Option law in Scotland. Whatever may be the conclusions of the Commissioners as to the general question of Local Option, reformers will hope that some system can be established for securing a popular vote on the grant or withholding of licences in new housing areas and on Sunday trading in liquor. The experiment in State Management and ownership of the liquor trade as carried out in the Carlisle district will come under review, and the public will welcome a considered statement as to the results of that system. The Licensing Act of 1921 which gave statutory permanence to many of the restrictions imposed on the licensed trade during the war will come under consideration, and it is hoped some recommendations will be made dealing with the vexed question of the hours of sale. Licensing justices, at any rate, will appreciate proposals which will help to secure a settlement of the problem with which they are troubled from year to year. There are many other questions upon which those who have to administer the existing law and the thinking public generally will look to the Commission for guidance, such as the abuse of occasional licences, the anomaly of the " bottle shop," which is outside the control of the licensing justices, and particularly the question of special removals of licences.

Since the Peel Commission considerable social and economic changes have taken place. The coming of the motor-car has not only meant a changed countryside, but has emphasised the need for the strengthening of our licensing laws. If the Commissioners find it within their power to give a good working definition which will enable embarrassed magistrates and distracted police to deal more effectively with the offence of driving when under the influence of liquor, they will have done much to make their inquiry worth while. Judging from the constitution of the Commission, unanimous recommendations are hardly to be expected, but the members will recognise that the country looks to them, not as the delegates of particular interests, but as public servants who have it in their power to give to the community most needed guidance in this rough and difficult territory of our social life.

I have reason to know that a great number of Members of the new House, realising how grave are the interlocked evils of drink, unemployment, and slumdom, are anxious that the labours of the Commission shall be concluded in time to enable this Parliament to carry through an effective and courageous measure of reform.

ISAAC FOOT.

MOROCCO REVISITED.

FORTY-FIVE years ago, when I first visited Morocco, it was a country mainly under the influence of England, and not averse to the extension of that influence. I had the temerity to form the opinion that the exchange of Gibraltar for the Spanish possessions at Ceuta would be highly advantageous for us as giving us a harbour more commodious and secure than the one at Gibraltar, given an expenditure upon it equal to that promised to the latter. Spain at that time would certainly have jumped at any such proposal. France was not yet wholly committed to the colonial policy formulated for her by Bismarck. This eventually, one may notice in passing, supplied her with that man-power during the Great War which she lacked from her own European resources. Surely such a result of world-politics is amongst the greater ironies of history. England was not in 1884 so deeply entrenched in Egypt as to be beyond the power of retreat. The real difficulty in realising any such exchange would have been, first, the sentimentalism of England, traditionally prouder of the "Rock," its nearest overseas possession, than of any of its other outposts—and second, the unshakable conservatism of the British Army from the then Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Cambridge, to the most recently promoted corporal. The press has never been open to officers on full pay, and rightly so. Service magazines where such issues may now legitimately be discussed were then non-existent. A few manuscript notes of facts, objections and conclusions remain to remind me of proposals which might have been made, and as I still think ought to be—but which now never can be. Yet an intelligent anticipation of the range of artillery, based on the then existing 110-ton guns, and of the expansion of engine power already building in forerunners of the Leviathan, would have rid us of the present dilemma of retaining an historic yet outworn fortress, and have provided us with an alternate route to the East, free from the dangers inherent in a flank voyage across a possible enemy front of 800 or 900 miles. But I do not write to discuss questions impossible to reopen. We preferred Egypt to Morocco, which we allowed the French to "protect." We have practically given back all claims to Egypt, and the French are entrenched in Morocco. The deal was not to our advantage in the long run. Perhaps it was impossible to take any other course in the circumstances of that day. We first threw our chances away two hundred and fifty years ago in the time of Charles II, and then turned our back on its recapture fifty years since when it was once again ours for the plucking.

The change in Morocco during these forty-five years of my own personal acquaintance with the country touches nearly every con-

dition of life, social, political and economic. In that country time, though moving slower, has no more been able to stand still than elsewhere. Steam and electricity are destroying the age-long relations of class to class, are permitting the substitution of cultivation for pasturage, are quieting the ceaseless turbulence of rapacious chiefs and over-taxed clansmen, and are opening up remote valleys and highlands to a world seeking stability, revenue, and minerals. Only the religious side of Moorish life remains, so far as externals are concerned, essentially the same. While the foreigner may visit, with formal permission, certain mosques in the larger towns, and ladies can walk in European clothes even in Fez unattended and yet secure, the heterodoxy of Turkey has had no reflex action as far as I could learn in Morocco. The same distance from Arabia which originally diluted the Mohammedan creed in its march westward to the Atlantic has prevented the Turkish heresies and modernisation from over-riding the fixed habits of 1,300 years, mingled as these have always been in Morocco with the remnants of even older beliefs.

To understand how change has come and why, it may be well to state in a few sentences the recent history of the Moroccan Empire. Under the Convention of Algeciras, France assumed a Protectorate over the country save for a small territory round Tangier of some 200 square miles. A portion of the Protectorate, a wedge-shaped block, the base of which is toward the Atlantic, was subleased to Spain. These three distinct territories are known as Zones: the International, the French, the Spanish. Of each the Sultan is the powerless suzerain—represented in Tangier by the Mendoub, a deputy nominated by the French—at Tetuan, in the Spanish Zone, by a relative of distinction, but without power—while at Rabat, in the French Zone, the Sultan resides, himself released from the uncertainties, dangers, and responsibility of power. I ought perhaps to add that round Ceuta, now an excellent port on the Mediterranean, Spain has a freehold possession of her own, which for administrative purposes is merged in the leased Spanish Zone.

In the International Zone with its headquarters at Tangier, an administration planned to move with the greatest possible amount of jolting and creaking has made of a stinking and insanitary mediæval fortress a healthy and attractive resort for European residents. The trivial quay, partial survivor of the Portuguese mole which our Charles II blew up, has been extended to protect a substantial area of harbour. Additional funds are wanted to finish the projected works, which then would provide shelter for first-class steamers, substantial quays for disembarking merchandise, and warehouses for an *entrepôt* trade. Arrangements for a free customs

zone are needed and are possible, if French and Spanish national jealousy does not blind each to the natural advantages of Tangier as the outlet of North-West African trade with Madrid and Paris. A universal customs duty of 12½ per cent. obtains for the whole of the three Zones, with a readjustment of local collection based on ultimate destination. Any departure permitted to either French or Spanish authorities from the principle of a universal and identical duty on all imports would be fatal to what little remains of British trade. Landing from a steamer at Tangier is not more perilous or dilatory than at Plymouth, and the completion of the harbour and the quays will take away the last excuse that remains to British marine enterprise for letting Dutch steamers carry the vast bulk of the passenger traffic to Europe, and for German steamers offering the cheapest freight for goods. Both these facts are quite appreciable causes in the decline of British trade. The blame for this undoubted contraction of trade is put alternatively on the excessive caution of the local British banks, the excessive timidity and lethargy of the local traders, the excessive charges of British steamship owners, and the extensive credit given by every nation, other than our own, for goods purchased. Who is to blame, heaven knows—but as there is no revelation I cannot pretend to decide. I can only record and regret.

But if our trade with it contracts, Tangier gradually expands. The heat in summer is considerable, but there is generally a breeze, and often a cool one. With a pith helmet the hottest day need not be feared at noon; the nights are cool; insect pests are inconspicuous. A residential quarter on a hill a mile or two out of the town is springing up, gardens are replacing bare hill slopes. Water is sufficient; electricity is available; telephones are spreading. Roads wide, well engineered and laid, stretch out their branches. Dogs, camels, goats and donkeys remind one of ancient days, and the traditional dress—headdress, cloak and leggings especially—of the peasantry, and in particular of the women, tell one unmistakably that Europeans are intruders of recent appearance, and of still undetermined permanency. It is a real contest of mind against habit. The filthy prison where limbless and eyeless prisoners, criminal and innocent, sane and insane, outcast and chieftain, were herded, all alike hungry and vermin riddled, has been swept away—but the market survives, busier, noisier, more crowded, yet cleaner, than ever. The native coinage has not yet wholly yielded to the newer Moorish franc. The Moorish Arabic is the common speech; the bulk of the shops are still cupboards bordering the streets; water still dribbles from street fountains or is sold by negroes from water-skins. Perhaps the two determining factors in the matter of appearance will be the passion of all classes of Moors for travel

and nowadays for motor travel, which is more easily accomplished in European than African habit; and, secondly, the advantage accruing to the Jews from the change over from the Eastern dress of submission to the Western coat and trousers of equality. Thus the change in realities will be marked by a change of symbols, though each may be mistaken for the other. The improvement and extension of the town is reflected in the countryside. Motor roads of good surface and levels connect Tangier with French and Spanish territory—a stream of buses, lorries and cars take travellers, tourists, and material through valleys and over ranges which three years ago could not be traversed save under escort, and though the hills and valleys are still underpopulated and still under-cultivated, millet is taking the place of palmetto, and here and there isolated huts are breaking away from the village cluster. It is not yet unconditional safety, but police and public works combined are making peace and industry more profitable than brigandage and idleness. It is odd how slow governments have been to understand the double advantage of public works expenditure in frontier provinces. We ourselves have been of the slowest and stupidest, though we had in Scotland and Marshal Wade a standing example of the country, the necessity, the man and the profit. Hillmen raid plainsmen, because hill slopes produce too little food and purchasing power, and because idleness finds an outlet for physical energy in fighting. Roads, reservoirs, and police posts furnish other such outlets with certain pay, instead of uncertain plunder. France under the tutelage and through the wisdom of Maréchal Lyautey grasped that fact in Morocco, and Spain has accepted and even bettered the lesson. It is more dangerous, more difficult, less profitable every year in both Zones to indulge in rebellion. Three years ago I thought Spain would not penetrate and could not hold the Riff highlands. French co-operation permitted the former, but to-day she holds them by a policy of paid employment, which is saving her unnumbered millions of pesetas. Whatever may be the result of Primo de Rivera's despotism in Spain, his intervention in Morocco has been one of personal success in warfare, and has resulted in appreciable commercial penetration, still only in its first stages. Based on public works and supported by effective police measures, the Spaniards are pushing forward, spasmodically as the Spanish budget permits, but with substantial buildings of a permanent character.

I want, in the following observations, to be understood in the comparative, rather than in the positive sense. When last I was in Morocco, the French and Spanish forces were on the defensive. Artillery and rifle fire were audible at Tangier. Abdul Krim was shelling Tetuan, the Spaniards were penned in at Ceuta. The

French were not in much better plight on the eastern and southern slopes of the Atlas. Trains and motor-cars were subject to occasional "hold-ups," an important planter was carried off from an estate in the midst of French settlements. To remember that picture in terms of present progress is to justify a description far more optimistic than that which I have attempted to give. Statistics can, of course, be given showing increased commercial activities.

A juster estimate of the improved conditions can be obtained from the increased frequency, speed and safety of the train service, and the greater area it serves. Since three years ago Tangier is in direct railway touch with southern Morocco, and thus with Oran, Algiers and Tunis. Sleeping carriages are provided both ways north and south, to Rabat and Marakhash. Steadily the line is being strengthened, crossing places are increased, levels and gradients reduced. Speed leaves much to be desired, but where twenty years ago you could only travel four miles an hour on an average, to-day you can reach an average of twenty, far more comfortably, safely and cheaply. There is no cause to be hypercritical. Let the younger generation who know not pony, mule or camel, be that. The mud, the heat, the stony nullah, the sand, the flood and the drought are eliminated for always. The uncertainty of start and finish, the tedious preparation, the prolonged movement may have been and sometimes was a fascinating part of the travellers' explorations. Few to-day have leisure for such delays of pleasure, while for the trader they spell either no attempt at commerce or abandonment after failure. For the tripper or the trader of to-day there are no such obstacles. The plains and foothills which the line traverses on its journey south show signs of ever increasing cultivation, restful, especially in summer, to the eye for their variation from the brown rolling ground which conceals, while it feeds, large flocks of cattle, sheep and goats. On these patches of cultivation are the houses, often substantial in size and material, of the white "Colon" or settler, of whom the number is actually, as well as comparatively for the total area available, much greater in the French than in the Spanish Zone. In the plain of Fez there are continuous areas of corn land of an extent sufficient appreciably to affect the price of French home-grown produce, and therefore to awaken a feeling of competition between the Frenchman at home and overseas for which the Chamber of Deputies is being asked to find a remedy. That at present selected is the limitation to a small percentage of the Protectorate crop, of the right of duty-free entry to France. What an opening for corruption and favouritism is thus provided is well understood by the most unsophisticated of "Colons." If such exclusion is persevered in it will go far to negative the attraction of cheap land, low taxation and

freedom from officialism which has brought and is still bringing a good many thousand excellent French colonists to the new province. There they are, good citizens, hardy pioneers, growing vegetables and even air-borne carnations for the Paris market, and by their thrift and industry already reversing the movement of traffic southwards, and forcing the hands of the French authorities to a utilisation of the port of Tangier not at all desired. How exactly these settlers got their lands, and indeed are still getting them, is not clear. It will not be very far from the mark to assume that the process was as follows. Lands in Morocco are partly tribal, partly individual. So much is the hereditary acreage of the village: part of it is used by each householder for his personal needs, the remainder, theoretically common grazing ground, is in practice allowed to run to waste. There are, of course, no title deeds, but traditional occupation has secured personal rights. Along comes the European who fancies a particular parcel of land, and takes possession. To the objection of the villager or of the village community he opposes a demand for written ownership. Where the tribunal is partial or ignorant or both, this demand is fatal to the native owner, and to him thus succeeds the "Colon"—who is industrious where the native was idle and productive where the latter was barely self-supporting. Often, however, compensation on a low scale is granted, or the native is offered other land, unoccupied, in places where the French authorities want to stimulate cultivation or create a population. Such a transfer causes hardship to the individual no doubt, but the economic result on balance may be quite satisfactory.

In the other case the compensation payment does nothing but harm. The native receives indeed his cash, but has no means of employing it. Investments and banks are not, to him, even words. He handles more cash than he has ever dreamt of, his disposition prompts him to live in idleness while it lasts, and when it is gone the demand for labour ensures him a livelihood—he is thus turned into a townsman and hireling, instead of remaining a countryman and a landowner. The process has provided the French Government with the permanent settler which its policy in France and Morocco alike requires, it gives this settler the land necessary for his needs, and it supplies the labour market with the man-power which the French contractor and builder can no how else procure. But while it fulfils these present necessities, it is laying up for the future a storehouse of legitimate discontent. There is so small a population in proportion to the size of the cultivable ground, and so much of this is waste that there would seem to be ample room for both indigenous and immigrant cultivators. The latter is so much the better of the two that one would have thought the French could have afforded to protect the native owner and yet found ample room for European settle-

ment alongside of him. They have been so wise in their policy of creating their new towns outside the old Moorish cities, distinct and apart from the latter and yet near enough to take full advantage of strategic situation and traditional commercial communications, that I wonder they don't follow the same system when building up their new agricultural development of the countryside, and confine the European immigrant to unbroken ground.

There is only one other subject to which these random observations need be directed, viz., that of domestic slavery. In all European Powers and their Dependencies the status of slavery has been abolished. Morocco, however, is not a homogeneous part of France. It is a distinct African territory governed by its own sovereign who is "protected" and directed by the French Republic with the authorisation of certain European States. Morocco has abolished slave trading, and slave markets, but not the status of slavery. Slaves still continue to be slaves, are subject to transfer by their masters, or, and this is little known, can themselves demand to be so transferred by order of the Cadi if they are dissatisfied with their actual masters. They can claim freedom at the hands of the proper French tribunal, and the knowledge that they can do so is widely diffused amongst both men and women slaves. But there are reasons why many slaves do not desire "freedom." Under Mohammedan law the owner is under legal obligation to house and feed a slave. A male slave, claiming his freedom, if old or decrepit, would have no claim on the State or the local authority for either food or lodging. His safer course then is to remain in slavery, which, since new slaves cannot be bought, has arisen in practice to the rank of domestic service. The younger male slaves in the towns where paid labour is in request have begun to claim formal freedom or simply leave their masters without ceremony. The woman slave's position is a little different. When young she hopes to bear a child to her master. In that case the child is free born, and lives on an equality with the rest of the family. The woman acquires a definite status in the family, and generally—though not universally—speaking could not be sold or given away against her will. Sometimes she is so given away in marriage and automatically becomes a free woman. If, however, she bears children to a fellow slave, the children are slaves. The mortality amongst such children is high; it was put to me at 80 per cent. of births; but the survivors are the source from which alone well-to-do Moors can recruit their household slaves. Such slaves are transferred at what are in fact registry offices, either for cash or by exchange, and seemingly do not object to the practice. They can be free when they like, and meanwhile a change of owners has its attraction. Like the male, the female slave can claim her freedom, but as until quite lately

domestic service was confined to foreign households, her choice of refuge was very limited. Few slaves had friends, and if no definite employment was waiting or open the *maison tolérée* was practically the only alternative. For this reason the French tribunals, I was told, were apt to refuse a certificate of freedom to any female who failed to show that she had a respectable house to go to. I think it may be taken for certain that the majority of slaves are content with things as they are; that much political trouble would be stirred up if the French tried to interfere with domestic slavery; that they haven't the slightest intention to interfere with it, and that the system is dying fast. One curious fact remains to be noted. In the French zone of the Protectorate, the status of slave as I have said continues to be a legal status. In the Spanish zone, which is leased from the French by the Spaniards, not only is slave trading and marketing abolished, but so is the status of slavery. What then would be the status of a slave if the Spaniards surrendered their lease, and the slave had never been formally freed? Without attempting an answer to the question, it is interesting to observe that the Spaniards have not experienced the disaffection which the French fear from the abolition of slavery. It may be because the well-to-do Moors retain their household slaves, and the Spaniards have not attempted to release them forcibly.

Morocco is an interesting and fertile country. Coal and manganese have lately been found in large quantities. Other minerals are known and are being exploited. Its geographical position makes it of first-rate importance to Great Britain. Neither Admiralty nor Foreign Office appears to have appreciated this position. They may later on in our history. France is doing a great work of pacification and production there, but not from altruistic motives. Spain is not doing so badly in imitation of her ally and rival. It is interesting to have been able to watch the change, and one ought not to be envious of the development. It is sad to reflect that England had the chance and turned away, for progress in Morocco depends not on war, but on peace.

CHARLES E. HOBHOUSE.

THE PROPOSED UNION OF CHURCHES IN SOUTH INDIA.

THE union or reunion of Churches is not a subject which interests only "ecclesiastically-minded persons." It is a matter of general concern. It concerns all who think Christianity to be a great influence for good in the world, and are sorry to see it weakened by divisions. It concerns all who reverence the Founder of Christianity and know that He wishes the unity of His followers in one Body. Presbyterian reunion in Scotland and Methodist reunion in England—both of which are on the eve of consummation—seem to those who are not Presbyterians or Methodists to be the healing of tragically unnecessary divisions. Perhaps all Christian divisions ought to be so described. But between some of the Churches there are differences which, whether unnecessary or not, anyone must own to be considerable. Such are the differences which are ordinarily labelled Catholic and Protestant. The importance of the proposed scheme of union in South India lies precisely in this, that it attempts to join in one body Churches which have inherited the Protestant tradition with one which has inherited the Catholic tradition.

Such a union, if rightly made, would be of greater importance than unions of any other type, because the deepest rift in Christendom is between Catholic and Protestant. Some years ago Dean Inge stated that Catholic and Protestant principles were so different as to be irreconcilable. But it needs to be remembered that when a body of men carries out any principle in isolation it is certain to exaggerate it. Consequently bodies each of which cultivate exclusively one idea drift into opposition. The ideas which they have been cultivating may be so different as to be psychologically incompatible in one personality, yet it may be quite possible to combine them in a body of men. Thus the Catholic spirit is receptive, glad of authority, valuing history and tenacious of tradition. The Protestant spirit is active, independent, self-reliant, fond of experiment and novelty. In themselves these two spirits might be employed together in one great society, and indeed might balance each other as youth and age balance each other in every State. The one thing necessary to their combination is a transcendent object of loyalty. In the Church this ought to be found in her Divine Master. If Catholic and Protestant will but submit themselves to Him, He can pour into them all such a stream of life as will unite them without destroying their differing temperaments or denying them appropriate opportunity of expression and exercise. It must never be forgotten that Christians do not build the Church in the sense in which citizens may be said to build the

State. The Church is built by Jesus Christ, and true Christians desire unity in order that He may get on with His building. If He were not there building, there would be no sort of use in our trying to unite ourselves.

Undoubtedly the interest of the proposed scheme for the union of certain Churches in South India will, in the eyes of the West, consist in this, that it is an attempt to solve the problem of union between Catholic and Protestant. Christians in Great Britain or America will scrutinise it from that point of view. They will be well aware that if the South Indian Union succeeds, appeals will be made to themselves to imitate the example which it will have set. This anticipation accounts for the interest which it has already aroused. In the present article I will attempt first to disengage from the mass of detailed provisions the principles which run through the scheme, so that the reader may be able to judge whether they are the true principles of any possible union between Catholic and Protestant. After this I will endeavour to explain some of the special circumstances of South India, so that British or American readers may be able to judge in what respect these are different from their own.

1. UNIFORMITY MUST GO.

If there is ever to be any union between Catholic and Protestant it is obvious from the words with which this article began that it must be based upon a unity which is nothing less than the inexhaustible Divine Personality of Christ and must allow of a diversity which will be able to include some of the most strikingly opposite temperaments of men. This means, first of all, that uniformity will have no place in it. Yet there are many intelligent people who still believe that unity and uniformity are the same thing, and that any attempt to unite different Churches must imply an attempt to reduce them to uniformity. This is not true. Uniformity spread over the Western world in the sixteenth century like an epidemic, and it continued to rage amongst Western Christians for several centuries. The Church of Rome brought about a uniformity of worship within the sphere of her influence at the sacrifice of the Gallican and Mozarabic Liturgies. The Church of England destroyed the four Uses which had up to 1549 existed in England and Wales by means of the Acts of Uniformity enforcing the Prayer Book. Nor was the process confined to worship. Christians everywhere in the West thought that they ought to compel other Christians to think exactly like themselves, if they could. The spirit of the persecuted was not really very different from the spirit of the persecutors. Many of the smallest sects were formed with the express object of having

"a pure Church," i.e., a Church in which all men thought alike, and, as they believed, thought right. The first pre-requisite of any attempt at reunion in the present day is to depart from the principle of uniformity. There must be much greater allowance for the different temperaments of men. It has been said that the present sects of Christendom are psychologically justified, because they answer to psychological differences in human nature. But there is no reason why the Church should be split up into fragments in order to meet the requirements of such psychological differences. It must set itself to meet them as one body with many members which have each their own function. The proposed scheme of union in South India recognises this necessity in various directions. It allows great freedom of worship, indeed it authorises the continuance of the forms of worship which its component parts are using at the present day. It authorises again considerable variations in the arrangements of congregations or dioceses. Such diversities would not appear to many in the present age to be intolerable, but, on the contrary, quite sensible.

There is a further step away from uniformity which people may find it harder to approve. Most Churches at the present day think, or act as if they thought, that they have a monopoly of truth. This claim cannot be made good on behalf of all, seeing that in many respects they contradict each other. If such Churches are to be combined into one, they must either agree about the whole range of truth or admit that where they differ it is *possible* that any one of them may be in the wrong. In the latter case, they must consent that in the united Church there should be some differences of teaching. That has also been the course taken by those who have drawn up the scheme of union in South India. But, on the other hand, there is to be a unity, and the centre of that unity is Jesus Christ. This makes it absolutely necessary that there should be solid agreement between the uniting Churches about Him, His Nature and His work for mankind. In South India we have found ourselves to possess such an agreement. We are able to record that we believe the same things about God, that we acknowledge ourselves to be in the same relation towards Jesus Christ, and have the same trust in the help of the Holy Spirit. Further, we are able to say the same things—and those important things—about the ancient creeds, the two Sacraments ordained by our Lord, the Bible and the functions of the Ministry. In these and some other respects we recognise that there is an agreement on which we can safely build a union which is so secure of its central unity that it can with confidence allow much diversity. If anyone will study the proposed scheme of union he can find many

instances of this principle of the abandonment of uniformity in favour of diversity in unity.

2. UNITY NECESSARY TO KNOWLEDGE OF TRUTH.

The second principle of any union between Churches which have behind them a long history of division and difference of opinion must be that unity is sought with the hope of attaining more truth. We do not expect the great differences of opinion which we cannot at this moment reconcile to last for ever. We leave them open now in the hope that in the future many of them may be settled in a more favourable atmosphere. This is one of the outstanding characteristics of the South Indian Scheme. We have not sought to come to complete agreement even about all the best-known controversial matters. If anyone thinks this strange, I would ask him to consider whether, after divisions have gone so far as they have, it is possible, by sitting down and discussing, to come to agreement on all questions. When a man is past the age of fifty, and for the last quarter of a century has been arguing publicly on one side of a controversial question, is he very likely to be able to take the dispassionate view of it which is required in order to attain to perfectly-balanced truth? We believe that this is practically impossible. But we do not think of the Church as for ever condemned to a chaos of contradictory opinions. Many of our controversies await only a favourable atmosphere for settlement. What we cannot now settle we leave with confidence to our children and our grandchildren to settle. They will come to these questions in an atmosphere of fellowship, not of controversy, and with minds which have not been closed or darkened by constantly stating one side of the case. They will have a better chance of attaining truth than any of us have, just because they will be in closer contact with those who hold different views from themselves. Truth is not given by God in completeness to any one man. It is given by Him in different parts to different men. It is His Will that we should come together and report the partial visions which we have been granted, and thus piece them together, till they make up that whole of truth which is needful for our generation. This cannot be done if we are separated in different Churches competing with each other, irritating one another, suspecting one another, and sometimes speaking evil of one another. We must be in one Church, in order to get the one truth. If we look back on history, the most wrong things that Churches have said have been said by Churches isolated by the divisions. Unity is necessary to truth. If we cannot find truth now in its completeness, let us seek unity in order that we may have truth.

Perhaps the best example of an application of this principle in

South India is the manner in which we propose to deal with the theory of the episcopate. The fact is to be accepted, i.e., there are to be bishops, consecrated as bishops have always been, performing the functions which bishops have always performed, the Church setting down in her constitution what those functions are, and what degree of consent or co-operation from clergy or laity the bishop should obtain in each case. Amongst these functions is that of ordination, and only the bishops are to ordain, having the assistance of the presbyters according to ancient custom in the ordination of a presbyter. Thus the historic episcopate and the historic rule of ordination are to be maintained and accepted. The theories about them, however, are not laid down by the Church at the union; members and ministers may believe and teach what they please, so long as it is conformable with the maintenance of the facts. Thus there will be at first in the united Church persons teaching the theory of the apostolical succession, as most of those who call themselves Catholic hold it, and there will be others teaching that this theory has no basis in history, that the succession is a chain in which the first link is wanting, and that the theory has been used to support superstitions. But they will all teach that Bishops are an institution of the Church, and a good institution, and that episcopal ordination is a rule of the Church and a good rule. We leave it to our successors to arrive at the truth about the theory of the episcopal ministry.

3. COMBINATION OF OPPOSED PRINCIPLES.

The third principle which is necessary for a union of widely-differing Churches is that there should be an honest conviction that there are real truth and value in the points in which they differ. The leading example of the application of this principle in South India is the manner in which we have dealt with Church order. We honestly believe that there is value in the idea of Episcopacy, and in the idea of Presbyterianism, and in the idea of Congregationalism. All these three ideas are intended to be combined in the Church as God has planned it. If they are combined, they must necessarily limit each other. If any section of the Church takes one of them by itself and tries to constitute itself according to that alone, there follow one-sidedness, exaggeration, and consequent weakness. These ideas are not absurd and fantastic creations of the ecclesiastical mind; they correspond to very real elements in human nature, and methods of human social order. Episcopacy and Presbyterianism correspond to one-man rule and committee government. Both these things have their place in human society. A committee can do some things which one man cannot, and one man can do some things which a committee cannot.

not. Anyone with experience of affairs knows that a committee will hardly ever shoulder so great a responsibility as a single individual. On the other hand, on the average, a committee is safer than an individual, but in times of stress, in times where swift action is required, and in matters of intimate personal dealing, an individual is better than a committee. It is absurd to demand that either of these methods of getting things done should be employed by any society to the exclusion of the other. Autocracy has long been out of favour with thinking men, but the present is no time for democracy to pretend to be the only effective system of human government, when more than one important nation has abandoned it in favour of a dictatorship. The problem of politics is to combine the two forms of responsibility in government. For similar reasons we are convinced that the idea of Episcopacy and the idea of Presbyterianism both have their place in the Church. It was so in the Early Church. Throughout the Middle Ages the Convocations and the Diocesan Synods brought together the clergy with the bishops. Within the last eighty years in the Church of England, all over the Colonial Churches, in some of the Mission Churches, including India, and finally at home, councils of clergy and laity have been added to the bishops. Thus already we Anglicans have had experience of the combination of the Episcopal and the Presbyteral principles. Arrangements of this kind will be found in the proposed scheme of union in South India. They are not innovations, but may be regarded as a return to the best traditions of the Catholic Church.

Both Episcopacy and Presbyterianism stand over against Congregationalism as emphasising the rights of a central authority. Congregationalism, on the other hand, in its early days, claimed for every congregation an autonomy which was almost absolute. Though in its extreme form this claim was indefensible, there was something true behind it. There ought to be a real unity in every small place. The Church of Christ ought to be apparent in each village, and its members ought to make their union in Him apparent in all their life. Again, there is an absolute value in each small congregation of Christ's people, and this must never be forgotten or overridden by those in authority. On the other hand, the task of the Church is more and other than the task of the congregation, just as the problem of the State is greater than and different from the problem of the village, and the greater tasks of the human race cannot be fulfilled by an unconnected series of small local groups. This has been recognised already by Congregationalists themselves; both in Britain and America Congregational Unions have been formed, and to-day a congregation hardly ever ordains a minister without the consent of the Union and the

assistance of other congregations. In South India it is proposed to allow to all the congregations very great freedom of worship under the superintendence of the Bishop and the Diocesan Council, and I do not doubt that the spirit of congregationalism will be always ready to protest against a tyrannous use of central authority, and to keep the officers and councils of the Church from lording it over their brethren and from deserting the road of persuasion for the road of compulsion.

4. UNION BY AMALGAMATION OR CONFLUENCE.

The fourth principle of union to which I would call attention is that in South India we have not sought union by submission or by absorption, but by amalgamation. We have tried at one and the same time to join together three Churches into one, and not to make a new Church. The Churches which are to be joined are the following: The Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon, which at present is called the Church of England in India (though only the four southern dioceses will be directly concerned in the union); the South India United Church, which is itself the product of a union of several Churches, Presbyterian and Congregationalist; and the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the South of India.

The wish of all is that each one should survive through amalgamation, not as a separate individual entity, but as an existing element in the United Church. After the union, if it should be asked, Where is the S.I.U.C.? the answer will be, In the Church of Southern India. If it should be asked, Where is the Church of England in South India? the answer will be, In the Church of Southern India. If it should be asked, Where is the Southern Province of the Wesleyan Church? the answer will be, In the Church of Southern India. But they will not be called by those names. They will be called by one single name, for they will have become one single Church. This is an important point, but it is not a novelty. Presbyterians and Congregationalists united in 1906 in the S.I.U.C. The constitution of that Church is a very fair combination of Presbyterian and Congregational elements. The members of it no longer call themselves Presbyterian or Congregationalist—they have become something better, because more universal. Just in the same way, if the Church of Southern India is formed, people will cease to be Anglicans or Wesleyans. They will become something better—they will become more universal Christians, or, as we should say, more catholic. It is as if a river had been divided into three channels, and, when it comes to the lower end of the two islands which separated them, it becomes one stream. It may be that for a time the different colours of the water can be discerned as below the junction of the Rhone and the

Arve at Geneva, but when the stream has gone on some little way beyond the confluence the fusion becomes complete. That is how we think of the proposed scheme of union.

This analogy of confluence happens to be more accurate than most analogies. The fusion must be gradual. The Churches which are thus uniting occupy for the most part separate districts, though these districts are intermingled in one area. There is no present desire for a general interchange of ministries. In many places things will go on as they are for some time, but all that time the barriers which now separate the Churches will have ceased to exist. People will see and learn to understand each other's practices. The process of copying that which seems good will begin and increase. That which is really good or true will win its way by God's grace and in the absence of any denominational prejudice against it. We Anglicans on the Joint Committee are prepared to leave Confirmation to win its way throughout the Church in this manner, not making it a condition of union, but believing that it is so important an element in the Christian life that it will be accepted willingly when it is known and understood. The other Churches, no doubt, feel the same confidence in some of their practices winning their way. One example will be their custom of making really important use of the lay people both in evangelisation and also in the internal affairs of the Church.

One other consequence of the idea that the continuous life of each Church will be preserved after the confluence may be noted. The united Church will desire to be represented in all those wider consultative assemblies in which the uniting Churches have hitherto been represented, particularly the Lambeth Conference, the World Presbyterian Alliance, the World Union of Congregational Churches, and the Ecumenical Methodist Conference. Again, it is stipulated that no member of the uniting Churches shall lose his present rights of intercommunion with Churches outside the union. The question of intercommunion is too elaborate to be discussed here, but it may be said in general that the scheme keeps open all the avenues of fellowship and intercommunion which any of the uniting Churches at present use in the hope that within a reasonable period of time similar union in the West may bring to an end all the anomalies which such action will cause in the meanwhile.

INTERIM PERIOD.

I do not propose to discuss in this article the arrangements about the Ministry in the interim period, i.e., the period before the scheme of union has completely taken effect. These are the most controversial points in the scheme. We have attempted to settle

them in accordance with reasonableness and equity, taking into consideration what God has actually done by means of the existing Ministers and Missions, and bearing in mind that there must be a period of transition and that periods of transition involve exceptional circumstances. I cannot believe that serious men, if they approve the main objects of the scheme and the picture which it presents of eventual unity, will attempt to prevent the accomplishment of this scheme because they do not approve of the confessedly exceptional arrangements which are proposed for a transitional period.

SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF INDIA.

Why has this scheme of union been elaborated in South India and not in England? Because the circumstances in South India are more favourable to union. Let me recount a few of them. The Indian Christians are drawn together by the pressure of the surrounding Hindu system which they or their fathers have left. That system is both a menace and a challenge; a menace because Christians expect and often receive oppression from the Hindu world, a challenge because Hinduism provides for those who belong to it a complete social system. The Indian Christians wish that their new religion should do the same. Therefore, both for self-defence and self-development, they want to belong to one Church. The missionaries, as well as the Indian Christians, feel that they are an army in the field, that they are "at the front." For any success they need unity, as an army in the field always does. Amongst the Indian Christians there is a complete absence of denominational spirit as such. Practically no Indian Christian has *chosen* to belong to the Church of which he is reckoned a member. His connection with it is due to the fact that he or his parents or grandparents were converted by its missionaries, and its missionaries were the first or only Christians with whom they became acquainted. Further, the Indians have had no part in the controversies which have caused the divisions of Western Christendom, and they have no interest in them. On the contrary they resent the fact that those far-off controversies should divide them from their Christian fellow-countrymen. Beyond all this there is the simplicity of the faith of simple people. They see Jesus as their Saviour and their God; they understand that He has made them members of His Body; they cannot understand the difficulties which we feel when we come to give to that simple faith a concrete expression in the world.

The question of union is only partly a question of terms and conditions, or even of principles. It will never become a practical question until it is also a question of vehement desire extending

through the membership of the Churches. It is worth while for Western Christians to consider our scheme of union because there are some signs of the awakening of a desire for union even in the West. The number of Christians is increasing who wish to see the Church do something worthy of its Founder in saving the world from materialism, or class hatred, or race hatred. And with that increased desire to do the Master's work will come an increased regard for the Master Himself. When we cannot deny Him the desires of His Heart, we shall put our hearts into the cause of the unity of His Church. Meanwhile, even if people in Britain or America do not wish to go in this matter as far as we wish to go in India, we would say to them, "Do not try to prevent us. Advise us if you like, but as you advise men who have an independent responsibility and are determined to shoulder it. And pray for us, that what we do may in the end benefit the whole Church."

EDWIN JAMES PALMER,
Bishop.

TURKEY REVISITED.

I VISITED Turkey first in 1912; but that was on the eve of the Balkan War, and the places that I then visited ceased to be Turkish a few months after I had passed by. I was just in time to see the Turkish flag still flying over Salonica and Durazzo. Perhaps that can hardly count as a first visit to the Turkey of to-day. Nevertheless, there are some threads of continuity, in spite of the cataclysms that have intervened. Was not the Ghazi himself born and brought up at Salonica? And was not Salonica the spiritual home of the Committee of Union and Progress? The present rulers of Turkey repudiate the C.U.P. and depreciate its works, yet surely the revolution which began at Angora in 1920 is the logical sequel to the earlier revolution which began at Salonica in 1908. The Salonica Movement in itself was almost foredoomed to failure; for in retrospect it is evident that the Turks could not begin to reconstruct their own national life until they had been relieved of the incubus of the Ottoman Empire. Now Salonica stood for rejuvenation, but it stood for the Empire too. Was it not the capital of Macedonia, where a Turkish minority was maintaining a precarious ascendancy over an alien majority of Bulgars, Greeks, Albanians, and Vlacks? Perhaps the Macedonian Turks caught the idea of nationalism from their non-Turkish subjects, who had caught it themselves from the West. Ideas travelled down from Western Europe with the railway. (The Turks from Austria and Germany caught one's eye at once when one landed at the Salonica quays.) So the leaders of the C.U.P., if they could arise from their graves in order to visit the Angora of 1929, might fairly claim that the Salonica of 1912 was the channel through which the ideas that have made the Angora Movement first flowed into Turkish minds. . . .

My second visit to Turkey was in 1921, when the Ottoman Empire had already gone the way of the Hapsburg and Romanov Empires. At that moment the existence of the Turkish nation itself was in jeopardy. The Allied Powers were in occupation of Constantinople. (And what a mess they were making of it!) The Greeks were in occupation of Thrace and Western Anatolia. The majority of the Turkish people had lost heart; and the minority who had rallied round Mustafa Kemal Pasha at Angora had their backs to the wall. I arrived in time to see—from the Greek lines—the second battle of İnönü, in which the reorganised Turkish army managed to check the Greeks in their first serious attempt to mount the Anatolian plateau and march on Angora. I spent the early summer with the Turkish Red Crescent Society, evacuating refugees from Turkish villages along the southern coast of the

Marmara. I stayed long enough to hear, in Constantinople, the news of the decisive battle of the Sakaria, in which the Greeks put forth their whole strength in a final effort to reach Angora, and came within an ace of success.

My third visit to Turkey was in 1923, during the interval between the two sessions of the Peace Conference of Lausanne. This time I spent a week in Angora, which was still, spiritually and materially, exactly as it had been during the heroic years 1920 to 1922. I returned to Constantinople through Smyrna—unrecognisable, since the Great Fire, as the city which I had seen still intact, in all its queer Levantine charm, in 1921. And all the way from Angora to Smyrna the towns and villages were in ruins too. The fervid, enthusiastic spirit of Angora seemed like a flame flaring up among ashes. Could the flame possibly find the fuel to keep it alive, or was it bound to die down and flicker out? The Government at Angora was well aware of the danger. Its watchword, at that moment, was that the military victory was not enough, and that the longer and wearier economic battle had still to be won if the Turkish nation was to live. A national economic congress was being held at Smyrna, and all Turks of intelligence and enterprise seemed to be taking to the idea that they must now do for themselves what they had allowed Franks and Jews and Greeks and Armenians to do for them formerly. Already, the engineer corps of the Turkish Army had made a very creditable performance in repairing the railways in the war zone. The work was rough and provisional, but trains were running and that was the essential thing. Would they pull through? Or would Turkey break down after winning the war against the Greeks, like a patient who survives an operation but collapses a few hours later from the shock? I returned from my third visit to Turkey with this riddle still unsolved.

And now I am coming to the end of my fourth visit to Turkey. I crossed the Turkish frontier at Adrianople a fortnight ago in a Ford car, which had brought us across Europe from Calais. I have just paid a flying visit to Angora by train; and I am writing these lines in the Asiatic continuation of the Simplon Express, which now runs three times a week from the Bosphorus to Aleppo. Just now we passed Karaman—the capital of the Turkish principality that fought with the Osmanlis for supremacy for a hundred years and did not finally succumb until a dozen years after Mehmet Fatih had made himself master of Constantinople. At breakfast-time we passed through Koria—a home of mediæval Islamic culture, once famous for its “dancing dervishes.” (The religious orders are now suppressed in Turkey, and the Convent of the Mevlevis has been turned into a museum.) This afternoon the train will

cross the Taurus and come down through the Cilician Gates to Adana—the commercial centre of the new cotton country in the rich Cilician plain. To-morrow morning I shall wake up to find that we have crossed the Amanus too and passed out of Turkey into Syria. It will have been a fleeting glimpse of Turkey—an incident in a journey that is to end in Japan. Still, I have seen enough on this fourth visit to make some comparisons with 1923 and 1921.

The first question is: Has the flame which I saw burning in 1923 found enough fuel to keep alight? My conviction after a second visit to Angora is that it has not only kept alight but is no longer in danger of extinction. At Angora I felt that the heroic spirit which carried Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his companions through to victory against immense odds in the war of 1920-2 is still as strong as ever it was, though now it is being directed to other tasks. If this impression (and, of course, it is only a superficial impression) is right, it is a very important fact; for hitherto the Turk has been known as a man of war—capable of demonic outbursts of energy in a crisis, but apparently incapable of transmuting that energy into sustained work in time of peace. Now if, five years after the coming into force of the Lausanne Treaty, the Turks are steadily improving their water supply, planting trees, building houses, and maintaining and extending their railways, this surely means that they have undergone a profound and perhaps lasting spiritual change.

The new spirit displays itself most sensationally at Angora; for Angora lies in the heart of some of the most forbidding country in all Anatolia—country like the Cumberland fells with all the water taken away—and the attempt to construct a modern city here at all is a *tour de force*. Yet I believe that this *tour de force* is succeeding. It is not so much the new buildings that create this impression—the public offices on the shelf of land between the citadel and the plain on which the railway station lies, or the private houses of the officials of Yeni Shehr ("the new town"). All these buildings are practical and solid and unpretentious and in good taste; and they are built of concrete according to the most approved modern technique. But concrete is perhaps not so difficult to manufacture out of the stuff that does duty for soil in the bleak country round; and on the whole it was not the new buildings that seemed to me most characteristic of the new Angora, but the new trees. These planters of trees at Angora are fighting the same heroic battle against immense odds that they fought when they stood up against the Greeks at In Özü and on the Sakaria. This time they are pitting their strength not against other mere men but against Nature herself; and if they win this second battle, they will have won their spurs indeed. The crux, of course, is not the

planting of the trees but the fostering of them until they are sturdy enough to fend for themselves; and this demands just that assiduous, laborious kind of work which the Turks have hitherto been deemed incapable of performing.

But why attempt this *tour de force*? Is it not an act of sublime folly for a nation that is so poor and struggling as the Turkish nation is to-day to set about building a brand-new capital in the wilderness? Granted that Constantinople, the imperial city of the defunct Ottoman Empire, is unsuited to be the capital of the young Turkish Republic, could not some place with greater amenities have been chosen? Why not Brusa or even Smyrna? Why Angora of all places? To this pertinent question there are two answers. In the first place, the choice of Angora has not been deliberate. The Nationalists happened to set up their standard there in 1920, and so Angora became the symbol of the national fight for existence. The sentiment that gathered round Angora during the years 1920 to 1923 is the only sentiment that is strong enough to overcome the attachment to Constantinople which has dominated every Turkish heart since the conquest of 1453. The Nationalists might have rallied at Sivas or Erzerum, and then this sentiment would have gathered round one or other of those remoter cities. In that case, the new capital of Turkey would have been buried even deeper in the interior of Anatolia than it actually is; for this element of sentiment is indispensable. In a new country you can lay out your Washington or Ottawa or Canberra where you please; but Turkey is an old country, full of memories. And if the present rulers of Turkey had decided, after the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty, to select a new site for their capital on considerations of pure utility, I suspect that the seat of government would have reverted to Constantinople within a year.

But sentiment is not the only factor that has told in favour of Angora; for the *tour de force* of creating a modern city in the wilderness is symbolic of the whole task which the Turks have set themselves to carry through. So far from being a sublime folly, it is a beacon illuminating the only road to salvation—steep and difficult though that road may be. What is being done at Angora has to be done, more or less, all over Turkey if Turkey is to survive; and this raises the further question: How far is the influence of the new capital radiating out into the country? Well, in the first place, there is the Ghazi's model farm, a few miles west of the city, on the railway. In the financial sense, I fancy that the farm has not paid its way, but I doubt whether that much matters, at any rate for the time. The purpose of the farm is to demonstrate to the peasants what can be got out of their land by modern methods. The head of the Angora city water department, who

took me to see the farm (and at Angora the water supply is the key to everything), told me that when the Ghazi is at Angora, he visits the farm almost every day and talks to the peasants who come in for instruction. Better still, he goes out to the villages; argues with the peasants about how the land should be farmed, from his own experience; and sometimes takes them back with him in his car to the model farm to let them see for themselves. There is a touch here of Frederick the Great in his years of peace; and when I stood on the terraced slope of the hill above the farm, and watched the little new trees being sprinkled with "artificial rain," I thought for a moment of the terraced slope below Sans Souci. No doubt the sands of Potsdam are a natural garden compared to the parched limestone of Angora. Still, I daresay it seemed a *tour de force* to make anything of Sans Souci when Frederick first set his hand to that task; and I fancy that, a few years hence, that slope above the Ghazi's farm may be transformed beyond recognition.

A few miles farther west again there is a model village built for *muhajirs* (emigrants from the lost territories in Europe). For the particular settlers in this village life on the treeless, dry Anatolian plateau is particularly hard; for these are Pomaks—Bulgarian-speaking Muslims from Mount Rhodope, where trees and water abound. Nevertheless, in that village wonders have been done. The first achievement was the discovery of a supply of good drinking water. There is also a good supply of water for other purposes, and this is pumped up by electric power to a reservoir on the top of a little hill—all planted with tiny new trees—that overlooks the settlement. The hundred houses have three rooms each and a barn, and they are lit by electric light. There are a communal wash-house and a large school where boys and girls are educated together up to the age of about fourteen. The school has been built on a scale for accommodating the children of other villages as well; and there are arrangements for boarding children whose homes are too far off for them to be able to go to and fro every day. It is significant that this schoolhouse, and not a mosque, is the building that dominates the village. In fact, now that I come to think of it, there is no mosque being built there at all. I should add that the Government gives the villagers the use of agricultural machinery, with the services of an instructor-mechanic. The intention is to build a chain of such villages for *muhajirs* all the way from Angora to Eskişehir.

The Ghazi's *chiftlik* and the *muhajir* village of Ahi Mesud are both on the outskirts of Angora, and it is only to be expected that the Angora spirit should radiate that far. But let me cite the two cases of Polatli, which is about a third of the way from Angora to Eskişehir, and Boz Uyük, north-west of

Eskişehir, where the railway from Constantinople mounts the plateau. I first saw Boz Uyük at 4 o'clock on an April morning in 1921. I was marching through the main street with the Greek Army on their retreat from the second battle of İnönü, and the little town was lit up by its own flames—for all the wooden houses were burning. Only the attractive white mosque on the right, as one came from the railway, was untouched. I was sorry for the little place, half village, half town, for there was a kind of freshness and brightness about it, as though it had been meant for a better fate. The second time that I saw Boz Uyük was on an April evening in 1923, and this time I passed it in the train—for the German railway, derelict in 1923, was now just running again under Turkish management. We reached Boz Uyük a little before dark, and I saw that the mosque still stood, but the mosque alone. The third time was three nights ago, and this time I was travelling from Constantinople to Angora in a *wagon-lits*. Strange to be travelling in a *wagon-lits* through a battlefield (though no doubt one is often doing it in Europe without knowing). Here is the gorge of Karaköy, through which we retreated in the small hours, in a weird haze of dust suffused by moonlight. Here is the point where the Greek cavalry galloped back again through the gorge to prevent the Turks from falling upon the flank of the retreating Greek Army. There are the road and the rushing stream (in that battle the railway did not count). And here, by the stream, was that field hospital from which they were carrying out the corpses one after another. To the right, the ridge which the Greeks just managed to capture. I can still see its outline against the sky, though the dusk has almost turned to dark. But it will certainly be dark before we get to Boz Uyük. I shall be sorry not to see Boz Uyük again. As the thought went through my head a blare of lights flashed out. What on earth can it be? It looks like a cinema. No, it is a saw-mill. And here, a moment after, comes Boz Uyük itself, all lit up again, but this time by electricity. As I look out of the carriage window, a sky sign hits me in the eye: "Çin Fabrikası (China factory) 1928." And there is the mosque again, with an arc light illuminating its pleasant white minaret and white walls. And all around it are white houses, substantial new houses in the European style, on the site of the old Turkish wooden houses which I saw burning eight years ago. Well, I can claim to have seen Boz Uyük again, for I have seen its lights, and no doubt they are the chief pride of this boasting little embryo American city.

At Polatli, the same story. When I passed through in 1923 only the station was standing. And it was just the same, the Turkish business man in my compartment told me, when he passed

through himself a year ago. And now, here too, there has sprung up a new little town of comfortable-looking houses, in odd contrast to the mud huts of the villages up and down the line. Eskishehr, again, is full of new life. When I spent the inside of a day there between trains, in 1923, the place was dead. Yesterday, when I changed there from the Angora *conventionnel* into the Simplon express, there was a seething crowd on the platform which suddenly brought up all the sense of discomfort that one feels in travelling by train in populous parts of Europe.

Yes, the spirit of Angora is certainly radiating over Turkey. Only, strangely enough, it has so far failed to penetrate that part of Turkey that lies nearest to the Western world—nearest to the source from which the inspiration of Angora ultimately comes. If any inquiring Westerner wants still to see the old, old Turkey, without one feature changed, I recommend him to drive across Europe in a car and try to get his car and baggage through the Turkish customs on the road between Svilengrad and Adrianople. *Experto crede*—but that is another tale.

What is more, I cannot go on writing this article, for I have to look out of the window. All the time that I have been writing we have been crawling over the weird, monotonous Anatolian plateau; but now the locomotive pants as it winds and wriggles uphill. Soon we reach the watershed and begin to descend by the side of a stream, for the plateau itself is high; but the Great Taurus is still ahead of us. Here it comes, a sheer wall of limestone on either hand, scaling the sky in fantastic pinnacles. And here, at last, are the Cilician Gates, through which Cyrus the younger threaded his way with the Ten Thousand, and after him Alexander, and after Alexander the Arabs and the Crusaders. All honour to the German engineer who carried the railway, high above the gorge, through these stupendous galleries. And now we are out, with a glimpse of the sea to the right front (the only glimpse that I shall get between the Bosphorus and Basra) and a glimpse of the Cilician plain to the left front, through the niche of the gorge. As night falls the train is running through tobacco plantations and cotton fields, and houses with flat roofs, and bedsteads standing on the roof, full of sleepy children. Turkey is slipping away. Already I am almost in the "Island of the Arabs," whose coasts are the Mediterranean and the rivers of Mesopotamia. Look at that third-class carriage in the siding. It is labelled Mardin!

September 1st, 1929.

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.

GOETHE AND WORDSWORTH.

A CONVERSATION.

To Alois Brandl, the first German Interpreter of Coleridge, in token of a friendship of Fifty Years untouched by War or by Peace, and to A. C. Bradley, formerly Professor of Poetry at Oxford.

Scene: A café-garden at Goslar, in the Harz.

Persons: Cyril, a graduate of Oxford; Rudolf, a young Ph.D. of Berlin. Both are fairly acquainted with both literatures; both hope to become professors in a not too remote future, and have been undergraduates in a not too distant past.

Time: Afternoon.

Cyr. I never come to this ancient imperial city, so picturesquely planted at the foot of the Brocken range, without thinking of a great poet who travelled here in winter.

Rud. Of course. The *Harzreise im Winter* is a wonderful lyric indeed, quick in every line with German *Natursinn* and German largeness of heart.

Cyr. True; but I did not mean Goethe. Our English Wordsworth, you remember, spent a winter just twenty-one years later, in 1798-9, in shivering by the stove, walking on the town-walls, cursing (with decorum) the unintelligible German language, and writing poems about England. He is commonly thought rather eminent for *Natursinn*, and he had at least one memorable friendship. But he lost not one recorded syllable on the scenery of the Harz, and lived absolutely alone here with his sister Dorothy.

Rud. Well, you or I or any other prospective professor busy with University dissertations would have used our time to better purpose. But then, you know, Wordsworth had just published the *Lyrical Ballads*, where he impresses on his readers the duty of

feeding this mind of ours
In a wise passiveness.

Cyr. Yes, and the Germany of 1799 was full, like those Westmorland woods, of "things for ever speaking," of poets and philosophers, who would certainly not "come themselves" to visit an unknown young Englishman. But is it idle to fancy what would have happened if he had gone to seek them? Suppose, for instance, he had taken the diligence 100 miles or so, to Weimar, and introduced himself, armed with the newly published *Lyrical Ballads*, to Goethe?

Rud. (laughing). Why, it would have been like that meeting of Goethe with the farmer—each a sovereign in his own domain, and expecting to be treated as such, each unaware of the other's existence. Their very names were obstacles to the tongue—little hurdles they might stumble at and give up the adventure. I have heard of

old ladies in England, not so long ago, asking their friends in confidence how they ought to pronounce that odd name Go-ëthe. And as to Wordsworth's, an American has lately found, in the Goslar register of townsfolk for 1799, the name of one "William Waetsford" as a lodger with burgess Deppermann! The French did better than that; he figures as "Wortsworth" in the certificate of his French daughter Caroline's marriage in Paris in 1816. Both are excusable enough, for German phoneticians tell us, what you English are perhaps hardly aware of, that every single letter in Wordsworth's name, from the *W* to the *th*, is pronounced in an un-German way. But let that pass: what on earth do you suppose they could find to talk about? What had they in common?

Cyr. Well, if Goethe glanced at the title of those *Lyrical Ballads*, the fruit of that golden thirteen months with Coleridge at Nether Stowey, might he not have remarked that that was just what he and Schiller had been producing with equal fertility in those very years?

Rud. He might have glanced at the Ballads. But the *Ancient Mariner* at the beginning was not Wordsworth's, and he would never have got to *Tintern Abbey* at the end. When he came to the *Anecdote for Fathers*, and *Goody Blake*, and *The Idiot Boy*, and the cursing at Science and Art, he would surely have followed the author's advice, and "closed up those barren leaves." And Wordsworth, I take it, was not the man to argue with the blind.

Cyr. He was not; and the interview would have ended abruptly. But you and I, who know better than either poet what each had written, and what they had still to write, need not surely leave it at that.

Rud. I am still sceptical, but please explain yourself. What, I repeat, had they in common, what point even of approach? And do not put me off with the commonplaces of the lecture-room, about "poetic realism," writing "with their eye on the object," and so forth. What do those purely literary affinities (if we grant them) count for in weighing the significance of the two men? Your England once, as the Romans said, cut off from the civilised world, stands to-day near its focus: but does that make your Wordsworth, who is all but unknown beyond the Channel, any the less a provincial poet? When all is said, and let him be as great as you will, is he not the most insular of your great poets, as Goethe is beyond question the most European, the most world-famous, of ours? Goethe never read *The Excursion*, if he ever heard of it; and Wordsworth, if he had heard of *Faust*, neither could nor would have read it; and I don't know which fact damns him, as the world-poet, more. His devoted friend, Crabb Robinson, did his best, I believe, to induce Goethe to read him. Was Goethe's

vaunted catholicity entirely at fault when he refused to accept this luminary of your English literary heaven at the good Crabb Robinson's valuation?

Cyr. I don't complain of him for not hailing the new planet with the ecstatic cry of Keats when he discovered Homer. But I may justly complain that when the good Crabb Robinson caused the new planet to swim into his ken, he watched the skies, like Nelson, through a polite telescope held to an eye that could not see.

Rud. It wasn't only Goethe. I remember reading that in 1828, thirty years after the Goslar winter, Wordsworth and Coleridge were again in Germany, this time on the Rhine, near Bonn. The report that two English poets were staying in the neighbourhood brought August Schlegel, Niebuhr, and Becker, professors at the Bonn University, to call on them.

Cyr. And they didn't ask with bated breath whether it was the author of *The Excursion* whom they had had the honour of addressing?

Rud. On the contrary, they would talk of no one but Scott and Byron; until Coleridge, in his imperfect German, pointing to the silent Wordsworth (at Hamburg, thirty years before, he had been their spokesman, with Klopstock, in French), assured them that Byron was a blazing, but transient meteor, Wordsworth a luminous fixed star.

Cyr. And no message came from Weimar? No sign of Olympian curiosity to see "the fixed star" at the august table? Not even a letter, like the one he had sent to Scott the year before, full of gracious charm and stately homage to the great veteran author of *Waverley*?

Rud. You know very well there wasn't and couldn't be. And the colossal events of those thirty years had made it more unlikely than ever.

Cyr. Well, don't be too sure. It may be just from the Titanic events of those thirty years that I am going to disengage another point of approach.

Rud. Nonsense! What can you find in common between the apostle of humanity and culture, who scarcely concealed his intellectual disdain for war and the quarrels it pretends to settle, and the poet of the war sonnets? Why, just before this very meeting on the Rhine, Wordsworth had been spending four hours examining with the keenest interest the field of Waterloo. And what would Goethe have made of that ferocious outburst in the second *Thanksgiving Ode* which Wordsworth indicted in 1816 to God, whose chosen instrument is

Man arrayed for mutual slaughter,
Yea, Carnage is God's daughter?

Cyr. I dare say he would have concluded that the rites of Moloch were still held at Grasmere, with Wordsworth officiating as High Priest; at any rate, that Miss Carnage, in view of her exalted parentage, had a seat in the Wordsworth pew at church.

Rud. Come, do be serious. I know you must have a case, but so far you seem bent on spoiling it.

Cyr. Well, note first, then, that each of our two poets repented a little of his extreme position—Wordsworth of his war-frenzy, Goethe of his pacifist unconcern. In Wordsworth's *Collected Works* you will find that he has deprived God of that formidable daughter, and been contented to make him, with the Psalmist, merely a "War-Lord," a Lord of Hosts. And I need not remind a German of that *Wakening of Epimenides* which was also Goethe's own "wakening" to regret and remorse.

Ich schäme mich der Ruhestunden,
Mit Euch zu leiden war Gewinn;
Denn für den Schmerz, den Ihr empfunden,
Seid Ihr auch grösser, als ich bin.

And this recantation was open and public, a solemn Palinode at a great festal celebration before assembled Germany, not like Wordsworth's correction of his audacious text, a silent confession confided to the secret eye of the printer's devil, who, like Walther's little *Waldvogel*, might be trusted not to tell. But even this revised attitude of the two poets does not perfectly represent them. Wordsworth, though deeply convinced of the necessity of war as a condition and instrument of national freedom, was no militarist. If you think of Goethe exchanging stately compliments with Napoleon at Erfurt, and then turn to Wordsworth's first sonnet on him, written four years earlier (May, 1802), before his breach of the Treaty of Amiens had exacerbated the world-conflict, they might seem to have changed places. It is now Wordsworth who condemns, the more weightily because he does not now write with passion, the philosophy of war, the *ethos* of the field:

I grievèd for Buonaparte with a vain
And an unthinking grief! The tenderest mood
Of that Man's mind—what can it be? What food
Fed his first hopes? What knowledge could he gain?
'Tis not in battles that from youth we train
The governor who must be wise and good.

And I need not recall his *Happy Warrior* (1806) (inspired partly by Nelson, partly by his brother John),

Who, though endued as with a sense
And faculty for storm and turbulence,
Is yet a soul whose master-bias leans
To home-felt pleasures and to gentle scenes?

This was the spirit of all Wordsworth's war-poetry in his great days; and when this spirit decayed, the poetry decayed with it. If he lifted the war trumpet to his lips, and blew through it like Milton "soul-animating strains," it was not, up to 1814, that is, in his greatest years, to celebrate victorious conquest, or even triumphant resistance to conquest, but heroic failure. If he was ever roused from his general indifference to German affairs, it was by the forlorn struggle of "brave Schill" and Andreas Hofer; and some of the greatest lines to be found not only in his work but in all English poetry, are those evoked by the unknown doom of the negro chieftain Toussaint L'Ouverture:

Though fallen thyself, never to rise again,
Live and take comfort; thou hast left behind
Powers that will work for thee; earth, air, and skies,
There's not a breathing of the common wind
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies;
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
And Love, and Man's unconquerable Mind.

Even where there was no question of heroism, as with the ignominious extinction of the Venetian Republic by Napoleon, he could be stirred to noble compassion and regret:

Men are we, and must grieve when even the shade
Of that which once was great hath passed away.

But what I wish to emphasise now is not Wordsworth's glowing sympathy with struggling heroism and fallen greatness; but the less-recognised fact that this sympathy dissolves for him all those barriers of race, nationality, and religion, within which Wordsworth's sublime but, as you rightly say, insular genius normally moved. Italy, Germany, Austria, Spain, the negro republic of San Domingo—it is enough that they are all fighting for freedom, or tragically deprived of it. Switzerland's "Voice" is silenced; it is one of the two "chosen Voices" of Liberty; and he does not ask or care whether that Voice spoke in the German of the Oberland or the French of the Vaud, sang Protestant hymns or Catholic masses. But if you want to see how far Wordsworth's passion for national freedom could go in disengaging him from insular prejudice, look at the grandest monument of his prose—the *Tract on the Convention of Cintra* (1809). Wordsworth here came forward, you will remember, to urge the Government to repudiate the "Convention" made in the previous year by the English generals in Spain, which allowed the vanquished French invaders to retreat safely with bag and baggage to France, thus delaying for several years the end of the war. The poet of Rydal here speaks with the tongue of Burke, and Burke's impassioned advocacy of the American resistance to England is its only parallel in English. But I am

now concerned only with the real Internationalism, which the struggle had begotten in him, and in which, in his day, he stood alone. The Tories thought only of beating the enemy of England; the Whigs halted feebly between opposing the enemy of England and idolising the supposed Liberator of the nations; Wordsworth alone with a wholehearted passion for the freedom of the nation insisted that its first condition was to destroy Napoleon. And in freedom itself he saw the condition of all real national life, the selfhood of nations—"for by the soul only the nations shall be great and free"—which had to wait twenty years before it became the substance of the political gospel of Mazzini, and more than a century before it received the interested, partial, or ironical homage of the peacemakers of Versailles. Wordsworth demands in the clearest tones the unity and independence of Germany and Italy, which it was to cost the agonies and exultations of two generations to win: "Could the barriers be dissolved which have divided [Italy] into Neapolitans, Tuscans, Venetians, etc., and [Germany] into Prussians, Hanoverians, etc., the French would be driven back into their own land immediately. I wish to see Spain, Italy, France, Germany, formed into independent countries." Yes, France, and this at the darkest hour of that colossal struggle. "I have no desire," he quietly remarks, "to reduce the power of France further than may be necessary for that end." Now, was this language so foreign to the "large humanity" of Weimar? Had not Wordsworth come round, by a totally different path, by impassioned sympathy with heroic struggle almost untouched by philosophy or culture, to an ideal scarcely distinguishable in practical results from Goethe's? At least he was in this matter in the van of political thought in Europe, and pointed the way to men far more cultured and far more philosophic than himself.

Rud. Well, I admit that this Europe of free nations, liberated by war, was something more human and civilised than Napoleon's military empire. But I think these fruits of war, these "children of Carnage," would, like Hamlet, have rather "astonished their mother," not to speak of their august grandfather. And I suspect that these children, as Wordsworth imagined them, were, I will not say skeletons, but certainly naked; and even children, however delightful in the nude to the painter and poet, have to be dressed for society.

Cyr. How do you mean?

Rud. I mean that though Wordsworth, to his honour, formulated freedom for all the nations as the ideal policy for Europe, "freedom" was for him a mere negation—self-government undisturbed by any foreign power. And his eye was focused more upon the individual than upon the nation. How thin, how abstract, how

naked, how provincial in short, was his conception of nationhood, compared with our Fichte's magnificent idea of a German nation, proclaimed with eloquence as impassioned as Wordsworth's and almost at the same time! His German nation was the living image of the German soul finding more and more articulate expression in its culture through the centuries of its history. The Germany which Fichte addressed was politically divided, inarticulate, but already a nation by oneness of spirit, by its common memories, its folklore, its songs, above all by its common speech, in whose very structure and idiom, as in bodily nerve and tissue, all its spiritual heritage was enshrined. Had Wordsworth a particle of this historic passion for any nation, even for his own? Was not Germany for him to the last pretty much what it had been that winter at Goslar, where he and Dorothy froze in homely lodgings, and he had watched a kingfisher as he took his solitary morning walk along the mediæval walls, noticing a German kingfisher perhaps, but thinking of an English Lucy spinning her wheel "beside an English fire." And as to the other peoples, whose independence and unity he so passionately championed, were Spain and Italy much more to him at that time (1809) than abstractions in which floated a casual name or two, Calderon perhaps, or Michelangelo or Chiabrera? Was even France, which he should have known better than any other Englishman, France which he had seen "at the top of golden hours," and watched in her fiery rebirth from the very brink of the volcano, was not France, too, just an abstraction, which it was not hard to treat with impartial justice because she was for him just a square in the European chess-board, a territory "wanting equally in books and men," at best a monotony of dull men like Voltaire and dull books like *Candide*? Was not sheer poverty of imagination partly responsible even for his championship of the Spaniards, those victims of superstition who, he honestly believed, once free from the invader, would of themselves throw off the yoke of Popery?

Cyr. You are arguing that if Wordsworth did find his way to a sort of cosmopolitanism, like Mazzini's, it was partly through sheer want of the historic imagination in which Mazzini, and Goethe, were yet so great. That is paradoxical, but it admits one-half of what I am contending for. And you will hardly deny that historic imagination, like fire, though a good servant, may be a bad master; and that if the total want of it may sometimes make a man fair because he is saved from the bias of half knowledge, that same historic imagination, confined to a single people or age, may act as an explosive, shattering the very element of cosmopolitanism. Think of our Southey, the best Spanish scholar of his day, whose finest work was built upon an historic legend of old Spain, but the crassest of pseudo-patriots in his flippant gibes at "the emperor Nap" and

his "summer excursion to Moscow," after the awful tragedy of the Moscow retreat, which Wordsworth passed over in dignified silence. Think of your own Fichte himself, the prophet of German *Ursprünglichkeit*, I grant; but how obtuse to the genius of the poor Latin races, who had to build their patchwork languages and literatures from the rotting débris of Rome!

Rud. Very good, I agree. The historians can be just as deadly enemies to internationalism as the politicians and the soldiers. But surely, all the same, a many-sided historical and cultural apprehension of the past must be the basis of any true internationalism, and where else is it so pre-eminent as in Goethe?

Cyr. I would rather say that that large cultural apprehension in which Goethe was pre-eminent is one-half the substance of true internationalism; but that another half remains, in which he was notably deficient, and which is found pre-eminently in Wordsworth. That cultural and historical apprehension was the very substance of his internationalism; it was as bare on the political as Wordsworth's on the cultural side, and therefore no less than his rested on a half-truth, on a negation. And he reached it so naturally, so organically, not merely because his sensibility to the whole range of cultural expression in men and nations was extraordinarily delicate and versatile, but because his apprehension of political nationality was so elementary. The just and grounded, as well as the irrational and stupid, antagonisms of the political world touched him too slightly to obstruct the harmony for which his nature called. He passed them by, but not entirely because his harmony comprehended and dissolved them; in part because it was too easily reached. His ideal of a harmonious society of cultural groups was defective on the side of political structure and organised strength, as Wordsworth's ideal of a society of united and independent nations was defective on the side of cultural and historic cement. Goethe's ideal Europe would have been a splendid cosmos, inhabited predominantly by artists, poets and scientific investigators, each in his own tongue—the rich heritage from his national past—contributing his part to a world literature, the instrument of education, the formative aliment of all growing minds. Wordsworth's ideal Europe was a group of free and independent nations, each with a government modelled on the British Constitution, and a religion modelled on the Church of England. Goethe by harmony and Wordsworth by simplicity achieved marvellous things, but neither was enough.

Rud. Do you mean that Goethe ought to have been the poet of a cosmopolitan patriotism—commemorated the heroic Patagonians, and fallen Siamese; or, if you like, thundered across the German Rhine, like an alternate chorus, from each side—now Arndt, and now

Musset, by turns—"sie sollen ihn nicht haben," and "nous l'avons eu, votre Rhin allemand"?

Cyr. Take care, those officers at the other table are listening now. But they won't listen long. No, I meant that Goethe's harmony with all its richness was incomplete, just where Wordsworth's simplicity, with all its cultural bareness, was rich—in fortitude, as I hinted just now, and in civic sense.

Rud. Does not his "*Sei resolut*"—you know the rest—put fortitude in the first place?

Cyr. It is hard, with the best will, to live in the beautiful, the good, or the true, without being a little unfaithful to two of the three. But I meant that Goethe's harmony was not the Shakespearean harmony, which refused to save Desdemona and would not have saved Faust; being aware of a larger and deeper music which would not be shattered though Mephisto won his wager, and was not when Iago had his way. And I meant that Goethe's Hellenism was a Hellenism in which Homer and Phidias counted more than the speeches of Pericles and the Politics of Aristotle, the radiant gods of Olympus, for ever fled, than the Athenian city-state, the foundation of democracy. It was not—let me hazard the paradox—the Dantesque Hellenism of a great citizen creating in exile his consummate cosmos of poetry for the spiritual salvation of his countrymen.

Rud. Well, Goethe knew that he wasn't Shakespeare, and if he had lived a century later he would have known that he was not Dante. But we have to do only with Wordsworth, and after that discharge of artillery, I begin to suspect you of insinuating that instead of Wordsworth going from Goslar to call on Goethe at Weimar, Goethe might profitably have gone from Weimar to Goslar to call on him. You remember how when your naval people were going to shoot your Admiral Byng for cowardice at sea, because he was so far from the French admiral, that dull man Voltaire remarked in that dull book *Candide* that the French might justly have shot their admiral for being so far from Byng.

Cyr. Voltaire was witty, but he was wrong. The French knew, before Einstein, that space, like time, is relative and personal. The way from Weimar to Goslar was longer, then and always, than the way from Goslar to Weimar, and if Goethe and Wordsworth had met in the middle, as he and Schiller met between *Erfahrung* and *Idee*, Goethe would have gone more than half-way.

Rud. I'm afraid they would have crossed without knowing, called at their respective homes, and found the other out, left his card, und damit *Punktum*. All the same, after we have spent an afternoon in getting them to "approach," I should like to think of them meeting, elsewhere than on Parnassus. What if, in a last

five minutes, we tried to find something on which they might shake or even clasp hands?

Cyr. Good. If we remember that even a warm hand-clasp, and I want it to be warm, does not imply agreement, much less equality; but only the inner spiritual kinship, under whatever diversities, which is all that I claim. What shall we say was the last word of life-wisdom, *der Weisheit letzter Schluss*, for each? For Goethe, say?

Rud. I won't accept your obvious lead. But why not the "Three Reverences" of the *Wanderjahre*, the ageing poet, I know, but Olympian still, though touched with *Götterdämmerung*? The "Reverence" for what is above us, for what is beneath us, and for our fellow-men?

Cyr. And was not the Olympian there in deep accord with the poet who in his glorious prime held that we live by admiration, hope and love, and who embraced Man and Nature and "Something more deeply interfused in both" in the same mystic passion?

Rud. And you remember how Goethe's Elder adds that from those Three Reverences springs the highest reverence, reverence for oneself, out of which again the others are born, so that Man thereby attains to the best of which he is capable.

Cyr. And Man, and reverence for oneself as a Man, is similarly the heart and focus of Wordsworth's faith. Into the mind of Man he gazes with an awe that Erebus and Chaos could never inspire; Man's mind, wedded in love and holy passion with the beauty of the world, generates the glories of poetry; Man's mind discovers in the beggar and the child their hallowing divinity; Man's mind is the inmost shrine of the Something that rolls through the wide ocean and the living air and the blue sky, all thinking things, all objects of all thought; that mind of man is "the haunt and the main region of his song." And when Wordsworth, in some magnificent lines only published the other day, declares the whole universe of which Man and Nature are parts, to be not only divine, but to be God, this unity transcending all distinctions is still focussed in the mind of man!

One interior life,
In which all beings live with God, themselves
Are God, existing in the mighty whole,
As indistinguishable as the cloudless east
Is from the cloudless west, when all
The hemisphere is one cerulean blue.

Such a conception did not lend itself to portrayal in the symbolic frescoes, nor would the Elder have thought it fitted for the education of Felix Meister. But was this Spinozan vision of the universe which lifted Wordsworth at thirty to this height of ecstasy so far

from the Spinozan vision which had transported Goethe in his own great years, at twenty-five, twenty-five years before?

And now the sun is setting, and here comes Käthchen to carry off our *Kaffee-geschirr*. I expect she thinks our little *gemütliche Plauderei* has lasted long enough. And so it has. But see how calm it is over the mountains. "*Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh—*." No English wanderer in a German land should go home without remembering his *Abendlied*.

Rud. Nor any German wanderer in England without remembering the sonnet that came to your Wordsworth as he watched the sun

Sinking down in his tranquillity

over Calais sands.

Cyr. And so let our homely poet wander back too, to his Rydal home, far indeed, yet not perhaps at all points so far as either of us thought him, from the World-poet of Weimar.

C. H. HERFORD.

CAPACITY OF AUSTRALIA FOR IMMIGRATION.

THE Government proposal to promote emigration in connection with its employment policy raises two issues. How far can unemployment be remedied by emigration, and how can emigration be directed to be of most mutual benefit to both countries concerned? The stress that has been laid on emigration as a cure for unemployment is unfortunate, since it prejudices migration both at home and overseas. It naturally increases the reluctance to emigrate, and the Dominions will resent being used as the dumping ground of the industrial failures of to-day as they resisted the transportation of the moral failures of a century ago. Moreover, one school of authorities insists that emigration affords no relief for unemployment or over-population, as the emigrants are replaced owing to the stimulated birth-rate. Nevertheless, migration and unemployment are closely connected, for a sound policy of migration should help to cure unemployment, as, if the emigrants go where they are more economically employed, they increase the markets for the manufactured goods of their home country. The migration policy of the British Empire should be directed to secure the distribution of the surplus population of Britain so that it may increase the demand for labour at home and greater production and employment in the immigrant countries.

The two Dominions which appear to afford the largest opportunities for British settlement are Canada and Australia, as both of them have vast areas of unused or inadequately used land in a suitable climate; and as they have at present but little over two persons to the square mile, they are both sparsely populated. The strong stream of emigrants from Britain to the industrial centres in the United States is a double loss to the Empire, for they increase the output of American manufacturers, and thus hamper British industry by stronger competition. Emigration from this country to either Canada or Australia, on the contrary, by adding to the purchasing power of those Dominions should increase their imports of British manufactures. Australia, being free from the long winter and the large proportion of frozen North, would appear to offer the better facilities; but recently there have been numerous warnings that owing to insuperable natural disabilities Australia cannot continue to absorb any considerable number of immigrants and that the expectation that Australia could accommodate in comfort 100,000 people is based on a fantastic over-estimate.

This opinion appears to be especially widely held in Australian academic circles and among the professional members of the Civil Service. Thus the Government Statistician, Mr. C. H. Wickens,

in a paper contributed to the World Population Congress in Geneva, 1927, rejected as extravagant such estimates as those of the Australian High Commissioner, Sir Granville Ryrie, that Australia could accommodate 100,000 immigrants a year. Mr. Wickens did not expect it to receive more than one-third of that number. Similarly the idea that Australia can support a population of 100 millions is rejected by Professor Griffith Taylor, until recently Professor of Geography at Sydney University. He reduces the number to 20 millions. Professor Ellsworth Huntington, after a tour in Australia in connection with the Pan-Pacific Congress, estimates its maximum population as 15,100,000.

This view has received most authoritative expression in a recent volume, *The Peopling of Australia*, which consists of papers prepared for the Pacific Relations Conference. The eleven authors are all either on the staff of Australian universities or members of the public service. This symposium demands the fullest consideration, as it is the most careful scientific study yet made of Australian population and migration problems. Australia is represented in this volume as one-third desert, and Mr. Wickens repeats this estimate with pride that Australia, in face of its great natural disadvantages, should have done so well as regards population. Some of the authors hold that the population of Australia could not, or should not, exceed 10 to 15 millions or about double the present number; and though others reject that figure as too low, they all appear to agree that a total population of 100 millions is far beyond the range of probabilities. The book gives the impression that in the opinion of its authors the immigration capacity of Australia is too low to provide any considerable outlet to the surplus population of Britain.

The consensus of opinion in support of this conclusion must have a discouraging influence on migration to Australia. A country in which more than one-third is desert and much of the rest has too uncertain a rainfall for successful settlement, is not attractive to European emigrants; while if the total population which the continent can carry is only from 10 to 15 millions, Australia obviously has no need for immigrants, as it could obtain all for which it has room by the natural increase of the present inhabitants. If immigration be continued at the rate of recent years, Australia will be "full up" in the lifetime of living young adults; while if no more immigrants be admitted that condition would be reached in the lifetime of living children. Professor Ellsworth Huntington (*West of the Pacific*, 1925, page, 322) says: "The more I study this matter, the more I am filled with amazement that the Australians so constantly talk about the desirability of a larger population. . . . Australia must decide how dense a population it wants, and then

should take every feasible measure to keep its population at about that density."

The extent to which Australia can accommodate immigrants depends on its capacity for population, for which the estimates vary from the 10 millions of Benham to the 200 millions of Sir Edmond Slade. Australia at present has a density of 2.1 persons per square mile. According to Mr. Benham's estimate the population should never exceed more than about 4.2 per square mile, or about half the rate of Arabia and less than that of Italian Somaliland, which is generally regarded as one of the most arid and barren political divisions in Africa. The Benham estimate could be reached if the interior half of Australia were left solely to the dingoes and the sand-moles, and the number of inhabitants per square mile in the outer half were equal to that of Arabia.

The reliability of such estimates may be judged by consideration of Victoria. That State, according to Professor Griffith Taylor, has 68,000 square miles of land available for farming and close white settlement, 10,000 square miles of good pastoral land, and 10,000 square miles of fair pastoral land; practically the whole of its 88,000 square miles is capable of profitable use. The table (page 218) stating the potential population of Australia assigns to Victoria a possible 1,613,000. That number has already been exceeded. The present population, as recorded in the same table, is almost 1,700,000. The extra 90,000 over the "possible" total are not a burden which Victoria cannot bear; for that State could undoubtedly hold with advantage to itself and to many of its inadequately used railways a population much larger than the present. Victoria could probably maintain, in comfort, a population five times as dense as it has to-day, or 100 per square mile, as in Spain; and it might reach the 200 per square mile of the old Kingdom of Austria-Hungary. That Victoria could accommodate a much greater population is obvious from the fact that only 7,300 square miles are cultivated, and the district east of the Snowy River, with a rainfall of about 40 inches, is almost empty. The table that assigns to Victoria a lower potential population than it already has, assigns to the whole of Australia a population of 29,600,000. If that table underrates the capacity of the rest of Australia as much as it does that of Victoria, my former estimate of the future population as 100 millions appears moderate.

The low estimates of Australian capacity rely mainly on comparison with the present density of the western parts of the United States; but those areas are admittedly under-populated. It is expected that the United States before the end of the century will have a population of 200 millions, or nearly double the present

total: hence the estimate of the numbers possible in Australia, based on the present population of the United States, should be doubled; while those based upon comparison with only the western States should be more than doubled.

The valuable summary of Mr. Henry Barkley, of the Commonwealth Meteorological Bureau, of the climatic factors affecting distribution of population in Australia compares its population with that of areas with equal rainfall in the whole of the United States; on that basis he estimates for Australia a potential population of 46 millions. If the United States population be doubled, on this comparison the expectation for Australia would be 92 millions. The late Sir George Knibbs, a former Australian Statistician and Director of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, repudiated with scorn what he called "the amazing deduction that the United States can never have a greater population than 197,274,000, and that it can never have more than 65.2 persons per square mile, though England and Wales have no less than 671 per square mile." If his expectation be realised then Australia should be so developed as to maintain more than double the estimate based upon the present numbers in the United States.

The ultimate population of Australia has however no immediate bearing on how many immigrants Australia can accommodate in the next few years. It is significant that Victoria, which has the densest population of all the States, has been receiving in proportion to area the largest number of immigrants. There is no real basis for the supposition that immigrants must now go to the arid interior, or to the tropical north, or to areas where the rainfall is so small that agriculture is impossible, or so uncertain that it is a mere gamble. Australia has large areas of well-watered temperate country which still has a quite inadequate population. New-comers need not be sent to farm the light soils of the interior.

The coastlands include considerable areas of sparsely settled country with the advantages of a good rainfall and proximity to fine harbours. The overseas trade of Australia has been concentrated at Sydney, Melbourne, Fremantle, and Brisbane, while excellent harbours with rich lands behind them remain neglected. Twofold Bay in the southern corner of New South Wales could be made available for overseas coastal trade, according to the report of Sir George Buchanan, at a small cost. It would serve as the natural outlet for the southernmost district of New South Wales, for the neglected eastern province of Victoria, and for the eastern Riverina. Sir George Buchanan, who visited Australia to report to the Federal Government on Harbour Development, remarks of Twofold Bay that "I have no doubt that in time, with

railway communications, a considerable amount of the trade of the surrounding districts, both in New South Wales and in Victoria, will be concentrated at that port." He thinks that the case for the decentralisation of trade from Sydney is as strong to-day as it was in 1911. In recent years the interstate coastal trade of Australia has been declining and its cost increasing, and the settlement of the country, of which Twofold Bay is the natural outlet, is delayed. On the coast of Gippsland there is much land with excellent soil, a good rainfall, and an ideal climate, which is hampered by all exports having to be sent by rail to Melbourne. The harbours along that coast and the country round them are relatively neglected. Albany in West Australia is one of the great natural harbours of Australia; and behind it lies rich meadowland which in the flowering season is of surpassing beauty, and would accommodate a much bigger population.

The irrigation areas would also support many more residents than at present. The water supply which Australia has rendered available by such forethought and generous expenditure is less profitable than it might be, as the farms are too large and the labour supply is too small for intensive cultivation. Closer settlements would enable this costly water-supply to yield a more adequate return.

A well-planned immigration policy by the aid of the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 might enable Australia to accommodate the 100,000 immigrants a year, mentioned by Sir Granville Ryrie, and could certainly absorb the 60,000 to 80,000, which I suggested in 1928 as the figure more likely to be reached. (*Human Migration and the Future*, page 154). Immigration to that amount for ten years seems possible, and would be a great permanent advantage to Australia. It needs a larger population, not so much for military defence, as to strengthen its commercial position which is none too sure. Australia depends largely on the export of wool which contributes £60,000,000 per annum out of the total exports of £140,000,000. The importance of wool to Australia is even greater than these figures suggest, as it is the chief source of revenue, directly or indirectly, to the railways of the interior and to the back country settlements. Sufficient progress has been made in the preparation of artificial wool to alarm some Scottish landowners whose incomes come from sheep farms; and its successful production would strike a heavy blow at the major industry of Australia. Some of the other exports are also unreliable. The extent to which Tasmania depends on the English apple market renders her position somewhat insecure, and the population has actually diminished. Fruit production in England is increasing

and may satisfy most of the local demand for fruit that can be grown there. South Africa, the Argentine, and the growing population of South Brazil may prove serious competitors of Australia, for while they share the advantage of the seasons being the reverse of those in the Northern Hemisphere, they are better placed for the shipment of perishable produce to the European markets.

Australia needs a larger rural population to increase the market for her manufacturers. Mr. Malcolm, a member of the Economic Mission to Australia, in a recent article ("Prospects for Migration to Australia," *Empire Review*, No. 341, June, 1929, pages 358-64), refers to the exports of Australian manufactures as negligible; and there is little prospect of their great early development in view of the high cost of production. A bigger immigration would help to assure the financial position of Australia, while at the same time helping the British unemployment policy by increasing the demand for our goods.

Mr. K. T. Henderson of Perth, who well explains the Australian point of view in *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* (April, 1929, pages 491-7), insists that successful immigration requires a comprehensive and wisely directed policy. That conclusion will be universally accepted, and it was to help such a policy that the British Government offered an advance of £34,000,000. Mr. Henderson agrees that "Australia has everything to gain by the increase of her population." The authors of *The Peopling of Australia* remark that their low estimates of the population capacity are not those current in Australia, and that higher figures are accepted by the press, by responsible political leaders and on the public platform. The larger estimates are also adopted by most British men of affairs who have visited Australia. Sir George Buchanan, the engineer who reported to the Federal Government on the development of the harbours of Australia, says that he "can see no limit to its prosperity and possibilities of development as a home for a branch of the great British race, provided the vast vacant spaces can be populated and are scientifically developed, within what the world at large will consider a reasonable period." He expressed his belief that "Australia has many million acres of the finest quality for the cultivation of foodstuffs lying idle," and foresees trouble unless "the agricultural population is vastly increased" and sustained effort is made to develop and populate the agricultural areas. (George Buchanan, *Report on Transport in Australia*, Vol. 1, 1927, pages 140, 142.) The present under-population and great future of Australia have also been remarked by many Australians and by W. R. Hiblewhite at the World Power Conference in 1924.

The official attitude in Australia is in favour of greater immigra-

tion. Mr. Gepp, the Chairman of the Development and Migration Commission (Imperial Conference, 1926, App., Cmd. 2769, 1927, page 288), considers that the annual immigration of 40,000 may be "appreciably increased"; and he lays stress on "the need for a more rapid increase in Australia's population." "Australia," he says, "demands more hands to operate it, and more brains to direct it."

The authors of *The Peopling of Australia* clearly point out that public opinion in that country accepts larger estimates than theirs, and believes in a population capacity of 100 millions and an annual absorption of 100,000 immigrants. The issues are of such extreme complexity that engineers, editors of newspapers, and politicians, who have constantly to deal with intricate issues dependent on many uncertain factors, are better trained to judge on this problem than those whose opinions are habitually based on simplified problems and fully proved evidence. The conclusions of the workers in the market place on this matter may be nearer the mark than those of academic students. It will be unfortunate if the view that Australia has at present a low absorption capacity and little need for immigrants should lead to its taking no part in the forthcoming schemes for Imperial migration, and to the main stream of British emigrants going only to Canada and the United States.

J. W. GREGORY.

THE AWAKENING OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

NOTHING is more remarkable in connection with the economic boom in America than the industrial revival of the Southern States. They are a long way from recapturing the predominance which was theirs before the railways began to draw Mid-Western traffic away from them to the Eastern ports; but never since the days of the Confederacy and the emancipation of the slaves has the South been able to look forward with such confidence as at present.

During the agricultural first half of the nineteenth century the South was a country of cotton, rice, and sugar plantations, all run by slave labour. The planter's capital was invested in his slaves, who on most plantations were well looked after and encouraged to multiply. The sudden abolition of this capital by the emancipation decree transformed the slave owners from men of substance to paupers, for they found it impossible to work their land in many cases with free labour. The era of poverty which then set in has lasted throughout the industrial second half of the century and is only now giving way before the introduction of modern methods from the North and East. The extent of the awakening of the South is hardly realised yet even in the Northern States, where the South is held almost in contempt as an idle, shiftless land, the home of dirt and preventable disease.

One has only to visit Massachusetts, however, to realise the growing importance of Southern industry. Everywhere the New England textile manufacturers are complaining of Southern competition, and all along the line between Fall River and Boston are derelict mills. The owners have either gone out of business or transferred their works to the South. The long lines of empty wharves at Boston tell the same tale. Massachusetts is rapidly ceasing to be the Lancashire of America; its place is being taken by North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. It is estimated that about 70 per cent. of the cotton now spun in America goes through Southern mills. Within a hundred miles' radius of Charlotte, North Carolina, are more spindles than in any other area of equal size in the world. This great change in the textile industry is due to a combination of two factors—the development of electric power and the discovery of a new source of mill labour. Of these the new labour is the most important. The New England manufacturers are harassed by their over-organised foreign workpeople and galled by trade-union restrictions. In some factories it is said that notices have to be posted up in fifteen languages. Manufacturers so handicapped have heard with delight of a new and unsuspected reservoir of pure Anglo-Saxon labour lying to their hand in the Southern States, unorganised, and adaptable to factory life.

The chain of the Blue Ridge Mountains which stretches from Virginia south-west to Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama is inhabited by a race of people who have hitherto kept entirely to the mountains, never descending from them and never mixing with the people of the plains. They are mainly of Scottish and North Irish descent and retain the speech, habits, and folk-songs brought over by their ancestors a couple of centuries ago. Education has only made slow headway among them, and in some districts is still actively opposed. These people earn a precarious living as small farmers; their more remunerative occupation of distilling has now become an illicit one. Although inhabitants of the same States as the Southern slave-owners, they have never had any economic relations with them, nor had they any sympathy with the Southern cause. They are the "mountain folk" or "mountain whites." It is the rising generation of these people who are now being drawn down from the mountains by the lure of regular work in the mills and the attractions of civilisation. They demand little pay—scarcely more than half the trade-union stipulation in the North—and they are content to work shifts of ten hours a day. Their ideas on housing accommodation are primitive, though at most of the new factories cottages are provided for them at nominal or low rent. In some cases their children are given free education by the management. The overseers report that these mountain workers are quick to learn and make reliable operatives. Above all they talk English and have no trade union ticket.*

It can readily be understood with what joy the Northern manufacturer has transferred himself and his spindles to the neighbourhood where such ideal labour is to be found. He would not have been able to avail himself of it, however, but for a simultaneous discovery. This was the possibility of hydro-electric development in the same Blue Ridge Mountains. The late Mr. James Duke, the tobacco manufacturer, was a leader in this development, and his success in cotton spinning in North Carolina was a triumph of industrial pioneer effort.

The Blue Ridge rivers are not yet harnessed to their full capacity, but development has been on a huge scale during the past few years. The power companies of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee are all interconnected, so that drought in one area is made good by energy from another. All these States are now covered with a network of power lines. South Carolina is less advanced than the other States in this respect, as the mountain area is smaller and therefore both labour and water-power are scarcer. Industrial development has not made so much headway as in North Carolina and Georgia, and the falling

* Since this was written, serious strikes have occurred in the mill districts of North Carolina fomented by Communist agitators from the North. The era of non-organisation among the Southern workers appears to be coming to an end.

off in the demand for sea island cotton, coupled with the boll weevil, has seriously affected South Carolina's chief source of wealth. Nevertheless electrical development is going ahead, and the River Saluda is now being harnessed sixteen miles west of Columbia at a cost of £4,000,000. A reservoir thirty-two miles long will be formed and two-thirds of the power to be produced has already been sold in advance.

Farther south in Georgia power development has made much greater strides. Hydro-electric work began only in 1901, and the Georgia Power Company has now available about 400,000 horsepower of electrical energy. Of this total, steam plants contribute about 38,000 horse power, and as water resources become fully worked more use will be made of the great undeveloped coal deposits. On the Tugalo River alone the Company has constructed six dams, one below the other, of which one, at Tallulah, has a fall of 600 feet and a capacity of 108,000 horse power of electrical energy. Power developed faster than the capacity to use it in the South, and hence the great drive on the part of the power companies to attract industries to their area. Among the advantages which they can offer the manufacturer is that of putting down his factory at any spot selected by him. Power can be delivered at one place as easily as at another. Rayon (artificial silk) mills are springing up in the timber districts close to the mountains, and cotton factories among the cotton fields, although a good deal of the cotton spun in the South comes from west of the Mississippi. Even then the manufacturer has an advantage over his New England competitor in the shorter haul of his raw material.

Another great advantage to manufacture on these lines is that it is in a sense a return to village industry. Factories are distributed over the countryside, each being surrounded by fertile agricultural land producing an abundance of fruit, vegetables, and dairy produce for workers. This in its turn has brought prosperity to the "truck farmer" or market gardener, and made the Southern States less dependent on the cotton crop, now rendered precarious by the disease. Macon, a small town of Georgia, advertises itself as the centre of the "millionarea" where peaches, corn, water-melons, hogs, and a variety of vegetables are grown in abundance. Last summer over one hundred Northern firms were inquiring as to the conditions of manufacture in this area. Similar inquiries are going on all over the South, and town vies with town and State with State in attracting new industries. Remission of all local rates for five or even ten years is often held out as an inducement. The object of every town is to become bigger and wealthier than its neighbours, and it is realised that a town grows in snowball fashion. Every new factory in the neighbourhood means ultimately increased rateable value and immediately a bigger pay-roll. The weekly pay-roll is what every town

"booster" looks at, because it means more money to circulate in the district, better and larger stores, more wholesale houses and assembling shops, and these in their turn bring fresh subsidiary industries.

Every industry, actual or possible, is the subject of study and publicity. A pamphlet entitled "*Georgia: the Ceramists' El Dorado*" may be taken as an example of the methods being used. This has a map showing the areas of boll clays, feldspars, quartz, coal, iron ore, and limestone, kaolins, etc., and describes the favourable labour and power conditions existing in Georgia. Northern ceramists are urged to consider whether the nearness of raw material and the growing Southern market would not make it worth their while to transfer their works to Georgia. The same thing is going on in respect of every possible industry, and the result may be seen in such a city as Atlanta, which describes itself as the metropolis of the South-East. This city, which owes its existence to the railroads, was burned to the ground by General Sherman during the Civil War and some years later had a population of only 20,000. It has been growing ever since, but during the present century its rise has become remarkable. The population has about doubled during the last decade and is now 250,000. It has become the assembling, distributing, and financial centre for the South-East, and forms the hub of the great new industrial area. Both railway and air lines cross here; the port of Savannah is 270 miles away on the Atlantic seaboard and Mobile 350 miles on the Gulf of Mexico.

Mobile, the State port in Alabama, is itself an interesting example of Southern expansion. The State has here just enlarged its docks to deal with its growing trade, and there is now at Mobile an up-to-date series of long deep-water quays. Cotton is the chief export and of this about 60 per cent. comes to England. Coal from Birmingham is also exported and a modern coal-handling plant capable of dealing with 600 tons an hour has been installed. Mobile is at the mouth of the Alabama River and has water connection with Birmingham, the iron and steel centre, up the Warrior River. The Federal Barge Line undertakes river transport on these rivers and also runs between Mobile and New Orleans and up the Mississippi.

Although the Mississippi valley is adjacent to Alabama it is economically totally distinct from it. The great waterway cuts the continent in two from north to south, but is cut off by the Blue Ridge Mountains from the South-Eastern States. New Orleans looks to St. Louis, Cincinnati, and the Middle West for its hinterland, rather than to the South-East. The Federal Barge Line carries cargoes up the river to St. Louis and even to St. Paul, far away north in Minnesota. The new navigable canal between Chicago and the Illinois River will give through connec-

tion from New Orleans to the Great Lakes. A navigable canal is also to be cut from St. Louis to Kansas City along the valley of the Missouri, while the Ohio River brings Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky within the number of States served by the greatest of rivers. When it is remembered that New Orleans is within a few days' steam of the tropical regions of Central and South America the significance of its accessibility to such an immense inland territory covering all the central States can easily be understood. New Orleans seems destined to grow in importance as the port of exchange for the tropical products of the equatorial zone and the temperate crops and manufactures of the Middle West. At present the leading exports in bulk from New Orleans are petroleum, grain, lumber, cotton, and flour, and after these metals and manufactures. Bananas form one of the largest imports. Sugar, formerly the staple crop of Louisiana, is now suffering from Cuban competition, but it is hoped to restore it to prosperity by using the cane for wall boards. This new material, called celotex, is said to be non-inflammable and echo-proof and is being largely used. Indeed some sugar plantations are growing the crop for the cane and selling the sugar as a by-product. The mosaic disease has also injured the sugar crop in Louisiana and the floods of 1927 still further impaired the prosperity of the State.

The chief wealth of the South-West is at present derived from oil, of which enormous deposits exist, particularly in Texas. This huge State—nearly a thousand miles from east to west—was formerly the home of the cow-puncher and desperado, but is now the residence of millionaires. North of Texas, in Oklahoma, even the Indians have become fabulously rich by the discovery of oil beneath their reservations. Enormous quantities of petroleum are exported from Oklahoma and Texas and in many cases the rapidly rising cities are served by natural gas. In the east of Texas the forests have been cleared for cotton, but manufacture has not developed to the same extent as east of the Mississippi owing to the lack of the same class of labour.

The available labour in Texas is Mexican, and cotton-spinners who are running mills with such labour declare themselves satisfied with it. It is even cheaper than the mountain labour of the Blue Ridge district and is equally unorganised. The raw material is grown in the locality, but on the other hand there is a long haul for the finished product. With the rise in local markets, as the Texas towns continue to double in size decade by decade, it is probable that more and more cotton will be spun in the State which grows it. This will, however, result in Texas becoming even more Mexican and Spanish-speaking than it is to-day. At San Antonio, a residential and military centre, about half the population is Mexican, and farther west, at El Paso, probably about 70 per cent.

In the eastern and more developed section of Texas the two lusty cities of Houston and Dallas compete one against the other, both claiming to have the largest population, the greatest number of skyscrapers, and the largest weekly pay-roll in the State. Houston has the advantage of its ship canal which makes it a port for ocean-going steamers. The canal issues into the Gulf of Mexico at Galveston 40 miles away, and is the source of considerable heartburning at Galveston itself. "We have a port," they say, "Houston has only a canal." Nevertheless, Galveston remains the second largest exporting port in the country, touching a hinterland as far north as Kansas for grain. On the banks of the Houston ship canal are 17 petroleum and oil bi-product plants, and within easy reach are apparently limitless supplies of oil. The railways run on oil and on oil the people of Texas float to prosperity. The great new skyscrapers of Houston stand on a foundation of oil, and oil also built the huge Convention Hall in which Mr. Alfred Smith was nominated for the Presidency last year. If oil and natural gas should ever give out in Texas the State could fall back on the enormous deposits of lignite which stretch across it from north-east to south-west.

Meanwhile Houston hopes to increase its prosperity by the projected intra-coastal canal from the Mississippi through Houston and down to the Gulf of Mexico near the mouth of the Rio Grande. This will enable oil, cotton, and sulphur to be shipped by canal to New Orleans and up the Mississippi to the Middle West. A sulphur field recently discovered on the Gulf near Houston is said to produce more sulphur than all the rest of the world together.

The chief impression obtained in Texas is the apparently limitless extent of its resources. About 80 per cent. of the land in the west is at present unused, waiting for irrigation. There is declared to be ample water, however, in the Rio Grande and the Rockies to enable the whole of it to be cultivated. Already considerable areas have been irrigated and are producing good crops of fruit and vegetables with poultry and dairy produce. The Lower Rio Grande Valley by the Gulf of Mexico, where there is a summer rainfall, has been found adapted for the cultivation of grape-fruit and here thousands of acres, formerly covered by cactus, wild pepper trees, and sage brush, and roamed by wild donkeys, are now producing crops of high-grade fruit. Another ship canal from Brownsville to the sea is planned. This area is one instance of the way in which the Southern States are discovering the wealth of their own resources and putting them to fruition.

ANTHONY DELL.

THE LURE OF THE OLD MARKET—A NEW LEGEND OF TROY.

THE market which forms the subject of this article is not that of the Caledonian Road, beloved by our generation of American visitors, nor yet the combined market and fair which, like the modern "bean-feast," has become a festive occasion. All the same, those who now frequent old markets as a frolic might show themselves as proficient as the burgesses and housewives of earlier days by whom the art of selling and buying was evolved in a semblance of its present form, keeping pace with the development of industry and commerce.

British trade may or may not have followed the flag that has flaunted in trade-winds or other currents of commercial advantage, beckoning to many generations of adventurous Britons. The course of its gradual expansion can, however, be traced during the last three centuries in the slow and painful evolution of British commerce. This takes us by degrees from barter and subsistence farming to a skilful, though somewhat cumbrous, mercantile system based on a feudal constitution, and facilitated by the common religion and culture of the mediæval civilisation. These three factors played a notable part in the rise of native industries to the dignity of an international trade and commerce, and another forms the subject of this article.

Among all the instruments for distribution of the chief necessities of mankind in the shape of food and drink, clothing and shelter, none has been so essential as weights, measures, and count. For by means of these symbols many generations of English husbandmen, craftsmen, middle-men, and housewives sold and bought the produce of home industries or foreign marts in a network of fairs and markets, what time such buying and selling formed the most characteristic feature of the economic and social life of this as of other nations. The fact was demonstrated in earlier days by the elaborate procedure connected with each transaction. Solemn words spoken in a quaint vernacular or written in a quainter Anglo-French or Latin idiom in the presence of witnesses or pledges of good faith; place and time of marketing, quantity and quality of provisions or wares, and facilities of access regulated by royal, seignorial or municipal officials, might indeed suggest that the difficulties of mediæval and even of post-mediæval shopping must have been rather formidable. In fact, however, the safeguards imposed by a paternal and impecunious administration, whether central or local, were, as we shall presently see, more honoured in the breach than in the observance. When trade was at last organised in this country on a national instead of on a tribal basis, native

products and foreign merchandise were sold or bought by a scale of weights and measures co-ordinated with their money value. This system, of course, was known to the culture of an ancient world and had been handed on to the Western Civilisation in Greek and Latin formulas which are embodied in the British Pharmacopœia; for the medical prescription has preserved the last vestiges of a common script, which is still intelligible to the physicians, chemists, and palæographers of every Western nation.

Compilations from ancient writers are preserved in modern libraries, under the titles of "Etymologies" or "Glossaries," which include tables of weights and measures, from the talent down to the scruple, or from the digit up to the square acre. These tables may occur along with such trivial exercises as the number of bones or veins in a man's body, the dimensions of the Universe or of the Kingdom, the Seven Ages in the life of man, the number of verses in the Psalter, or of feet and perches in a mile. They may be found on the fly-leaves of patristic or academic collections and, in one form or another, they were in common use before the eleventh century. Not only were common denominations of weights and measures handed down to us by an ancient civilisation, but with them we received the device of balanced scales and their convenient, though irregular, variant the "steel-yard." Moreover, measures of quantity and equivalent weights might bear a definite relation to a numerical calculation by count or tale. In fact, the subject of weights and measures was once regarded as pertaining to the study of natural or mathematical science rather than as a branch of archæology. But without seeking for an earlier analogy in the science of the Wise Men of the East, the briefest study of the metrological systems of the Greeks and Romans will reveal an exact model for our own. There the grain of barley and wheat, with other seeds or fruits, supplied natural symbols of average size and weight. In course of time these natural weights or measures were supplemented by horns, jars, stones, and poles; for in the progression from "subtle" to commercial values it was found desirable to provide symbols of weight and measure in a conventional form. At the same time the use of physical measures of length and breadth is supposed to have been facilitated by the uniform development of racial types; and so the span of outstretched arms and striding legs brings us by one route to the stadium, mile, and league, and by another route to the furlong, acre, and knight's-fee. The nature of this legacy and its influence upon the economic and social development of this country have not perhaps been fully appreciated. The functions of local officials, the worries of parliaments and councils, and the labours of royal commissions in connection with the national "standards" of weight and measure may be passed over for the

moment. On the other hand, those "standards" must appeal to the dullest imagination as impressive relics, for by them the metrological succession of English weights and measures has been fulfilled or justified. We all know the tables in which these symbols have been set forth, forming a necessary appendix to arithmetic books; but we may have said our tables, as we have said our prayers, without realising the significance of their literary form or of their historical associations. And so the jingle of the barley corn and wheat grain has replaced a more stately progression from the lentil bean to the Great Talent, leaving us to follow the process, if we choose, in a German edition of the *Relics of Metrological Writers*.

The English table-books which were elaborated from the collections of early mediæval encyclopædists comprise three distinct types, of which the first relates to the weights or measures co-ordinated with the Troy scale, and the second to those of the Avoirdupois scale; while a third group deals with the special scales affected by the officers of the Mint, Wardrobe, and Household, and by the Goldsmiths and Apothecaries, all of them being derived from the Troy or standard weight. Now in view of the national importance of these weights or measures it might seem desirable that their origin, nature, and use should be clearly and accurately stated; but we cannot feel sure that this could be done from the information that is available. The Troy scale is usually derived from that used at the fair of Troyes; but it is submitted that this is based on a misconception of the documentary evidence. There are other objections to the implicit acceptance of the Troyes origin of our most ancient and authoritative standard weight which cannot be stated here; but there are also two alternative derivations. One of these has incidentally a romantic interest, for it reminds us that in mediæval chronicles and lays the Trojan Brutus figures as the eponymous founder of the British race who, in the days of Eli and Samuel, had landed in Albion and had extirpated the giants there. But the real interest of the legend is found in its adoption by the city of London which, we are told, was "founded after the manner of Troy," referred to here as "Old Troy" or "Great Troy." This making of a New or Little Troy on British soil need not perhaps be taken very seriously, for the legend of "Helen of Troy" still lingers on the British and Transatlantic stage. What does count in this new "Troy Game" is that the London of Brutus was intent, when the Troy legend flourished, on the metrological headship of England; that is to say, the national importance of the London weight and measure was in a fair way to become established by means of this artless propaganda, assisted by the wealth and prestige of a metropolis.

The alternative exposition of "Troy weight" referred to is by

comparison with the preceding emendation somewhat prosaic, though from the point of view of official procedure and linguistic method it may prove more convincing. In the first place it should be noticed that if this standard weight is derived from Troyes or even from Troy, we have still to account for the weight of the Tron, at least during the period when nothing but the Tron scale or the Troy weight was regarded as lawful. This Tron, which must have been one of the most familiar objects in the apparatus of our mediæval trade, was a balance by which all commodities sold and bought were weighed, and we may perhaps be tempted to wonder whether "Troy weight" is not simply "Tron weight"; indeed, Tron (with an uncial n) might easily be transcribed as Troy. It has been already pointed out that the ingenuous title of the Avoirdupois scale is unintelligent, but here the emendation "Avers-depoise" is easily made.

From the large collections of tracts and table-books preserved in the British Museum and in the libraries of our older Universities much curious information can be obtained. Here, too, we find many statutory or customary weights and measures besides the "standards" proper, some of which were famous and others infamous in their day, and of which some are still in force while others have disappeared. Among the former may be mentioned the "water-measure" of the docks and the "cord" of fire-wood, with traces of the quaint numbering of eels and garlic; among the latter "Venice weight" for costly fringes and the "auncel" of the street vendor. But though "rule of thumb" has lost its proper use and meaning, the paced yard is still used for village cricket and archery practice, and horses are still measured by the "hand." Moreover, the scales of weight or measure may be supplemented by a count of the dozen, gross, dicker, score, hundred, and thousand, the values of which, and of their respective multiples, were well understood by sellers or buyers. Perhaps even this rigmarole, the count of dickers and "dozens," or "garlic heads" and "eels' tails," is less confusing than the persistent fumbling with symbolical denominations which has made agrarian measurement a terror to students of economic and social statistics.

One of the most interesting features of our table-books is the skill with which various commodities are tabulated according to their use and value; the mediæval housekeeper might reckon the finger-breadths of fat on haunch or ham, the overhead charges on a butt of French wine, the value (by ell, yard, or piece) of all the cloths; or (by pint, gallon, bushel, quarter, last, horse-load, or cartload) of the grain or malt which between them choked the pavements of the market. The writer of an article in an obsolete encyclopædia was amused to find that it was thought necessary in the

fourteenth century to test the specific gravity of a standard liquid measure by the use of wine, when water could have served as well; but the explanation might be that our forefathers took their weights and measures very seriously. As a result we find an infinite variety of local customs and trade devices, a misconception of which may seriously affect the economic or social historian's statistics, unless he is ever on his guard. For when a fourteenth-century scribe observes that a sack of wool ought to weigh 28 stones and used to weigh as much as a sack of wheat and therefore weighs the sixth part of a cart-load of lead, we may feel that we must take this worthy's word for the fact. But then one of his contemporaries assures us that 28 stones contain 350 lbs, and 30 stones 375 lbs; and a somewhat later authority recites the saying that from ancient times the sack has contained a pound of wool for every day in the Roman year. Thereupon we refer back to Master Walter of Henley and find that in the thirteenth century he used to buy wool in a sack of 30 stones "by touch," or in a sack of 28 stones "by the balance," well weighed by "the right stone of 12 lbs."

It will be evident, then, that the mystical quality of this quantitative reckoning may present a serious difficulty to the economic or social historian who must in self-defence make himself acquainted with the system and customs of an earlier period of our industrial life; and he will owe a debt of gratitude to Sir William Beveridge, who has adventured first upon a scientific adjustment of local customary weights and measures which were substituted for the standards with an impunity never permitted in the case of seals, coins, stamps or other national tokens. An early Victorian antiquary has pictured a mediæval Mayor of Abingdon faced with the reproaches of enraged townsmen whom he has shamelessly plundered, exacting requisitions "for the King's use" by means of a yard reckoned as an ell, false weight and measure, and regrating at excessive prices. Now the mayor was also a potential deputy of the King's Clerk of the Market, a dignitary whose constitutional functions may have been admirably defined by modern historians, but whose official activities have been perhaps overlooked by students of the causes of economic and social discontent from the roll burning of the fourteenth century to the rick burning of the eighteenth.

An instance occurs in connection with the critical period of the French wars and labour troubles in the middle of the fourteenth century. Here the indignation of the kingdom's "great ones" and the complaints of its "poor commons" were not solely directed against judicial failures to repress the rapine of robber bands or the oppression of robber barons and their retainers. These murmurs were also provoked by a more pressing and more insidious danger,

the extortions of middlemen and the regrators of victuals which in fact as well as phrase were the staff of life. When the long-promised justices of the peace were at last appointed and got to work, their plea-rolls record not only convictions of bandits, but also the fines of a shoal of small purveyors who would buy no corn or malt from lord or peasant unless on their own terms, namely, to buy with a large measure and to sell again with a small one. Behind this sharp practice, of course, was the eternal struggle between the producer and the consumer, the turmoil of which has never been stilled, because its true causes have not been recognised. And fuel was added to these smouldering fires, as will always happen, through fines and requisitions mercilessly levied by an army of officials. But here as in the procedure by local presentments it was not the "intention" of the King's justices or the lord's steward to send convicted profiteers to the pillory in a tumbrel, or to prison till delivered by the Justices in Eyre. They could escape those horrors by a silver bridge, compounding the offence with a suitable fine.

The practical application of these historical data is obvious. Since the famous chapter of Magna Carta proclaiming uniformity of weights and measures, the commons had passionately insisted on its observation and had at least secured the recognition of this principle, even though it may seem to have been treated as a counsel of perfection. The explanation may well be that the Crown would not or could not forgo its share of the steady and considerable cash revenue derived from the "assize of weights and measures" in the shape of fines for non-observance of the statutory standards by a large proportion of the producers, distributors, and consumers of foodstuffs, without reckoning other commodities bought or sold. Again, existing supervisors of weights and measures vested with freehold interests had naturally a voice in the matter, while there were no available funds for the salaries of new justices without disgorging a considerable share of these fines. It seems something more than a coincidence that when at last an arrangement was made for the provision of their salaries out of the fines due to lords of franchises, the justices were appointed and a new crusade against illegal weights and measures began. Like all crusades arrayed against the force of nature (contemporary observers speak of the force of custom) this was a failure; but it nerved the mediæval commons to continue the struggle, which was renewed with more apparent success in Tudor and Stuart times. But even as late as 1868 the enforcement of a uniform standard of weights and measures in every part of the United Kingdom and among all classes of subjects was regarded as a forlorn hope by many official administrators and experts; nor in spite of the vigilance of an army of inspectors

will to-morrow's market be wholly free from the "subtlety of them that sell or buy."

It has been suggested above that it is desirable for all who are interested in the history of their own country to know the meaning and use of its weights and measures. Indeed, this interest might be profitable in another sense, for such treasure-trove as mediæval balances or standards should be worth more than their weight in gold; while we have seen health or even life depend on the comprehension of a medical prescription by a lay sister. There can at least be no doubt of the importance of such information to students of an earlier period in our history, and something more than the antiquarian flavour of these relics may be absorbed in the process. Students of our political history might find that there was more than one "Battle of the Standards," while students of economic and social history would have materials for an interesting survey of the Old English market in the pages of the table-books.

It has been the privilege of the present writer to accompany those shrewd and sententious guides from grange or warehouse to stall or larder, hearing from one (who must have met the Stonors and Celys) "thinges whiche be good to knowe," including where and when a young trader who knows his tables can make good profits; from another (a London livery-man in early Tudor times) why yonder barrel should contain a thousand herring "as God sente them, some grete, som smal," and how it came about that "whete cornes ruleth all maner of weyghte and measure, and so dothe none hother thyng in all the worlde." A third guide is the lord of Welsh manors, who illustrates his observations on Jacobean commodities and prices with delightful sketches in colour; while a fourth presents an "information" as to the use of false weights or measures, on the eve of the Great Rebellion, with the unctuous refrain—"and mine eyes have seene the greate deceit."

Nothing can be said here of the trade terms, once used in common speech and now gathered into the garner of the English Dictionary, whose compilers have given the local historian many hints for fruitful study; but Shakespearean students may be interested to hear that mention was recently found, by one of Sir William Beveridge's research students, of a hitherto unrecorded frolic by "Prince Hal" and his high-spirited companions while on a visit to his uncle the bishop of Winchester. Strictly speaking, the cost of a carpenter's labour in repairing the damage done on this occasion is only an item in a multitude of economic data, but it may perhaps support the above suggestion that the virtue of research in dusty archives may be at times suitably rewarded.

HUBERT HALL.

THE MUSIC OF FREDERICK DELIUS.

THE significance of an English composer is, perhaps, worthy of remark when, as in the case of Frederick Delius, it is held to justify an organised festival consisting entirely of his music. Under the direction of Sir Thomas Beecham six concerts have been arranged to take place at the Queen's Hall, London, during the latter part of October. This gesture, consequent upon the recognition accorded to Delius when he was recently made a Companion of Honour, provides a welcome opportunity briefly to consider the position which the composer may be said rightly to occupy among contemporary musicians.

The music of Delius is in no sense widely popular; and it may be that the reason is not far to seek. At a time when composers are inclined more than ever before to concentrate upon realistic values, Delius is distinguished by utterances whose nature is essentially introspective. He is not concerned to arrest the attention of the listener by those means which attract only in their superficiality. His outstanding characteristic is to be found in contemplative writing of an exalted order. This method is not calculated to enforce the devotion of an extended public. None the less, the number of Delius's adherents in this country has steadily increased even within the last ten years. It is being recognised in many quarters that the intimate nature of his thought shields a lasting worth of content; and that in forsaking what is obvious Delius has created music whose value is remote from the doubtful importance of obscure expression.

It is true that the media in which the music of Delius is to be found most completely stated are not great in number. He has attempted at one time or another to convey his thought in most of the accepted forms, although the success which has attended these excursions has been uneven. Delius's operas are probably among the least known of his works and, contrary to the prevailing rule, reasonable justification may be found for this condition. An accurate sense of dramatic possibility is a quality denied to many composers. The peculiar talent of Wagner is at all times rare, and it is not exceptional to find that Delius, as may be seen in *A Village Romeo and Juliet*, appears to encounter a difficulty in co-ordinating music and drama. The action of the opera is a hindrance, not a natural assistance to him. Where dramatic action becomes of secondary importance his writing is often exquisite. For example, the intermezzo entitled "A Walk to the Paradise Gardens" contained in this opera has much of that tranquil beauty which the "Siegfried Idyll" conveys to us. At the same time it must be confessed that these moments are of an intermediate

rather than a consistent character. Furthermore, account has also to be taken of the licence which Delius allows himself in connection with vocal treatment.

This freedom assumes the form of writing for the voice in a fashion which might well be more effective and appropriate if applied to instruments. The method has become the cause of very considerable critical disagreement among Delius's admirers. It is urged by some that this instrumental treatment of the voice should be regarded as a desirable characteristic which distinguishes Delius's choral writing from that of his contemporaries. The distinction is of a kind which one is not concerned to dispute, so far as it is regarded as a means of identification, but it would seem that on grounds of utility its consistent employment may reasonably be open to question. Delius is meticulous in observing the limitations and potentialities of orchestral instruments and it is certainly curious that he does not treat the voice with similar consideration. Admittedly the more angular passages in his choral works can be sung without frustrating the composer's intentions, but the effort and care demanded do not always meet with an equal reward. Because virtuosic display lies within human possibility, its frequent exploitation does not become automatically desirable; and although, more than many composers, Delius shrinks from anything which might appear studiously flamboyant, he does not always sufficiently guard against a type of choral writing to which justice can scarcely be done without an unnecessary stress upon qualities inevitably associated with virtuosity.

There appears to be sufficient reason for laying stress upon this technical handicap, noticeable in a large proportion of Delius's choral music, since, in regard to values more strictly artistic, there is little which can be advanced to discountenance his achievements. The choral work "Sea-Drift," a setting of Walt Whitman's poem, exemplifies very fairly that compactness of thought which the composer can bring to bear in the association of poetry and music. In the concert hall it is brought to one's notice that perfect fusion between the choral and orchestral writing may not be Delius's predominant characteristic. The impression is that beauty of expression, otherwise so evident, is independent rather than homogeneous in the two forces. And with due regard for those considerations which affect the purist it is to be observed that Delius is apt to misunderstand the full significance of verbal stress and accent. There is no intention here of urging these minor details as substantial evidence in the composer's disfavour, but in fairness they have to be noted. The unfailing strength and wonderful grasp of æsthetic essence which can be easily discovered in "Sea-Drift" form but a part of the qualities which gain so justly for Delius

his reputation as a great composer. His economy of statement and formal coherence are among the foremost of his more permanent characteristics; and these means, together with an acknowledged fineness of æsthetic perception, combine to make "Sea-Drift" a choral achievement which may deservedly rank high.

In the "Appalachia" Variations and, in a work more admirably conceived, "A Song of the High Hills," we observe these lyrical qualities in an altered degree, and since the spiritual coincidence with "Sea-Drift" is moderately exact a detailed survey must be here foregone. But, in passing, one would remark that "A Song of the High Hills" takes its place among the loveliest of Delius's works. The chorus is employed with great restraint and the corresponding gain in the effect of the rhapsody is extraordinarily impressive. Delius is working in terms with which he is most happily acquainted, and conspicuously refrains from anything in the choral writing which borders upon infelicitous expression. The music from first to last is both satisfying and eloquent.

In "A Mass of Life" we have the largest choral work which Delius has attempted. Its performances in this country have so far been infrequent, and of these very few have done justice to the composer's intentions. The words are taken from Nietzsche, and in design the work is divided into separate movements with a careful orientation towards a magnificent climax at the conclusion. The general conception is vast and of a power which Delius has not equalled in anything else he has written. The grandeur which pervades "A Mass of Life" effectively minimises those shortcomings which we have noted as being likely to occur in Delius's treatment of voices. The spirit of the poet is fully realised and so associated with the music as to give full force to the verbal meaning. From an orchestral standpoint there is much admirable writing; indeed, it seems that Delius comes nearer than elsewhere to a unity of thought with regard to the respective claims of orchestral and choral process. The present writer would suggest that in the course of performance the soloists are often likely to be overwhelmed by the orchestral accompaniment, though admittedly this factor varies for better or worse according to the discretion of the conductor. Delius is rather apt to oblige the vocalist to combat a greater orchestral force than is fully desirable for the effect he intends. Apart from this criticism "A Mass of Life" stands out as a monumental achievement which, generally considered, powerfully reinforces the composer's deserved claim to widespread attention.

Delius has made a number of experiments in concerto writing, but it must be confessed that it is not in this direction that his greatest talent lies. Of these works it is probable that the Piano

Concerto is the least successful, the reason being that Delius has never attained that grasp of the technique of piano writing so evident in the music of Chopin, Debussy, or Scriabin. It is inevitable, in consequence, that the Piano Concerto should lose much of the effect which its melodic interest otherwise allows it to possess. The solo part is difficult and unsatisfying. Delius revised this work by way of making an improvement in its form, but, notwithstanding the alterations, he has not succeeded in endowing the concerto with an interest likely to be permanent. The Violin Concerto belongs to a more exalted level. A reason which at least partially accounts for this is that the concerto is by nature rhapsodic and it is in rhapsody that Delius's finest gifts are shown. The orchestral background is appropriate and restrained, while the composer's exceptional knowledge of violin writing enables him to combine artistic design for the solo instrument with what is undeniably effective. On the other hand it is as a rhapsodic dialogue rather than as a concerto proper that this work claims attention, and if the listener is prepared to receive it upon terms largely unrelated to the classical interpretation of the purpose of concerto writing the reward is more than sufficient.

A charge of vagueness is sometimes brought against Delius's method of expression. Although his respect for formal coherence for the most part frees him from the accusation, there is occasionally some ground for it. Such evidence is forthcoming in the Violoncello Sonata and, to a lesser degree, in the Violoncello Concerto. The essential stuff of the music contains, in each case, much of real beauty, but the manner of its expression suggests that the general design is amorphous. The impression is due partly to the harmonic scheme which Delius favours, but it must also be allowed that his thought is here less compact than is generally the case. There is too much repetition in the Violoncello Sonata and too little reason for it. The two sonatas for violin and piano are more closely knit and gain correspondingly in effect. Their public performances have become very frequent in recent times, with the fortunate result that further acquaintance with them has amply proved the worth of their material.

It has been observed that in rhapsody is to be found the epitome of Delius's art, and this assertion is sufficiently confirmed by a series of idylls which he has written for orchestra and small orchestra. The success attending his unequalled achievements in this direction is due to an association of peculiarly happy causes. In the first place Delius has an uncommon intuition, fortified by experience, in dealing with wood-wind instruments, and these together with strings form a combination principally employed by him in his idylls. Of these writings "Brigg Fair" is one of the

best known. Delius takes a Lincolnshire folk-song and adorns it with a series of enchanting variations. The richness of the harmony no less than the sustained melodic interest, combined with perfect discretion in the artistic treatment, places "Brigg Fair" among the foremost of Delius's compositions, and these qualities merit for it an exalted position in English music as a whole. The "Dance Rhapsody" (No. 1) is constructed upon very much the same pattern as "Brigg Fair," though the treatment of the original theme is rather more obvious. The melody which Delius selects is of an angular character and has every appearance of proving unpromising for the purpose of variations. Nevertheless the composer supports it by well-contrasted harmonies designed to illustrate its possibilities, and the result is both cheerful and pleasing. Instead of following the conventional course of development which one might expect, Delius avoids a noisy climax at the crisis of the work. The melody is played by a solo violin supported by divided string instruments, the whole passage being intensely subdued and of profound emotion. In the concluding bars there is a return to gaiety, but it is somewhat blatant in character, and ill accords with the tranquillity which precedes it. Apart from this inconsistency, which is of taste rather than of logic, the "Dance Rhapsody" is remarkably attractive and exemplifies very clearly the delicacy of musical thought and treatment which Delius, at his best, is so well able to display.

The character of "In a Summer Garden" does not readily lend itself to analysis, since the idyll relies for its effect upon a synthesis of detail rather than upon the working out of any predominant idea. More than any other related composition of Delius's, it is essentially an impressionistic piece of writing. The atmosphere which the title suggests is successfully conveyed in the delicate, illusive fragments of melody which combine to form the rhapsody. The harmony, though rich, is subtle, and, being governed by that studied economy of statement which lends such effect to Delius's utterances, gives point to his thought with the minimum of emphasis. At a time when the writing of fantasy is too often made the excuse for looseness of expression, a work of this nature, so well contrived, becomes remarkable for its æsthetic and artistic value.

It is in two short works for small orchestra—"On hearing the first cuckoo in Spring," and "Summer Night on the River"—that the most perfect expression of Delius's art may be found. In them exist in a refined degree those qualities which throughout his music combine to distinguish this composer among his contemporaries. He employs none of the percussive apparatus of which, in writing of present-day music, a critic has spoken as Africa imported into

the concert room. With complete regard for the classical virtues of melody and form Delius has composed these idylls with foremost concern for the advantages of contemplative thought. The result is, artistically, of the highest order. Delius makes no endeavour to attract those whose outlook is casual; nor has he any connection with the superficialities of music. These two works and, in a proportionate degree, the other writings of Delius, represent the practical expression of an artistic view which, though infrequent at all times, is particularly uncommon in our day.

The music of the twentieth century as a whole has not shown itself to be characterised by reflection. For the most part it is dominated by experiments which many do not hesitate to declare unprofitable. Extravagances whose purpose at present remains vague are largely encouraged in the name of music; and utterances whose relation to the acknowledged business of music is, to say the least, uncertain are often applauded or received with unthinking toleration. This view may or may not be constant among historians. The outcry against the work of Beethoven and, later, of Wagner has taught the critic to be wary in judging his contemporaries. The detailed discussion of the music of to-day belongs to another place, but it may be observed in passing that, in the older disputes, the participants were at least sure of their opinions. They accepted Beethoven or rejected him. Nowadays the tendency is to accept everything. To all that this looseness of thought represents, Delius, as his music shows, stands opposed. He is content with the classical values, and, although his harmonic idiom is of the twentieth century, his method of intellectual expression has nothing in common with the experimentalists of our day. Like Elgar, he remains uninfluenced by the new music; and his significance, as an independent figure, gains in proportion. He is almost alone in celebrating the cause of romance purged from sentimentality. The power of his genius may be measured by the fact that all idea of advertisement is foreign to his purpose. It may be that in time we shall revert more to those ideals exemplified in his work. For, however undesirable may be the prospect of thoughtless imitation, the aims of Delius are of a kind to which those lesser than he may well aspire.

ROBERT H. HULL.



BRITISH POLICY IN AFRICA.

IT is the fashion to-day to talk of the British Empire in terms that stress the narrowed sphere of Great Britain's control over the King's possessions beyond the seas. Even the convenient word "Empire" is looked at askance, and the cumbersome expression "British Commonwealth of Nations" is the shibboleth of the moment. But when all has been said and done to meet the just claims of the Dominions—when their equality of status with Great Britain has been granted, their autonomous control of their own destinies fully admitted, and the logical alterations made in the King's Title and in the Preambles of Imperial treaties—there still does remain a British Empire. And this Empire would still remain if Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa were to secede to-morrow. The Dominions do not exhaust the Empire.

This trite-seeming fact is too often forgotten. And when it is remembered, the tendency is to regard all the remaining British colonies and possessions as Dominions in the making, as babies that will grow up and one day become Dominions. The aforesaid colonies and possessions are themselves largely responsible for the prevalence of this way of looking at them. For, with the example of the Dominions before them, each lives for the day, to be reached progressively, when it can throw off the yoke of Downing Street. With this view of the matter there seems to be more or less general acquiescence. But is it the right view? At first sight it appears to be in full accord with the traditional liberalism of British colonial policy. Growth is a law of nature. Children become adults, and wise parents welcome the approach of their offspring's majority. But if we look a little deeper, the commonplace analogy breaks down. It breaks down at the mere mention of the word "natives."

When, along with the other great civilised nations, Great Britain signed the Covenant of the League of Nations, she subscribed with solemnity to a doctrine which the best English traditions have always held to—the doctrine that the native races of the world are a sacred trust of those civilised Powers in whose territories they live. When the Union of South Africa was formed, provisions were inserted in the Constitution which aimed at safeguarding the continuance of Great Britain's responsibility for the welfare of the natives. The gradual evolution of complete Dominion status has robbed these provisions of all value. Whatever constitutional lawyers may hold theoretically to the contrary, they are as obsolete in practice to-day as though they had never been inserted. It is undeniable that Great Britain has handed the destinies of the natives of the Union over to the South Africans to do with as they will. And what has been the result? Has it been such as to justify Great

Britain's action in divesting herself of her trust towards the natives and in transferring that trust to the two European races of the Union? It is no easy task to sum up judicially the position to-day; but if some sort of answer is to be given to these questions it must be attempted.

It would be easy to write South Africa's policy down as either pure exploitation of the native in the interests of the white man, or stark realism which takes its stand on the backwardness of the natives, and which sees no use in trying to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. There is something of the truth in both these judgments; but neither is the whole truth. There was a time when the Northern—the Transvaal and Orange Free State—view was a mixture of the exploitation view and the essential backwardness view. But as a continuous corrective to this attitude there stood the Southern or Cape policy of "equal rights for all civilised men," even civilised natives, which was based on the missionary and Exeter Hall belief that the African native was civilisable. With the passing of years the Northern and Southern views have affected each other. The gap between them is not as wide as it was. The North has come to realise the native's ability to progress and his amenableness to education. Even in the first drafts of his four Native Bills General Hertzog made provision for a shadowy form of franchise for the natives. That such a proposal should emanate from the North is astonishing. On the other hand, the Cape, while it strenuously fought the Colour Bar Bill during its stormy passage through Parliament, is much less inclined than it was to be fanatically egalitarian. The Cape policy was admittedly rather too doctrinaire in its origin, and it does not necessarily lose by submitting to a gradual attainment of equality instead of demanding equality at a bound. At one time, only a few months ago, it seemed as if reasonable compromise was in sight. It was widely believed that General Hertzog and General Smuts had reached a provisional agreement on the Prime Minister's Native Bills. But after a while it was learned that the two men had drifted apart. This meant stalemate, for the South Africa Act provides that a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Parliament sitting in joint session is necessary for any alteration of the franchise; and that majority the Government did not possess. In other words, Government and Opposition, North and South, must agree before anything can be done. This was the deliberate intention of the National Convention, which founded the Union, as at that time the whole white population was unanimous in desiring to keep the native question out of the ordinary political arena.

When the Joint Session failed to afford the Government the majority necessary for the passage of General Hertzog's Native

Bills, the Prime Minister promptly made the Bills an issue at the general elections that were then due. General Hertzog and the Nationalists were returned to power with an increased majority, but that majority still falls short of a two-thirds majority in a Joint Session, and for the moment the position is again one of stalemate. Eventual compromise is, however, by no means improbable. The drawing closer of the edges of the gap between the two chief schools of thought has not ceased, although it has been slowed down by the rancours of party politics. General Hertzog does wish to give the native some measure of fair play—a form of Parliamentary representation; more land; a Native Council, with progressive powers, for the whole native population; and protection for native squatters. The Opposition, under General Smuts, does not ask for less than this. It takes up the very different attitude that the time is not yet ripe for dealing with the native question by legislation affecting the franchise; but it, too, agrees that fair play is the native's right. Thus, within the limits of their preconceived notions, the South African Parliament and people are doing their best, conscious as they are of the limelight of world opinion, to win the approval of civilisation in their dealings with the natives.

But all that they do is formed and coloured by their preconceived notions, and it is these notions that go to the root of the matter. Except for a handful—albeit a growing handful—of Doubting Thomases among the intelligentsia, all South Africans believe, as though it were a mathematical axiom, that South Africa is a white man's country. That is, they believe that the white race is destined, divinely or by innate superiority, to rule in South Africa; that while he may be educable and civilisable, the native is destined to permanent inferiority, and will always remain incapable of ruling himself or others. It is because of this belief that Parliament has closed certain economic avenues to the native, and is willing to give him only limited franchise rights. The native is not to be as completely repressed, economically and politically, as was the idea at one time. He is now recognised to be capable of advancement. But only up to a point—and that point is the point where he might endanger the white man's economic monopoly of the high wages and skilled work or the white man's supremacy in the political sphere.

Now this belief that South Africa is a white man's country may be right, or it may be wrong. If it is right, all will in the long run be well. For it will then be possible to produce that cultural, social, economic, and political segregation which General Hertzog hopes to produce, not wholly and rigidly, but partially and progressively. The native would find his level, which would not be sufficiently high to threaten the white man's position. The native

would always remain a child—an intelligent child, but a child. The white man would always remain the native's natural guardian, master, and ruler—a benevolent ruler, but a ruler. Upon the belief that these hopes and plans have realities as their basis the white man in the Union is staking his all. But if the belief is wrong, there are decades and decades of trouble ahead of South Africa. There are men in South Africa who have made a lifelong study of the native, and who believe, not without a certain amount of scientific evidence, that the Bantu is capable of becoming fully civilised. Intellectually, morally, and physically the Bantu, they hold, is potentially the equal of the European. They point out that the inability of a race to initiate a civilisation is no proof of its inability to absorb completely the civilisation of another race. History, they argue, is full of instances of a barbarous nation receiving civilisation at the hands of another nation. If these men are right, if the Bantu needs but a modicum of historical time to imbibe white civilisation, then the South Africans are trying to dam back the tides of a racial sea with childish sand castles of legislation.

But the whole point is that the people of Great Britain, to whom the natives originally belonged as a sacred trust, have lost all right and power to have any say in the matter. They cannot ensure fair play for the natives, nor prevent their own kith and kin in the Union from making any blunders they choose. The rulers of South Africa are the South Africans; and they will struggle desperately and long to maintain and prove their belief that South Africa is the heritage of the white man. At the moment the position is that the native is subjected to repression, economically and politically. It is a qualified and unvindictive repression, but it is repression none the less. And the British people's opinion of the wisdom and justice of this policy does not weigh a feather-weight in the South African scale.

But British opinion does still count in the British colonies outside the Union. In Rhodesia, Uganda, and Kenya Downing Street still has its say. And what are the signs and portents in these territories and in Nyasaland and Tanganyika? Are they, in view of what has happened and is happening in the Union, such as to allow the people of Great Britain to await with equanimity the day when new demands for Dominion status arise, and when another fourteen or fifteen million natives must be transferred from the care and responsibility of Great Britain to the unfettered control of Dominion rule? Frankly, they are not. Anyone who imagines that the Union's attitude towards the natives is dictated entirely by the Dutch, and that things would be very different if all South Africans were of British stock, need only visit East Africa and the Rhodesias to be disillusioned. The British settlers in these colonies

are in flat opposition to the Downing Street view that the interests of the natives must be paramount over all else. As fervently as the Europeans of the Union, do these British settlers believe that they are building up white civilisations, with the native in eternal subjection to the white man. By her Constitution Southern Rhodesia has had imposed upon her a politically liberal policy towards the natives. By law the franchise is open to natives, male and female, on the same terms as white men. In actual practice, but a few hundred native men and hardly any native women have succeeded in entering the Rhodesian polling booths.

In all these colonies the history of the Union is repeating itself. The settlers regard the natives almost exclusively as a source of cheap labour. Native taxation is looked upon by the settlers as good or bad according to whether it does or does not succeed in driving the natives into the labour market. The various processes of filching land from the natives, which in the Union have resulted in hundreds of thousands of these essentially pastoral people being landless in their own country, are going on merrily in these new colonies. Control from Downing Street is resented. The old familiar cry of "Trust the man on the spot" goes up, and Downing Street is not expected to inquire whether the man on the spot is, so far as the natives are concerned, worthy of trust. It is no base suspicion to see in the movement now on foot for the creation of an East African Confederation mainly a desire on the part of the settlers to be in a sufficiently strong position to defy Downing Street and win complete control over the natives. That was shown by the hostile reception given in Kenya to the report of the Hilton Young Commission, which definitely recommended the retention of Downing Street control for the natives in any form of government for East Africa. Again, Southern Rhodesia's Constitution is only a few years old; yet already she is murmuring restively against those provisions which make her native legislation subject to the approval of Downing Street.

Meantime in the Belgian Congo a different kind of drama is being played, of which the natives of the Union and the British colonies are observant spectators. The Belgian policy in the Congo is much the same as British policy in India. The Belgians do not claim the Congo as a white man's country. Their aim is to train, educate, and civilise the natives until the day when they become able to rule themselves. The Belgian Government sees in the Congo a kind of future Native State, if not actually a Native Dominion, where the European will for a long time to come remain as teacher and adviser, but where the native will have full freedom to progress and develop to the entire extent of his capabilities. That is the theory. It is a theory that fails to impress the native spectators of Southern Africa

as much as it otherwise might, because at the moment it is not being carried out in practice with unqualified success. The extent of the Congo is enormous; the climate is trying; most of the country is still wild; communications are difficult and inadequate; and many of the native tribes are extremely backward. In the more settled centres, such as Elizabethville and Stanleyville, the work of training and educating the natives has produced promising and in some cases astonishing results. But in the more savage and outlying parts the Belgian Administration has not yet proved equal to its task. There need be no talk of blame: the difficulties are tremendous and the good intentions of the Belgians undoubted. Yet the fact remains that at present the physical and material well-being of the natives is better looked after in the British colonies and in the Union than under the theoretically extreme liberalism of the Belgian régime.

But it will not always be so. A time will come when the natives under British and South African rule will see their brothers in the Congo enjoying gifts of citizenship and of economic and social freedom that are denied to them who live under the Union Jack and the orange, white, and blue Tricolour. The contrast cannot fail to produce discontent and envy in the native mind. And what are the people of Great Britain going to do about it all? They cannot remain passive and uninterested much longer. Events move quickly in the modern world, and nowhere more quickly than in Africa, where life is young and full-blooded. A few years ago General Smuts failed only narrowly to bring Southern Rhodesia into the Union. An East African Confederation would be a step fraught with most far-reaching effects. Great Britain must not wait until some crisis stampedes her into hasty and thoughtless action. She must be prepared to face events, when they arrive, with a definite and clear-cut policy.

What is that policy to be? Are new Dominions to be allowed to spring up around the Zambesi and Lake Victoria Nyanza, each an aristocratic white apex towering proudly above a black base of struggling and repressed cheap labour? Or is Great Britain going to cry halt and say to her settlers: "No more of these Dominions in Africa! You must understand here and now that you white men who go to Africa go to raise and educate, not to steal. You are the torch-bearers of civilisation, whose duty it is to bring the benefits of British ideals and British institutions to the natives, to the end that they may learn to develop and progress and, finally, to rule themselves if they become fit to do so. Make money in the process if you like, and if you can do it honestly. But we, the people of Great Britain, will never again relinquish our guardianship of natives until they are able to stand alone and protect themselves." In short, Great Britain must decide one of two ways:

either to adopt in Africa the policy of British rule in India and of Belgian rule in the Congo, as is pretty clearly implied in the Hilton Young Report, or else to stand by and see the Union reduplicate itself all over the sub-Continent. The latter alternative would mean that the dubious experiment of trying to make Black Africa a white man's country would be extended from the Union right up to Central Africa. Wisdom would seem to urge that the British people should at least wait and see how the Union fares with its policy before embarking on so colossal an extension of this test of human souls.

NORMAN DE V. HART.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE.

THE preliminaries to The Hague Conference were chronicled in this part of the September CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. Reference was there made to the speeches delivered by Mr. Lloyd George and by Mr. Snowden in the House of Commons on July 26th, when the Chancellor clearly promised that at the impending conference he would do his best to safeguard British interests, and indicated the main causes of his dissatisfaction with the Young Report.

On reaching The Hague he lost little time in the plunge. On August 8th he reminded the delegates that the internal debt of Great Britain was nearly three times as great as that of France (£6,500,000,000, as contrasted with £2,328,000,000); and he proceeded at once to coin a memorable phrase in a Winstonian manner. In 1926 Mr. Churchill epitomised the nature of the British debt to the United States by the remark that it involved us in a payment of £100,000 a day to the United States for sixty-two years. In 1929 Mr. Snowden went further and epitomised the nature of Great Britain's entire debt, including the American debt, by stating that he had to provide approximately one million a day to meet its service. A million a day for ever is hardly an exaggeration of the cost of the war to Great Britain. Mr. Snowden on August 8th further reminded his hearers that when the war ended Great Britain was owed some £2,000,000,000 by her allies, that a small percentage only of that debt had been or would be repaid, but that the balance could not simply be written off by Great Britain. It had to be paid by the British taxpayer. The difference, he said, between what Great Britain was owed by her war debtors and what Great Britain was being paid by her war debtors translated itself in practice into a burden of £60,000,000 a year which fell upon the British taxpayer. That is more than a million a week.

Now it has often been observed in the diplomacy of French political finance that figures are used as a mobile force, readily adaptable to the exigencies of a given situation. One remembers, for instance, that in November, 1924, when France wanted a loan from the United States, M. Clémentel, the French Finance Minister, issued in New York a prospectus of which the main object was to demonstrate the security of the projected loan. He stated that the devastated districts had been mostly restored: "Of the area [he wrote] rendered unfit for cultivation as a result of war damage, which at the time of the Armistice covered 8,150,000 acres, all but 815,000 acres had been restored to productivity."

Yet when French financial statistics were trained on Germany, where the point at issue was not the begging of a loan but the exaction of reparation, the state of French devastation as assessed by the competent French authorities, became progressively worse, not better. M. Poincaré had at one time put it at the equivalent of £850,000,000. His Minister of Public Works in 1928 outbid him by putting it at £960,000,000.

Such inconsistencies are no doubt explained by a sort of self-deception, made possible by the pronounced lack of sacrosanctity attaching in the French mind to financial figures as such. Self-deception in its turn breeds moral indignation of a perverted kind. At The Hague Conference, for instance, the French delegation waxed indignant. On August 10th M. Chéron, the French Finance Minister, even propounded an elaborate argument to the effect that the Young Plan assigned considerable advantages to Great Britain, and that was the reason he gave why France had to be compensated by being allotted the bulk of the unconditional payments. Mr. Snowden had not yet become acclimatised to Continental finance, its methods and its arithmetic, and he promptly lost his temper. He rose in two senses, declared that he did not accept the accuracy of a single figure submitted by M. Chéron, announced that he could refute in detail every construction placed by M. Chéron on those figures, and ended by broadly stigmatising M. Chéron's allusions to the Balfour Note as "grotesque and ridiculous."

Those two epithets became famous. They wounded M. Chéron deeply. They surprised many people at The Hague and elsewhere because they outraged the Continental convention which demands that the form of diplomatic speech be correct and polite, even though its substance be rotten. Mr. Snowden skidded face-on against the convention by giving good substance in rotten form. The moral indignation was so obviously genuine and heart-felt on M. Chéron's part that Baron Houtart, the Chairman of the Committee, had to use all his tact to prevent its boiling over and producing an international "incident." Mr. Snowden, surprised no doubt by the depth of M. Chéron's emotion, and attaching less importance to his own style than to the business in hand, explained away his epithets, withdrew them, and asked that they should not appear in the minutes. French honour was satisfied, even though Mr. Snowden (the Robespierre of the English Revolution as he now was called) made it clear that he withdrew nothing but those two epithets.

The evil that men say, however, sometimes lives after the withdrawal. Moreover, moral indignation is an agreeable sensation such as is not easily relinquished by those who indulge in it. France could not forget Mr. Snowden's "grotesque and ridiculous," even

though he had made amends, and French opinion began to demand in effect that England should rise and repudiate such a man. On August 12th, therefore, Mr. MacDonald telegraphed to Mr. Snowden a public message mainly for French consumption to the effect that Mr. Snowden had behind him a united British opinion, irrespective of party (which was demonstrably the case), and added on his own account, again for the encouragement mainly of France, the observation that "we have reached the limit of inequitable burden-bearing."

The progress of the Conference thereafter took the form of a series of offers from the Conference to Mr. Snowden. It had been honestly thought in the first instance that Mr. Snowden was bluffing, as it is nearly always thought that British representatives are bluffing when they ask for fair play. After Mr. MacDonald's telegram it was recognised that this was not a case of bluff, and that something would have to be done to satisfy Mr. Snowden if the Conference was to succeed.

The first offer was made on August 16th and rejected by Mr. Snowden the same day. One need not recall its exact nature, which was vague, made no mention of the Spa percentages, and was clearly tentative. The Conference was "trying it on" Mr. Snowden. As M. Chéron and Mr. Snowden took widely divergent views of what the offer amounted to, it was decided to submit the terms of the offer to an expert investigation so that its exact value could be ascertained; but the experts failed to fathom its meaning, and the matter was dropped.

On August 22nd, therefore, helped by the knowledge that Mr. Snowden was so far from bluffing that he was packing to go home, the Conference began to consider a second offer. It was now recognised that Mr. Snowden demanded not only a Spa share of the total annuities for Great Britain but a Spa share in the unconditional part of those annuities (see CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, September, pp. 386-7). The projected offer of August 22nd was the result of a secret meeting of the delegates that had been convened by Herr Stresemann, at which the creditor nations now professed themselves ready to make sacrifices in order to satisfy Mr. Snowden. M. Jaspar on the following day informally submitted the resultant suggestions to Mr. Snowden, who promptly answered that he could not accept them. He did, however, on August 24th, ask for some further explanation of the new offer, but the explanation he received merely confirmed his diagnosis that the offer was unsatisfactory. He regarded it as unsatisfactory because it offered no definite increase in the British share of the unconditional annuities, made no offer about deliveries in kind, and merely attempted to provide from other sources some 75 per cent. of the £2,400,000

that would be lost by Great Britain if the Young revision of the Spa percentages were put into effect.

Next, on August 25th, the creditor Powers tried the device of presenting Mr. Snowden with a "final" offer, of which the details in their turn need not be recalled, for it amounted only to an offer of some 60 per cent. of what Mr. Snowden demanded. He rejected it in a laconic answer to the effect that the offer was inadequate. The Japanese delegation had the common sense not to be a party to the offer of August 25th, which was obviously bound to break against the rock of Mr. Snowden's determination.

Mr. Snowden now wrote to M. Jaspar to suggest an immediate plenary meeting of the Conference for the purpose of recording its failure. M. Briand simultaneously and independently wrote to M. Jaspar to the same effect. M. Jaspar thereupon arranged a final meeting for August 27th. At the eleventh hour, however, the French, Belgian, and Italian delegates decided that they would now seriously try to satisfy Mr. Snowden instead of driving him home. No sooner had they decided to take Mr. Snowden at his face value than a provisional agreement was reached. It was announced on August 28th in an official statement which ran thus:

"It was agreed in principle that the other creditor Governments would by adjustments to be made, subject to the consent of Germany and within the framework of the Young Plan, secure to Great Britain an additional 18,000,000 marks (£900,000) from the balance of the unconditional annuity available under the plan for distribution and a final additional 42,000,000 marks (£2,100,000) to be made available by rearrangement, subject to the consent of Germany, without increasing the aggregate total, in such a way that the amount available for distribution among the creditor Governments after meeting the service of the Dawes Plan loan should be a fixed sum each year.

"Thus Great Britain would receive in all 96,000,000 marks (£4,800,000) as unconditional annuity.

"Further, in addition to the points already agreed upon in regard to deliveries in kind, the Italian delegation undertook that the Italian State Railways would buy 1,000,000 tons of British coal every year for three years at the best British free market export price ruling at the date of each contract. A final agreement embodying these points is now being prepared."

After some further delay, due to Germany's entirely justified bargaining about an early evacuation of the Rhineland, the final agreements on all points were signed on August 31st—the very day on which, if the Young Plan had been adopted in time, the Dawes Plan would have come to an end.

The full dossier of the Protocol was published as a British White

Paper on September 6th (Cmd. 3392). The main agreements reached were (1) the financial agreement, whereby Great Britain will receive an additional 40,000,000 marks a year, of which 36,000,000 will be unconditional, together with 18,000,000 marks from the balance of unconditional annuities. As a result Great Britain will receive 96,000,000 marks as an unconditional annuity. (2) An agreement about deliveries in kind providing for the prohibition of re-exports and the control of deliveries, and in addition a special undertaking by the Italian Government to buy 1,000,000 tons of British coal a year for three years, beginning on November 15th of this year. (3) An agreement on the arrangements for the transitional period pending the ratification of the Young Plan, and (4) an agreement about the costs of the Rhineland occupation.

There was a further document embodying the agreement of the Political Commission, over which Mr. Henderson had presided, about the evacuation of the Rhineland. It was therein provided that Great Britain, France, and Belgium should begin the evacuation during the present month of September; that the British and Belgian troops should be completely withdrawn within three months, that the French troops should be withdrawn from the Second Zone within three months, that the French should begin the evacuation of the Third Zone as soon as the Young Plan is ratified by France and by Germany, and should complete the evacuation not later than June, 1930; and that the suggestion for a "Commission of Conciliation and Verification" first made in September, 1928, be dropped.

It was symptomatic of the tone on which The Hague Conference ended that the suggested "Commission of Conciliation and Verification" was thus quietly abandoned. The idea of that Commission, if its authors were honest, had been to enable the occupying Powers to continue to control the Rhinelands after the armies had been withdrawn. It was, in short, if one may adopt the neo-Philippic use of language, a form of humbug. A good deal of humbug was killed at The Hague. The whole procedure of continuing to occupy the Rhineland after the Locarno treaties were signed was a form of dishonesty. The dishonesty has persisted for nearly four years.

It was likewise symptomatic of a smothered British feeling about Continental unfairness that when Mr. Snowden reached Liverpool Street on his return home an enormous crowd waited to cheer him in the early hours of a Sunday morning. In the following day the City of London began to look favourably upon Mr. Snowden; all because he had saved the British Budget £2,000,000 a year, when Conservative Chancellors had been beguiled by a highly sophisticated Continent into adding many times as much to that budget.

"FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE."

If excuse were needed for the Continental assumption that the British Government and the British public are permanent and willing dupes, so far as international financial politics are concerned, Mr. Henderson proceeded to give it on September 6th. The resultant controversy among the publicist intellectuals in Great Britain dotted Mr. Henderson's i's and crossed his t's. Those Continental negotiators who at The Hague a month earlier had surmised that Mr. Snowden was bluffing because he did not conform to the British type in that particular matter, and who were hard of conviction, even after Mr. Snowden's epithets "grotesque and ridiculous," that they were wrong, must have rubbed their eyes and pricked their ears when they heard Mr. Henderson on September 6th. Can one honestly be surprised that the Continental realists do not understand the British attitude to the Continent? Hardly had the ink dried on the document which enshrined Mr. Snowden's grim refusal to yield another £2,000,000 of British money to foreign Treasuries than Mr. Henderson in the grand manner undertook to underwrite a big, a possibly unlimited liability to foreign Treasuries. There are those who will dispute the fairness of that statement; but judgment should be suspended until the facts are clearly recalled. This further illustration of British oddity in international political finance contrasts in the now familiar way with the skill and *savoir faire* of nearly all other aspects of British finance. The obstinate refusal of the small band of publicists who largely shape British opinion about foreign affairs, to recognise the plain implications of a financial commitment of this sort is one of the curious traditions of British public life.

The experience of the Great War, which left the British Government with foreign Treasury Bills of the face value of some £2,000,000,000 and of the practical value of little more than scraps of paper—even that experience has not conquered the obstinacy aforesaid. With a background of something like £7,000,000,000 overwhelming the British budget year by year as a result largely of quixotic commitments which in the late Mr. Bonar Law's estimate will reduce the standard of living in Great Britain for two generations ahead, Mr. Henderson has calmly contemplated a new quixotic commitment such as may still further extend the period named in Mr. Bonar Law's diagnosis.

What, then, exactly is this Draft Convention on Financial Assistance, what are the objections to it, what the arguments of its apologists, what the safeguards postulated by Mr. Henderson and their value?

The suggestion that financial assistance should be organised on behalf of States victimised by aggression was first made by Fin-

land, but when, in September, 1928, the Assembly and Council asked that a definite scheme should be worked out for giving effect to the suggestion, the work of drafting a convention was undertaken by the Financial Committee of the League. The representative of Brazil who, as *rapporteur*, submitted the convention to the Council, explained its purpose in these words:

"The Members of the Council will remember that the idea on which this draft is based was that of guaranteeing to States the possibility of securing rapid and effective financial assistance in case of war or threat of war, so as to increase materially their feeling of security, and thereby enable them to limit their armaments, or even to refrain from creating war industries. Moreover, the possibility of setting in motion the machinery of financial assistance would considerably increase the choice of measures open to the Council in case of a crisis. A country meditating attack on another would more than ever hesitate to carry it out if there were a risk that this other State might receive financial assistance from members of the League.

"It will be clear from these political considerations that the plan goes far beyond the limits of a purely financial and technical question. Consequently, in drawing up its plan, the Financial Committee has not been able to confine itself to making strictly financial proposals, but has been obliged to touch upon certain political questions. The Financial Committee points out in its report that it is well aware that these questions will have to be examined by the proper authorities, and that financial considerations cannot be the only ones at issue. On the other hand, the financial possibilities and the efficiency of the plan, and, therefore, their financial aspects must equally be taken into account. It is incumbent upon the political authorities of the various countries to examine the draft before us. It is for them to take the next steps. It is clearly desirable that they should give such instructions to the delegates to the next Assembly as will enable the plan for financial assistance to be carried out with the co-operation of the greatest possible number of countries."

The proposal made a favourable impression on the Council, which promptly adopted it: "The Council . . . regards this draft as highly important, and hopes that the plan may be adopted with the co-operation of the greatest possible number of countries; requests the Secretary-General to communicate the Draft Convention to all the State members of the League; and invites the various Governments to examine the draft Convention with the closest attention, and to give such instructions to their delegates to the tenth ordinary session of the Assembly that an exhaustive examination of the draft may be possible in the course of that session."

The work of evolving the scheme had been begun in 1927, and in November of that year the Council submitted the preliminary specifications for examination to a special committee on Arbitration and Security, it being the Council's clear intention to make of it an instrument of general security such as might create the propitious atmosphere for general disarmament. That committee drew up the report on which the Assembly in September, 1928, took action.

The report consisted of the thirty-one articles of the draft convention together with a detailed explanation of its purpose. As Mr. Henderson at the Tenth Assembly undertook, with two reservations which, as will be shown below, are of doubtful practical value, to sign the convention; as the convention is of incalculable potential consequence to Great Britain; and as so much misconception and ignorance of the facts have been made the basis of public controversy on the subject, the exact details of the proposal need to be recalled.

It is a highly complicated instrument. The fairest way of presenting the details is to quote in full the explanation given by the Financial Committee of the League which did the main work. The report could be summarised, but the best of summaries may be misleading. The text ran thus: "I. The object of the Convention is to provide machinery by which the Council of the League of Nations, seised in virtue of the Covenant and as a measure to restore or safeguard the peace of nations, may authorise financial assistance to Members of the League involved in war or threat of war. The aim of the scheme is to aid a Member in favour of whom the League has decided to enforce the Convention to reinforce its credit by the guarantee of all other Members.

"The Convention contemplates that a loan would be obtained in the ordinary way in the money market, and that the Government concerned should itself extract such loan on the general security of its revenues. It would be helped in so doing by the moral and material support of an international guarantee provided, under the ægis of the League, by the other Signatories to the Convention. This guarantee would cover the full service of the loan.

"It would be essential, in order to create confidence, that delay should not occur at the moment of crisis, that the Convention should be ratified forthwith by the signatory Governments in such a form that no further legislation of any kind would be required in connection with giving the guarantee.

"Since, on the outbreak of hostilities, the credit of a belligerent country in foreign markets is likely to be low, lenders would require guarantees of a very substantial nature before they would subscribe.

Moreover, a multiplicity of guarantors involves difficulties and delays in circumstances where promptness of action is of the very essence of the Convention. It is, therefore, proposed to fortify and to simplify the scheme by creating special guarantees by which a few financially strong signatories would guarantee, *vis-à-vis* the investors, the whole service of the loan which would, in this way, become thrice secured:

- (1) By the borrowing Government itself;
- (2) By all the signatories to the Convention (ordinary guarantee).
- (3) By certain financially strong signatories (special guarantee).

"II. The advantages to the guaranteed Government would be:

- (a) The moral support of the League of Nations and the consequent classification of the loan as a loan issued under the auspices of the League of Nations;
- (b) The market value of the guarantee at a moment when, *ex hypothesi*, the borrower's credit was weak;
- (c) The further market advantage of the special guarantee;
- (d) The signatories' promise of access to their markets;
- (e) The machinery (through the League Trustees, etc.) for the assured service of the loan.

"The guarantors would become liable only in the contingency that the borrowing Government itself was unable to meet its loan charges. In order to limit this contingent liability, the guarantors are protected by:

- (a) A maximum limit on the total annual service guaranteed;
- (b) A limit on the maximum annual liability of any individual guarantor;
- (c) The primary responsibility of the borrowing Government;
- (d) Provision for a reserve;
- (e) The requirement of a unanimous decision of the Council before a guarantee is given in any individual case.

"III. Ordinary Guarantees.—The maximum annual liability of an ordinary guarantor Government, in respect of all loans contracted under the Convention, is limited to a figure bearing the same proportion to 100,000,000 gold francs (this figure is purely illustrative*) as that Government's contribution to the League Budget bears to the total contribution from all Members of the League. Thus, if all Members of the League become signatories to the Convention, a maximum annual sum of 100,000,000 gold francs can be guaranteed, and a Member contributing 5 per cent. of the League expenses will have a maximum contingent annual liability of 5,000,000 gold francs. If, on the other hand, only some of the Members of the League sign the Convention, the maximum

* The Financial Committee has not fixed a definite figure, but it has not contemplated that the scheme would cover less than a substantial sum.

annual sum that can be guaranteed will be proportionately reduced. For example, if the signatories pay together three-fifths of the League Budget, the maximum annual sum available under the Convention will be three-fifths of 100, i.e., 60,000,000 gold francs.

"IV. Special Guarantees.—In addition to the above ordinary guarantees, special guarantees are created to strengthen the security on which a loan is issued by ensuring that the loan service shall be guaranteed for its full amount, not merely by all the guaranteeing Governments as ordinary guarantors, but also by a small number of financially strong Governments which, as special guarantors, will bear the risk of any delay or default by the ordinary guarantors. The amount covered by each special guarantee will include the amount of the special guarantor's liability as an ordinary guarantor together with an additional amount which is determined in such a manner that the total of the additional amounts thus guaranteed by the special guarantor Governments will equal the total amount guaranteed by the Governments which are ordinary guarantors only. In the event of default in the service of the loan, the full amount covered by a special guarantee is payable by the special guarantors, but the sum paid in excess of those Governments' liability as ordinary guarantors is reimbursable, after the service has been met, out of the balance of calls to be made immediately upon the guaranteeing Governments.

"The maximum liabilities of special guarantor Governments are fixed by dividing between them the total of the maximum liabilities of the ordinary guarantors in proportion to the percentages which the special guarantors pay to the League Budgets. If, for instance, as assumed above, the maximum contingent liabilities of the ordinary guarantors were a sum of 60,000,000 gold francs, and if there were four special guarantors, who pay 6, 6, 8, and 10 per cent. respectively of the League's budget (total, 30 per cent.), the maximum contingent liabilities of these special guarantors (including their liabilities as ordinary guarantors) would be $\frac{6}{30}$, $\frac{6}{30}$, $\frac{8}{30}$, and $\frac{10}{30}$, of 60 millions, i.e., 12, 12, 16, and 20 million gold francs respectively.

"V. Application to a particular case.—When, in any particular instance, the Council has decided that a certain signatory shall receive financial assistance, it will authorise such signatory to issue a loan (within the total available under the Convention) enjoying the ordinary and special guarantees. The maximum annual service of this loan will be fixed by the Council. The precise responsibility of each ordinary guarantor for each year will then be determined by dividing the service of the particular loan among

all the guaranteeing Governments in the proportion of their maximum possible annual liabilities. Similarly, the amount covered by each special guarantee will be determined by dividing the said service among the special guarantor Governments in the proportion of their maximum possible annual liabilities. The guarantors and special guarantors will then deposit in safe keeping with the National Bank of Switzerland bonds bearing a separate coupon for each payment for which they may be contingently liable, expressed in the currency in which the loan is payable. Suppose that the sum fixed by the Council as the annual service of a particular authorised loan amounts to 15 millions, and that the maximum liabilities of the four special guarantors considered above, are 12, 12, 16, and 20 millions respectively (total, 60 millions) then the annual liability of these special guarantors for the service of this specific loan would be $\frac{12}{60}$ of 15; $\frac{12}{60}$ of 15; $\frac{16}{60}$ of 15; and $\frac{20}{60}$ of 15, i.e., 3, 3, 4, and 5 millions respectively.

"VI. The Convention further provides for the appointment of Trustees (of Swiss nationality) and the constitution by the borrowing Government of a reserve, to be held by the Trustees of an amount sufficient to pay one-half of the annual service of each specific loan.

"The operation of the guarantees in the event of default by a borrowing Government is indicated in detail (Articles 15a to 20).

"VII. The decision by the Council to grant assistance must be taken by the unanimous vote of its Members. All other decisions may be taken by single majority.

"VIII. The Council may accept an offer by a non-member of the League to participate in guaranteeing the annual service of a particular loan. Such participation may increase the total of the loan, but must in no way increase the liabilities of the Governments which are parties to the Convention.

"IX. The Convention will be concluded for a period of ten years, but may be renewed for further successive periods of five years."

It follows clearly from that statement what is the purpose and what the ideal of those who sponsor the scheme. When on September 6th, 1929, Mr. Henderson announced that the British Government would support the scheme, he subjected his promise to two conditions, namely (1) that the benefits of the agreement should be open only to those States which had accepted and ratified the General Treaty of Disarmament projected by the League, and (2) that there should be reciprocity among the signatories.

As for reciprocity, a man is hard of conviction, simple of outlook and bold of faith who after the Great War believes in the reciprocity

of nations in the matter of war debts. An undertaking of reciprocity might on paper be as binding an obligation as a French Treasury Bill issued in 1915: but why should Englishmen, who have suffered for their simple faith, refuse to look at these things with their eyes open? The second condition would have the effect of postponing the operation of the Convention, but when such time arrives as the Treaty of Disarmament becomes an accomplished fact, it is difficult to see what practical effect the condition could have. It will probably be conceded that a Treaty of Disarmament is a virtual impossibility unless it is universally signed and ratified. If that be a fair argument, Mr. Henderson's condition would not affect anything, for there would then be no moral distinction between the nations in the matter of disarmaments. Mr. Henderson's condition, therefore, could only postpone the operation of the Convention until a Disarmament Treaty had become operative. No doubt he intended nothing more than that: but the point is that his condition could not affect the consequences of the Convention itself.

The objections to the scheme are many and obvious. Two years ago, when the scheme was reported to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, Lord Cecil refused his support on the dual ground that the commitment would go beyond the provisions of the Covenant and would be hard to reconcile with the British constitutional practice of parliamentary control over public expenditure. There are three main objections to the scheme. There is, in the first place, the purely financial difficulty that the Convention imposes on Great Britain precisely that type of burden which Mr. Snowden at The Hague has so recently been at pains to reject. By the Convention Great Britain would undertake to provide larger war credits than any other signatory.

Such a conception is an essential product of the Continental mentality which expects, as a matter of course, that the British taxpayer will pay the main war-costs of other nations, but in this case there is the further elaboration of that principle that the total amount payable would be fixed by a bare majority vote of the League Council. The British vote might be in a minority, and yet the British share of the amount voted would be the largest, because the British contribution to the League Budget is the largest. A financial liability of such a kind would clearly violate the constitutional principle of Parliamentary control over national expenditure.

In the second place there is the possibility that the Convention might defeat its object. A state involved in a dispute with another State might be less likely to present a pacific front if there was a chance of its proving aggression by the other party, and

thereby having its war expenses paid by other countries, especially by Great Britain.

The third difficulty is that by the operation of the Convention Britain might be involved in the crowning irony of financing a war in which she had no interest, and even of financing an enemy of her own in an actual war against herself. No doubt even a British Government would consider the advisability of repudiating its own undertaking in the last-mentioned contingency, and in many other strange contingencies that might be produced by the Convention; but the practical question now is why the British Government should contemplate the signature of an instrument so highly controversial, and so difficult to reconcile with its own policy?

The apologists do not hesitate to challenge each of those arguments. Sir Otto Niemeyer, for instance, in a letter to the *Observer* of September 15th, stated that: "The proposed Convention is, in the eyes of many people, so notable a step towards pacific ends (if only because it contemplates technically feasible *positive* assistance to the aggressed as against the technically difficult and therefore probably ineffectual *negative* methods of the Covenant), that it seems of public importance that criticism should not be based on misconception.

"If the United Kingdom adopts the Convention, legislation would be necessary to authorise the proposed guarantee, the maximum contingent cost of which will be readily ascertainable. There is nothing unconstitutional in such legislation; and, indeed, Parliamentary Acts guaranteeing a contingent liability are perfectly proper and by no means infrequent (cf. Trade Facilities Acts, Austrian Loan Guarantee, Sudan Loan Guarantee, etc.).

"The criticism that we might thus guarantee our enemy appears to overlook the provisions of Article 13 of the draft Convention which specifically provides that 'Governments of High Contracting Parties whom the Council declare to be involved in the war or threat of war shall be excluded from being guarantors.'"

Sir Otto went on to submit that the question whether the existence of the scheme would encourage a State not to be pacific in the hope of obtaining a guarantee is a matter of opinion, but he drew attention to "the difficulty of obtaining on a grave issue a *unanimous* decision of the Council of the League (which is required in this case)" and observed that "it is surely difficult to believe that a country engaged in the nefarious pursuits indicated would be able to persuade all the other members of the Council that she was the victim of the aggression. On the other hand, the Convention would be so effective an economic weapon in the hands of the Council *against* an aggressor that no one would lightly take the

risk of being so declared in the hope of being able to persuade the Council that it was really all the other fellow's fault."

Sir Otto further recalled that by the provision of Article 26 "decisions under Article 1 (i.e., to give assistance in any specific case) must be unanimous" and that "the Convention does not 'provide' any credits. What it does is to guarantee, under many safeguards, the annual service of loans raised on the market by the aggressed country itself on the security of its own revenues—a very different proposition."

The points at issue are important. Sir Otto Niemeyer commands immediate and close attention whenever he expresses a view—an all too rare event. His distinction and clearness of mind as a financier and his services at Geneva and in London in the finance of diplomacy still further add to the value of his opinion on a matter of this kind. His argument therefore deserves to be considered in further detail.

The detail, however, should be prefaced by the general observation that the whole spirit of the scheme of financial assistance is itself to some extent out of date. Its guiding principle is the assumption of war. By contrast the principle of the Kellogg Pact is the assumption of peace. The practical value of that contrast, psychological as it may be, may fairly be argued to be considerable, for the difference made to the general diplomatic trend by the Kellogg Pact and its kindred instruments is that the war-mentality which in the past has underlain the technique of diplomacy is being replaced by a peace-mentality. One cannot dogmatise about the practical effect of such a change, but men of common sense recognise its potential value.

Even, however, if one takes the logical implication of the financial scheme as judged by what one may call the pre-Kellogg standard, the argument against the scheme seems to be stronger than the argument in favour of it.

The main plank of its apologists is the circumstance that before financial assistance could be awarded to any State attacked, the Council of the League would have to reach a unanimous decision, and that therefore the British Government would have at its disposal a clear veto.

Now, in practice, assuming that a case of aggression had been proved—which is the fair assumption—it would be difficult for Great Britain, having signed an instrument promising financial assistance to the victim of aggression, to veto the whole plan by voting against it in the Council. That would almost be dishonest. The alternative contingency, where a doubt existed about an aggression, need not be considered, for in that contingency the financial scheme itself could not arise. Assuming, then, an aggression,

and assuming that Great Britain, having signed the Convention, decided to honour it, what would be the procedure? It is true that the Council must be unanimous in approving financial assistance in the first instance: but the amount of that assistance would be decided by a bare majority vote, and the bulk of the amount would be payable by Great Britain.

Moreover, how, in practice, could the amount of the liability be limited? The course of wars can never be predicted. Suppose, as Sir Otto Niemeyer supposes, the British Parliament were to sanction a "maximum contingent cost," would it be reasonable to stop the flow of money if, for instance, at the moment the contingent maximum expired, the attacked State were at the crisis of the war, or even in danger of defeat? What, in such an event, would be the conceivable object in having helped that State at all? By the nature of things financial assistance to an attacked State must be unlimited, and decided only by the exigencies of what is needed, or it must probably fail in its object. Who, after the Great War, could seriously imagine either the localisation of the incidence of a war or the limitation of its cost? Lord Cecil's feeling against the expediency of the proposal two years ago has been consistently shared by many students qualified to hold an opinion.

Next, there is the argument of the apologists that Great Britain would not "provide credits" or "pay war costs," but would merely guarantee the service of loans raised on the market by the aggressed country on the security of its own revenues. If Great Britain were to guarantee the service of a foreign Government's loan, she would be in exactly the same position as if she had lent money herself to that country; for she would lose her capital, or—which is the same thing—the annual service of that capital equally in either hypothesis if that foreign Government defaulted. And who after the Great War will be bold enough to assume that any non-British Government will not default on a war debt? The £1,000,000,000 of French and Italian Treasury Bills held by the British Government at the end of 1918 were as firm, as categorical, as binding an obligation on France and Italy as the technique of finance can devise. The obligation was not met, and the British taxpayer shoulders his loss and pays the price for two generations ahead.

Thirdly, the contingency that Great Britain might be called on to finance her own enemy is not quite so unrealisable as the apologists imagine. Sir Otto Niemeyer quotes Article 13 of the Convention; but the provision of Article 13 is not retrospective; and if Great Britain became involved in the war after it started, the ruling would no doubt be given by Article 3 of the Convention, which stipulates that the calls made by the Trustees upon guarantor

Governments "shall be paid immediately, notwithstanding that they may be at war with the borrowing Government or with any country or countries in which a part of the loan has been issued."

The odd thing is the mentality which prevents British public men, even in these days, from learning their lesson about financing other people's wars. Why not for a change take the risk of peace and *refuse* to finance other Governments in war?

The proposal to organise financial assistance for an aggressed State becomes odder the more one looks at it. It is a confusion of thought, a muddle of motives, a lack of humour and of common sense for the League of Nations to embark on the financing of war in the cause of peace. The dividing line between sense and nonsense is thin; in this case the League has put its foot heavily through it and come down flat on the side of nonsense.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

September 15th, 1929.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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GENERAL JAMES WOLFE.*

Though many biographies of General Wolfe have been written, and much ink has been spilt in discussions about his qualities as a man and soldier, there is ample room for an account of the great general as written by Professor W. T. Waugh in his new book, *James Wolfe: Man and Soldier*. Since the last biography was produced, some twenty years ago, a considerable amount of fresh evidence, throwing light on Wolfe's character and career, has been discovered and published intermittently in various articles and books on other subjects. "It seemed to me, therefore," writes Professor Waugh in his preface, "that I was warranted in making an attempt to set down what scholarship now permits us to say and think about him." The book is a strictly unbiassed account of Wolfe's life written in the light of modern research. While making use of the original work of others and sifting the evidence thereby produced, the author has refrained from making his book a weighty work, but has rather produced something which may be thoroughly enjoyed by the general reader.

It is impossible to consider the military capacity of Wolfe without first understanding his remarkable personality; frail in body, he

* Brentano's Ltd. 21s. net.

was essentially energetic in all he did. Intensely ambitious, and successful as a young officer, Wolfe was undoubtedly conceited, but he had good reason to be proud of his work, which was always supported by great industry and knowledge. Having determined to be a soldier, he became equally resolute to get to the top. Everything was made to give way to his military career. Many soldiers have succeeded by a close study of the military text-book, on the precepts of which they always acted. Wolfe, too, laid great importance on such a knowledge; but with him it was to be only a basis for his own original thought and actions. He was not orthodox except in so far as the recognised military theories of his time coincided with his own ideas. Reading occupied a great deal of his leisure, endeavouring as he did to make up for the defects of his early education. The extent of his military knowledge may be roughly gauged by quoting his advice to a young officer on what to read. Besides technical treatises, Wolfe advised him to study

of the ancients Vegetius, Cæsar, Thucydides, Xenophon's *Life of Cyrus* and the *Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks*. I do not mention Polybius because the Commentaries [previously recommended] and the *History* naturally go together. Of the later days Davila, Guicciardini, Strada, and the Memoirs of the Duc de Sully. There is abundance of military knowledge to be picked out of the lives of Gustavus Adolphus, and Charles XII, King of Sweden, and of Zisca the Bohemian; and if a tolerable account could be got of the exploits of Scandenburg, it would be inestimable; for he excels all the officers, ancient and modern, in the conduct of a small defensive army.

This extract is worth quoting, if only to show the nature and extent of Wolfe's knowledge, on the foundations of which he based his military campaigning. In these circumstances it was natural that Wolfe took little part in the social functions of an officer, especially in view of the fact that, relatively, he was a poor man. He devoted his whole time to his profession and cared for little else. Wolfe has been called cruel and brutal. The famous cartoons drawn by General Townshend, a remorseless critic of everything Wolfe did, depict him as cold-blooded and perhaps merciless. Considering the standards of eighteenth-century warfare, this accusation can hardly stand. Professor Waugh creates the right impression when he says, "Frightfulness for its own sake he never, indeed, countenanced. He played the game, according to the recognised rules, but he would use every resource and take every advantage that those rules allowed him. Where they enjoined courtesy and forbearance, he was polite and merciful; in matters outside their sphere, he was always chivalrous and conciliatory." This latter sentiment is borne out by the story that after the Battle of Culloden, Wolfe refused to obey the Duke of

Cumberland when he ordered him to kill a wounded Highlander who was mocking at the general.

To the ordinary individual the name of James Wolfe is at once connected with the Heights of Abraham and the capture of Quebec. To Wolfe himself this expedition was the crisis in his career. Failure meant disgrace and oblivion, victory spelt fame and glory. From this biography the impression is distinctly gained that Wolfe was preparing for this moment during his whole life. Everything he did seemed to lead up to this supreme achievement; a success which was impossible unless designed by a master brain. The great difficulties during the siege of Quebec brought out the distinguishing marks between mediocrity and genius. For over two months the English had little success. They had command of the south bank of the St. Lawrence, and were able to control the river itself. But Montcalm was entrenched in Quebec and, along the north bank, east of the city, between the St. Charles River and the Montmorency, he had drawn up the greater part of his army. On July 31st Wolfe tried to force the passage of the Montmorency and then defeat the French in a pitched battle. He was, however, dismally defeated. Till the end of August Wolfe was disappointed and ill. During the first part of the siege he had failed to satisfy his reputation. He seems to have followed the more orthodox theories of attack. But there was one certain fact about the siege; Quebec could not be captured by following out rules written down in a text-book. At the only time that Wolfe seriously considered the problem with his subordinate officers, the result was a plan which was the product of "dull, pedantic, and self-complacent minds." Wolfe had taken a prominent part in the siege of Louisbourg in the previous year. It was during this enterprise that he had shown his genius. In the face of defeat, he was able to make the best of an opportunity which suddenly presented itself. He led a surprise attack upon the town which resulted in its capture. At Quebec the position was somewhat similar. The recognised methods of besieging a city had failed. In fact, the besiegers had been defeated. It was then that Wolfe formulated his "desperate plan," which led to success. Herein lay his genius. The ordinary commander, after the defeat of July 31st, would probably have returned home. If he remained, it is doubtful whether he would have thought of scaling the heights of Abraham, and if he had, he would have been unable to carry it out successfully. Wolfe never recognised defeat; he never tied himself to orthodox theories; and finally he had the military capacity necessary to carry out a desperate plan. Few generals have combined these qualities.

Professor Waugh devotes an appendix to the story of Wolfe and Gray's *Elegy*. He has concluded that the story in its essence is

true, but has doubted the time at which Wolfe actually read the poem. It is impossible here to discuss the evidence; but it is plain that Professor Waugh's view is not universally accepted. He places most reliance on the story of Currie, who apparently derived his information direct from Professor Robison, the original midshipman whom Wolfe was supposed to have addressed. Dr. H. W. V. Temperley, however, holds an opposite view. In an article in a volume dedicated to the late Sir Adolphus Ward he writes: "Currie has the heavy responsibility of fathering all these legends which have given a worthy Scotch tutor the age and rank of a midshipman, a seat in Wolfe's boat as it descended to the attack, and a readiness to brave the penalty of death by conversing about poetry with the general." Dr. Temperley holds that Currie's story, embellished by gossips, is false, while Professor Waugh considered his account the most probable in the circumstances. It would be well for Professor Waugh to consider the theory expressed by Dr. Temperley in a very trenchant and compelling article.

* * *

THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.*

Canon Streeter has followed up his work on *The Four Gospels* by a very important and challenging study of *The Primitive Church*, with special reference to the origins of the Christian ministry. The object of the book is twofold. In the main, it carries forward the historical researches of Lightfoot and Harnack, as well as those, within a more limited range, of Hort, Hatch, and others. This investigation was undertaken, however, as the author tells us in the Introduction, in view of its importance "in relation to the present-day discussion of Christian Reunion." Setting aside "the uncriticised assumption, made by all parties to the controversy, that in the first century there existed a single type of Church Order," Canon Streeter finds that two conclusions come into sight:

(1) In the New Testament itself there can be traced an evolution in Church Order, comparable to the development in theological reflection detected by the scholarship of the last century.

(2) The most natural interpretation of the other evidence is that, at the end of the first century A.D., there existed, in different provinces of the Roman Empire, different systems of Church government. Among these, the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, and the Independent can each discover the prototype of the system to which he himself adheres.

* *The Primitive Church*. By Barnett Hillman Streeter. Macmillan. 8s. 6d. net.

The main factors that produced, first of all, varieties of organisation, and then the establishment, in the second century, of a uniform Church Order, were, in succession, free local developments, a common situation with common needs, and not least of all, the influence of outstanding personalities. Of these, after the Apostles Peter and Paul, the most important are St. James at Jerusalem, John the Elder at Ephesus, Ignatius of Antioch, and Clement of Rome. Hence we find universal episcopacy gradually emerging from "mon-episcopacy" at Jerusalem, presbyter-bishops and deacons in the Pauline Churches, prophets and teachers in Syria, as described in the *Didache*, and a Council of Presbyters, of whom some are bishops, at Rome and Corinth.

Canon Streeter tells the readers of his book that he has "enjoyed the writing of it—the hue and cry after new discovery, the following up of hitherto unnoticed clues, the delimitation of conflicting tendencies, envisaging the interaction between personality and circumstance in testing situations, noting the intermittent ironies emergent in all things human." In his Epilogue he admits that, while much of the evidence is unambiguous, "much admits of more than one interpretation." Of his conclusions he claims that "some are as firmly established as anything can be that rests on ancient testimony." Others, he admits, "are no more than, in Huxley's phrase, 'scientific guesses.'" Yet he reaches "one result from which there is no escape. In the Primitive Church there was no single system of Church Order laid down by the Apostles." The evidence of this main conclusion is as carefully examined and sifted as it is lucidly presented. Canon Streeter is justified in claiming that his guesses are scientific, for while some of his suggestions are brilliantly adventurous they are always thoroughly reasoned and the evidence is fully presented.

It is impossible within the limits of this notice to give any illustrations of the combination of painstaking research, brilliant suggestion, and conscientious reasoning by which this book is distinguished. It must suffice to say that it is a great contribution to its subject, which will compel the unbiassed attention of all those who seek either sound historical knowledge or guidance in regard to the problems which history in conjunction with the modern situation, sets to the Christian Church in the present age. It is devoutly to be hoped that Canon Streeter's brilliant and scientific endeavour may succeed in breaking down the hard and fast assumptions in all quarters which hinder both candid investigation of the past and, still more, living readjustment to the demands of the coming time as well as to the exigencies of the present.

J. S. L.

THE REALITY OF MYSTICISM.*

The experience of reality has been the goal both of mystics and physicists from early mediæval times, to take only our occidental thinkers and seers. St. Bernard claimed to have seen God, and the ecstatic mystics of the later Middle Ages who attained "perfection" made practically the same claim. On the other hand, the renaissance and post-renaissance physicists beginning with Cardinal Cusanus, equally with modern thinkers such as Professor Eddington, have come to the conclusion that knowledge of our own ignorance of the nature of reality is as far as we can go, an ignorance that premises a reality which is outside the range of ordered thought. Indeed, Professor Eddington seems to arrive at the conclusion that the phenomena about which we can think and reason are symbolic; while that there cannot be a complete geometry of things is the conclusion of Professor Einstein. In these circumstances, the mystic, therefore, can only deal apparently with what may be called non-rational phenomena.

It is hard, if this is true, for a student of mysticism to present Reality in terms of logic. The appreciation of Reality is, apparently, an entirely subjective thing so far as the individual is concerned, and the objective Reality, though doubtless it exists, is not capable of statement. Is it possible to premise the existence of Reality and to show paths of progress towards it? Mr. Edmond Holmes in his essay reprinted from *The Hibbert Journal* (the notice of which through the pressure of available space has been unduly delayed) seems to premise the existence of Reality when he writes:

The standards of worth which we apply to things are all determined by our conception of Reality; and the varying values of the actual are all measurable, in the last resort, in terms of the Real. The supreme ideals by reference to which we arrange the objects of our experience in an informal order of merit—the True, the Beautiful, the Good—are high realities which seem to converge, as we follow them in the direction of their own infinitude, on the Ultimate Reality which we call God. But if the worth of the actual is measurable in the last resort in terms of the Real, if gradation in worth resolves itself in the last resort into gradation in Reality, by reference to what standard are we to measure Reality? To this question there is but one answer: an inward standard. A standard which is inherent in selfhood. It is in self, it is in and through our consciousness of self, that we recognise gradation in Reality.

Mr. Holmes then goes on to classify "self" and declares that "the supreme ideals which determine our standards of value are constituent elements of the real self and the very instruments of its self-revelation. When we try to live up to them we are responding

* *Experience of Reality: A Study of Mysticism.* By Edmond Holmes. Richard Cobden-Sanderson, 17, Tavies Inn, London. 5s. net.

to the call of Reality." But here is the crux of the whole matter. Can we supply scientific methods, methods of logic to subjective phenomena, and treat such phenomena as if they were in fact objective phenomena? In "self" Mr. Holmes declares that man experiences "the different degrees of Reality," and that the conception of gradation "gives us a new logic, a new metaphysic, a new philosophy of life." To the present writer the difficulty presented by such a "new logic" seems insuperable, since the very nature of subjective experience, though doubtless governed by law, makes it an impossible matter for classification in respect to more than one individual unless it goes through an objective phase and becomes therefore the subject of fundamental ignorance. Mr. Holmes admits that the Absolute "for ever eludes us and for ever lures us on," but that seems not to be the real issue. In the giving of gradations from one personality to another an objective stage must be passed, and in the passing of that stage all gradation is swallowed up in the ignorance that folds round the objective world. There is a great gulf fixed between any one personality and any other. All that we know is that there is some Reality common to all personalities of which the condition is that it remains and must remain absolutely unknown to the logic of the mind of man.

But Mr. Holmes is not content. He declares that the common experience of mankind is that in fact there are gradations in Reality and that there must therefore be a method of subjective approach, a "Way of Life." No doubt this is true for the individual. The individual must work out his own salvation. All the great decisions of life are lonely, and the way of life is lonely, and there is no map that charts it; that is to say, no map that either the mystic or the physicist can draw in any logical or human sense. It is incommunicable because of the fundamental and necessary ignorance of the Reality that underlies the common symbols of things. But Mr. Holmes is not discouraged. In the very process of trying to communicate the incommunicable he tells us that we must be satisfied with

the quest of the real self. We are all engaged on that quest. Few of us are aware of this. Many of us are trying to thwart their unrecognised destiny. But the finding of the real self is our destiny, and sooner or later it will enforce its claim upon us. For the being of man, like that of every other living thing, comes under the master law of growth. Growth is a movement towards maturity, towards natural perfection. And the ideal end of that movement is the finding—or achieving—the real self that grows. . . . In the case of man achievement of individuality means that growth is no longer a mere movement towards a pre-determined form, that for each of us its possibilities are infinite and its goal unknown.

That is no doubt true, but the difficulty—the intellectual difficulty—is that progress or growth is associated with groups of men and not with a person in loneliness. The objective cannot be separated from the subjective in the process, with the result that we are continually cut off from our self-conscious growth by the ignorance that underlies all objective things. “The quest of the real self” cannot be separated from the urgencies of social life. To use terms of which Mr. Holmes speaks—separatism, self-assertion, greed, sensuality—the very terms are necessarily related to the objective life of the community, and this is true also of their opposites: love, humility, poverty, asceticism. We cannot gain “the depths of self” (even if it were desirable) without going through the wilderness (if it is a wilderness and not the Garden of Eden) of objectivity.

Mr. Holmes in the light of his conclusions deals with beliefs and convictions and concludes that whatever the way (necessarily an objective way) the true mystic at last is alone “with his real self,” and urges that “the true mystics are all Pantheists at heart,” and that “his fellow mystics are not his only companions in the silence and darkness of his inmost soul. The whole wide world is with him in the solitude of his communion with God.” The reference to “fellow mystics” seems to show that the whole process is essentially objective and that the unity of the world is something wholly other than the goal of a subjective process. The word Pantheism is, however, taken to mean the personification and individualisation of that “magnified and glorified replica of himself which he calls God,” and in this way it is hoped to avoid the objective nature of the process of spiritual growth. Mr. Holmes says that “the aim of the mystic is union with the Real, through the transformation of his being into its innermost reality,” and that “it is the glory of the mystic’s quest that it will never reach its goal.” These very phrases seem to deal with the symbolic objectivity of time. There seems nothing of true subjectivity in them.

The doctrines of mysticism as set forth in some modern writers (not Mr. Holmes) seem to be doctrines of pure selfishness. Thomas à Kempis indeed in his time disapproved of them in his sane Christian way. We are in the light of modern science possessed of a more excellent way than that demonstrated by the ecstatic mystics. Science has shown that though we are necessarily ignorant of Reality yet there is almost certainly an objective reality upon which we can rely, a something wholly transcendent, wholly outside ourselves and yet wholly dominant. It is possible to have faith in a Reality upon which we, in fact, rely although we can know not its objective nature. Christianity presents us with that faith, a faith which fits in with all that is best in man, and we ought to

be satisfied with it, and not dream dreams inconsistent with that unknown Reality which dwells about us in reach indeed of any one of us.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

PRE-WAR ITALY.*

The Clarendon Press and Cecilia M. Ady are to be warmly congratulated on producing an English translation of one of Benedetto Croce’s most interesting and important works. The most distinguished mind in Italy to-day narrates and interprets the *History of Italy, 1871-1915*, as it has never been narrated and interpreted before. Croce’s world-wide fame has been won above all by his philosophical writings, but he began his career as an historian, and the present volume combines historical knowledge with philosophical insight in unique degree.

We are presented with a panoramic survey of Italian life from the end of the Risorgimento to the entry into the world war—its politics, its economics, its intellectual rebirth. It is the habit of Fascists to assert that Parliamentary self-government proved such a dismal failure in Italy that it had to be swept away. But this is a pure delusion, for democracy was quite as successful in the Peninsula during this period as in France. Tried by an ideal standard it was disappointing enough; but it was at any rate an immense improvement on the corrupt and incompetent government of disunited Italy. Croce portrays the leaders of the Right which ruled till 1876, and of the Left which came in with Depretys and flourished under Giolitti. Both parties deserved well of the State, and our author is scrupulously fair to their respective achievements.

The biggest figure on the stage is Crispi, whose patriotism is warmly recognised, while his lack of balance and preference for violent courses are justly censured. The one great failure of the half-century was the Abyssinian adventure, which weighed on the consciousness of the people till its self-confidence was restored by the Tripoli war. It is interesting to hear Croce’s judgments on the statesmen and policies of his country; but the most original chapters are those on the intellectual life. He writes with fine enthusiasm of Carducci and with deserved severity of the decadent d’Annunzio, and describes his own intellectual debts and constructions with admirable modesty.

The whole book, every page of which deserves study, breathes the spirit of Liberalism which is happily still dear to Englishmen, and encourages us to hope that ordered liberty will re-emerge in Italy when the devastating Fascist dictatorship becomes a memory of the past.

G. P. G.

* Clarendon Press. 15s.

THE WAR AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.*

To those who desire to have within reasonable compass a comprehensive and fairly impartial account of the war, so far as it affected Austria-Hungary, no better book can be offered than this admirably illustrated volume by the present Director of the Austrian War Archives. On the whole he writes with commendable moderation and the self-restraint becoming an historian. Nothing could be fairer than the criticism he offers of Czernin's uncertain policy, and it may be, as he says, doubtful whether the attempt, even if it had proved successful, to cut Austria loose from Germany, would have saved the Empire. Certainly it would not have helped Germany. The one statesman who appears to have had any apprehension of the probable fatal results of the destruction of the Habsburg monarchy was Lord Balfour. The mischief of the agitation, that found expression in the Treaty of St. Germain, was that it paid no attention to Palacky's warning that, whatever might have been the faults of the Habsburgs, the maintenance of the Empire was a political necessity for the peace and welfare of Europe, as a barrier against Eastern influence.

As a former officer and at present Director of the Austrian War Archives Herr von Glaise-Horstenau is able to write on military matters with authority and a full knowledge of the difficulties against which the Austrian General-Staff had to contend, owing to the overwhelming influence exercised on the course of operations by the Germans. The great mistake of the war, as he sees it, was that, after the collapse of the Serbian army and the alliance with Bulgaria, the Austrians did not push on to Salonika. For this blunder, of which the consequence was the collapse of the Bulgarian front in 1918, he holds Falkenhayn to have been directly responsible, as he likewise does for the opposition offered to Conrad von Hötzendorf's plan for a concentrated attack on Italy in the autumn of 1916. As it was in military matters so it was in political. Austrian interests had always to yield to German. It is the misfortune of the Germans that they can see things only from their own standpoint. They were angry with Austria because she would not consent to purchase Italian neutrality by the surrender of Trieste and the Trentino, but they would never listen to any suggestion to purchase peace by the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine. But the day for recrimination has passed away. It is useless to inquire whether Germany was responsible for the fate that has befallen Austria or whether Austria has always been the curse of Germany. As the author wisely says, both were the victims of a false war-policy, "which, failing to

* *Die Katastrophe: Die Zertrümmerung Oesterreich-Ungarns und das Werden der Nachfolgestaaten.* Von Edmund Glaise-Horstenau. Mit 96 Abbildungen und 1 Karte. Amalthea Verlag, Wien, 1929.

recognise what was possible and attainable, lost itself in the boundlessness of its own uncertainty." R. D.

* * *

COTTAGES AND FARM-HOUSES OF NORFOLK.*

The lesser buildings of England, the farm-houses and farm buildings, the cottages and village shops, village inns, and wind and water mills are, so far as national character is concerned, not less important than the Cathedrals and ancient Abbeys, Parish Churches, Halls, and Manor Houses. In this very admirable book Mr. Claud Messent, a skilled architect with antiquarian taste and knowledge, tells the story of such lesser buildings in Norfolk, omitting the inns and mills, the first because the story has been completely told already, and the second as outside the special scope of this book. It is to be hoped that he will treat the subject of the mills at once, since they are much in the public mind and, as he says, are fast falling into decay.

The practical usefulness of Mr. Messent's book is the first point to dwell upon. Buildings are springing up, almost like toadstools, everywhere, and many of these are the work of builders who care nothing for true utility and the sense of beauty that inspired the creations—for they deserve that term—of past centuries. Moreover, the splendid old cottages are being ruined not by time but by man on all sides.

This dreadful mutilation of old work is by no means confined to Norfolk, as the author, during the last two years, has visited over thirty counties in England and Wales and has seen the same thing going on practically everywhere. It is in the hope that the public may be led more fully to realise what a splendid heritage they have in these fine old cottages and farm-houses that the author has written and illustrated this book.

The practical usefulness is concentrated in the illustrations, beautiful works of art which are at the same time practical guides to the local builder in not only the building but in the reconstruction of cottages and farm-houses. Nor is this usefulness by any means confined to Norfolk, since there are hints everywhere as to the relationship of local building materials to structure, and the builder, if he has any sense of local life, can readily adjust structure to the tradition of his county and his district. Mr. Messent says generally that the old cottages and farm-houses

have an individuality of their own and, moreover, they seem to be a natural part of the landscape. This latter charm is probably due to the fact that nothing but local materials were used

* *The Old Cottages and Farm-houses of Norfolk.* By Claud J. W. Messent. With pen and ink illustrations by the author. H. W. Hunt, 14, Orford Hill, Norwich. 10s. net. (inland postage 6d. extra).

in the old days, as transport was then very difficult. It is no doubt through easy transport that many of our old villages have been spoilt; cheap bricks have been carried to a district where nothing but stone buildings previously existed and the introduction of slates to where tiles and thatch were the only roofing materials.

Is the cult of cheapness justified? Local bricks and various grades of flint sufficed in Norfolk for the building of the majority of the lesser buildings, but these materials were displaced in many cases during the last three centuries by clay-lump, a material easily manufactured near the site and perfect for its purpose if the outer surfaces of the walls are kept waterproof. Carstone is also used for building, and has been quarried at Snettisham and used for perhaps a thousand years. "It is very soft when first quarried, and can, therefore, be easily dressed into shape. The weakening of the stone is exceedingly slow. It is well suited to damp and exposed situations." In Norfolk it is used far and wide, and with the present cheap transit it ought to find a ready market all over the country. It is used as any ordinary building stone is used. At Heacham, "one of the finest groups of cottages anywhere in Norfolk," the material is Carstone. Chalk itself is used. It is a very hard variety called Clunch, and Mr. Messent states that it "weathers like an ordinary building stone." It is plain, therefore, that the cottages and farm-houses of Norfolk can give a lead to building all over the country. The old Norfolk craftsmen imitated the half-timber work of the woodland counties. The modern craftsmen of other counties should return the compliment to the masons of Norfolk.

Practical things are most often most practical when most beautiful, as indeed modern iron and steel work shows. The very practical lesser buildings of Norfolk illustrate this fact in a most remarkable way. We are told that "many of these old houses are remarkably beautiful and their architectural merits reflect great credit upon the old craftsmen who built them." Flint work is the oldest material used for buildings, though Carstone is very old. How old are the oldest extant cottages and farm-houses Mr. Messent does not tell us, and there are rumours that some go back to the twelfth century, but Mr. Messent says that Carstone has been quarried and used for nearly a thousand years. Geoffrey Chaucer is reported to have lived in an extant half-timber house at Bawdeswell with some flint-walling. Flint was used in enormous quantities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries "when church building was at its height in East Anglia." But splendid farm-houses were also built, as is shown in the case of Stonehouse Farm at West Harling (apparently late Tudor) and the "magnificent pile of flint work, dating back in the most part to Elizabethan days," at Toftrees, known as the

Old Hall Farm. Another fine flint building, but of the fifteenth century, is at Northwold. It was a rectory in pre-reformation times, and the priest was so hungry for tithe that he was, let us say frankly, murdered by his parishioners. He thereupon haunted the rectory and became more and more troublesome until a hundred years ago the clergy of the neighbourhood were called in to exorcise the spirit. They persuaded the spirit to enter a bottle, which was at once corked and built into the walls of the house, which are three feet thick. Mr. Messent has some doubts about the story, but at any rate it would be wiser, let us say on æsthetic grounds, not to disturb the walls. The ashes of the Rev. Thomas Bilney, who was burnt at Norwich as a heretic on August 19th, 1531, and buried in an urn by the sympathetic parishioners of his birth-place, East Bilney, have been brought to light in the present century, and his home also survives. If this is possible the Corked Bottle of Northwold is doubtless extant.

Brickwork came into Norfolk with the revival of brickmaking at the hands of the Flemish weavers in the fifteenth century. The remains of five centuries of brick work are in many cases exquisite. The brick builders were then the gentry of their cult. "There was none of that haste and desire to scamp details that has been so prevalent since mid-Victorian days. Even the humblest cottage is a witness of careful workmanship, and shows care and trouble taken in executing the smallest detail." The Dutch influence is manifest: "The curved gables are probably the most conspicuous objects with foreign influence, and the many curves and slopes that they take help to give an individuality to each house that might otherwise be lacking." The weathering of brickwork is a bequest that Time has given, and when, as at Ludham, the brickwork has weathered to a wine-red and the roofs are thatched, art, usefulness, and time have combined to give what should be an imperishable picture. Pantiles of three colours replace thatch in many places, a Dutch influence, and an excellent recipe for roofing purposes. Thatched clay-lump buildings, the walls finished with a coat of cream colour-wash, and the deep-gold thatch coated with green and gold mosses and lichen, make an even lovelier study of *chiaroscuro*. But enough has been said to make clear the excellence of a book which should be in the hands of all architects and builders who claim to be worthy of their great art. It is true that the cult of Our Lady of Walsingham brought wealth to the county of Norfolk in the Middle Ages, that to-day Americans are making a new cult at Hingham whence the stock of Abraham Lincoln sprang. But every county can make similar claims, and the claims will be valued the more if the ancient farm-houses and cottages are nobly preserved.

J. E. G. DE M.

ELIZABETHAN FIGURES.*

Miss Elizabeth Holmes is to be congratulated on her brilliant and yet intensive study, with various new aspects carefully delineated, of the fascinating subject of Elizabethan Imagery. The goal in the author's mind is to show, as she certainly succeeds in showing, that the source of the later metaphysical poetry was to be found in the great dramatists.

Continued study confirmed the opinion that the beginning and some development of metaphysical poetry were to be found in the work of the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatic poets, certain of whom, however, were Donne's contemporaries. From it was inferred that the bias of the later Elizabethan age was strongly "metaphysical," even though Jonson, one of its greater minds, moved wholly outside this tendency.

The case of Jonson should be reconsidered by Miss Holmes. Some of his exquisite lyrics and shorter poems (the comparison of the oak and the evanescent flower, for instance) show an intense metaphysical tendency. Miss Holmes insists, as a point of departure, that though the Elizabethan dramatists "lived abundantly both in the physical and mental," yet they eventually towered above the sensuous world from which that abundance sprang.

Marlowe, Shakespeare, Chapman, Webster all evince the fact in their different ways. Spiritual hunger lends fresh energy to that self expression, and urges them to look through the shows to the heart of things; and a philosophical temper is generated, leading to the beginning of a metaphysical poetry before that so called, of the Jacobean and Caroline ages. Intensity, curiosity, subtlety, wit serving passion or almost passionate in itself, are not the characteristics of the religious, fastidious, precious seventeenth century alone. These qualities, though the seventeenth century accentuates and isolates them, are found as well in the more broadly thinking, more humanistic and secular age that went before; and there is no discontinuity between the age of Shakespeare and that of the metaphysical poets.

No doubt this very broad statement is open to certain criticisms. It is very doubtful whether the phrase "the more broadly thinking, more humanistic and secular age," can be fully justified. Politically the period after the death of James I is eminently "a more broadly thinking age" than the Elizabethan, and this is true in the regions of pure scholarship and science. It is only in a literary sense that the humanism of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries excels that of the later period, while to call the earlier period a more secular age is to miss the point that it begot the later metaphysics of the religious poets. The great dramatists were in a

* *Aspects of Elizabethan Imagery.* By Elizabeth Holmes. Basil Blackwood. 7s. 6d. net.

very difficult position as to religion; the stir of the new reformation was in their blood, and it was in conflict with the old and splendid religious formalism of a dying age. But they were not secular dramatists: they were one and all poets in revolt. Even Shakespeare joins in the struggle, and apparently on the mystic and not on the puritan side. It is with no desire to criticise Miss Holmes's broad premises that these points are made. It is with a desire to enforce her very just conclusions.

Moreover, it is probably not true that the *terminus a quo* was the work of the Elizabethan dramatists. Metaphysical poetry was even in the late sixteenth century an ancient tradition which the dramatists of that age moulded to their own liking, in a new Renaissance and Tudor atmosphere and in the new world of science and geography. That tradition of metaphysics no doubt reached its poetic crown in the seventeenth century, but it would probably have faded altogether unless the dramatists had intervened. As Miss Holmes aptly states, "One age leans forward also to meet the next."

The Platonic utterance of Lyly that in absolute beauty "there is somewhat above art," the gleam of perfection that fails not and almost seems to be capable of realisation in the realm of human utterance, both find place in the pages of Marlowe. He passes from man to God, the perfection of human beauty:

Was this the face that launched a thousand ships
And burnt the topless towers of Ilium;

to Faustus the alchemist:

In dominance that exceeds in this,
Stretched as far as doth the mind of man;

and then to the transcendental Comet:

See, see where Christ's blood streams in the firmament.

Nash took up the tale in his pamphlet *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem*—sounding the Puritan note—and lamented in his immortal lyric, rightly quoted in this connection by Miss Holmes, the passing of earthly beauty,

Queens have died young and fair,
Dust hath closed Helen's eyes.

Miss Holmes thinks that Nash "lacks the serious and consistent thought of a great writer." It may be so, but he was building the Puritan tradition with a certitude that is lacking in any other of the Elizabethans. Shakespeare, as far as it is possible to judge, took the other view and bemoaned the passing of the old colourful faith, but he is too judicial to mix up current politics with drama.

The chapter on Shakespeare is very attractive. Miss Holmes declares that he is "among the earliest of English metaphysical poets in the special sense; in the wider sense he is still the great-

est." That he is still the greatest there can be no doubt, though Browning goes very close to him; but it is allowable to say that when Miss Holmes neglects Gower and Chaucer she is making an omission which, though no doubt justified by the limitations of her subject, is in effect serious, since Shakespeare owes to Chaucer many things. It is not possible here and now to go through in detail Miss Holmes's account of the metaphysical forces that lay within Shakespearean personality. In possibly the greatest of the plays in the non-technical sense, *Antony and Cleopatra*, the metaphoric pace is indeed "breathlessly swift," and it is that fact that gives his great creation that sense of Empire close-knit to Fate which makes it a real picture of the earliest days of the immortal Principate. The analysis that this chapter gives is entirely excellent and throws a new light, though perhaps it is going too far to attempt to trace the poet's subconscious thoughts. Still the creative gifts are amply described in the metaphysical connection. When Cordelia is described by an onlooker:

There she shook
The Holy water from her heavenly eyes

the metaphor gives the saintliness of a perfect woman in a passing casual phrase.

Miss Holmes, strangely enough, with her vast knowledge of Shakespeare, omits the most metaphysical of all of Shakespeare's multitudinous allusions to the mystery of things. She tells us that "*A Midsummer Night's Dream* is naturally full of figures of moonlight." In fact, in this play there is something more important than those lovely images—Bottom's Dream. Bottom, an uneducated man with great intellectual powers, a man who believes that there is nothing beyond his comprehension, comes suddenly into a world that passes his ideas of knowledge, of beauty, of heavenly possibilities. The materialist, the leader of his little herd of men, dreams a dream that is not of this world, a dream within a dream slept with no "common sleep." He awakes at last ready for the play and calls his co-mates and then he remembers suddenly the unrememberable.

I have had a most rare dream. I have had a dream,—past the wit of man to say what dream it was: Man is but an ass if he go about to expound this dream. Methought I was—there is no man can tell what. Methought I was,—and methought I had,—But man is but a patched fool, if he will offer to say what methought I had. I will get Peter Quince to write a ballad of the dream: it shall be called Bottom's Dream because it hath no bottom; and I will sing it in the latter end of the play, before the Duke! Peradventure, to make it the more gracious I shall sing it at her death. . . . Masters, I am to discourse wonders, but ask me not what; for if I tell you I am no true Athenian.

Man, a good commonsense Englishman, has suddenly been faced by the infinite. He realises it, in his inner consciousness he grasps it, but the gods who have given man the power of speech could not give Nicholas Bottom, the weaver of everything, the power in respect to the infinite bottomless dream. "I am to discourse wonders; but ask me not what." Metaphysics could go no further and metaphysical poetry has gone no further in expressing the attitude of the ordinary man to the infinite.

To turn to Chapman—with his sense of nature on the grand scale and his power "to catch familiar things at their strangest moment"—to Marston the limited realist, Tourneur the lover of "the curious and unique more than the magnificent" and yet the man who anticipated the mighty Webster, and to Webster himself, is to turn in many senses to the decadence of the drama which nevertheless handed on a sufficient measure of the metaphysics to the age of metaphysical poets. Webster is amazing, but that there is a definite and measurable decadence from the age of Shakespeare is certain. Webster is terrible, his whole atmosphere is terrible—Miss Holmes calls it "the longer metaphysical atmosphere of Webster, implicit in the sense of a covering darkness and of returning unshunnable destiny"—and the decadence is that of stern grim hopelessness and not the gross decadence of the Restoration drama. The drama dies with dignity and the beauty of despair.

You may discern the shape of loveliness
More perfect in her tears than in her smiles.

The author of this book quotes these haunting lines from *The Duchess of Malfi*, and in fact they make an end, and she rightly says that "when the drama dwindled in magnificence and intimacy" the Shakespearean qualities of meditation on life and death, love and fate, "found their embodiment elsewhere." The critic, after dwelling on Miss Holmes's book, will be found wondering whether the twentieth century has gifts to give to the world similar in kind to the metaphysical dramatic thought that made the Elizabethan and Jacobean age in England an epoch in the history of literature and humanism.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

The relations between the coloured peoples of the world become an evermore pressing problem as civilisation expands and demands for its fulfilment the co-operation of every race and creed. The clash of colour can only be harmonised by that personal intercourse between the races which breaks down prejudice and creates a mutual sympathy

of understanding. In *Aggrey of Africa** Mr. Edwin W. Smith has written the biography of an African who sought by his life and example to break down this barrier of colour which blocks the way to progress. There can be little doubt that Professor Aggrey was a great man. He was a Christian missionary of much learning who carried his message of harmony and co-operation in his travels, especially in England, the United States, and his native Africa. The coat of arms of Achimota College in the Gold Coast where Aggrey worked for a considerable time was designed in memory of him. The shield represents the white and black keys of a piano, a symbol continually used by him in his work for the co-operation of the white and black. "You can play," he said, "a tune of sorts on the white keys, and you can play a tune of sorts on the black keys, but for harmony you must use both the black and the white." This represents his ideal, told in his own expressive manner. Aggrey was a pioneer in the work of breaking down the walls of colour prejudice. He could not, moreover, have done what he did, without having been what he was. "The man's a saint, damn his colour" were the words of one of a group of settlers in East Africa. "Beneath external and patent dissimilarities which separated this negro from themselves, these Europeans perceived fundamental resemblances; they even detected elements that made him in some respects their superior." Aggrey was not perfect, for he was intensely human. He understood human weaknesses and dislikes; but, knowing them, was able to go far in the promotion of his high ideal. Mr. Edwin Smith has written a fascinating biography of a very good man. It is well worth the trouble for every man or woman interested in the problem of colour consciousness to read this account and to find the answer in the Christian ideal.

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Every nation has its secret service, but nowhere is it more in the public eye than in post-war Russia, where the government, to maintain its authority, relies upon the activities of the Tcheka. The latter has gained an unsavoury reputation, connected as it has been in the suppression of every intrigue, plot, and alleged counter-revolutionary conspiracy. It is difficult to find out the truth of conditions in Soviet Russia; but a great deal has been written and the British public has gained the impression that the OGPU or Tcheka is the buttress of Soviet tyranny, unscrupulous in its work and methods. This feeling is in no way lessened by the publication of a book *In the Clutches of the Tcheka*† by Mr. Boris Cederholm, a Finnish subject. At one time in the Russian Imperial Navy, Mr. Cederholm, after the Revolution, entered Soviet Russia on a business enterprise. He was arrested by the Bolsheviks on a frivolous charge and remained in prison for eighteen months. Finally he was sent to the Solovetsky Islands, notorious as a deportation encampment where every prisoner endured terrible deprivation and hardship. On reading Mr. Cederholm's striking and graphic narrative, one is struck at once by the strength of the Tcheka and the barbarity of its method. The latter is terrorism pure and simple and is reminiscent of the Inquisition. The Holy

* Student Christian Movement. 7s. 6d. net.
† Allen & Unwin. 15s. net.

Office was also crude and brutal, but it worked not to suppress but to exalt the individual to the pure life, according to its conception of Christianity. That it worked for and not against the individual is brilliantly shown by Bernard Shaw in *St. Joan*. But apparently the Tcheka has not even this saving grace. The fact is that the Russian Governments both before and after the Revolution have been of such a character that a repressive political organisation has been indispensable to their existence. As a result, the power of this institution is very great and Mr. Cederholm declares in his book "that even the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs is powerless against the Tcheka." In what direction government in Russia is tending it is difficult to ascertain; but if the experiences of Mr. Cederholm are to be accepted as typical occurrences in the Russian State, the prosperity of this vast nation can only lie in the development of a policy based on the Christian principle of brotherhood and justice.

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Agriculture remains one of the principal industries in this country, and the post-war depression must remain disconcerting to all those interested in national welfare. The whole problem is very difficult and the little book entitled *The Land** by a great expert, Mr. Christopher Turnor, must be welcomed as a notable attempt at analysing the present conditions, and drawing from them proposals necessary to the future prosperity of the industry. Lord Bledisloe, who was chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, has written an excellent foreword in which he endorses the conclusions of Mr. Turnor. Agriculture has played a large part in politics and party strife. Protection and Nationalisation have both, in turn, been advocated as alone able to restore prosperity. But Mr. Turnor places politics on one side; and asks for a government which will be sympathetic and encourage voluntary help. The salvation of agriculture lies, not in outside interference, but in individual effort and combined organisation. The industry must be saved from internal decay and stagnation and this can best be achieved by reform from within. The author takes Sir Horace Plunkett as his guide when he lays down the fundamental principle underlying progress. "The farmer, as a producer, must be an individualist; the land—nature—responds to individual effort and to nothing else; on the side of distribution the farmer must fall in with the modern business trend, he must be a 'Co-operatist'; he must meet combine with combine, ring with ring." These necessary efforts must be stimulated in every way possible, the most important of which is the growth of the small freehold farmer. "I believe a period of occupying ownership with all the responsibilities it entails, would be the most effective way of stimulating our cultivators and of inducing them to organise their industry." The benefits of a tenant holding, especially in a bad year, are considerable, but an extension of the long and short credit systems would be a substitute for the long-suffering landlord and make the farmer dependent upon himself and upon his own initiative. *The Land* should be read by every student interested in the future of agriculture and national economics.

* John Lane, Bodley Head Ltd. 1s. net.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A second volume of the Lonsdale Library has recently been published: "Trout Fishing from all Angles"* by Mr. Eric Taverner whose book is full of good things for the enthusiastic angler. "Times of plenty and short commons follow one another in unnumbered cycles and make up the rhythm of a trout's life," and it is this rhythm round which Mr. Taverner has built up his story. He seems to have an intimate acquaintance with all the habits and vagaries of the trout and, by means of this knowledge, he endeavours to teach the beginner how to fish and what gear to use; and infuses in the more experienced angler a fresh interest and fascination in his sport. The value of the book is greatly increased by the quantity and quality of the illustrations. Apart from nearly two hundred invaluable text illustrations, it contains a large number of photographs, showing some of the most famous fishing rivers in England, Scotland, and Wales. There is an interesting chapter by Mr. G. Herbert Nall on brown trout scales and a very useful section on the legal aspect of fishing by Captain Albon F. L. Becon, a knowledge of which is necessary to a complete enjoyment of the sport. "Trout Fishing from all Angles" presents a comprehensive account of the whole subject and is worth the attention of every ardent fisherman.

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The amusing series of "Canny Tales" have some recent notable additions. One of these is Sir Harry Lauder's little volume, "My Best Scotch Stories"† (illustrated by Mr. D. C. Eyles), with its delightful preface. The stories are good and witty, but, of course, lack that something which comes from telling in Sir Harry Lauder's overwhelming fashion. He asserts that Scots are "the drollest people in the world. We laugh at each other from morning to night. We see fun all round us: in our homes, at our work, in our play, even in the pulpit. Our most miserable moments are often enlivened by a gleam of humour, as in the case of the Kilmarnock man, who, on burying his third wife, remarked to himself with a sigh: 'Ah, weel, this sort o' thing canna happen to ma much oftener!' Only a Scot could have cheered himself up with a joke like this." The old taunt that Scotsmen are mean Sir Harry repels with effect, but that they are careful he admits when he tells the reader that a Greenock man has patented an invention for taking the ink stains out of blotting paper. But why Greenock?

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In "The Psychology of the Pre-School Child"‡ Dr. James Drever and Miss Margaret Drummond have produced a book which should be of real use to both parents and teachers, by expounding the "fundamental psychological principles involved in the study of the pre-school period" and showing "the way in which these principles find expression in the different stages of development." Two particularly interesting chapters are on "The Child Guidance Clinic" and "The Nursery School"; two types of institution which daily become more and more necessary to life in our great cities and, indeed, in rural districts.

* Seeley, Service & Co. 21s. net.

† Valentine & Sons. 1s. 6d. net.

‡ Partridge. 6s. net.

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.

THE Pan-Europa campaign conducted for the past ten years by Count Koudenhove-Calergi cannot be said to have made any deep impression upon practical politicians. But the conversion of so powerful and experienced a statesman as M. Briand gives the proposal a new status, and the instruction to a Committee to report upon it to the next Assembly compels "good Europeans" to a closer consideration of its worth. Though it is difficult to extract any clear idea of the political and economic meaning of the expression "United States of Europe" from the report of the enthusiastic speech in which M. Briand launched the proposal, it is worth while exploring its possibilities.

There is one preliminary difficulty that confronts us, namely, the scope of the Europe whose union is envisaged. It does not seem to include that large tract of Russia which comes within the geographical area of Europe. For, apart from all other difficulties, the detachment of her vast Asiatic territories would be wholly impracticable. A similar difficulty appears to exclude Great Britain, for the larger unity of her Empire bars her participation. To some extent this same consideration is applicable to France, Holland, Italy, Belgium, and Portugal, as countries possessing colonies outside the European area. If it be held that the Union of Europe that is desiderated would exclude these external possessions, one can only reply that such a ruling renders impossible any effective economic or fiscal unity, such as by common admission forms the core of reality in any European federation hitherto conceived. If, on the other hand, external colonies, dominions, protectorates, and mandates are to be counted in, the term "United States of Europe" would seem a wholly inappropriate designation for a union spreading over every continent, and covering far more territory outside than inside Europe.

It seems more reasonable to expect that M. Briand and his supporters contemplate a federation comprising all European members of the League (with the possible exception of Great Britain), and that they are looking primarily to improvements of fiscal and other economic arrangements along the lines approved by the World Economic Conference held at Geneva two years ago. If this be so, it would seem well for M. Briand to lose no time in marking the limitations of a phrase which is falsely alluring in its wider implications. For the term "United States of Europe" is admittedly formed on the analogy of the great North American Union, and suggests that some similar federal system of government may be attainable for Europe.

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Now it might be an excellent thing if the League of Nations could proceed to the achievement of a Federation of the World by means of such continental unions as a Pan-European, a Pan-American, and a Pan-Asiatic. But is there any reasonable ground for holding that any centripetal force of political or economic unity is available for such an achievement? Or, turning to one particular problem, is there any body of common sentiment or interest based upon local proximity and membership of the same continent that seems in the least adequate to break down the political and economic, the linguistic and cultural barriers, which hitherto have divided European nations, and to convert them from sovereign independent nations into members of a European political federation, with a Zollverein and other common policies determined by a federal parliament? For that is what a United States of Europe ought to mean. Nations that are still squandering a large share of their diminished resources on armed preparations, owing to mistrust of their neighbours, and are scheming in disarmament conferences to reduce their neighbours' forces more than their own, nations that can continue to "reserve" from arbitral or judicial settlement most of the issues likely to breed dangerous conflicts, are still very far from the state of mind required to give validity to any scheme deserving the name of United States of Europe.

It is natural enough that the Great War should have increased this spiritual disunion, and have led to governmental measures expressive of fear, distrust, and jealousy. The most injurious of these measures are the obstacles to free serviceable intercourse, personal and commercial, between members of the different nations, and the attempts of each nation to achieve national self-sufficiency of economic life. The Report of the 1927 Conference expresses itself upon this matter with uncompromising severity:

It has to be recognised that the possibility of Europe being organised as an economic unit is more remote than before the war, partly because of excessive economic nationalism, which was the natural consequence of the war and is only now subsiding, and because of the economic consequences of retracing frontiers. This nationalisation and these territorial readjustments have resulted in the duplication of industrial plant and in a failure to apply the principles of division of labour between the several States of Europe. The normal process of intercourse between the numerous units which constitute the new Europe has been seriously interrupted. The markets which certain areas had supplied before the war have been lost to them, and everywhere it has been necessary to seek new openings for trade.

It is estimated that the establishment of new nationalities since 1913 has added more than 11,000 kilometres of customs frontiers, while the tariff walls in most instances are far higher than before the war. Tariffs are also more complex and subject to more frequent changes. Whereas before the war most tariffs were the subject of careful negotiation and remained in force for at least a decade, the post-war situation is very different. "Of about 180 treaties published between 1920 and August, 1926, all except 27 could be altered before the expiration of a single year, a period which is much too short to permit trade to adjust itself to the new conditions."* Moreover, the adoption of a system of *tarifs de combat*, which is virtually negotiation by bludgeon, has led to many rises in tariff rates detrimental to the trade of both parties and productive of ill-will.

It is probable that the recognition of this increased hampering of commercial relations forms the main incentive for the promoters of a United States of Europe. The waste, folly, and ill-feeling which result from this parade of economic independence have impressed themselves upon millions of minds not susceptible to any appeal of free-trade theories. Educated persons in all European countries, aware of the immense advances in industrial productivity which modern technique and organisation render possible, and with the vision of American prosperity flaunted before their eyes, are suffering from an intense feeling of frustration. Science is everywhere opening up new areas of invention; enterprise and skill abound in all the more advanced communities; the natural resources and the labour needed for the new electric age exist in abundance. It cannot even be assumed that any real deficiency of capital exists, provided it were adequately conserved and directed. But the fragmentary and unstable conditions of European markets, broken into insufficient areas for production, and impeded by obstructive barriers, continue to keep Europe poor. The attempt of great financiers and commercialists to ignore or counteract these obstacles by organising cartels or other combines upon an international scale does not meet the requirements of the situation. For, containing, as many of these schemes do, restrictions of output and regulation of prices, they involve perils alike to workers and consumers.

So far as the United States of Europe is envisaged as a distinctively economic proposal, it must be endowed with two functions: one a liberative one, the removal of barriers to free commercial intercourse, the other some ordered international control over those

* *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, p. 33.

great non-competitive enterprises which claim to apportion the European markets not by national limits, but by profiteering considerations. If history could be wiped out, national fears and animosities ignored, racial, linguistic, cultural, and religious differences disregarded, and some economic super-Mussolini given a free hand to put Europe on a really business footing, employing the best commercial brains and methods, the natural and human resources of Europe might achieve a productivity which, properly apportioned, could raise the national standard of life for the population up to at least as high a level as that of America.

Though M. Briand, as an experienced statesman, can hardly hold it as an early practicable achievement, his mind must be moving in this direction. Better co-operation must be achieved between the peoples of Europe. Certain definite reforms in tariffs were proposed by the 1927 Conference, including improvements in classification and nomenclature, a lowering of rates, measures for publicity and better information in all matters of industry and commerce. There was surprising unanimity among the attendants at this Conference, and it may be said that the business men throughout Europe, excepting those who are directly interested in high protection, were solid for a lowering of national barriers and a liberation of markets.

But there still remain two questions. How far can this be a distinctively European movement? Should Europe seriously endeavour to make of itself a self-sufficing economic area? That Central Europe suffers more than any other region from a tangle of economic policies which are extremely injurious may at once be granted. The interests of certain of these countries, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia in particular, strongly incline towards free trade, and it may be said that Holland and Belgium and the Scandinavian countries might easily be brought to co-operate with them in a genuinely free-trade policy. But can it be pretended that France and Italy, not to mention Spain and Poland, could be brought into accord with this more enlightened commercial policy? The economic labours of Geneva, through the Economic and Financial Committees of the League and the I.L.O., have never recognised Europe as a distinct economic area. Such bodies as the International Chamber of Commerce, the International Institute of Agriculture, and the various Conventions of Bankers, Accountants, and other professions, eschew any geographical areas as irrelevant to their consultations.

Indeed, regarding the issue from the plain practical standpoint, the economic interdependence of European countries cannot be said to be so close, or so sufficient, as to warrant any common policy which would weaken their trade relations with the outside world.

Mere contiguity counts less and less for purposes of personal and commercial intercourse, sea-barriers are less substantial than land, while air traffic cancels all barriers. The dependence of Europe upon the resources of all other parts of the habitable globe must constantly increase, and any attempt to organise European resources must recognise this obvious truth. The degree of geographical unity which Europe enjoys has no more commercial significance than have the political barriers that divide the nations. No separate effective economic organisation of Europe is either practicable or desirable. Europe must always depend upon tropical and many other outside raw materials and foodstuffs for the maintenance of its life and industry. If, as is sometimes suggested, the secret motive of a European Economic Federation is hostility to the financial hegemony of the United States, this is a blind and foolish urge. Why should Europe refuse to avail herself of the advantages of American capital? Europe receives it because it is either cheaper or more abundant than capital furnished from her own resources: its fructification in the enlarged output of European wealth is evidently more advantageous to us than to America, and most of such payment as America can claim is left in Europe to mature in further wealth-production. Indeed, whether one studies the flows of financial capital or those of actual goods, the increasing interdependence of countries inside Europe and those outside becomes more evident. There are, of course, certain practical problems of the movements of goods and persons that are related to territorial contiguity, and may rank as peculiarly European—questions of railway or river transport, immigration, passport regulations, which might properly be made the material for inter-European settlement by bilateral or general conventions.* But to regard these issues as forming a sufficient basis for a United States of Europe would be ridiculous.

I have taken it for granted that the underlying *motif* of this movement is economic, but, if there were any real intention of organising the economic life of Europe on a single co-operative basis, the question of some political instrument, related or unrelated to the League of Nations, would necessarily arise. Indeed, the substance of a United States of Europe would seem to menace the very existence of a League in whose composition and functions Europe as a separate area finds no recognition. A federal government for Europe which should possess any real power of securing and administering a common policy for Europe, even though that policy were restricted to certain well-defined economic purposes,

* Indeed, the passport and visa troubles have recently been eased by arrangements between several groups of European nations.

would immediately encounter difficulties far greater than any yet encountered by the League of Nations. Let us assume, for instance, that a Zollverein of European nations, with a common tariff upon the importation of certain sorts of non-European goods, were contemplated. Such a plan, to be effective, would in the first instance involve a more real surrender of effective sovereignty than the League of Nations has yet attempted to obtain from any of its members. For though it may be said that such a Zollverein would only be an enlargement of the system of bilateral commercial treaties already existing between many European States, its effective and continuous operation would certainly involve a considerable surrender of domestic independence on a subject upon which Governments have always been extremely sensitive. To expect European States with protective tariffs adjusted to the several conceptions of their commercial, industrial, and financial interests to throw these interests into a common pool in order to promote some "unity of Europe," an idea as novel in conception as it is destitute of emotional appeal to each nation, seems opposed to all the lessons of experience.

From the purely economic standpoint of productivity and commerce such a union, regarded from an interior standpoint, might seem highly desirable. If, as we have pointed out, goods, capital, and labour could pass freely and easily all over the continent, the natural and human resources of Europe could assuredly be used so advantageously as greatly to increase the output of wealth, and every country must, in varying degrees, participate in this gain. But can it seriously be held that high-tariff countries like Spain, Italy, and France, raising the great bulk of their public revenues by carefully calculated tariffs, would consent to a lowering of duties that would expose their markets to the imports from a neighbouring country which their tariff was expressly designed to exclude; or that low-tariff countries like Holland and Scandinavia would agree to a reversal of a policy based so largely on the importance of their sea-borne non-European trade?

It is, indeed, both possible and desirable that European neighbours might, by careful conference, be brought to recognise the advantages of a policy of lower tariffs, greater stability of commercial relations with one another, and some concerted methods of trade classification, measurement, and information. But that they could be induced to enter an effective European Zollverein is hardly credible. Even were any such plan feasible, its internal advantages must be offset by the dangers of presenting a common and an apparently hostile front to the non-European world, and in particular to the greatest industrial and financial power, the United States of America.

Facile political mapmakers may persuade themselves that a full pacific internationalism may require an interim process of grouping by continents, and may see this interim process in a European federation, a pan-American, and perhaps an Asiatic, Union, though even in this dream the obstinate inconsistency of Britain breaks the logic of the procedure. But, as we have seen, there is no ground for holding that any continent, and Europe in particular, forms a sound basis for the partial groupings which may be serviceable contributions towards a general federation. Professor de Madariaga aptly remarks, in a recent contribution to *The Times*, that "seas are bases of union at least as important as, if not more so than, continents," and that "the Atlantic nations, in whichever continent placed, are in closer solidarity than the European nations as such."

Finally, it seems certain that any structure which could plausibly claim the title *United States of Europe* must claim functions that are not distinctively economic, and require some instrument of government that would figure in the general politics of the world. In a word, a new political creature, of large size and undefined behaviour, would have come into existence at the critical era when a League of Nations, regardless of continents, was still struggling to establish the beginnings of a pacific world-government. It may be urged, of course, that the wider task is not only consistent with, but is actually facilitated by, all these more limited co-operations. But many friends of the League of Nations not unnaturally look askance at the political and military alliances of such groups as obstructive to the wider pacific and co-operative tasks for which the League exists. The formation of the whole European continent into such a group would almost inevitably constitute a challenge to Geneva, even if it kept the form and the pretence of a grouping of League members to further the avowed purposes of the League. For any common plans and purposes which were adequate to give substance to a *United States of Europe* must overlap some of the important political, economic, and other objects of the League, and would give rise to a bloc system in the Council and the Assembly, as well as in the administrative and consultative Commissions, which would impair the unity and harmony of their proceedings.

In short, whether envisaged as an economic or a political instrument, such a federation seems either impracticable or, if practicable, dangerous. If, as the name suggests, a Europe constituted on the lines of the American Union is contemplated, it is quite chimerical. If, again, it took slighter shape in some distinctively fiscal organisation for internal co-operation in industry and commerce, it would be a stumbling-block to the genuine progress of

free trade and co-operation in the entire world, and might easily provoke reprisals in other countries excluded from their former European markets. In a word, a Union in which two great European countries, Russia and Britain, were not participants, while another country in intimate cultural, economic, and political relations with the Western European nations, the United States of America, was excluded, cannot be deemed to have a footing in the world of political realities.

J. A. HOBSON.

PUBLIC CREDIT AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

IN 1921 the scheme of "Trade Facilities" was first designed, in the onset of that tide of unemployment that has been running ever since. It was worked with some vigour to begin with by the Coalition Government, and not less by the subsequent Conservative Governments. The first Socialist administration revived it. It was wound up, with apparent finality, by the late Conservative administration. But now it has been revived again with a flourish of trumpets by the second Socialist administration: a circumstance gratifying to one whose relationship to the scheme is quasi-paternal. On the occasion of its revival it may be of interest to consider what the scheme is for, and how useful it is likely to be. The object of the scheme is to increase employment. Its method is *to make use of public credit in order to induce private interests to give fresh regular employment*. Public credit is used to help them either in the form of loans of public money, or, what comes to much the same thing, of guarantees for loans raised by the private interests themselves. The plan seems simple. In fact, every word, almost, in the short definition of it just given needs careful attention by those engaged in administering the scheme, if it is not to do more harm than good.

In the first place, the word "fresh" needs emphasis, in the phrase "to give fresh regular employment." It will do no good merely to shoulder the burden of existing employment: to use public credit for that would be to waste it. What we want is an increase of employment: and we must make sure that whatever help is given from public funds or with public credit is used to increase employment, either by enlarging some existing undertaking or by starting some new one. The word "regular" in the phrase is almost as important as the word "give." The scheme has a higher aim than an alleviation of the evil of unemployment that is merely temporary: it aspires to contribute towards the permanent cure of the evil. No doubt it would be easy enough to make use of public money or credit to make conspicuous temporary reductions in the numbers of the unemployed. It could be done by helping undertakings to increase the output of their existing plant without reference to the demand for that output, in a word, to make for stock: or it could be done by helping undertakings to increase their plant, or the services they render, without regard to the work awaiting their plant, or the demand for their services. A stocking factory, for instance, might be helped to run full-time instead of half-time, although nobody bought the additional stockings. A railway company might be helped to lay a new line that nobody wanted, or to run upon an old one more trains in which nobody

travelled. All these measures would temporarily increase employment. Additional hands could be employed as long as the money lasted : but by all three the public money or credit employed would be wasted in the long run. When the money was spent there would be nothing left for the additional hands to do, and they would have to be discharged again. The only way in which to keep them employed would be by ever-renewed grants of public money, or help from public credit. That would be contrary to the intention of the scheme. It does not contemplate recurrent help. Its object is to increase regular employment by a single impulse in each case. It aspires to help to cure unemployment by making use of a single impulse of the sort to start work that, once started, will keep going without more help.

There is only one way in which that can be done. It is to make use of the help to be given to promote capital expenditure on work that will yield a revenue and continue to yield it. A railway company, for instance, may be helped to lay a new line if it can be shown that people will travel on the line, so that the new undertaking will earn a fair return on the money which it cost. If it does that, it will provide regular employment for the additional hands engaged, and the purpose of the use of public funds will be successfully served. The capacity of the country to support its population will have been increased in the only way in which it can be increased, by increasing its capacity to produce wealth. In view of our present conditions it is worth emphasising the obvious principle that in order that an undertaking may usefully be assisted, it is not enough that the expenditure upon it should be capital expenditure in the sense that it is expenditure on some or any sort of new construction, and not merely expenditure on working an existing plant. The construction must not only be new, it must also be productive, or the employment that it provides, although it be fresh, will not be regular. It is no good helping an undertaking that will not be able to keep its own head above water. The new undertaking must itself produce an adequate amount of wealth, or it will simply become a charge on those undertakings in the country that are productive, and will so decrease employment rather than increase it. This condition for the useful working of the scheme is easy to state, but difficult to apply. The probable productivity of a proposed undertaking is a matter of conjecture. Practical capacity and experience can reduce this factor of uncertainty, but can never eliminate it. Nevertheless, upon its reduction depends the success of the scheme. Public help is wasted if it be given to undertakings that do not pay.

There is another condition of first importance for the efficient working of the scheme. It is implied in the word "induce," in the

expression "to induce private interests" to give employment. We are bartering public credit for fresh employment. As explained, the employment must be fresh and regular. We should gain nothing by merely shouldering existing burdens. But it must not only be fresh and regular : it must be "induced" by our offer. It must be employment that would not have been given but for the receipt of the help that we have to offer. We make a bad bargain and waste our money if we give it for fresh employment that would have been found anyhow, help or no help. The productive undertakings that we help must be undertakings that, unhelped, would not have been begun, at least so soon. This condition again is easily stated, but difficult to apply. That a certain undertaking would not have been begun had the undertakers been left to their own unaided resources, is a matter that can seldom be capable of absolute proof. Men of practical capacity and experience can form some sort of judgment about it. But in some measure in all cases, and in large measure in some cases, they must rely on the statement of the undertakers themselves about their own intentions, and the undertakers are interested parties.

As a general rule in the business world, if a fresh undertaking promises to be productive reasonably soon, it can and will be started on a strictly commercial basis, without any help from public funds. Such undertakings need no help under the scheme, and should receive none. They can and should be allowed to finance themselves. But, it may be said, if that be so, and that as a rule it is so is hardly disputable, what is there left for the scheme to do? Undertakings that will pay have been ruled out for one reason, and undertakings that will not pay have been ruled out for another. What remains? The riddle has its solution. Undertakings that will pay have been ruled out in so far only as they can do without help. But it is not all undertakings that have a prospect of paying that can do without help. For an undertaking to finance itself on a strictly commercial basis it must show, not only that it will pay, but that it will pay within a reasonable time, the reasonableness being judged by the standards of the ordinary private borrower and lender. Undertakings that will pay, but not within a time that the ordinary borrower and lender would think reasonable, cannot finance themselves, and these it is that can usefully be helped under the scheme.

In order that an undertaking may come to birth as a commercial concern, it must not only promise an adequate return, but it must promise that return within a certain time. If it does not do so, it is, as it were, unripe from the commercial point of view, and it must wait till it has ripened and can promise a speedier return. It is the function of the scheme to act as a forcing house for such

unripe schemes by hastening their maturity. Rejecting on the one hand schemes that will never pay and deserve no help, and on the other hand schemes that will pay forthwith and need no help, it should confine itself to helping the marginal class of schemes that will pay some day, but not so soon as to tempt the capitalist to launch them at once on a purely commercial basis. Its object should be to make use of the help which it has to give to induce people to make an earlier beginning with them than they would have done if left to their own unaided resources, and thus to accelerate the natural rate of increase of employment in the country.

The benefit to be derived from this use of public funds or credit is clear. Makers of capital goods, such as rails, receive larger orders than they would otherwise have received, at least so soon, and which they might never have received at all. That promotes employment in their works. When the fresh capital goods have been assembled into a plant, that gives fresh employment in running it. Those freshly employed in making and running the new plant have more wages to spend, and that brings fresh orders to the producers of consumable goods, and promotes employment in their production. So the stimulus given spreads from the original point of contact, like wavelets from a stone dropped in water. The scheme, in fact, if it be administered faithfully and with rigid adhesion to its fundamental principles, enables the State to make a direct contribution towards the permanent cure of unemployment: and I do not think that any other way has yet been suggested in which the State can so directly do so.

Like most weapons that are potent for good if well used, if abused the scheme is potent for evil. Ill-administered, it might lead to the total waste of any amount of public money. By giving help to undertakings that did not need help and to those that did not deserve it, an administration might make a great show, and spend a lot of money, or burden a lot of credit, without really benefiting employment a jot. Innumerable public utility companies, transport undertakings, for instance, and others, have programmes of development that they are in course of carrying out. Nothing could suit them better than to get help for the work from public funds or credit. But help is not necessary to them: they can and will do the work without it: and to give it to them is to waste it. Again, the drawers of financiers are full of innumerable projects that are just not good enough to carry out, and never will be. A little help from public funds might just enable them to start and to limp along as long as that help lasted. Anybody who wanted merely to dress the political windows of an administration might easily fill it up with projects of the sort that would look well enough. But the initiated would know that they were worthless, in the sense that

they would never be spontaneously productive as regular revenue producers, and that the money spent on them would be wasted in the long run. These are the dangers against which Mr. Thomas has to guard in his administration. There will be plenty of tempters urging him, for the sake of political advantage, not to be too particular about conditions, but to put plenty of fresh undertakings promptly on to his assisted list, and so to make a good show. There will be plenty of undertakings for him to put on, if he pleases, in order that the show may be made, that either do not need help or do not deserve help. Were he to yield to the temptation and to put them on, it would be difficult for the public to detect the abuse. Mr. Thomas, no doubt, will not himself yield to the temptation: but he will have to keep a very close watch upon subordinates in whom zeal may outrun discretion.

Turning from the principles of the scheme to its application, where are we to look for the sort of undertaking that it ought to help, the undertaking, that is, that will be productive some day, but not quite soon enough to attract capital on a strictly commercial basis? I have some doubt whether many undertakings of the sort are to be found waiting for us here in this island. Our country is far advanced in the development of its apparatus of civilisation. It is the scene of operations of an active and acute community of financiers and exploiters commanding some of the biggest accumulations of capital in the world. There is not much that can be done profitably that they have left undone. Competition has compelled them to push farther and farther ahead in discounting future productivity, and the undertaking that is unripe for them is unripe indeed. As a general rule he is a brave man that is prepared to answer for the productivity of an undertaking in the United Kingdom that the financiers of the United Kingdom are not prepared to answer for. There may be some suitable projects to be found, particularly very big projects, that few groups of private capital would be strong enough to shoulder. But it would be surprising to find much scope for the scheme left here at home.

It is otherwise in the colonial empire. There the apparatus of civilisation is less developed: in some regions it is not developed at all. The financiers have not worked over the ground of productive enterprise so thoroughly as they have at home. In many cases they have not the necessary knowledge. It is, therefore, in these less developed regions that we should expect to find, and that we do find, a better harvest to be reaped of enterprises that give good promise of productivity but cannot yet attract private capital. Ignorance is not the only reason which keeps colonial enterprises back. There is often another influence at work preventing them from ripening for the loan market: it is some form of political un-

certainty. It may take the form of uncertainty about the status, present or future, of the territory concerned, or of uncertainty about the stability of local conditions, including all those large elements of uncertainty involved in the native question. Uncertainties of the sort prevent many undertakings that would be economically productive from coming to the birth, by affecting that confidence in stability which is an essential requirement for commercial investment. The State, by encouraging an enterprise, can give the confidence that is needed, and thus enable it to proceed. There is much work of the sort awaiting the scheme. But its utility as a means of overcoming lack of confidence, and especially lack of confidence in political conditions, will chiefly be in the colonial empire, and not at home. Confidence of the sort in question has been restored here. When the Trade Facilities plan was first adopted, soon after the war, it contributed usefully towards the restoration of confidence at home. But that is no longer needed, and to repeat its success in that direction it must look further afield.

In all that has been said so far it has been assumed that if a government by the use of public funds or credit for the encouragement of certain enterprises stimulates a demand for more labour for those enterprises, that fresh demand is an addition to the total demand for labour in the country. This assumption is undoubtedly questionable, and of late it has been questioned. There is, it is said, a limited amount of funds available at any time for investment in productive enterprise. If the Government intervenes to divert some of these funds to particular new enterprises that it chooses to encourage, then there is the less left for other new enterprises. It makes no difference whether the government diverts the funds directly by lending them, or indirectly by the attractive force of its guarantee. In either case, what the chosen enterprises gain, some other enterprises lose. The government has created a fresh demand for labour in the enterprise favoured, but it has prevented the realisation of an equivalent demand for labour elsewhere. So that the total increase in the demand for labour as the result of the government's intervention is nil, and it might as well have left the matter alone. To this the good socialist would no doubt at once reply, "Not at all. Even though it be granted that the funds available for investment are limited, it is not a matter of indifference who controls their investment. The State knows better than the individual how the funds available can best be invested so as to produce the maximum demand for labour. By guiding the stream of investment in the direction which public interest requires the State can serve that interest better than it is likely to be served by the uncontrolled initiative of private enterprise."

Those of us who do not share the Socialist's touching confidence

in the all-knowledge and all-kindness of government offices cannot join in so simple and summary an answer. The State in this connection is but a smart word for the Civil Service, or at best for business men who are giving half only of their time and attention to helping the government. It has neither the knowledge nor the capacity necessary prudently to direct the investment of capital in new enterprises. Private interests have experience and incentives which enable them to do it much better, not only for their own private purposes, but for the public purposes of the whole community; and it had much better be left to them. Indeed, one of the particular attractions about the Trade Facilities scheme, to the individualist, is that an operation under the scheme imposes upon the State no actual responsibility for initiating or managing anything at all. Private enterprise initiates and manages, and the State does no more than help in the background. If we must reject the simple answer that the State makes a better investor than the financier, what is there to be said about this criticism? It involves a problem by no means easy of solution. To understand it, it is best to rid the matter as much as possible of all the elaborations involved in a consideration of the mechanism of currency and credit, and to look at the essential facts. What is the reality of this conception of a limitation upon the fund available for investment at any time? Undoubtedly it has some reality. Of the wage-earners of the country a part are engaged in the production of consumable goods (including services), and the other part in the production of capital goods that are required for the production of consumable goods. The distinction may not be absolute, but it is real. The maintenance of those engaged in the production of capital goods involves foresight and self-control on the part of the members of the community. To support it those of them who can afford it must be prepared to do to some extent without something now in order that they may have more later. They must be prepared to save. In general, the degree to which they are capable of exercising the foresight and self-control required for the purpose is limited, and it is this limitation that limits the fund available for investment. The limitation is real, but it is not wholly fixed. It is based on the state of mind of the saving classes, and it will alter with that state. It will alter in particular with alterations in the attractiveness of saving in comparison with consuming. If saving becomes more attractive in the comparison, then the funds available for investment increase in proportion. They are not a rigidly fixed proportion of the total funds available at any time. They are a proportion that varies with the relative attractiveness of investment and consumption.

That is where the Trade Facilities scheme comes in. If the

State can increase the attractiveness of saving in comparison with consumption, it can increase the funds available for investment in a manner that will increase employment. The proposition is obvious. Is the attractiveness of saving increased by lending or guaranteeing loans to particular enterprises? That is not so obvious. Nevertheless, it appears to me that it is increased. The action of the Government in promoting appropriate new enterprises by the use of public funds and credit is a brilliantly conspicuous advertisement of the advantages of investment, both from the point of view of the interests of the investor and those of the community. Its psychological effect on the minds of potential investors must be great: and, as said, it is the state of mind of the potential investor that limits the funds available for investment. If that be so, then the government can actually increase the funds available for those engaged on the making of capital goods, at the expense of those making consumable goods. It can increase the proportion of the nation's savings. It follows that it would be a mistake to suppose that all the funds employed for new enterprises under the Trade Facilities scheme are necessarily diverted from other investments. They may very well be funds that would not otherwise have been invested at all.

There is, of course, a much more direct manner in which the government could add to the funds available for promoting appropriate fresh enterprises. It is by their manufacture; in other words, by inflation. By increasing the buying medium in the country more rapidly than the things to be bought are increasing, it could put itself in a position artificially to divert a larger amount of the wealth of the country to those engaged in making capital goods, and so to increase their number at the expense of those engaged in making consumable goods. But it could only do so temporarily, and at the expense of a reaction that would leave things worse off than they were before. Nobody advocates such an expedient. Nevertheless, it has to be recognised that the influence which the government can exert over the supply of the buying medium is an important element in the success of the policy of using State credit to increase regular employment. Commonly the initiation of any fresh productive enterprise on any considerable scale involves a measure of temporary inflation. The labour engaged upon the new enterprise has to be fed, kept, and provided with raw materials for a period before it is producing wealth. For these purposes credit is necessary, and as yet the enterprise provides none of the basis of credit. When the existing supply of credit is fully occupied, the credit needed has probably to some extent to be manufactured. As soon as the new enterprise is producing wealth, the fresh credit is, as it were, underpinned, and the inflationary effect of its manu-

facture is negated. Thus, not necessarily, but commonly, credit is expanded by short steps ahead of production. The operation is so much a matter of course in banking that it escapes attention: and the temporary inflation is so regularly cancelled by production overtaking credit that it is hardly reckoned an inflation. Nevertheless, this is an important part of the mechanism of development. By their control of the process the banks in general and the central Bank in particular can exercise a large measure of control over the rate of development. An advantage that the government has in promoting investment in appropriate new enterprises is that it can influence the banking world, by its exhortations, to encourage, and not to restrain, the temporary extensions in the volume of credit which are commonly necessary if development is to proceed smoothly and swiftly. There need be no fear of any permanent inflation resulting from the financing of enterprises properly chosen in accordance with the fundamental principles of the scheme. The most fundamental of those principles, as said, is that the enterprise should produce an adequate return. If it does so, then there is an increase of things to be bought proportionate to any increase of buying stuff (which is credit) involved: and there is no inflation.

The sum of the matter seems to be that, with very cautious and candid administration, public credit can be made use of by this scheme so as to bring about some increase in employment. It is not a specific cure for the whole evil of unemployment. There is no more than a limited amount of good to be done by it. There is only a margin of undertakings suitable for help, the margin between those that do not need, and those that do not deserve, help. A limited amount only of public funds or credit can usefully be employed: to employ more would merely be to divert funds from one new enterprise to another. But such limitations are characteristics of most useful governmental action: and the scheme is none the worse because its claims are, or should be, modest.

E. HILTON YOUNG.

AUSTRIA IN TROUBLED WATERS.

LITTLE Austria has been making a nuisance of herself to the Great Powers on and off for over two years. It is distracting for sensible persons who are conferring gravely as to how a shattered world can best be reconstructed and conflicts prevented to have their labour interrupted by the scufflings of two small brothers, one of whom continually threatens to do violence to the other—violence which might not merely interrupt the conference of their elders, but even set these willy-nilly at one another's throats again. The new Austrian nationalism, which is growing up under the wing of Heimwehrism and is as intolerant of foreign comment as that of any big Power, bitterly resents the attention paid to Austrian affairs in the foreign Press. It complains that many worse things happen in Germany and elsewhere than in Austria but attract less notice. One answer to this Austrian plaint is to be found in a recent comment of Leopold Kunschak, the leader of the Christian Socials (Clericals) of Vienna: "If I feel strong enough, and justified, I do not indulge in endless sabre-rattling—I make my *Putsch* quietly overnight." The chief reason why Austria is not allowed the privilege of having her revolution behind closed doors and shuttered windows lies in the threat to European peace inherent in any disturbance of her slender hold—financially, economically, politically, and militarily—on life. And for her delicate health (which not only renders the Heimwehr extravagances dangerous but, because of the discontent and distress it produces in wide circles of the population, is one of the best recruiting agents for Heimwehrism), the Powers themselves must bear the largest share of responsibility. It is impossible to repeat this weekly when dealing with the Austrian situation, but it may stand as the confession of faith of one who is bitterly attacked in Austria to-day for the publicity which her *malaise* is receiving through his pen. Had we of the victorious entente shown less vindictiveness towards the German subjects of the Hapsburgs, and less extreme generosity at their expense to the Hapsburg's Slav subjects—and towards Italy—had we either seen that they had as fair a chance of economic health as Czecho-Slovakia or Yugo-Slavia—or even Hungary—instead of throwing the Austro-Germans the bone of present-day Austria to live on when the meat had been cut away by others, and, on top of it, forbidden them to seek sustenance at the table of the German Reich to which they were invited, Austria would never have become a danger spot in Europe. There would not have been that army of the unemployed, discontented and disinherited—that array of wasted energy and even of talent, living in enforced idleness, ready to listen to Heimwehr "cure-all" demagoguery. They would not

have been so eager to feel themselves men again in olive-green uniforms with cock's feathers in their hats. And if there had been a *coup d'état* in a healthy Austria against Socialist predominance in Vienna, though it might have cost the country the sympathy of democrats abroad, the rest of the world would have felt no more concern than it did over the *coups* in Lithuania, Poland, or Yugo-Slavia. But, admitting our share of responsibility, our right to know precisely what is afoot in Austria is incontestable.

The writer has the best of reasons to know, however, how bitterly this right is contested in Austria. It is impossible for any fair-minded person not to sympathise with Austria in the treatment accorded her in the Peace Treaties, and it is but common justice wherever possible to lend her a helping hand to help herself. This the writer has done in such measure that but twelve months ago the Vienna Press was singing his praises, especially for a book of his which tried to make her beauties more widely known to English and American tourists. It sufficed, however, for him to do his duty to his newspaper by giving full publicity in the *Daily Telegraph* to the situation in which a heterogeneous mass of well-armed but ill-disciplined men were being daily aroused by inflammatory speeches, for that Press to turn on him, not with criticism, but with slander and mudslinging. The Heimwehr "Dötz" (*Deutschoesterreichische Tageszeitung*) described him as "this liar who in any other country would long ago have been expelled," as a spy, and as a man in receipt of bribes of 5,000 and 8,000 Schillings from the Socialists. The *Reichspost*, the organ of Dr. Seipel and of the Christian Social Party, went one better. Although Dr. Seipel has naturally refused to give a *démenti* of the statement made to the writer (for reasons best known to himself) that "the arms of the Vienna Heimwehr are deposited with the Vienna police," his newspaper, after Police-President Schober had declared that this statement was absolutely untrue, treated it as an invention of the writer, and demanded his expulsion as a notorious liar from the Foreign Press Association. It urged that "friends of Austria" should work in London to make the soil of Vienna too hot to hold him. It suggested (on Hungarian authority) that he was the mouthpiece of Czech propaganda. The *Neue Freie Presse*, in an incomprehensible "Open Letter to the Owner of the *Daily Telegraph*," made a particularly shabby attempt to discredit the writer in England—an attempt which lacked even the courage of the *Reichspost* and "Dötz" slanders.

The campaign bore the mark, if not of inspiration, at least of having been sanctioned by some central authority, not necessarily governmental. It cannot have added to the credit of the Austrian Press generally. There are, of course, notable exceptions.

The *Tagblatt*, for instance, although it initiated the anti-foreign-press campaign, did so in perfectly correct form, avoiding all personalities and slander as scrupulously as though there were a real law of libel in Austria. All the attacks secured for Austria was publicity in London for the standard of decency prevailing with an important section of the Vienna Press, and the knowledge that this section resented the limelight—a doubtful advantage.

There is little need to trace the growth of the Heimwehr. Everyone knows how politically unimportant the little patriotic groups of ex-officers and soldiers who had done much for the local defence of Austria's frontiers were until the riots of July 15th, 1927. These riots were the product of the extreme bitterness of Austrian politics—of the incitements of the Socialist Press combined with the provocation of the acquittal of Nationalists who had shot down Socialists. The Austrian peasantry, which distrusted Vienna before the war and hated it afterwards, firmly believed that the Vienna Socialists had tried to set up a "dictatorship of the proletariat." The story which everyone in Vienna knew to be utterly untrue was assiduously propagated by the Clericals to inflame the countryside against the Socialists. From their agitation was born the modern Heimwehr.

What is the truth about the Vienna Socialists? Many—not all—of their leaders are doctrinaire extremists. Dr. Otto Bauer is separated from Mr. J. H. Thomas by a gulf precisely as broad as that which separates that religious crusader against Socialism, Dr. Seipel, from Mr. Baldwin. Austria has not only the Jews, but the Socialists and Clericals whom it deserves. The great tactical error of the Socialists has been their concentration on a local triumph within Austria's narrow frontiers at the expense of world developments. They have ignored the definite resettlement of Europe in capitalist grooves and have continued to think as though the world were still in the state of flux of 1919. They have been left high and dry on their lonely rock by a receding tide, talking still as if they could at any moment take the plunge into waves which long ago passed almost out of sight. They have done magnificent social welfare work in Vienna, but they have used it to strengthen their rigid party system. They have done much to redress the balance of open luxury and gaiety on the one hand and hidden poverty (of spirit as of pocket) and misery on the other which characterised Imperial Vienna. But to do so they have bled Vienna's commerce nearly white. They have broken the "lackeyism" of the Hapsburg capital, but they have humiliated the "bourgeoisie" with continual street demonstrations. But a denial of certain loudly trumpeted allegations of their enemies needs to be recorded once again. They are not Bolsheviks. They have adhered throughout to the platform of democracy and rejected that of the "dictatorship

of the proletariat." Whether only expediency induced some of their extremist leaders to do so is another matter. They are entitled to be judged by their actions and professions. To their leaders more than to anyone else in Austria is it due that the country escaped Bolshevism when that plague was rampant around her in Munich and Budapest in 1919. And in July, 1927, their leaders not only never dreamed of a "Socialist *coup d'état*" but risked their lives to calm a mob which had got out of hand. They must accept the blame for failing to restrain the mob which they believed they could control, and which their Press had helped to inflame. The responsibility is serious, but it does not justify the legend which by dint of assiduous repetition is now almost graven in the face of the Austrian Alps, that they planned the "July Riots" to overthrow the State.

Chancellor Schober, the man of the hour, the proved and trusted Police-President of Vienna, has spoken of the Heimwehr as a great *Volksbewegung*, a movement of the people. He is justified by the facts. The Austrian industrialists have lavished money on the cause of crippling the powers of the trades unions. The Hapsburg aristocracy of Austria, far prouder than that of *parvenu* Royal France (was it not the aristocracy of the Holy Roman Empire, of Papal if not of Divine origin?) has, partly openly but still more secretly, grasped at this hope of recovering the pre-eminence which it sees its Hungarian counterpart maintaining to-day. The peasant always disliked Vienna, even Hapsburg Vienna—how simple to persuade him to hate the Vienna of the Socialists. A "Heimwehr terror" exists to-day throughout the Austrian countryside which is the counterpart of the "Socialist Terror" of the factories—if there is no job for the non-unionist in the cities, equally there is no roof to shelter the peasant who is backward in declaring his allegiance to the Heimwehr of his lord and master. The bigoted and superstitious amongst the Alpine peasantry rushed to the colours at the call of their priest. The disinherited—the officer, the civil servant, the caterer to a great court and aristocracy, the bank clerk, the lackey—all whose world had crumbled about their ears through defeat and dissolution of a great Empire—found in the demagogic words of the Heimwehr leaders a new-old gospel which they had not dared to hope to hear again. The "People's Movement" was there, despite its artificially fostered youth.

I have written elsewhere of the Heimwehr movement as a crowded charabanc careering downhill with the controls off and no one at the steering wheel, anxious only to crash into the wall "Socialism," barring its path, with a dozen eager hands anxious afterwards to grasp the wheel—if there should be anything left to grasp. Dr. Seipel would steer towards Hungary. The Vatican—and Dr. Seipel is the Vatican in Austria—proverbially thinks in centuries. Wilder

dreams than that of a revived Austro-Hungarian Monarchy have been entertained in Europe since 1918. A Hapsburg restoration to-day sounds—and is—a fantastic idea. A Danube Confederation strikes a less fantastic note, and would be no bad stepping-stone. At least it would prevent the extinction of Hapsburg hopes which union with Germany would involve. The *Reichspost*, Dr. Seipel's paper, is well known to be Monarchist inspired, though that is kept in the background in its columns. To say—as some Vienna papers do—that Dr. Seipel is actually planning a Hapsburg restoration, however, is wild exaggeration.

There are many other eager hands ready to grasp the steering wheel after the smash. Those who have flirted with Italian fascism, the German nationalist organisations which have supplied much of the money, the industrialists who wish to curb the trades unions and even to put back the clock of social legislation, the "*schwarzgelb*" Hapsburg aristocracy, higher bureaucracy and the former Imperial generals, who see in present-day Hungary the best stepping-stone to a restoration of something at least of the past. There is also the Wittelsbach influence, which dreams of a Bavarian restoration, helping towards the realisation of *schwarzgelb* dreams. It would be unreasonable to treat these tendencies, most of them contradictory, as live factors in Central European politics. But no protests of moderate Heimwehr opinion suffice to explain away their existence as real tendencies in the movement.

What of those "moderate Heimwehr," the people who really justify Chancellor Schober's description of "a great people's movement"? Although artificially cultivated with lavish funds by cynical party politicians for their own purposes, the Heimwehr has recently, especially in the outlying Federal States, really become a cause to inspire a large section of the population with genuine enthusiasm. In Vienna, despite all the rhetoric of its friends and leaders, it remains a delicate hothouse plant beside the robust wild-flower of Social Democracy. But in the provinces it has taken firm root, and as Herr Schober told Parliament, it must be reckoned with seriously. It is a swing of the pendulum—a reaction against the extravagances of the Revolution which is in danger of becoming Reaction with a capital letter. Herr Schober has set himself to the task of guiding this purely anti-Socialist enthusiasm into legal channels. The Socialists, after many years of truculence, are in a yielding mood. They are in a mood to-day to surrender most of their really "revolutionary" gains which it would have been better for them to have yielded gracefully, gradually, and unobtrusively, years ago. But for the essentials they are not merely prepared but determined to fight—in Parliament and outside it, on the platform and—behind the barricades. The Heimwehr demands are pure Fascism. The Socialists believe that with the Heimwehr accept-

ance of Schober as Chancellor that movement has reached and passed its dangerous zenith. No one knows better than Johann Schober, who has always looked on his police work as a trust, who has been happiest as a district police-commissioner, a "people's judge" to whom the workers turned in times of trouble of many kinds for counsel and help, the price which Austrian Social Democracy paid under the Monarchy in the long struggle for universal suffrage, Parliamentary government, and the abolition of "class-franchise." He is not of their camp. He has no high opinion of the sham of "Parliamentary" government, with its endless quarrelling over trivialities, and its secret bargains between a handful of party leaders who on the floor of the house delivered futile speeches *pro* and *con* matters which they had settled together in secret conclave beforehand. Although he probably considers Austria unripe for full Democracy, the Socialist-Democrats are at the moment content to see him in charge. For many years their leaders have privately given him more of their confidence than they have done to any non-Socialist, trusting him as a level-headed non-political servant of the Republic as he was of the Monarchy. The scandalous campaign of the Socialist Press against him as the "Bloodhound" of July, 1927, was never more than a discreditable party Press manœuvre to give the fury of the workers an objective after the terrible slaughter of that day of evil memory. Schober is human. He cannot have forgotten the treatment to which he was subjected, but a man with his sense of duty is likely to put aside these memories as far as possible in the interests of the State, which includes the great Social-Democratic Party as well as its enemies.

Opinions differ as to whether the Heimwehr threats can be held responsible for the downfall of the *Bodenkredit Anstalt*. Probably the bank was in any case in too bad a state to have maintained its independent existence for long, but the Heimwehr scare certainly precipitated the *débâcle*. The tragedy of the *Bodenkredit* not only furnished the *Neue Freie Presse* with a fresh excuse for venting its venom on the writer, which is supremely unimportant, but it taught a lesson to those behind the Heimwehr movement which may have important results. It has completely stopped the contributions of bankers and industrialists to Heimwehr funds, and has led them to exert such influence as they may possess over the Heimwehr leaders in a sedative direction. Complete disarmament of both Heimwehr and Socialists is, of course, the only final solution, and the day will come, if Herr Schober remains Chancellor as long as every well-wisher of Austria must hope, when he will find himself in a position to take this step essential to pacification. It is difficult for him to do so at the moment, on account of the most laudable pacifism of the Socialists. If he acts while they alone demand disarmament, he incurs the risk of being charged with acting at their instigation.

When someone in the bourgeois camp has the courage to raise the same cry and so earn the gratitude of the greater part of the nation, which is heartily sick of the whole business, he will feel free to move. The peace pioneer is most likely to be the Deputy Leopold Kunschak, leader of the Vienna Christian Socials, who is almost the only prominent *bourgeois* politician to condemn the sabre-rattling of the party armies.

The future is not yet clear. The heavily armed Heimwehr battalions have been wildly incited for two years against Parliament, Democracy and the Socialists. The latter have been urged to prepare to resist to the death. Their armament in general is much inferior, but in Vienna and in Upper and Lower Austria it is probably better than that of the local Heimwehr. Some of the Heimwehr have unquestionably made detailed and serious plans for a *Putsch*, and may do so again. Some of the "bourgeois" party leaders are with them. Almost all of them render eager lip-service to the Heimwehr which they created but which, like Frankenstein's monster, now threatens their very existence. The "bourgeois" party politicians are tumbling over one another in their eagerness to be accepted by the movement which scorns party politics. To-day Herr Schober's name is sacred to the Heimwehr leaders. Tomorrow it may be a name of scorn, if he fails to persuade them to see reason.

These Heimwehr leaders insist on a clean sweep, on no concession whatever to the Socialists or to Democracy. This is only possible by a violent breach of the Constitution, which cannot be altered legally without the assistance of the Socialists to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority. There are various places for a "bloodless" *Putsch*, for a breach of the Constitution on a minor issue first, which could not arouse the workers, but which could then be used as a precedent. The Clericals are showing casuistic skill of a high order in twisting the wording of the Constitution to this end, especially in the pages of the *Reichspost*. No such skill and no demagogic refusals to discuss anything with the enemy alter the fact that legal progress involves compromise. It is Chancellor Schober's difficult task to see that this is effected with the maximum of "face-saving," especially for the Heimwehr. The draft constitution, which at the moment of writing is incomplete, but will be known before this appears in print, will show to what extent he has succeeded in doing so without rendering it impossible for the Socialists to accept it as a basis of negotiation or to retain their qualified confidence in him. At all events, no better man for the purpose could be found in Austria, and no one better equipped to suppress any *Putsch*, should the threats be revived in an acute form.

G. E. R. GEDYE.

ECONOMIC ORGANISATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF EMPIRE.

I AM convinced that an enlightened, systematic programme of intensive imperial development offers to us the one and only compensation for our commercial and industrial losses throughout the world, especially as much of this loss has been occasioned by the changed conditions of nations due to the war, and to the progressive economic development of many of these nations which has made them far less reliant upon the commercial and industrial services of our own country. Great Britain has taken upon herself the great responsibility of Empire, and it is therefore our serious duty to encourage its economic development in the interests of the vast masses of people, white and coloured, who look to us to make safe the highway of economic leadership and, above all, to guarantee future economic security at Home as well as in the Dominions.

The international economic situation demands that imperial development be hastened with all practical speed. Since the war we have been witnessing startling and far-reaching movements in the direction of co-operative administration and organisation in industry and commerce. World economic units are in the process of formation. One is actually in being—the economic unity of the United States of America—and showing surprising enterprise and stability. Commercial men and industrialists in every important European country are lending themselves to the super-idea—somewhat premature, but by no means unpractical—of an economic United States of Europe: a great unit of co-operative enterprise to combat more successfully the striding giant of economic America.

The British Commonwealth of Nations—the British Empire—must form a third world economic unit to meet the competition of the other two. Failure to grasp this elementary international situation, especially as the warnings of a coming world economic struggle are insistent, even clamorous, might well land our country and its Dominions in the near future in economic inferiority which would make it almost impossible for any sort of a successful or sustained trade revival. Whilst I am ready to admit that much has been accomplished in Empire trade co-operation, I think it is a fact patent to all students of imperial affairs that progress has been, on the whole, disappointingly slow along the *real* line of practical advance, which has seemed to me the most important and promising of all—that of organised development of our imperial resources.

The time is more than opportune for the launching of a great scheme of imperial development. It is not enough to talk and argue along the narrow and non-productive lines of tariffs and taxes to stimulate Empire trade. In this connection I am not dealing with

questions of free trade or tariffs; these are to my mind independent of the main question—*Imperial Development*. What matters is the development of our illimitable resources in the Empire to create more and far more trade. It is surely not wise to rest upon our progress up to date in inter-Empire trade, and to tell each other that we must depend solely upon trade within the Empire. This cannot now be so. At present, too, our Dominions are far too sparsely populated, and India and Africa's millions have a too low purchasing power, to create an economic unit of Empire apart from the rest of the world. It is only by practical development of the resources of the Empire, India, and Crown Colonies, that we shall ever approach an economic position of Empire independence as a unit. By such systematic development we shall add to the general wealth of the Empire, especially the countries concerned where development work is undertaken, we shall increase greatly not only the resident population of the Dominions, but also the purchasing power of every person in the Dominions, and also, by developing parts of India and Africa we shall create a new and higher purchasing power amongst our millions of coloured subjects. As proof of my last statement, compare the general increase in the purchasing power of the natives of West Africa, before and after the industrial development undertaken by the large cocoa firms and soap manufacturers. It is estimated that the purchasing power of the natives of West Africa has increased four times during the last twenty years.

The interest of the whole Empire is at stake. The immediate present is the time to make a supreme effort, before it is too late, to exploit our amazing opportunities in our Commonwealth which possesses illimitable resources and stupendous natural wealth. I believe that in the realm of world economics our Empire must either coalesce or disintegrate. In any task of national development a high place must be given to imperial development. The two are now inseparable. For good or ill the Empire must be a commonwealth of co-operating peoples. More than ever the masses of workers at Home need the co-operation of imperial development to end the far too prolonged trade and industrial depression. The basic causes of the depressed state at Home are well defined. We are labouring under a crushing burden of taxation, and a colossal expenditure of £840,000,000 a year. Our population numbers approximately 43,000,000, all mostly dependent upon imported food. In the past, in pre-war days especially, it was a very easy matter to pay for our imported food by the vast export of our manufactured goods. To-day this is impossible, as the new nations have become more "industrialised," and this process has even affected our Dominions and India. In consequence we have a per-

manent army of 1,000,000 unemployed, the support of whom, on however meagre a scale, represents a very serious strain on our national resources, while the unemployed are themselves suffering physically, mentally, and morally from enforced idleness. There is also the fact that this million unemployed army are lost customers to general business, representing a loss in money estimated at about from eighty to one hundred million pounds a year. And as money makes money, this loss to trade at Home is readily seen as capital taken from the nation's business bank.

These seemingly unconquerable difficulties can be conquered. They must be conquered if we are to make the progress which is so desirable and absolutely necessary. Imperial development, organised and capitalised, offers the golden key to unlock the door of infinite economic opportunity. Almost every material for modern life and industry is to be found within the Empire. We have the means of transport (or could easily create it) by land, sea, and air, to distribute these natural resources to every corner of our vast domains with comparative ease and swiftness. At Home we have a shortage of work and a crowded population; in the Empire we have vast unpeopled territories and colossal natural resources and wealth waiting development. The immediate need overseas is not merely, or even chiefly, for manual labour; it is for capital and economic organisation. At Home we have capital resources in plenty—actual, or in the form of credit—and ample manufacturing capacity. Our main difficulty at Home is to find sufficient profitable employment for capital and manufacturing plant in order to avoid "living on capital." Thousands more men and women of the right type are needed in every Dominion, and there is a more urgent need for capital and systematic development of these countries. Here we get a glimpse of the mutual needs of Home and Empire—the immediate setting up of new and practical administrative and executive machinery, working in harmonious co-ordination with the authorities on the spot, to develop our idle Empire wealth.

Viewing the matter broadly, it presents to us all a sorry, and what is at any rate partly inexcusable, situation which can be relieved by organisation. Our nation is, so to speak, suffering from semi-starvation in the midst of great wealth. If our imperial resources were systematically developed there would probably be an actual shortage of labour for all the new work required, instead of the appalling unemployment that exists at present, together with the unrest, low purchasing power, and economic insecurity amongst thousands of our people, not only at Home, but in some of the Dominions. Yet undoubtedly throughout the Empire there are schemes of development waiting for lack of organisation and capital. Create the administrative machinery, and pioneers of the right type

and economic outlook could be found to carry out the work of development, and create within our co-operative commonwealth the greatest commercial and industrial economic unit in the world. This would seem to me to be the logical outcome of post-war economic evolution, the co-ordinated materialised desire of our people everywhere.

Through many years of practical experience in commercial and industrial organisation I have given much thought to imperial economics. I have come to the conclusion that in connection with this super-organisation of Empire development we should have an Imperial Development Fund of very considerable magnitude, to be raised and used, under practical arrangement with our overseas kinsmen, for the sole purposes of developing all our wealth-creating opportunities. Further, I propose that an Empire Development Board be formed, which must include representatives from all parts of the Empire and possess a permanent organisation in each country. This body should meet far more frequently than the Imperial Conference, and should hold sessions in Great Britain and in the Dominions in rotation, so that every member should get first-hand the opportunity of experience of the conditions, requirements and possibilities of different parts of the Empire.

This Board, apart from improving the existing facilities in trade and transport, and any special undertakings at present in hand, would obviously devote its major attention to the work of expansion by assisting the opening up of new means of transport—roads, railways, canals, tramways, harbours, docks, dams, and the construction of hydro-electric power plants, the foundation of new industries, the opening up of new districts for various forms of agriculture, the control of forestry, and all development which will add permanent wealth to our imperial peoples.

The work of the Board could be allocated in roughly three different groups: (1) the self-governing Dominions; (2) India, which includes four out of every five subjects of the Crown; (3) the Crown Colonies, and tropical lands, mainly in Africa. Our Dominions include 59 per cent. of the area of the Empire, yet it must be remembered they contain only 6 per cent. of its population. Their cardinal needs of development are too obvious; population, capital, markets, and more efficient means of transport and communication with the main centres of civilisation. The continued growth of the self-governing Dominions is entirely dependent upon how far we can meet these needs, and further, make generous provision for future greater needs as the vast, undeveloped spaces yield up their wealth to the pioneer and farmer. But India is a far more complicated problem. At once she presents the greatest potential market in the world. Also, India is one of the most

valuable sources of a great and growing variety of raw materials and food supplies. It is to the communal advantage of the Empire to encourage by all possible means of development the growth of India's prosperity. The chief need of India is an increased purchasing power for her teeming millions of semi-starving people. It must also be remembered that anything that adds to the trade of India adds to the general trade of the world. Our own country would gain very considerably from increased purchasing power of the average Indian. Indeed, it is said that if every Indian ryot could afford one additional *dhota* a year, all the mills of Lancashire would have to work full time to meet the new demand. It is therefore evident that a great expansion of capital investment is needed for India to equip the country with every scientific means of production. But India's problems by no means end with her immediate development needs. She requires a sound system of deposit banking; political security against the incessant racial strife; and practical education for her millions. I mention a better banking system, because in India there is a traditional system of "hoarding wealth," instead of using it for purposes of national productivity. Indeed, if all the wealth which lies hidden and buried in India were used for development of the country, there would be no need to lend her capital at all. She possesses in buried bullion far more capital than is needed to modernise economically and industrially the whole of the country. In human happiness the possibilities are immense.

Our Empire responsibility of development lies heaviest in the Crown Colonies, those vast, undeveloped tropical lands, inhabited by simple, primitive peoples. Raw material in superabundance can be produced in these lands. In cotton production alone we might become almost independent of America if we developed the cotton-growing resources in these parts of the Empire. This would render possible two notable gains, to the natives and to ourselves. The natives would have an opportunity of being able to add very considerably to their purchasing power by becoming semi-industrialised in the cotton industry, and at Home we should have a far cheaper supply of the best cotton goods because we should be independent of the American market and price-rigging. Little imagination is necessary to visualise the main needs of these lands—capital to open them up and to make their resources available by roads, railways, steamboats, and all kinds of machinery. Organised research is also necessary in regard to their economic resources and problems, the latter mainly social and with scrupulous regard to justice being done to all the native settlers. There must be no attempt to disinherit the native population by development schemes, for in the long run a discontented native population would not be a

ready market for our goods, neither would they be willing to co-operate in the expansion work requiring semi-industrialised labour. An enlightened native policy is imperative to wealth development in our Crown Colonies.

The question of capital to finance these schemes of Empire development is, in my opinion, the least of our problems. We have plenty of capital, and I am sure we have plenty of men with brain capacity to tackle these big adventures. Neither is there any shortage of labour. Our main problem will be to apply our capital, brains, and labour where they are actually required. In this application, neither political nor vested interests should be considered by the Board. The big objective is to develop the Empire resources for the sake of Empire as a whole, and not for the personal enrichment of a few. Co-operative enterprise and the prosperity it will bring to the common stock throughout our imperial lands should be the aim of the Board. Capital invested in imperial development is the finest and most secure investment in the world.

Geographical disadvantages there are in plenty if we look for them in the course of imperial development. But geographical disadvantages overcome have built up the Empire as it exists to-day. Men did not traverse the oceans by waiting for a fair wind. In the new development I have in mind we should have to turn all our obstacles into opportunities. Naturally, we wish men and materials to move from one part of the Empire to the other with greater speed and less cost, irrespective of distance. A far more efficient Empire transport must be one of the first objectives of the new Board. Capital employed in the development of natural resources and opportunities would enable railway companies, air lines, and motor transport to offer far cheaper rates than at present and without the need of a subsidy. In one way only would I be prepared to use a subsidy—in the direction of humanising imperial development. I mean, that migrants should be assisted to revisit the Home country more frequently than at present. One of the great drawbacks to emigration is the fact that the poorer classes, who form the major portion of emigrants, have no real chance to come back to the Old Country. They feel they are to be banished from Home. This is a psychological problem, and could be met by a wise and generous subsidy to overseas settlers who wish to revisit their homes periodically. This subsidy would even be a good investment, for it would bring about an Empire mind; incidentally a great aid to inter-Empire trade.

Reciprocity is essential to the rapid growth of trade and industry. Neither we, at Home, nor our kinsmen in other parts of the Commonwealth, can do as much independently as we can by working together in organised advancement. Empire cohesion is vital to a

full and free development and the subsequent enjoyment of economic security. With our very limited development at present we own more than 60 per cent. of all wool and rubber in the world; we control about 70 per cent. of the world's tea; we control 70 per cent. of the world's gold output; 70 per cent. of nickel and 60 per cent. of the world's tin is owned by us; likewise 40 per cent. of the world's cotton spindles, 99 per cent. of the world's jute; a considerable percentage of oil; some 50 per cent. of the world's shipping; and certainly much of the world's finest coal and iron.

After the foregoing recital of our possessions, as worked at present, it will require but little imagination to appreciate the tremendous acquisition of wealth which could be added by more intense and scientific development of our illimitable natural resources.

Lastly, here is a task worthy of the greatest efforts of the co-operative genius of our Commonwealth. We must approach it in no mean, selfish, or partisan spirit. Co-operation and organisation, not dictation, must be the keynote of this super-economic organisation. There must be no suggestion of exploitation of imperial resources, or of domineering over our less-educated fellows in the vast undeveloped regions of India or Africa. There is need to approach this new task with all the fervour and sincerity as if we were at war—not with a foreign foe, but with primitive nature—for the right to allow the children of men to produce the things by which alone they might have life more abundantly. Imperial organisation and development viewed from this angle takes upon itself the guise of a great and passionate adventure. It is the quest for new life, it is also a quest at the call of the old life which demands to be renewed and re-renewed. The economic conquest of Empire, apart from being the ultimate salvation of the British people, will also bring to a more permanent foundation the peace of the world.

ROBERT HADFIELD.

MARTHA AND MARY.

IT is now generally accepted that early Christianity, or the religion taught by Jesus, cannot be fully understood without a thorough knowledge of the religious atmosphere of those days or of the old-world religions. In order to accentuate the differences between Christianity and the Pagan religions, holy texts are believed to have been mutilated and the Councils have declared certain beliefs, like that in future life, as heretical. Whether this is so or not, when we find Biblical stories unintelligible or without any purpose as they stand in the New Testament, but thoroughly intelligible in the light of the old-world religions as they are even now understood in India, it is a fair inference that those stories whether historical or not were told to teach the same lessons for which similar stories are now told in the East. This fact makes a strong appeal to the religious conscience of India, and would make a stronger appeal if ancient Christianity were well and truly expounded. In the following lines I propose to illustrate this by reference to the doctrine of works and faith.

An ordinary person, at any rate before old age, is a slave to his passions and desires. The ordinances of religion are such that the satisfaction of his passions and desires will tend to public benefit and eventually enable him to obtain mastery over them. Thus he may follow any profession he likes; he may be a soldier, fight for power, or he may be a merchant accumulating money. But during this time he is to fulfil the ten commandments and lead a life of righteousness. It is during this period of his life that he is to carry out, as Jesus said, hospitality to everyone, and to assist everyone who may need assistance. It is during this time that he may be a publican or any other official, but he is to use his power righteously and he should make a proper use of his wealth. By leading this life he will, if not in this life then in future lives, give up all desires, will be free from passion, fear, and anger, without attachment to anything, without likes or dislikes, will withdraw his senses from the objects of the senses, will have no desire though he performs his duties of citizenship, will do everything only from a sense of duty; not wishing anything for himself or his relatives or friends. He will remain perfectly indifferent to the fruits of his actions, but act, as the Christians say, for the greater glory of God.

This life, this conquest over all passions and desires, leads him to the Kingdom of Heaven according to the Sermon on the Mount and the old-world religions prevalent at the time of Christ and now in India and the East. He is then absorbed in God, has no concern with the affairs of the world. Citizenship is not condemned, but

leads to the higher life. The story of Martha and Mary beautifully illustrates this difference between a life of work and of faith and absorption in God.

Western criticism throwing doubt on the story, on account of the differences between the Gospels of St. John and St. Luke, as to whether the locality was in Bethlehem or Galilee, whether the pouring of ointment over Jesus occurred in the house of Simon the Leper or at the house of Martha and Mary, whether it was the head or the feet that were anointed or both at different times, whether it was the disciples or Judas that condemned the waste of ointment, does not concern a student of old-world religion.

When toward the close of his life in this world Jesus had to go to their village, one of the two sisters, Martha, hastened to him, found out what he wanted, came back to her house, announced the joyful tidings to her sister Mary that Jesus was coming, and set herself about assiduously to prepare for his meals. Jesus was welcomed; while all the time Mary simply sat at his feet absorbed in Jesus, Martha was working very hard. She apparently required assistance and asked Jesus whether Mary should not assist her. Now careful attention must be paid to what Martha was doing. She was serving the Lord; she was trying to entertain Jesus. It is only symptomatic of the way in which we should carry on our work in this world. Man's nature is such that he has to be doing something. He cannot sit quiet, but then all the work that he must do should be in the service of God. He must not do anything for his own profit. He must do everything only for the glory of God. It may be difficult at first to do anything which has not a tendency to personal profit at the expense of others; but by continued practice that is bound to come; because at first he is likely to follow the example of the rich young man in the Bible, then of those who may be very charitable for the benefit of others only. He will learn to confine his attention afterwards to that work alone in which he will not take anything out of another's pocket or do injury to anybody. Gradual practice will enable him to do that work which will be for the benefit of others mainly. This will enable him to kill all his passions and desires and he will come to regard his work really as a sacrifice and carry it out as a matter of duty. If he engages himself in a quarrel which will simply be in the interests of justice to the injured party, he will refuse to take any profit for himself or for those in whom he is interested. Until eventually a distaste for any kind of work as drawing away from the Supreme will arise in him and he will devote himself solely to a worship of the Supreme.

Martha was still at that stage where external physical activity was necessary to her. The best thing therefore in her own

interests, intending to lead a higher life, was that she should engage herself in such physical active work in the service of God as she was doing. Ignorant of the higher purpose of the Sermon on the Mount, such persons are apt to find fault with others who do no work; hence her request to Christ and his rebuke. Jesus told her that Martha was herself careful and troubled about many things, but Mary was engaged in the work in which she should not be disturbed.

What was it? Mary was then wrapt in Jesus, sitting before him. She had no thoughts of father, brother, husband, or any other relative. She had no feeling of love for anybody else. Jesus was everything to her.

The Father of this universe, the Mother, the Supporter, the Grandsire, the Holy One to be known, the work of Power, the Path, the Husband, Lord, Witness, Abode, Shelter, Love, Original, Dissolution, Foundation, House, Seed Imperishable. (*Gita*, Chapter 9, slokas 17 and 18.)

She was then entreating him:

Bless thou me as Father with the son, as friend with friend, with the beloved as lover, bear with me. (*Gita* II, paragraph 44.)

This is the mentality of the Sermon on the Mount. Mary was absorbed in Jesus; she had at that time no existence apart from him. Jesus said, like the author of the *Gita*, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy might." We must always be thinking of God whenever we do anything, and imagine that whatever we do is for the greater glory of God. In that state of mind nothing improper will be done till finally meditation and absorption, and no action will result. This is a far higher condition spiritually than that of Martha, which Martha then had not attained. In fact when Martha complained of her sister, Jesus is reported to have said, "There is need but of few things or one"; according to the others "one only," the few referring to those referred to in the Gospels, the "one" referring to God or the Kingdom of Heaven. So that Mary bent upon that "one" had no need for anything else. St. Luke has it that Jesus said, "Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things, but one thing is needful and Mary has chosen that good part," or in other words, absorption in God is preferable to worldly life which requires care and gives trouble. It should be noticed that it was the common duty of both Martha and Mary to entertain Jesus and one would imagine that Mary had failed in her duty. That was so to a superficial observer, but to persons like Mary there was nothing like duty or *dharma*; absorbed in God, living

with and in his eye, she had no duties to perform in this world towards anybody. In the *Gita*, Krishna says in a stanza known to all India, "Abandoning all duties come unto me alone for shelter." (Chapter 8, sloka 66.) The pre-requisite is what is mentioned in the previous stanza. The mind is immersed in God, is always absorbed in God's prayer, devoted to him. This attitude is not a depreciation of Martha's but only one far higher than that, and it is an attitude of mind which Martha, if she steadily continued in her course, would attain even in this world. If, however, she never attained it in this world, but continued her virtuous life, she would attain the Heaven lower than that of Jesus and from there reach the higher Heaven long after; never would she be born in this world again. This also accounts for the greater respect in which the Jews held Mary. They wept when she wept before Jesus. They believed in Jesus because Mary believed in Him.

The laws, which produced a mentality like that of Mary, which laid down that anger should not be cherished against anybody, that enemies should be loved, show that a perfect or true Christian cannot be a soldier; military service, where opponents are killed in battle, women and children are slowly starved to death, is incompatible with genuine Christianity. This was Mary's attitude and the attitude of those Christians who in the early years of the Church refused military service and suffered martyrdom in consequence. But those who have not arrived at Mary's level and are, like Martha, serving God, may enter military service, but their service must be the service of God. The service being of God, no profit should accrue. They will then outgrow their desire for military service and attain to Mary's level. If, however, they yield to the temptations which surround military service they sink low to what is called Hell. The same considerations apply to those who take part in the government of a country.

If this is the same Mary that is referred to in St. Luke vii, 37-47, she appears to have been a woman of the city and a sinner. It does not matter therefore what her previous life has been. She brought an alabaster box of ointment and anointed the feet of Jesus with it, and ever since he came into the house she had been kissing his feet, washing his feet with tears, and wiping them with the hair of her head. Intense devotion of a woman whom society had condemned to a life which they themselves called degrading and for which, however, they loathed her.

Such is the real lesson of Martha and Mary. See how the great poet of Imperialism has transformed it into a justification of capitalism and industrial slavery:

The sons of Mary seldom bother, for they have inherited that good part;
 But the sons of Martha favour their mother, of the careful soul and troubled heart.
 And because she lost her temper once, and because she was rude to the Lord her guest,
 Her sons must wait upon Mary's sons, world without end, reprieve or rest.
 It is their care in all the ages, to take the buffet and cushion the shock;
 It is their care that the gear engages; it is their care that the switches lock.
 It is their care that the wheels run truly; it is their care to embark and entertain,
 Tally, transport, and deliver duly, the sons of Mary by land and main.
 They finger death at their glove's end, when they piece and replace the living wires;
 He rears against the gates they tend; they feed him, hungry behind their fires.
 Early at dawn, ere men see clear, they stumble into his terrible stall,
 And hale him forth like a haltered steer, and goad him and turn him till even-fall.
 They do not preach that their God will rouse them a little before the nuts work loose;
 They do not teach that his pity allows them to leave their work whenever they choose,
 And in the thronged and delighted ways, so in the dark and the desert they stand,
 Wary and watchful all their days, that their brethren's days may be long in the land.
 Lift ye the stone or cleave the wood, to make a path more fair or flat,
 Lo! it is black already with blood some son of Martha spilled for that.
 Not as a ladder from earth to heaven, not as an altar to any creed;
 But simple service, simply given, for his own kind in its common need.
 And the sons of Mary smile and are blessed—for they know that the Angels are on their side;
 They know that in them is the Grace confessed, and for them are the mercies multiplied.
 They sit at the feet and they hear the word—they know how truly the promise runs;
 They have laid their burden upon the Lord, and—the Lord
 He lays it on Martha's sons.

Martha was working not for Mary but for Jesus. Jesus did not lay anything on Martha or Mary. Martha and Mary were both on the way to the world of Jesus. A travesty more gross than the above cannot be imagined. Contrast this with the story of Mary in Malayalan song to mark the difference between this Christianity and a Hindu follower of Jesus.

The only Western critic who approaches nearest this view is the Dutch scholar who is said to be reviving a very old interpretation

that the incident was recorded to emphasise the contrast between the doctrine of works of Judaism and the doctrine of absorption in God. He however falls into an error when he says that this story represents the standpoint of faith in opposition to the activities of the adherents of the Law. He was not aware that works and faith amounting to absorption are not opposed, but that the first is the path to the other. (Scholten. *The Pauline Gospel*, page 334.)

SANKARAN NAIR.

THE AMERICAN MIDDLE-WESTERNER LOOKS AT GREAT BRITAIN.

EUROPEANS in general, and even the English, think of America as a homogeneous nation because its people speak a common language. Even this is only partially true, as East Side New York or the Chinese quarter of San Francisco will testify. Europeans forget that the United States is as large as Europe, and that it has been peopled from all European nations. The Atlantic seaboard, the Middle-West, and the South-West are all far larger than any State in Western Europe. Each, moreover, was settled by substantially different groups. New York has more Hebrews than ever lived in Jerusalem; three-fourths of the people of Chicago are either emigrants or the children of emigrants; the Germans of St. Louis or the Irish of Boston in themselves form no "mean city." The true-born American may eventually prove as elusive a personage as was Defoe's "True Born Englishman."

London and New York newspapers manifest the greatest interest in the continuance of friendly relations between Britain and America since the rumours of the Anglo-French "accord" and Mr. Coolidge's armistice-day address. Especially was this so while the Kellogg Pact and the Cruiser Bill were before the American Senate. The resolutions of Senators Borah and Capper, as well as the more recent pronouncements of the British Premier, of President Hoover, Mr. Hugh Gibson, Mr. Dawes, and many other public men have kept interest at white heat. The April issue of a leading American quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*, contained two notable articles on Anglo-American relations by such important personages as Mr. John W. Davis, late Ambassador to St. James's, and Mr. George W. Wickersham, ex-Attorney-General of the United States. The metropolitan Press of both countries has been saying recently that any armed conflict between the two nations is "unthinkable." Sir Austen Chamberlain, British ex-Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Baldwin, the British ex-Premier, have also voiced the same sentiment. It is well that Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson, the English journalist, should publicly note that Mr. Asquith used that identical expression with reference to a conflict with Germany some twenty-four hours before hostilities actually broke out. Mr. J. Leo Maxse, the spirited editor of the *National Review*, justly complains that the leading periodicals as well as the outstanding statesmen of the two countries do protest too much, suggesting that they are trying to make themselves believe what they so much wish to believe, and are whistling to keep up their courage. Are we living in a fool's paradise, or sitting over a smouldering volcano? Although a conflict is not immediately in prospect, "everybody," Mr. Dick-

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inson states, "is thinking furiously about it." The Scripps-Howard newspaper syndicate in America sounds a note of warning as to Anglo-American naval competition: "Fifty years ago it would have meant conflict. The World War was unthinkable, yet it happened. An Anglo-American War is unthinkable, but it could come. Has our statesmanship kept up with the times? If not, what [Commander] Kenworthy and many others fear almost certainly will occur."

"Naval friction," writes Mr. J. L. Garvin, the vivacious Irish editor of the *Observer*, "points toward a disputed command of the seas with all the ghastly possibilities for civilisation. Two peoples distinguished by their appreciation of the realities can co-operate directly to free the world of this danger. The price of failure—though failure is unthinkable—would be for America a world of suspicion deepening to hatred, for Britain the destruction of her maritime and economic forces." We have had, in all probability, far too much of the hands-across-the-sea doctrine for the sake of realities; too much of the idea that since the British and Americans speak the same language serious misunderstandings cannot occur. A British journalist, lecturer, or statesman rarely wanders far from the seaboard and the larger cities into the "great open spaces," which are in reality America, pure and undefiled. Perhaps he gets a glimpse of crime-ridden, politically-ridden Chicago, and immediately concludes that it typifies the hinterland, when as a matter of fact Chicago is, for the twentieth century, absolutely unique, suggesting perhaps some of the thriving Italian cities of the Renaissance period when murder was something of a fine art.

It is best—it is the English way—to face the facts. In America to-day there are many influences definitely hostile to Britain. All of us take our economic rivalry for granted, but we are, in all probability, too much inclined to assume that it will always remain friendly. British fears of American capital in the public utilities of Argentina, and the resentment of American financiers towards the British General Electric Company for attempting to exclude them from purchasing its stock, are recent reminders that the commercial rivalry of Anglo-American bourgeoisie is quite real, and may easily become embittered. The French periodical, *Le Soir*, looks dispassionately at the situation: "The truth of the matter is, that America has tried to disarm England and England has tried to disarm America. Both have failed. . . . If Mr. Baldwin wants to appease America's and the world's uneasiness, soft words will not do. The Anglo-Saxon conflict is a world fact, and cannot be glossed over. British Imperialism and American Imperialism have by the force and logic of things become the two great opposed factors of world politics."

Without placing too great credence in the claims of Irish-American and other patriotic historians, it is probable that we have always exaggerated the proportion of the Anglo-Saxon element in America. For seventy years before the World War, the tide of Irish, Germans, Scandinavians, and Italians flowed into America in an ever-increasing stream. The birth-rate among recent immigrants is much greater than among the Anglo-Saxon stock, so that relatively the Anglo-Saxon strain in America is dwindling. Some of the foreign strains are hostile towards England. Before the World War the Irish-American was notoriously so. Fortunately he is less truculent since Ireland has been granted dominion status. The German-Americans make up a powerful, well-organised group, which was closely knit together by persecution during the World War. As soon as the memories of this conflict have died down, they will become increasingly vocal. It is becoming alarmingly evident that the stocks, other than the Anglo-Saxon, are having their effect upon American institutions: perhaps it is this element which has been largely responsible for the growing disregard for law. The Anglo-Saxon is still in the saddle, but the other national groups are rapidly becoming self-conscious and are certain to be heard from more and more.

In speaking of the unity of the English-speaking peoples, we are prone to neglect past differences. Englishmen forget the very things Americans always remember: that all their great wars were fought against Britain. This is written large in the history texts taught in American schools for generations. These books have, at least by implication, inculcated a hatred for England; they have taught Americans that George III was a tyrant who, after being compelled to grant America her independence, sought to destroy her commercial freedom, which she preserved only after a bitter struggle in the war of 1812. Britishers forget that, except for a little flier in imperialism in 1898, the United States never fought any other important nation save England until 1917. Both Americans and British forget our strained relations in 1861, 1897, and 1916. Americans forget also that, having taught a perfervid patriotism at the expense of "perfidious Albion," they must expect to reap where they have sown. As a result of constant association, the Atlantic seaboard has become convinced that the British are not plotting mischief against America, but a distrust amounting at times to hatred of all aliens, even of those speaking English, still lingers in the illimitable stretches of the hinterland. In estimating the great influence of the Eastern States, British statesmen tend to forget that even in 1812 America went to war against England, although the seaboard was friendly. In these later days, the trans-

Allegheny region is of vastly greater weight in formulating public policy than it was a century ago.

The British and Easterners are prone to make light of the intellectual mediævalism of Dayton, Tennessee, and the political vagaries of Mr. William Hale Thompson, assuming that they represent only the passing whims of the South and Middle-West. Whims they may be, but they represent no isolated incidents in these areas. Dayton's science and theology may be mediæval, but they represented the science and theology of Mr. William Jennings Bryan, in some ways the most popular single personage of his day, Roosevelt alone excepted. "Big Bill" Thompson's hatred of Britain may have been so absurd as to invite the attention of the sensational press, but it materially assisted in electing him mayor of Chicago, the second city of the nation (and the world's metropolis in crime), despite the opposition of all the leading newspapers of the city, even of that one which, by its own modest confession, is "The World's Greatest Newspaper." Thompson was discredited, moreover, not by his anti-British policy, but by the absolute breakdown of criminal law administration, which made Chicago such a Mecca for crooks that it might appear willing to be annexed, temporarily at least, to King George V's dominion to the northward, if by such a move it might rid itself of gangsters, racketeers, and high-powered politicians.

The English smile as they read of the antics of the Ku Klux Klan, and even the Eastern States think that this organisation is a thing of the past. In some places it may be moribund, but it is far from dead. When the Kellogg Pact came before the American Senate last December, Mr. Hiram W. Evans, "Emperor and Imperial Wizard" of that organisation, sought to reserve to the United States all her rights under the Monroe Doctrine, and insisted that she should not be required to support the *status quo* in Europe. The government of America's largest inland city is reputed to be still in the grip of the Klan, and even the public schools in some areas are made to serve its purpose. Many intelligent Englishmen see nothing to the Klan except another instance of religious intolerance. The hooded society, however, opposes Catholics and Hebrews not so much on account of their religion as because they are alien stocks, suspected of carrying from the Old World into the New their ideas of the close relationship between Church and State. If there is any one thing that is distinctively and purely "American," it is this resentment against combining religion and politics. This feeling smacks distinctly of the frontier, as the Klan has penetrated even into the Canadian province of Saskatchewan.

American prejudice against Catholics as the representatives of a

foreign potentate is three-quarters of a century old. The Democratic dignitaries that nominated Mr. Alfred E. Smith, a Catholic, for the presidency last year were obviously politicians rather than historians. Had the political bosses been better historians, they might have proved themselves, perchance, better politicians. They had forgotten, if indeed they ever knew, that American fears of the Pope brought on the organisation of the Know Nothing Party; that one of the ablest political figures of his day, Mr. James G. Blaine, probably owed his defeat to Democratic resentment at being charged by one of Blaine's enthusiastic supporters with being the party of "rum, Romanism, and rebellion." The native stocks resent nothing so bitterly as the slightest suggestion of any alien influence in America. Mayor Thompson capitalised this feeling by insisting that George V was a sinister force attempting to direct American institutions and policy for his own ends. The Klan, too, has utilised this inherent antagonism of the frontiersman to the interference of any foreign potentate, even in the sacred name of religion, with the political affairs of a people, who still fervently believe in the political ideas of Andrew Jackson. In fact, no slight amount of "Old Hickory's" personal popularity arose from his hatred of the English, whom he had successfully opposed in Florida, and later defeated in a spectacular manner in the futile battle of New Orleans.

While North-Eastern United States smiled over Big Bill's frantic endeavour in Chicago to blot out all evidence of British influence as set forth in American histories, it may have been trying to forget that Thompson probably got his cue from Mr. Hylan, erstwhile mayor of New York, who had attempted to remove from history texts all evidence of the ubiquitous (and to him nefarious) influence of the English in American history, by interpolating plentiful evidence of the beneficent actions of the Irish, Scandinavians, and Poles in America. The Middle-West and the South-West are considered provincial, but may this not be equally true of the North-East and South-East? The State of New York was too provincial to give its electoral vote for president to the ablest governor it has had in a generation, because he was a papist. The South-East rejected Mr. Smith for somewhat the same reason. America is not only provincial, but also exuberantly nationalistic. The World War has affected America in much the same way as the defeat of the Armada influenced Elizabethan England. The activities of the militant Daughters of the American Revolution would suggest something of American chauvinism, if other evidences were lacking. The highest functionary in that body, whose name suggests Huguenot ancestry, recently came near losing caste by being received at the English Court. In certain quarters Mr. Hoover was

suspect because he had spent so many years abroad and had hobnobbed with royalty. The English Speaking Union has been criticised for spreading insidious British propaganda, and even Rhodes scholars are suspected of being British missionaries masquerading as liberal-minded scholars. Recently a Protestant college professor in the Middle-West, a specialist in the history of the Christian Church, refused an audience with the Pope, for fear of its reaction upon his rural college community.

The World War served as a liberal education in European history for the American masses. Before 1914 Americans were very certain of themselves. Were they not admitting a million aliens every year, and miraculously converting them by the "Melting Pot," known as the public-school system, into patriotic Americans in double-quick time? In truth American educators almost blushed at their own efficiency. The war taught America, however, that, judged by a reasonable standard, some 21 per cent. of her adult males were illiterate; that despite the loud disclaimers of pedagogical *entrepreneurs*, the efficiency of the "Melting Pot" left much to be desired; that a large part of our population had not been assimilated, and was perhaps incapable of being transformed into 100-per cent. Americans in any reasonable length of time. Some even doubted whether it was desirable to do so! These facts help to explain the development of America's inferiority complex with reference to Europe, and her immigration restrictions, which have brought her into so much disfavour. Had America in the past called a little less loudly from the housetops that she warmly welcomed all aliens, American citizens would find less difficulty in explaining the present attitude.

The same fear which caused America partly to close her doors on the alien led the people to take a fresh interest in the process of Americanisation as carried on by their free schools. Sincere folk who make up in patriotic zeal for what they lack in historical knowledge and perspective have suddenly discovered that history texts fail to inculcate patriotism, because they neglect to praise American national heroes for all their actions, and perhaps dare to suggest that the moral standards of their day differed from the *mores* of Seewannis Center under the Volstead Act. Upon reading isolated passages from text-books written by outstanding American scholars, the voluntary censors and exponents of "supernationalism" also discovered that these writers felt that America's treatment of the Indians and Mexicans left much to be desired. Stranger still, they found insinuations that something might be said for the British both in the Revolution and in 1812. These amateur historians considered all such ideas tantamount to national heresy, and if America persisted in feeding its youth upon such pabulum she

would materially weaken her national fibre. In their endeavours to rewrite history texts, the mayors of the two largest American cities received the greatest amount of advertising—perhaps because they sought it—but they were by no means the only agencies working towards the end that all teaching from the kindergarten to the university should be permeated by “super-nationalism.” Professor Bessie L. Pierce’s brave little volume on *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History* bears abundant evidence of the extent to which organisations, patriotic, pedagogical, religious, military, fraternal, and social, seek to dictate the writing of history. Significantly enough, the works usually banned are written by outstanding scholars, while those receiving the benediction of such groups are more likely to be the product of less able, but more conventional (and commercial) minds.

The danger is imminent that social science texts will develop into treatises in political hygiene, although wise thinkers see the danger inherent in courses in moral or political prophylaxis. As a reaction to the work of the self-appointed guardians of American patriotism, there has grown up a group of pseudo-historians who are engaged, as Mr. Charles Evans Hughes justly complains, in “debunking” American heroes, and go as far in the direction of “muckraking” American leaders as the professional text-book does in lionising them. Both groups, moreover, the hackwriter and the spectacular biographer, find their distortions of history highly profitable. A publisher once congratulated an author upon the skill with which he had treated a controversial topic in American history. “What did I say about it?” inquired the absent-minded writer. “Not a single word,” was the reply.

The earliest American histories were written by authors with facile pens, who knew little history, but by emphasising its anecdotal side they made the subject interesting without indicating in any way its inner significance. Then came the technical historian who usually strayed but slightly from his notes. The result was a scholarly treatise so frightfully dull that the teacher got little from it and the student less. Last appeared the trained man who, out of the fullness of his knowledge, could write interestingly about his subject without losing sight of its significance. American histories are now in imminent danger of returning to the first stage because of the influences which seek to prevent the honest scholar from writing frankly. The danger from polluting the sources of our historical information is great, because the texts used in American public schools reach practically every youth in the land. If the schools are utilised, as they were for forty years in Prussia, to spread nationalistic propaganda, America may be brought to the same end.

The writer talked recently with two men, typical products of the Middle-West. The first of them, now in his fifties, came thither from England at the age of four. He knows from personal experience how unpopular the foreigner may be in Middle-Western communities, even though he speak in a fashion their language. His English accent at once proclaimed him to his schoolmates as a “furriner,” and he was subjected to such bitter taunts that they still remain a vivid memory. Fortunately for him, however, he was a Protestant, because his companions were taught at home to believe that Roman Catholics were in league with the Pope and the devil, two personages, indeed, to them practically indistinguishable. All his neighbours resented the presence of the few Catholics in that rural community, and inveighed incessantly against the occasional parochial schools. The texts he studied, in so far as they were not a list of dates, of wars, and of presidential administrations, taught him the iniquity of British statesmen from the Revolution through the Civil War; that America had beaten England twice already, and would gladly do so again if she did not keep out of American affairs. Had it not been for his English father, he would have been as violently anti-British as his comrades, who did no thinking of their own, but took the words of their text and the explanations of the teacher for gospel. No one has seriously attempted to trace anti-British sentiment back to the little red schoolhouse and the text-books that glorified the wars against England. They might find some satisfactory explanation there for the favourable diversion of certain American demagogues of twisting the lion’s tail.

The other Middle-Westerner, American-born and in his forties, spoke with heat of the Englishman’s tendency to poke fun at Prohibition. A generation ago many Middle-Western States passed laws requiring that every pupil be taught the harmful effects of alcohol and narcotics upon the human mechanism and human society. This subject carried the attractive title of “Scientific Temperance,” which was somewhat of a misnomer, as the emphasis was placed exclusively upon the second rather than the first word of the phrase. Gorgeous charts were shown, portraying with great vividness the supposed effects of alcohol upon the vital organs, until pupils gained the idea that alcoholic drinks ultimately had somewhat the same effects upon the delicate membranes of these organs as a powerful acid upon a cotton fabric. The impression was the more lasting partly because every drunkard in the community was pointed out as a horrid example of what they might become if they touched liquor. Such early influences are strangely persistent, for a large proportion of Middle-Westerners are strict teetotallers. People so reared naturally resent accusations that they are hypocritical about Prohibition. They read about the terrible

economic conditions of the working-classes in Glasgow or London, and wonder if it is not largely due to their heavy drinking. These Americans, having read of the horrible spectre of unemployment, learn perchance that three great British liquor combines have each declared dividends in excess of 25 per cent. tax exempt, and decide that the English themselves must be a bit hypocritical, particularly when they recall the suggestion of a witty Englishman that, if the prevailing tendency in the creation of peers continued much longer, peerage would soon be synonymous with beerage. America's experience in world politics has been so brief that she is unusually sensitive to criticism. The average American is not accustomed to the plain talk which is so much the vogue among the English. John Bull is occasionally astonished by the reaction of Uncle Sam to some frank criticism. Americans are, perhaps, too prone to resent the imputation that their Government is enacting the rôle of Shylock in the matter of war debts. America might have paid more attention to the French contention that hers was a debt of honour, if France had not persisted in claiming it as a right. Americans can be, on occasion, even a generous people, but they stubbornly refuse to allow their hand to be forced. When America at last entered the war, she gave, and gave both generously and quickly. As a nation of business men Americans have never understood why they should be asked to cancel their war obligations. To many Americans, indeed, to cancel the debts now would seem very much like rewarding those nations who have refused to take their debts seriously. Some even argue that these same nations, once relieved of their war debts, would be free to plan another disastrous war.

Reared in diplomatic isolation, American politicians have always feared European entanglements. For the most part, however, Americans welcomed the Washington Conference as a step towards universal peace; and they would have carried disarmament even farther than it went. A year and a half ago the American public learned with something of dismay the elaborate plans of the Big Navy group, and popular opinion caused Congress to shelve the entire programme. Meanwhile, American and British representatives failed to make any progress toward disarmament at Geneva. The collapse of these negotiations would seem, from the Shearer revelations, to have been largely due to extensive propaganda sponsored by American shipbuilders, and carried on, apparently with the knowledge, if not the approval, of certain officials of the American Navy Department. Peace-loving Americans were soon thoroughly aroused by rumours of an Anglo-French "accord," whereby, in return for French backing for her own naval programme, Britain agreed to support the

French contention that in further discussions of disarmament reservists were not to be considered. The information as it slowly leaked out made it appear that an Anglo-French *entente* had been formed, directed mainly against Germany and the United States. Furthermore, the esoteric methods employed by British diplomats in making a mystery out of something that was already an open secret, increased American suspicions of British trickery and accentuated the American inferiority complex in diplomacy. All this was capitalised by the Big Navy men in securing an Act for the immediate construction of fifteen cruisers of the type most objectionable to Britain. For this the English Ministry has only itself to blame, for it might have utilised America's strong peace sentiment, and kept the militarists at Washington out of the saddle, in which they seemed so securely seated at the moment Mr. Hoover became President.

The Hoover administration soon gave an earnest of its sincerity by capitalising Mr. Coolidge's friendly attitude toward the World Court and the Kellogg Pact. With the British General Election pending, the Preparatory Commission at Geneva, however, was making little progress in the direction of disarmament. At this juncture, Mr. Gibson, the American representative at Geneva, and the spokesman of Mr. Hoover, awakened new interest by announcing that the United States stood, not only for the immediate limitation, but for a definite reduction of naval armaments to be measured by some "yardstick," upon which the naval experts of the naval powers might agree. This statement aroused the Preparatory Commission and may well have had some slight influence on the outcome of the British election.

The victory of the Labour Party, moreover, synchronised with Mr. Hoover's Memorial Day address, in which he stressed the necessity for the yardstick and for an actual reduction of armament. The Labour Premier followed this lead by frequent informal conferences over Anglo-American naval disarmament with General Dawes, the new American Ambassador to Great Britain, who maintained the closest possible communication with Washington. As an understanding seemed likely to be reached between the two countries, Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Hoover ordered the suspension of work on certain cruisers. With the assistance of Anglo-American naval experts, Mr. MacDonald and General Dawes agreed upon the principle of parity, leaving a few minor details to be settled at a conference of the naval powers in January.

The British Premier seized this favourable moment to visit President Hoover. His reception in the United States was highly flattering, and seems to have been very successful in advancing world peace and in promoting Anglo-American friendship. An occasional Ameri-

can newspaper may insinuate that the idealistic joint address of Mr. Hoover and Mr. MacDonald is "mere verbiage" or a "sonorous nothing," but public opinion favourable to disarmament in both hemispheres has been greatly stimulated thereby. With British and American backing, the five-power naval conference may go far in reducing armaments. The millennium, however, has by no means been reached in Anglo-American relations. The Big Navy men on one side of the water, and the "Britannia rules the waves" group on the other, are certain to make their influence felt, though the Shearer investigation may quiet them for a time. Political rivalry for the moment may have ceased, but economic rivalry still lives and thrives. The negotiations of Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Hoover seem to suggest that in the future disarmament conferences should rely less upon experts, and more upon outstanding statesmen in whom both nations have implicit confidence, that we may capitalise the great store of good will really existing between the two nations. If we are to remain at peace, each nation must control its advocates of bigger and better armies and navies, and perhaps even more its representatives of big business, for pompous militarists and aggressive imperialists are fundamentally the greatest menace to Anglo-American peace.

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SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, AND RELIGION.

IN recent years many of the most eminent representatives of the physical sciences have shown serious and sympathetic concern in regard to the relations of these Sciences to Philosophy and Religion. This attitude is in marked contrast to that of their predecessors in the Victorian era. At that time Physicists, in particular, were flushed by the confidence that arose from new discoveries in Physics and Chemistry, which had been extended to the heavenly bodies throughout space, cast back by Geology throughout past time, and imposed upon Biology with apparent success. The establishment of the doctrine of physical Evolution completed this confidence, for this new conception came to be treated, not merely as the description of a process, but as either its sufficient explanation, or, at all events, as the only explanation attainable by the human mind. Physical Science presented its "billiard-ball" conception of Matter as a final and unquestionable result, treated the phenomena of consciousness as the inoperative concomitant or reflection of brain changes, and claimed to explain the Universe in terms of Matter and Motion as the eternal and all-sufficient factors of Universal Reality. Democritus was restored to his empire, fortified by the accumulated results of inductive inquiry. Plato and Aristotle were at a discount. Comte dismissed the Metaphysical, as well as the Theological, stage to the lumber-room of the past, while Herbert Spencer's synthesis of the Sciences under his formula of Evolution was treated as philosophy. Those who made this assumption overlooked the fact that in relegating the question of origins—and therewith the inmost nature of Reality as well as the relations of Consciousness to the Cosmos—to the realm of the Unknown and Unknowable, Spencer had pronounced the ideal of Philosophy—which seeks Knowledge, Wholeness, and Reality—to be unattainable. Those who were popularly treated as the outstanding representatives of Physical Science were as impatient of the controversies, the abstract generalisations and the indeterminateness of philosophy, as they were of the hard-and-fast dogmatism of current Theology. The only use that they made of Philosophy was to accept the negative elements of the Kantian philosophy to the neglect of its positive construction, thus erroneously claiming the support of Philosophy for Agnosticism, and establishing Protagoras, with his doctrine of Relativity, side by side with Democritus. The entire realm of Religion was given over to subjectivity and superstition, just because it was relative to Man, while Matter and Motion alone were objective, and, therefore, both ultimate and absolute.

All this has now gone by the board. And for the following

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reasons. In the first place, the dogmatism of physical Science has gone the way of all other dogmatisms. The electrical hypothesis has substituted the conception of "solar systems" for that of "billiard balls" as the true account of the constitution of Matter. Similarly, the Einstein doctrine of Relativity has shattered the old belief in the absolute universality and finality of our ordinary conceptions of Motion, and of our standards of measuring it. These are as dependent upon the position of the human observer, and, therefore, as relative as the abstractions of philosophy or as the deliverances of Religion. Fresh mysteries have displaced old solutions, and with these has vanished the assumption that physical Science, which is securely established within the human "frame of reference," is thereby to be accepted, without philosophical criticism, as either universal or invariable. That this fate should have befallen Physics is one of the most startling ironies of human thought.

In the next place, the formulated results of Physics tend to become ever more abstract and conceptual in order that they may be expressed in symbols and equations. Hence the more completely Physical Science attains to mathematical precision and accuracy, the farther it gets from the manifold richness of concrete actuality. Symbols and equations cannot reflect, let alone explain, the universe as it is actually experienced. They may, indeed, sum up the processes of action, interaction, and observable Evolution, but the colour and the meaning, not to speak of the why and the wherefore, of the Whole, and particularly the Nature of the Being, which is being unfolded in universal Becoming, must needs be excluded from the formulas of particular relations and happenings.

Above all, there is a fuller appreciation of the importance of Values in relation to Reality, as actually experienced. This new sense is, of necessity, attended by the recognition that only Consciousness can discover and realise these Values in the external world. In other words, the Universe is throughout relative to Mind, and Mind constitutes and fulfils it as it becomes the object of Experience and Science. Valuation has a function to discharge in respect of the results of Science, as well as in the concerns of Art. Imagination plays a part in both.

Hence the Meaning of Reality, simply because, as experienced, it is constituted and appreciated by Mind, must be handed over to the Mind to examine and, if possible, to determine. The solution, if discovered, will certainly not be supplied by Physics. If any hope still lingers in respect either of Biology or of Psychology, it is simply because, at present, they come so far short of the symbolic precision of physics that they are not only more descriptive, but more liable to the undetected importations of assumptions brought

to them from outside. It follows from all this that even if the subject of Values can be investigated by Psychology, *their relation to Reality as a whole* must be dealt with by Philosophy, as receiving, reflecting upon, and furnishing a reasoned and reasonable synthesis of all the contributions to knowledge that are made by the special Sciences. Moreover, in the light of all this, Religion is seen rightfully to claim much more respectful and careful attention from Science than the Agnostic Victorians were prepared to concede to it. If it be relative, so apparently is everything else. If it sets forth certain Values as supreme, in doing so it exhibits, in the highest form and intensest degree, an activity of the human Mind which extends over the entire range of Reality, and is essential to its construction and enjoyment by Man. If it be objected that Religion is a special form of Valuation, in which multitudes take little concern, this is true of all appreciation of the highest Values of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness, which are, despite this, essential to human well-being. Moreover, in its highest forms, Religion so comprehends and assimilates all Values, and so fosters their pursuit, that all other noble valuation tends to become religious in its temper and devotion.

Hence Physical Science leads up to Consciousness, with its full content; to Mind, that is, to Personality, to which the world as experienced is relative. There it leaves us, but with the recognition that the presuppositions which govern special provinces of inquiry—whether Mechanist, Vitalist, or Psychic—cannot supply the explanation of Personality and its relations with the Whole, however important may be the contributions made by them to the accomplishment of this final and highest task of the human mind.

Thus the special Sciences deal severally with the departmental phenomena of the Inorganic, Organic, and Conscious realms of Existence. Science generally may gather up the sum-total of the measurable and observable facts in all these departments. But the Constitution and Meaning of the Whole must be the special subject of the rational construction of Philosophy and of the spiritual apprehension of Religion. Each of these is concerned with Reality as a whole, though in dealing with this whole the two differ in the interest, and therefore both in the nature and the method, of their activity. Professor Clement Webb has admirably described this agreement and difference in his recently published *Riddell Memorial Lectures*,* which merit careful attention. "Religion," he says, "possesses a distinctive character of its own, which does not admit of definition in terms of anything else." While both concern themselves with the Whole, Religion "differs from Philosophy in concerning itself therewith, not as something to be dis-

* *Religion and Thought of To-day*. Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. net.

interestedly studied or understood, but rather as something with which the whole Self of each one of us is or can be brought into what we can only intelligently describe as a personal relation." In this respect Religion, in its essential experience, resembles "our commerce with personalities other than and equally real with our own" in ordinary social intercourse. Hence Religion claims to make an altogether unique contribution to the interpretation of Personality, and thereby both to the place of Valuation in the Universe and to the importance of the Supreme Values to the explanation of Reality. This claim is receiving ampler recognition; not least of all by those who are entitled to speak on behalf of the Physical Sciences.

In view of these tendencies of recent thought, it is in every way appropriate that the two latest series of Gifford Lectures should have been delivered, not by professed Philosophers or Theologians, but by men of great eminence in the Physical Sciences. The first of these two were given by Professor A. S. Eddington, Plumian Professor of Astronomy in the University of Cambridge, and were published some months ago under the title *The Nature of the Physical World*.* The second series were delivered by a distinguished biologist, Dr. J. S. Haldane, his subject being *The Sciences and Philosophy*, and their publication† has followed close upon that of Professor Eddington's Lectures. Both of these merit most careful consideration.

The position from which Professor Eddington starts is that "Science aims at constructing a world which shall be symbolic of the world of common-sense experience," and that, by its success, the external world of Physics has "become a world of shadows." "Then comes the alchemist Mind who transmutes the symbols. In the transmuted world new significances arise which are hardly to be traced in the world of symbols; so that it becomes a world of beauty and purpose—and, alas, suffering and evil" (Intr. XVI-XVII). Professor Eddington describes in successive chapters "the Downfall of Classical [i.e., Newtonian] Physics," and the revolution wrought by the new Electrical theory of Matter and by Einstein's doctrine of Relativity (Caps. I-XI). The latter doctrine, however, does not mean that there are "no absolute things in the world," but that "you must look deeply for them" (p. 23). Moreover, in the world of change "we become aware, convinced of *Becoming*." This sense of *Becoming* is "a true mental insight into the physical condition which determines it" (p. 89), for there is a "Dynamic quality or trend" of the physical world, which makes its changes those of "sorting" and not mere "shuffling."

* Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d. net.
† Hodder & Stoughton. 15s. net.

This sense, however, is a contribution made by the Mind itself. "If I grasp the notion of existence because I myself exist, I grasp the notion of becoming because I myself become. It is the innermost Ego of all which *is* and *becomes*" (p. 97). Our present knowledge of the conditions of the physical Universe warrants the conclusion that "any such conscious life as man's, even if it exist at all elsewhere, is rare," and, while disavowing any belief "that the whole purpose of the Creation has been staked on the one planet where we live," Professor Eddington feels "inclined to claim that *at the present time* our race is supreme" (p. 178).

It follows from this preliminary survey that "the world which Physics attempts to describe arises from the convergence of two schemes of world-building" (p. 240), the Mind contributing the concepts of permanence, or Substance, and Becoming, as well as creating Values by its selecting influence (p. 243). "The linkage" of the symbolic synthesis which physical Science supplies "to the familiar world of consciousness" is a philosophical problem (p. 249), and "theoretical physics in its formulation of a general scheme of law" leaves "out of account actuality and the guarantee of actuality" (p. 266). It is impossible to "treat the connection with mind as merely an incident in a self-existent inorganic world," for "the *potentiality* of being known to Mind" is "a fundamental objective property of Matter," and "while it is difficult for the matter-of-fact physicist to accept the view that the substratum of everything is of mental character," yet "no one can deny that Mind is the first and most direct thing in our experience, and all else is remote inference—inference either intuitive or deliberate" (p. 267-80). It is in "the background of Actuality" in which our mental consciousness lies that, "if anywhere, we may find a Power greater than but akin to consciousness" (p. 287).

From this standpoint, Professor Eddington urges that the quest of Reality, which physical science cannot satisfy, is "the expression of a purpose which has possession of us," and that this quest, which is "part of our very nature," involves "the bolder hypothesis" that both it "and all that is reached by it are of worth in the eyes of an Absolute Valuer" (pp. 287-8). The position of Consciousness is fundamental, and it seeks the "intimate knowledge" of Reality, of which physical science can only supply "the skeleton." Within this questing Consciousness arises mystical Religion of which the starting-point "is a conviction of significance," the absence of which may be treated by those who possess it as "a kind of mental deficiency" (p. 333). Just as the fashioning of a familiar world out of the crude basis, which is all that physical science can deal with, is "not a misrepresentation but an achievement," so the transmutation of the spiritual world "by a

religious colour " may be treated as being " not misrepresentation, but the achievement of a divine element in man's nature " (p. 335).

In his recently delivered Swarthmore Lecture, entitled *Science and the Unseen World*,* Professor Eddington has given a slighter, but very valuable, exposition of his point of view, laying special stress upon the " Ought," whether of correct thought or of right conduct, as setting a gulf between the world of Physics and that of Personality, and contending that we should act upon what is revealed by our inner eye with something analogous to the faith by which we act on what is presented to our bodily eye, and that we should incorporate both in our conception of Reality. " It is," Professor Eddington thinks, " of the very essence of the inner world that the conception of personality should dominate it " (p. 50). Personality must, therefore, be attributed to God. " The crucial point for us is not a conviction of the existence of a supreme God, but a conviction of the revelation of a supreme God " (p. 44). This conviction is given, not by ratiocination, but by religious experience, and in laying emphasis upon this, Professor Eddington represents the hostility both of the Society of Friends and of Science to formulated Creeds, with their assumption of finality, as being contrary to that spirit of " seeking " which is characteristic of both.

We pass now to consider Professor Haldane's exposition of the relation of the Sciences to Philosophy. His view may be summed up as follows. Each one of the Sciences deals primarily with only one aspect of our experience, and, for this purpose, proceeds upon the assumptions that are appropriate to its special subject. Thus Physical Science, which is concerned with Inorganic phenomena, assumes, as its basis, the conservation of Matter and Energy (or their more recently accepted equivalents). Biology, which has to do with organisms and their activities, founds itself on the fact that " organisms are in constant active relations with their environment, but that this activity is on the whole so directed as to maintain in each organism a *normal* or specific condition." Psychology deals with " conscious behaviour," " an essential controlling factor " of which " is what we call interest, involving retrospect, foresight, and organisation " (p. 100). This involves the introduction of Values, which are social as well as individual. None of these three departments of existence is reducible to either of the others. Each has its distinctive principles of interpretation: yet they are all interrelated, and their distinctive principles and conclusions are merely provisional. It is the task of Philosophy to take into consideration not simply a part, but the whole of our experience, transcending, in order to its final synthesis, the departmental limitations of the Sciences, while recognising their provisional validity.

* Allen & Unwin. 2s. 6d. net.

Hence " Philosophy comes into living contact with the principles of the Sciences as well as with religious beliefs " (p. 4). Only Philosophy, " which goes deeper than any of the Sciences," can face and solve, in its final unification, " the contradictions to which the different Sciences lead when they are applied to actual experience " (p. 169). The only way of this unification in a final explanation of Reality is spiritual, for " spiritual unity pervades individual personalities, and our Universe appears to us an objective Universe common to all. In ultimate analysis there can only be one spiritual unity or personality " (p. 188). " By faith in an all-embracing spiritual unity " the chaos disappears. " Our Universe under whatever guise of constituent self-existent things or personalities it may for the moment appear to us, can be nothing else but the manifestation of one Spiritual Reality, or one God " (p. 190). The life of individuals is " centred in their common life as a whole with only an unreal centre in their individual lives " (p. 248). " The idea that individual persons represent units which exist apart from their environment is not consistent with experience " (p. 257). " The Spiritual Unity which we have found by philosophical analysis to be the Reality manifesting itself in all our experience corresponds to the Reality called, in the language of Religion, God " (p. 289), and " in so far as we are realising our true selves we are realising, not a mere individual self, which is only an abstraction, but the Spiritual Unity which gives us being " (p. 280). This conclusion of Philosophy is equivalent to such religious belief as is essential. " There is no need for a supernatural element in religion " (p. 292), nor can personal immortality be accepted. Yet " death of the individual is no extinction of Values, and no injustice " (p. 298). " The real world is the spiritual world of Values, and these Values are in ultimate analysis nothing but the manifestation of the Supreme Spiritual Reality called, in the language of religion, God " (p. 298). On this basis, and with the exclusion of the Supernatural and of Personal Immortality, Science, Philosophy, and Religion may be at one. If they will but accept this position " the Churches can again teach, in a manner which will carry general conviction, these old words which have brought strength to go forward, peace of mind, and charity, to so many: ' For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, can separate us from the love of God.' "

It has been impossible to do justice, in this brief summary, to the fullness of exposition and the wealth of illustration by which both of the main volumes, now under review, are characterised. Professor Eddington's work, especially, is a weighty contribution to his

subject, and is remarkable both for its elevation of spirit and for its balance of judgment. What is to be said of their main conclusions?

Speaking generally, it may perhaps be fairly said that Professor Eddington suggests too deep a fissure between the "two schemes of world-building" which constitute the problem of Physical Science. Moreover, he hands over to Philosophy in general, and to Dr. Whitehead in particular, the question of the "linkage" of the *Synthesis of Physics* "to the familiar world of consciousness." In turning to inner spiritual experience, without correlating it systematically to the Whole of Reality, and without either formulating its deliverances or establishing them by reasoning, he gives an example, not only of scientific reserve, but of the stress laid by the Society of Friends upon the "Inner Light." On the other hand, Professor Haldane seems to leap to his conclusions too frequently, and to dignify certain somewhat hasty and sweeping conclusions by the repeated assertion that they have been reached "in ultimate analysis." To assume offhand that these "can only be one spiritual unity," that this unity may be termed "Personality," that this one Personality, acknowledged for the purpose of the unification of Reality as experienced and reflected upon, is the equivalent of the "One God" of Religion, that this "One Person" is "no mere individual person, distinguishable from other persons" (p. 303), that the personal "centre" in individual lives is "unreal," that Religion would retain its essentials and regain its influence by abandoning all belief in the Supernatural and in Personal Immortality, is to exhibit a too facile Hegelianism coloured by biological prepossessions. It fails to do justice to the implications of that "Spiritual World of Values" the supremacy of which Professor Haldane asserts. If "the conclusion forced upon" Professor Haldane "in the course of a life devoted to natural Science is that the Universe as it is assumed to be in physical Science is only an idealised world, while the real Universe is the spiritual Universe in which Spiritual Values count for everything" (p. 273) be sound, then the whole subject of Personality, to which Values are relative, claims much profounder investigation than Professor Haldane gives to it, while a much more real and permanent distinction between the Personal and the non-personal must be recognised than, in the interests of unification and continuity, he is prepared to concede. Throughout the whole discussion there is too frequent a repetition of "it seems to me" than is desirable in a task where rigorous reasoning is required. In particular, it seems to be both unscientific and unphilosophical to claim that distinctions which are at once emphasised by common sense and indispensable to the Sciences are

simply to be *obliterated* by reflection (see p. 251), however they may be transcended.

Coming to closer quarters with the argument, it would appear that, in his endeavour to assert the supremacy of Spiritual Values, Professor Haldane treats them as swallowing up the Personalities by which they are not only appreciated, but constituted, and for which alone, in the last resort, they exist. Thus the Personality of God appears to be little more than an imaginative symbol of the unity of all things conceived to be spiritual. "For either philosophy or religion," we are told, "individual personalities are unreal, the only real Personality being that of God." Yet the personal God that philosophy and religion point us to is "no mere individual person distinguishable from other persons" (p. 303). What then is He, for self-distinction appears to be the essential mark of Personality, although the fact that it is "distinguishable" does not involve the consequence that it is separated, or possibly even separable, from the entire context of Reality?

Again, the assertions that God is the supreme, the all-embracing and the sole Personality, that the world of experience is common to all, and that common interest is so constraining and satisfying that men may be found who will gladly sacrifice their immediate and apparent self-interest, even physical life itself, to it, are held to justify the conclusion that "this wider interest is just a fact, and a fact that obliterates the mere individual interest" (p. 251). Hence the sense of individuality "is only an abstraction," and, furthermore, "it is not possible to distinguish personality from the concrete environing interests and Values associated with it" (p. 257). "Personality is not something confined and complete in itself separately from an environment in space and time, but extends over that environment; and for either philosophy or religion individual personalities are unreal, the only real personality being that of God" (p. 303). This series of conclusions seems to involve a mass of assumptions, which are used to over-ride the deliverances of consciousness in the interests of a premature and, therefore, illusory unification. To begin with, the common interest and the spiritual unity of human society, while they transcend the merely individual interest, demand and depend upon the preservation and the development of personalities. Spiritual Unity is not that of a material aggregate, or the arithmetical sum of extinguishable units. It is not perfected in mass-emotion and action, in which the distinctions of component personalities are, for the time being, submerged. On the contrary, it is at the highest level of personal distinction that men arrive at community of insight, appreciation, and purpose. If they lose themselves in the common good this is indeed to find, and not to obliterate, themselves. The spiritual unity of mankind

demands a fellowship in which the common and the individual are reconciled, but preserved, by being transcended in the truly personal. The same thing is true of religion in a more eminent degree. It is in the personal value of God for men, and of men for God that the Divine Personality is revealed, that the Supreme Values are realised, and that these Values are preserved in a fellowship, which is only possible in a Society of persons.

So, also, in regard to environment. Here, as elsewhere, according to Professor Haldane's contention, Philosophy must correct the provincial and inadequate deliverances of Biology. The development of Personality is attended by and demands a growing sense of distinction from, and indeed superiority over, environing conditions, in order that these may be treated as the basis, sphere, and instrument of advancing and ascending spiritual life, both individual and collective. The supremacy of the Spiritual values can only be adequately secured and experienced by this growing detachment from and ascendancy over the environment which, while fostering and colouring personal life, cannot rightfully claim either to dominate it, or, as it stands, to give a full revelation of Values, which though in a sense immanent, are far more truly brought to it. The sustained pursuit of Spiritual Values is attended by the growing consciousness of a higher environment, a city (*πολιτεία*) of God, a realm of Eternal Life, of which personalities are citizens in so far as they pursue these Values and are possessed by them. It is by this citizenship that the meaning and prospects of human personalities must be determined, and not merely by the biological or even psychological conditions of their temporal and transient existence. After all, as Professor Eddington impressively shows, the process of Evolution has advanced by stages, each of which, independent of any human percipient, has been relatively complete. As the result of tremendous activities, man has appeared as the potential heir of all that has gone before. Neither the objective completeness of the precedent stages, nor the permanent worth of the personalities who inherit them can be swept away in the interest of a premature synthesis. The charge of materialism which Professor Haldane brings against "orthodox" Theology (p. 311), is at least equally applicable to his own view, though, strictly speaking, it is inappropriate to either. The infinite trouble which has apparently been taken for the appearance of man, and for the realisation of Spiritual Values in him, suggests that human personalities are precious to God, that "He is the God, not of the dead, but of the living; for to Him all are alive." For belief in the Personality of God, as the Eternal Home and Source of all Spiritual Values, it is essential, not only that we should love Him, but that we should be assured that He loves us "with an everlast-

ing love," and that, therefore, we shall permanently live, not only in, but for Him.

Something must be said in regard to Professor Haldane's demand that Religion and Theology should surrender the Supernatural. There is indeed some ambiguity about the term, for each stage of ascending evolution is, in a sense, supernatural to all that has gone before. Moreover, the limits of even human possibility are being constantly transcended by men, under the conditions and by means of their environment. If this free play of activity be open to men, how can it be denied to God, if He be, not merely imaginatively, but truly personal? If, indeed, it be meant that God works immanently, as well as transcendentally—according to the terms, within the conditions, and by the means, which He has Himself laid down in the Universe—then the denial is reasonable and probably true, provided that we recognise that the possibilities of such activity far exceed our present understanding of them. But if it be meant that the Universe of our experience is absolute, and that the Divine resources and methods are exclusively and completely expressed in it as it stands, or if all which exceeds the limits of ordinary human experience be treated as supernatural and therefore non-existent, then the denial is arbitrary, unreasonable, and contrary to probability. Moreover, in the collocation of circumstances, causative conditions and opportunities, together with the appearance of personalities "in the fullness of the times" there is room for, and need of, Personal, Selective, and Sovereign activity, which, while it is in a sense within Nature, may rightly be termed supernatural.

All this, if sound, goes to show the necessity for a more serious treatment of Personality, Divine and human, and of the relations of personalities to Values, than is furnished by Professor Haldane's biological Hegelianism.

The same conclusion applies in a different way to the work of Professor Eddington, and is indeed recognised by him. It is specially applicable to the subject of formulated Theology, in general, and to that of Creeds in particular. In his Swarthmore Lecture Professor Eddington, in dealing with the "Conviction of the revelation of a supreme God," says, "I will not speak here of the revelation in a life that was lived nineteen hundred years ago, for that perhaps is more closely connected with the historical feeling which, equally with the scientific feeling, claims a place in most men's outlook" (*Science and the Unseen World*, pp. 44-5). It is just at these three points—Revelation, the supreme Personality of Christ, History—that there is room and necessity for precise formulation, which, instead of precluding, gives an assured vantage ground for that spirit of "seeking," which, as Professor Eddington

rightly urges, is as essential to religion as to science. Historic facts must be treated as ascertainable, the contents of "revelation in a life" can be summed up, the relationship of a supreme historic Personality to other personalities, and, above all, to "the supreme God" Whom He reveals claims full investigation. All these admit of precise conclusions, which, though they may not find universal acceptance, are at least in keeping with both the religious and the scientific spirit. Indeed, without such rational activity Religion may sink to merely subjective emotion, than which nothing can be more contrary alike to the scientific spirit and to serious religious faith. Not least of all, if in "our mental consciousness" we "may find a Power greater than but akin to consciousness," if our quest "is the expression of a purpose which has possession of us," and if this implies that both it and its discoveries "are of worth in the eyes of an Absolute Valuer," then the precise meaning of all this calls, not only for a philosophical Theology which Professor Edington amply admits, but is capable of gaining such collective agreement as can only be set forth by means of Creeds. Undoubtedly it is a mistake to take such formulated statements, in so far at least as they are expressed in metaphysical terms which need continual criticism and revision, as final. Yet, if this limitation be recognised, which unfortunately is not generally the case, such formal statements, whether treated as credal or otherwise, are an indispensable instrument of spiritual fellowship, a permanent safeguard of religious beliefs, and mark out the highway along which religious questing may humbly, yet confidently, advance towards its goal.

J. SCOTT LIDGETT.

THE AWAKENING OF INDIAN WOMANHOOD.

TO one who has been away from India for a few years there is no change more striking than that which has taken place among the women. Indeed, they are moving so rapidly that it is difficult to give even a bird's-eye view of present conditions without a feeling that in certain particulars impressions a few months old may be out of date by the time they are set down. I should like to safeguard myself at the outset from the pitfall of generalising about India, whether in regard to her women or anything else, and in speaking of the awakening of Indian womanhood I do not mean that the movement has yet reached the great masses of women all over the country. I am aware of the fact that only about 2 per cent. of the women of India are literate, and that the female population was nearly 155 millions at the last census. Conditions are relatively advanced in some Provinces and States and backward in others, but making allowances for all this diversity, the broad fact emerges that there is a remarkable stirring and awakening, though it may often still be indefinable and indefinite.

The movement originates from the band of highly educated and public-spirited women scattered over the country, who can take their place among the most cultivated of women of the twentieth century, and from their European friends and helpers, and is radiating from them in ever-widening circles among the educated classes and penetrating downwards gradually into the classes below, though it may stir no more than a dawning consciousness that woman has some place of her own in the scheme of things. Purdah, child marriage, the Hindu laws of inheritance, these are being talked about as never before, and the mere fact of their being thus talked about is of the greatest significance, since it is only by wide discussion of these problems that public opinion can grow and the country as a whole become prepared for action in regard to them.

One of the most potent factors in the awakening has undoubtedly been the All India Women's Education Conference, initiated by Mrs. Cousins, which held its first session at Poona in 1927 under the Presidency of H.H. the Maharani of Baroda, met for the second time at Delhi in February, 1928, and for the third time at Patna in January of this year. It has brought together from all over India, from the different Provinces and from many of the Indian States, those interested in girls' education and the women's movement, both European and Indian, of all ranks and of all creeds. In connection with it local conferences to elect delegates and pass resolutions are held in many different centres (there were forty-five such conferences in 1928), so that the interest it has aroused and the

inspiration it has given has reached large numbers of both purdah and non-purdah women all over the country. The very fact that many purdah ladies have travelled long distances to attend the sessions of the Conference shows how times have changed during the last few years. The Conference was originally organised only to deal with education, but many delegates wished at the same time to discuss social problems affecting the welfare of women and children, and at Patna this year it was resolved that the Conference should divide its activities into two different sections, one for education and one for social reform, and be known in future as the All India Women's Conference.

There is no doubt that the demand for increased facilities for the education of girls, both primary and secondary, as voiced by the Conference and other associations, is real and insistent. The secondary schools for girls are nearly all filled to overflowing, especially in the lower classes, and more are urgently required. When a new primary school for girls is opened in the towns it fills up at once. Madras City, in introducing compulsory primary education, has included girls as well as boys, and it is specially interesting that a deputation asked for Muslim girls also to be included. The colleges for women are full, and in several Universities, whether or no they have special women's colleges, one finds a number of women students reading with the men. Education in British India since the Reforms is a transferred subject, i.e., under the direct control of the Minister for Education in each Province, but in none of the Provinces have girls and women been given their due share of the money allotted for education. Now that the demand for girls' education has become so strong women themselves must see to it that this state of affairs is not allowed to continue. They are beginning to come forward, and are most urgently needed on local bodies and boards of all kinds which deal with the education of girls, so that they can represent the women's point of view and see that the girls' claims are no longer passed over.

Another question which has aroused much interest is the provision of a more suitable curriculum for girls' schools. It has long been felt and urged by many women's associations that the course for girls could be modified to provide better training for life in the home, and should be less of a slavish model of the course for boys. In making any such changes the advice and co-operation of women are obviously needed, and their representation on all educational bodies dealing with girls would enable them to exert their influence in this direction, as well as in regard to the provision of more adequate facilities for the training of women teachers and other questions of vital importance to the development of girls' education.

Intimately affecting educational problems is, of course, the age of marriage, and this is another question which has been taken up with zeal by the All India Conference, which has worked from its start for the abolition of child marriage. There is no doubt that the age of marriage among girls attending secondary schools has risen very perceptibly during the last few years. In every school which I visited recently there was a large proportion of unmarried Hindu girls in the upper classes in which a few years ago the overwhelming majority were Christians. It is true that a large percentage of the girls still leave school between the ages of 12 and 14 preparatory to marriage, but the important and significant change is in the numbers who stay on to a later age. The feeling against child marriage seems widespread among women, even when orthodoxy and time-honoured custom cause them to accept it as inevitable. There is a strong conviction among the educated classes that legislation must precede the growth of public opinion, that it is only by legislation that the age of marriage can be successfully raised all over the country, and that legislation alone will compel the orthodox and strengthen the resistance to custom of many waverers who are now afraid that by postponing the marriage of their daughters they will lose the chance of arranging suitable marriages for them. The Government of India has pronounced itself in favour of the principle of Mr. Harbilas Sarda's Child Marriage Bill, which was postponed in the Assembly in January to await the Report of the Age of Consent Committee.* Legislation may prove very difficult to enforce, but by refusing it Government would certainly be regarded as hostile to progress and social reform by thousands of enlightened Indian men and women.

Another question intimately bound up with girls' education is the problem of purdah, but purdah too is very gradually but perceptibly relaxing. The number of women who come out of purdah increases year by year, and even H.H. the Begum of Bhopal has now set the example. Schools, apart from those which are mainly for Mohammedan girls, are not as strictly purdah as they were a few years ago. Many have some men teachers, and men visitors may be shown over the school. Far fewer purdah women lead a life of complete seclusion, and there is certainly a growing freedom of movement among them. They go out more for drives, they go in large numbers to meetings such as those of the local Education Conference, they go to parties and to purdah clubs. These have become far more active and living institutions in many places than they were a few years ago. Where members used only to sit about and were with difficulty persuaded to come at all, we may now find

* Since writing the above, the Bill has been passed in the September session of the Legislative Assembly by a very large majority.

them organising the club themselves, playing all sorts of games, and even getting up plays. Relaxation of the purdah in districts where it is strongest must be preceded by freedom of movement, and will then follow, I think, as a natural sequence. It is to be remembered that in Turkey there was no seclusion of women at the time the veil was discarded. There are social reformers in India who, in spite of the experience of Afghanistan, would force the pace by refusing any special facilities to women still in purdah, whether as regards education or anything else. Far wiser to me seems the policy of promoting their education in every way possible and of encouraging them to move about freely even in *burkas*, so that the change may come naturally without either outcry or reaction.

As a contrast to the consideration of purdah let us turn to the small but growing group of Indian women who are taking a part in public life. The names of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, one of the most prominent members of the Congress Party, and of Miss Cornelia Sorabji, formerly Legal Adviser to the Court of Wards, and now practising at the Calcutta Bar, have long been familiar to English readers, but it is not generally known that several of the Provinces have now one nominated woman member on the Legislative Council, while in Madras the Deputy-President of the Council is a woman, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi. Dr. Reddi is devoting all her energies to the task of social reform, and has already succeeded in passing through the Council a Bill for the abolition of the Devadasi system, that system by which certain girls in Southern India are dedicated to Hindu temples for an immoral purpose. Dr. Reddi was also a member of the Auxiliary Committee on Education of the Statutory Commission, while Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru was appointed a member of the Committee on the Age of Consent. Quite a number of women are now to be found on Municipal Committees, District Boards, Education Boards and Councils, University bodies, etc., though far more are needed all over the country to obtain adequate consideration of the questions most vital to women's progress. Associations such as the Women's Indian Association, the National Council of Women in India, as well as the All India Women's Conference, are all working for the better representation of women on public bodies.

The more alive the educated womanhood of India become to the great future which lies in their hands, the more acutely will be felt the need for more workers and for more adequate training in all branches of social service. In each of the great cities we find groups of progressive and enlightened women, Christian and non-Christian, Indian and European, by whom much good work is being done, but even here great fields are practically untouched for lack of trained workers. There is also a general dearth of voluntary

help. In most of the smaller towns voluntary social work is still in its infancy, and has hardly been attempted in rural areas with a few striking exceptions, among which the Saroj Nalini Dutt Memorial Association in Bengal may be mentioned as essentially a women's movement. The tradition of social service has still to be created in the schools, and there are many practical obstacles for voluntary workers such as difficulty of transit. Even if there is a car in the family it may very likely not be available, and the hiring of a conveyance mounts up to a sum sufficient to deter a number of young women who might otherwise be willing to undertake regular work.

Then again there is the paramount need for training. In England in these days a young woman will always find an experienced worker who will take her round at first and show her the ropes. But in India, except in the very largest centres, and apart from the Missions, there is no one, and the inexperienced voluntary worker, whether English or Indian, finds herself struggling with many problems she does not know how to tackle, while frequently the only paid workers available need guidance because they may not have adequate training or powers of organisation for the posts they are called upon to fill. The League of Social Service for Women recently inaugurated in Calcutta is an attempt to fulfil this need in Bengal. It is proposed to open an Institute of Social Service under a competent Warden, where workers can go for general training apart from specialist courses such as midwifery or nursing, which are provided for elsewhere. It is hoped to create a salaried service of women social workers who will go out from the Institute and work in the villages, covering a larger and larger field.

Lastly, I turn to a consideration of the problem of the supply of women workers. An increasing number of women are coming forward as doctors, health visitors, etc., but it seems to me that it is to her widows that India must look more and more to take the place of the large body of unmarried women teachers and social workers of the West. In England we take our women workers so much for granted that one does not realise how great an asset they are to the country until faced with the problem as it presents itself in India. One has to remember that except among Christians a young unmarried woman is a rare exception in India, and that the small Christian community still furnishes a large proportion of the teaching profession. As girls' education spreads it is idle to expect from married teachers with young children and a home to look after the work which is given by a single woman. But with the widow it is different. She can give up her life to her vocation and in so doing find happiness. For those to whom teaching does not appeal there is work to suit almost every taste and capacity crying out to

be done. The Poona Seva Sedan, the splendid pioneer training centre for adult women, has now sent out several hundreds of women, including many widows, as teachers, nurses, midwives, etc., and in all the big towns in India there are now widows' homes, though all do not give training. In Lady Bose's Widows' Home for training primary teachers in Calcutta there were this year over a hundred applications for thirty vacancies. It seems the greatest pity that any woman who wishes to be trained should be refused when the demand for trained teachers is so great, and liberal financial aid should surely be forthcoming so that any existing institution giving efficient training may be expanded to meet the growing demand. Propaganda to persuade parents and guardians of widowed girls to allow them to take up a career of their own is evidently making headway. The movement for improving the legal status of Hindu widows is also gaining ground, and with the granting to them of property rights will come a power and independence which they have never hitherto enjoyed. If at the same time they can be made to realise the urgent call on them for service they will deserve better of their country than by re-marriage.

No one would deny that the women of India have made wonderful advances in the last ten years, though great problems still lie ahead of them. The provision of more and of better education for girls, the supply of teachers, and of more and better teachers' training, the provision of trained social workers and of more doctors, nurses and midwives, the widespread teaching of mothercraft and hygiene, the reform of laws and customs adversely affecting women, the problems of prostitution both among the general community and under the cloak of religion, all these questions are arousing more and more interest to-day. The gallant band of educated and progressive Indian women who are attempting to solve these problems still need all the help and co-operation which their English sisters can give them. School life and education give English women a training and outlook which makes secretarial and organising work come relatively easily to them. They are free to go about alone, and many who at present do nothing but pass the time would welcome the interest given by social work and the opportunity of helping, if only they knew the kind of help that is needed and would be welcomed. Local Women's Associations should be able more and more to give them advice as to this and help them to begin, and not only would they find their own lives fuller and richer, but they would have the satisfaction of serving their country.

As things are at present too much work falls on the few energetic workers, and too many educated women, both English and Indian, allow the pleasures of social life to swallow up their days.

MABEL HARTOG.

CURING SLUMS IN HOLLAND.

SEVERAL municipalities in Holland have established during the last few years houses for undesirable tenants. A record of visits recently paid to these settlements at The Hague and at Amsterdam may be of special interest at the present time in view of the fact that the new British Government, pledged to deal with the slum problem, will have to frame some constructive plan.

In all civilised countries the existence of insanitary areas is deplored, and all non-partisan students of the subjects recognise that, to a limited extent, the difficulties of finding a solution are aggravated by the existence of tenants who are dirty, destructive, or quarrelsome, and who consequently demoralise their surroundings. This fact was wisely realised by the late Miss Octavia Hill, the pioneer of the system of women house property management associated with her name. Women managers have now been appointed by a number of English local authorities and voluntary associations, but Holland has gone a step farther. For the local authorities in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Arnhem, Leeuwarden, and in other places, have faced the unpleasant truth, that is at last being realised by housing committees in this country, that the mere provision of a house, however expensive and well designed, rarely helps the lowest class of tenant, the mental defectives, the irresponsible, the unemployable, the slatterns, and the drinkers, and that, just as bad dwellings make bad tenants, so undesirable tenants make slums. In Holland no attempt is made to conceal the view held by councillors of all parties that the improvement of housing conditions for many poverty-stricken families is impossible unless there is a systematic attempt to reclaim and educate the tenants. This can either be done as at Arnhem by a voluntary society, or as at Amsterdam by the municipality helped by an advisory committee.

Before giving a description of these special settlements for undesirables, it will be useful to recollect that the Netherlands are rich, with no war debt to pay off, and with a constantly increasing stream of wealth coming from the East Indies. The population is about 7,500,000, or smaller than that of Greater London. One striking proof of the general prosperity is that there are 2,500,000 bicycles in use, or about one to every three persons. The death-rate is 9.8 per thousand, as compared with 12.2 for England and Wales. The birth-rate is five per thousand higher than in this country. The annual expenditure on social welfare is increasing in Holland as in Great Britain, but it would appear that the volume of poverty is much less dense than here, and indeed, in Amsterdam, a town a little smaller than Liverpool, there are only about 600 families who are definitely regarded as "undesirable." The national wealth

of Holland allows experiments to be made in housing, and as the extent and gravity of the problem is much more limited than in this country, the obstacles are less. Allowing for the difference between a nation that is still recovering from the Great War and the General Strike, and a prosperous neutral country, there is much to be learnt from Holland's endeavour to set up temporary habitations in which unsatisfactory persons are kept under observation and encouraged to keep their homes clean, so that in time they may become fit tenants for better dwellings.

A strict distinction is made, however, between mere vagrants and hopeless persons, who are naturally subjects for the Poor Law; and physical degenerates whose proper places are in hospitals or mental homes; and the families chosen. The tenants of the settlements for undesirables are usually persons who are likely to reform their bad habits if they are given a chance. There is no compulsion upon any of them to enter the settlement, or to remain there unless they are satisfied. But if they do not choose to accept the accommodation provided at uneconomic rents, they must either return to their former squalid conditions, or may obtain a refuge in shelters for the homeless with husband divided from wife and children from parents.

The details of the system differ in various towns, but the principle of transferring poor tenants from overcrowded districts remains the same. At The Hague "controlled dwellings" were established in May, 1923, in a suburb of the town, with open meadows on one side. Here substantially built houses for 120 families were erected. In each house there is a fair-sized living-room, a small kitchen and scullery, and bedrooms varying in number to suit different sizes of families. They are strongly built, following indeed the proposal suggested by Sir John Mann over twenty years ago in the evidence which he gave to the Glasgow Municipal Commission on Housing, insisting that for rough usage specially sound dwellings were essential. The Hague buildings are divided into three grades. The first grade lies on the outer edge of the block, and can be entered without passing a porter, whose office is in the main entrance. Each home in the second grade has a tiny garden, but the third class for the worst tenants is wholly separated from the outside of the building, and is therefore continuously under supervision. Around the second- and third-grade homes there are walls about eight feet high, and on the top of these are many strands of barbed wire, so as to make it as difficult as possible for any tenants to make a surreptitious entry or exit. For at The Hague those who occupy the second- or third-grade houses must be at home by 9 p.m. during the winter, and by 10 p.m. during the summer.

The entrance to all except the first-grade houses is through a sombre archway, which gives at first the impression of an entrance to a prison, although the gate stands wide open. A porter sits at a lodge on the left-hand side, and close by is a plainly furnished office where the Director, Herr Gertenbach, carries out his administrative work. This gentleman was formerly a member of the sanitary staff of the municipality. He is a well-built man with a strong personality, who will clearly stand no nonsense, but he has a very sincere sympathy with those families who are under his charge. The Hague is indeed fortunate to be served by so competent an official, for it must be difficult to find the right man to carry out such varied duties efficiently.

He has to ask every new tenant on entry for a certificate of marriage. But if such a certificate is not produced, the existence of children seems to be accepted as evidence of the desire for family life. The families are large, averaging from six to twelve, while there was one case of a family of seventeen children. Every new resident on admission is thoroughly bathed and rigorously disinfected. There is indeed a faint scent of disinfectant in all the administrative offices. Furniture and clothing are also fumigated. Every member of the colony must have a bath at least once a month in the well-equipped bath-houses. No charge is made, whether they are content to have only a monthly bath, or use more frequently the facilities provided. The impression upon British visitors who have experience of slum conditions in London, Leeds, Manchester, Glasgow, and other industrial cities is that the nuisance from vermin is less clamant in Holland than in this country, and evidence generally goes to show that the Dutch are as a rule very clean in their homes.

Above the Director's desk a ground plan of the buildings hangs on the wall. To this plan are attached removable cards on which are typed the name of each family allocated to each house, and the date of their arrival. Some of the families apparently came into residence in 1923, and are still there, but there are a number of vacancies. It must be noted, however, that as local slums are cleared, these "empties" will no doubt be occupied, and in any case they provide possible alternative accommodation, which facilitates proceeding with the demolition of insanitary houses. The Director showed no reluctance to answer questions, and allowed his visitors to inspect the buildings very closely and, with the permission of the housewives, to enter several homes. But it must be emphasised that this visit was a special privilege, and that visits for pure curiosity from persons wishing to make a peepshow of the colony would certainly not be permitted. The tenants were

an average loss on each of the 170,000 houses built under the Lloyd George Act of 1919. In Holland for this annual deficit the city has not only the buildings, erected at the most expensive time of building, but also has the advantage of skilled management, which keeps many families on a semi-independent basis, who otherwise would be a burden on the Poor Law or in hospital. The Director also pointed out that the annual loss will be reduced in the future, when all the houses are occupied following the demolition of poor property in other parts of the town. In any case, the system is supported by the municipality because the councillors believe that the money is well spent in order that the children may be brought up as orderly citizens.

The system adopted at Amsterdam is different in some details from that at The Hague, although the underlying purpose and principle are the same. There are two colonies, the one at Asterdorp with 120 dwellings and the second at Zeeburgerdorp with 58 separate dwellings. The Amsterdam Municipal Housing Department, with the assistance of an Advisory Committee, select such families for these as they think it wise to have under observation with a view to future reform. But there is no compulsion upon anyone to go or to stay. The buildings at Asterdorp are near to the centre of the town and are surrounded by a wall decorated with broken glass at such points as are likely to be easily climbed. The Director of Housing, who is an enthusiastic apostle of housing reform and a student of English methods, said several times that in his opinion a wall was a mistake, for those of his tenants who had indulged in the past in burglary or similar avocations found it a perpetual temptation! He preferred the system adopted at the other colony, which was surrounded on two sides by water and not by a wall. At neither settlement is there any attempt to grade the tenants.

Of the 132 dwellings at Asterdorp 51 were empty at the time of our visit. It was said that of the 600 undesirable families in the city, many living in slums ripe for clearance, who were offered alternative accommodation in the colonies, some 400 had declined to leave their wretched hovels. It was confidently expected that many would enter the colonies when their present homes were demolished and they found themselves faced with the alternative of going to a "house of shelter" and giving up family life. In any case, all the families of "undesirables" in Amsterdam are registered and are known to the police. They are therefore under supervision. Almost all who were in residence at Asterdorp had large families, and there are between 500 and 600 children living in eighty separate dwellings. Every resident had received the compulsory bath and fumigation on arrival, but no questions are asked

in Amsterdam as to whether the parents are married or not.

There is a bright recreation room containing a piano, where religious services and social meetings are held. There is no central observation post, and to an outside observer who was not able to make a prolonged study of this experiment, it certainly appeared that the level of intelligence and behaviour at Amsterdam was possibly a little lower than at The Hague. This may be due to the accessibility of public-houses, for the manager said that every day he or his staff had trouble with two or three drunken men, and that the police had to be called in at intervals. The women managers are doing their best under exceptionally difficult circumstances. Altogether the municipality employ thirty women to manage their housing properties, and some of these are on duty at the settlements. It is not easy to obtain the right type of women for this work, although there are now three separate schools in Amsterdam where special training is given for three or four years. The right type of woman has a commencing salary of about £150 a year which rises by annual increments, but at first a young woman, with no experience of married life, is apt to have to face a good many unpleasant and difficult tasks in dealing with drunken and vicious tenants. The women managers met during our visit were all alert and common-sense women, who were enthusiastic about their daily tasks, and who reiterated that management was the main solution to the slum problem. The influence of the late Miss Octavia Hill counts for much in Amsterdam. This prophet has not yet had sufficient honour in her own country.

The Manageresses in the settlement have a variety of duties. They see that the children go to school regularly. When a housewife is receiving weekly money, either from public relief or from her husband's earnings, and clearly is ignorant how to expend it to the best advantage, they take charge of the money and help the woman to spend it properly. They teach the mothers how to cook, and persuade them to serve meals at regular intervals. They show them how to keep their homes clean and attend to family linen. In a communal wash-house we saw half a dozen women hard at work, and decided that the conditions in such a well-built laundry, lit by electric light, with unlimited hot water and a mechanical drying apparatus, were luxurious as compared with the open-air wash carried out by a French peasant on the brink of some river or stream. But even with the good equipment provided by the municipality, the Manageresses confess that they find so much domestic ignorance and incapacity that all their resources of patience are required in order to bring the housewives up to a reasonable standard. The Director further considered that 120 families are far too many for the most effective control, and that

a smaller number, say 50, would be sufficient in anyone's flock. He favoured the provision of still another type of house, of even more severe construction, specially built to accommodate the hopeless tenant, who fails to respond to the present care and who refuses to pay the weekly contribution. He would call these "Houses for Persons who Don't Pay Rent"! He thinks that the doors of such buildings should be made of iron and should be fitted with iron tables and iron bedsteads. It is of interest on this point to note that in certain improved tenements in Glasgow the management have found it wise to instal iron bedsteads.

As at The Hague, unemployment is a problem, and the Director has to exercise much tact to persuade local employers to accept persons taken from the colonies, for there is a stigma attached to continued residence there. The system has been tried at Amsterdam for the last three years with the support of all parties on the municipal council. We were told, however, of a Communist councillor who held meetings in the colony, urging the tenants not to pay their rent. But apparently the propaganda has had very little result, and a number of the families have been transferred as cured to municipal houses. A special point is made of the fact that they are given really good houses after passing through the period of probation.

The other colony in Amsterdam is at Zeeburgerdorp, and has canals on two sides, while the only approach is by a rough road running between a stagnant canal and unpleasant tanneries. The houses are laid out in a rectangular plan on each side of a broad street. Personal visits to some of the homes revealed human stories. In two cases the men were absent. One was in prison for stealing a bicycle, and the other was also serving a sentence for having obtained money under false pretences. He had visited a local undertaker, lamenting the death of his wife, and asking him to make the arrangements for the funeral. He then borrowed about 30s. on the grounds that his mother-in-law would wish to attend the funeral and would need to have the railway fare advanced. The undertaker incautiously lent the money, and then went to the settlement, where the door of the house was opened by the "deceased" wife!

In another case the living room was very oppressive and filthy, with four grimy children playing on the floor, two lying asleep on boxes, the wife a slattern, and the man clearly defective. He went round the streets with a barrel-organ, but spent all that he received on drink as quickly as possible. This family had proved to be so hopeless that it was about to be evicted. Another house opposite was extremely clean and contained several pieces of old furniture. Each bed was covered with spotless linen and a brightly covered

eidern quilt. Both husband and wife were most pleasant to the casual visitor and chatted freely, while the children were ready immediately to make friends. At first it seemed somewhat puzzling that such a tidy, decent couple should be in such surroundings, until we were informed that the man was a professional beggar, and that he had been thrown out from several homes because he and his wife quarrelled so violently, not only with each other, but with their surrounding neighbours. His ease of conversation was part of his stock-in-trade. The Manageress hoped that under supervision they would learn to control themselves sufficiently to be placed in time in a normal house.

At Amsterdam, as at The Hague, the general atmosphere was not that of discontent or of oppression. To the Anglo-Saxon mind at first the system appeared to be harsh, and on this point it was illuminating to hear the Director describe with horror his experience during a visit to this country when he discovered that in some British cities inspectors from the Medical Officer of Health's Department visit homes during the night in order to detect overcrowding. He declared that such a breach of the laws of liberty would never be tolerated in Holland. "It would lead to a revolution!"

But apparently he and members of the local Housing Committee saw nothing at all strange in the Dutch system of supervision for undesirables, and to their minds the action taken is inspired by sound common sense and experience of the housing problem. The Chairman of the Housing Committee said that in Amsterdam, during three years working of the scheme, at least twenty-five families had so reformed that they had been able to occupy normal homes, and that no trouble was now being experienced in their conduct. He thought that in any democratic community it was clearly imperative that proper provision should be made for those who were not prepared to abide by the agreed rules of modern civilisation. Although management is costly, the municipality saves in so far as many of the tenants would be a source of greater expense elsewhere, in shelters, hospitals, asylums, or even prisons. Probably in a less outspoken community than Holland a more euphemistic title for these colonies would be invented, such as "simple homes" or "homes for evicted tenants," but the Dutch believe in facing facts as they are.

It is too early to come to any dogmatic conclusion with regard to these experiments, but the personal visits showed that the colonies are certainly not failures, and are to be continued. Although mistakes have been made, the present attempt in Holland to deal constructively with this difficult aspect of the slum problem is certainly worthy of careful study by all other nations who are

seeking to improve the general housing conditions of the whole of their population.

Finally, there are certain considerations to be noted in these Dutch experiments. In the first place, different towns in Holland take various views as to the value of spending public money on "undesirables," whether for the sake of safeguarding society, or of improving certain families. The communal authorities at Dordrecht, Shiedam, Nijmegen, Kampen, Alkmaar, and Hengelo, are not in favour of expenditure of the rates on the reclamation of unsatisfactory tenants. In short, as in this country, circumstances differ according to localities and, therefore, generalisations are apt to be delusive; but it may be stated with certainty that no single plan in Holland has yet been found to be satisfactory in every respect, and if the principle were adopted in this country there would have to be considerable modifications.

Nevertheless, Holland has much to teach us about the management of poor property, either by men or women. The Dutch have advanced further than the English in the adoption of the Octavia Hill system. They recognise that an unmarried woman manager is not necessarily a more efficient or more sympathetic supervisor of poor property than a married man with a family of his own. In England the number of women University graduates taking up the career of property managers is rapidly increasing, but in Holland municipal managers are recruited from women who, for the most part, have come from the same class as the tenants, and have, therefore, practical experience of their hardships and handicaps. If the Octavia Hill system is to be widely extended here, it may be well to democratise the movement by encouraging more working-class women to undergo the necessary training. In management generally we have indeed a great deal to learn from the independent thinking Dutch reformers, and wise management is one of the keys to a solution of the slum problem.

B. S. TOWNROE.

THE FIDUCIARY NOTE ISSUE.

THE recent large gold exports, due to the unfavourable exchanges, to the United States of America, France, and Germany, have very naturally affected our national credit and show no indication that they are likely to cease in the immediate future. Why is this so? The question is of extraordinary interest and of vital importance at the present time. There are three ways, states Ricardo, of correcting an unfavourable exchange: by an export of commodities, by the transmission of bullion, or by a reduction in the note circulation. In various quarters I have pressed for the last named, i.e., a reduction in the amount of the active note circulation. This can be achieved through taking advantage of Clause 2 Section (2) of the Currency and Bank Notes Act, 1928, which reads as follows: "The Treasury may at any time on being requested by the Bank direct that the amount of the fiduciary note issue shall for such period as may be determined by the Treasury, after consultation with the Bank, be reduced by such amount as may be so determined." My reasons for advocating this action on the part of the Bank are various. First it is evident that our prices in many cases for commodities are too high, or debts would be paid in commodities rather than bullion were it profitable to do so. Secondly, the transmission of a large amount of gold bullion, about £25,000,000 during the last six months, has not had the favourable effect on the rate of exchange which it normally might be expected to have, thus indicating that there is some other cause at work. This I believe to be an excess of the paper circulation.

The fiduciary note issue, that is the issue of bank notes issued against securities, has been limited to the amount of £260,000,000. According to Section (1) of Clause 2 of the Currency and Bank Notes Act, 1928, "Subject to the provisions of this Act the Bank shall issue bank notes up to the amount representing the gold coin and gold bullion for the time being in the issue department, and shall in addition issue bank notes to the amount of two hundred and sixty million pounds in excess of the amount first mentioned in this section; and the issue of notes which the Bank are by or under this Act required or authorised to make in excess of the said first mentioned amount is in this Act referred to as 'the fiduciary note issue.'" An excess or redundant paper circulation depreciates the value of the currency, and leads to an unfavourable exchange and consequent export of gold. To correct this and improve the value of the currency is to reduce the amount of the issue which improves the value of the remainder. Many authorities in view of the abnormal situation have suggested increasing the amount of the fiduciary note

issue provided for in Clause 8 of the Act, which is as follows:

(1) If the Bank at any time represent to the Treasury that it is expedient that the amount of the fiduciary note issue shall be increased to some specified amount above two hundred and sixty million pounds the Treasury may authorise the Bank to issue bank notes to such an increased amount, not exceeding the amount specified as aforesaid, and for such period not exceeding six months, as the Treasury think proper.

(2) Any authority so given may be renewed or varied from time to time on the like representation and in like manner;

Provided that, notwithstanding the foregoing provision, no such authority shall be renewed so as to remain in force (whether with or without variation) after the expiration of a period of two years from the date on which it was originally given, unless Parliament otherwise determines.

(3) Any minute of the Treasury authorising an increase of the fiduciary note issue under this section shall be laid forthwith before both Houses of Parliament.

To my mind such procedure at the present time would aggravate rather than relieve the situation. The object of this elastic clause was, I imagine, to allay panic or provide for an expanding trade by an ample supply of notes for the carrying on of that trade. To increase the active note circulation or to prevent the natural contraction as a result of the export of gold would be to interfere with the functioning of the gold standard. It has been said that the reduction which I advocate will lead to an abnormal deflation and fall in prices, leading to bad trade and increased unemployment. It is true that a tightening of the money market will tend to bring about a reduction in the prices of commodities. This may entail a certain amount of temporary distress, but it will stimulate demand, and there is no other way of recovering our foreign trade by which we live than through a reduction in prices in many of our basic industries. No one desires to see a reduction in real wages, but nominal costs of production are too high and only by a reduction all round in whatever enters into the cost of production will we be able to produce at a lower level, and thus regain our premier position in the markets of the world. By persisting in our present monetary policy there is every likelihood of our continuing to lose more gold. This will largely help to maintain an unhealthy speculation on the New York Stock Exchange. It will have a further adverse effect on our national credit, thus increasing the cost of the conversion of the national debt, penalising trade and industry, and retarding that final recovery which is the true remedy for unemployment.

A hundred years ago, after the Napoleonic Wars, we had a similar experience, and the same arguments were advanced against the policy which I am now advocating. Ricardo wrote that "Commodities measure the value of money in the same manner as money

measures the value of commodities. If then commodities will purchase more money in England than in France we may justly say that money is cheaper in England, and that it is exported to find its level, not to destroy it." We are anxious to increase the export of commodities. It follows, therefore, that by pursuing a sound system of finance which will lead to commodities purchasing less money, more commodities will be exported. The exchanges will then cease to be unfavourable, our credit will improve, and prosperity will follow. When all the currencies of countries maintaining the gold standard are at or about par a redundancy in any one of them and an unfavourable exchange is at once corrected by an export of gold. When this does not operate as in our own case at the present time, then there is some other cause at work, as I have endeavoured to show, and that is that we are suffering from a too large paper circulation.

There are various causes affecting the rate of exchange between countries, such as the balance of payments, the national credit, etc., but in the main it is the state of the currency which is the governing factor. Each country on a gold standard is only capable of maintaining a certain amount of currency at parity with other countries and this amount is governed by the internal trade of that country. Where trade languishes and there is a redundancy, that is reflected on the exchange and gold exports follow. The corrective, as has been stated, is an export of commodities, a transmission of bullion, or a reduction in the paper circulation. An able financial writer who is opposed to the suggestion to increase the fiduciary note issue writes, "It means a draft upon the nation's ultimate reserves." He further states, "It does not add to our financial strength; it merely releases some of that strength to meet an emergency. It mortgages the future in favour of the present. There are moments when this is justifiable. But it should be done with open eyes and a perfect understanding of ultimate effects." I maintain, therefore, that the case is complete for a reduction of the fiduciary note issue rather than an increase.

The framers of the Currency and Bank Notes Act, 1928, evidently contemplated that an occasion might arise when such action might be advisable. To my mind the occasion has arrived, and prompt action appears to be necessary before a crisis is upon us. Some people pin their faith to a rise in the Bank Rate, as all that is necessary to check the gold drain. I doubt, however, if this would be effective, for the reasons already given. The exchange is an unfailing indicator and the remedy is clear to those who understand. A rise in the Bank Rate when our currency is approximately at par compared with other countries would normally

prove effective. It would tend to curtail imports and turn the exchanges in our favour, but as I have stated the exchanges have not responded to the large transmission of bullion which has taken place, and this fact is an unfailing indicator that a certain amount of redundancy exists. Of course, high Bank Rates and tight money are unpopular with traders, but any stringency which might result from the action I have advocated would be, I believe, of short duration, and the position would become sound and lead to an expansion of trade and industry later on. Courage and skill are necessary, and those qualities in the past have never been lacking in the direction of the policy of the Bank of England. There is a prevalent idea in some quarters that to take measures to protect our gold reserves means the penalising and interference with the development of our trade. On the contrary it will eventually stimulate and develop our foreign trade. While it is true that a depreciated exchange helps the export trade, no one would seriously suggest that we should pursue a policy which would artificially perpetuate an adverse exchange.

Those critics who advocate such a policy forget that we are importers as well as exporters, and that a depreciated exchange penalises the importer. These same critics rail against the restoration of the gold standard as having ruined our export trade. Surely it is better to have a pound sterling which can now purchase four dollars and eighty-six and two-thirds cents of raw cotton than one which formerly purchased only three dollars and sixty cents of the same raw material. Stability and sound finance are the foundation of a prosperous trade, and when we have achieved that position a comparatively small amount of gold will be all that is necessary to work the exchanges.

D. M. MASON.

PARODY, COMEDY, AND SATIRE.

IT is difficult to differentiate between parody and comedy, and between comedy and pure satire. Parody, as the word implies, means "running parallel"; one might describe it as a crooked line running alongside a straight one. "A song sung beside." Yet we often hear the word "parody" when manners and customs are parodied, perhaps because true satire is of too delicate a flavour to be appreciated by the masses. Comedy does not necessarily parody or satirise any particular work, but it usually has a fling at the manners and customs of the time in which it is written. The word "burlesque" also seems to have been used indiscriminately, as both Dr. Johnson and Dr. Addison speak of *The Splendid Shilling* as burlesque, yet it is an undoubted "parody" or "parallel" of Milton's majestic verse; and Dr. Johnson said, although he doubted if parodies ought to exist, that *The Splendid Shilling*, written by John Philips over two hundred years ago, "was a most diverting burlesque," and Addison (perhaps to encourage the young poet) "that *The Splendid Shilling* was the finest burlesque in the English language." Sir Edmund Gosse, in a review of Mr. Squire's book of parodies, spoke with equal dislike of parody, but thought that *The Splendid Shilling* might still be found amusing. The writer has tried to read most of it, but, in spite of the author of the poem having been a far back great-uncle, cannot think that it would move modern readers to excessive mirth!

John Philips was called the "Father of English Parody." He was born in 1676 at Bampton, in Oxfordshire; his father was a Canon of Hereford Cathedral, where there is a tablet to his memory. There is also one in Westminster Abbey. There is a description of him, handed down in the family, which relates that he wore his hair long and loved to sit still for hours having it combed, while he read Milton or composed many of his poems and parodies. He was a scholar of Christ Church, Oxford, and a devout admirer of Milton's work, but his admiration did not help him to refrain from parodying his style. The best known of all his works, *The Splendid Shilling* (of which Dr. Johnson spoke), was written about the sufferings of an impecunious friend of his, Edmund Smith. Philips was singularly modest and did not desire fame; he never made any effort to obtain recognition, but he had so many friends who admired his work that it was impossible entirely to avoid it. It does not seem to have been through his own wish that his poems and parodies were known to the public at all, or that his name has lived as one of the minor poets in an age which boasted of so many great ones. In almost all his poems

there is some praise of tobacco, and he parodied Virgil's Georgics in a long poem on cider.

Addison was probably right in his estimation of Philips at that time, for parody, like morality and manners, depends greatly on the environment and the age in which it lives. For instance, the debased grand style of mediæval romance was parodied in *Don Quixote*. Shakespeare parodied the extravagant heroes of an earlier time and was himself parodied by Marston in his plays and in his rough burlesque of *Venus and Adonis*. The most celebrated parody of the Restoration was Buckingham's *Rehearsal*, a comedy in which Dryden's tragedies were ridiculed. This was extremely witty but very unkind.

Matthew Arnold said "parody was a vile art," but that surely depends on the parodist, and greatly on his audience. Matthew Arnold did not himself possess the spirit of comedy or parody, although he had many of their characteristics—common sense, an absence of enthusiasm, and a calm mind. There are people who think that many things are too sacred for parody, but surely there is nothing created that is not the better for being occasionally laughed at. A smile turneth away wrath far more effectually than a soft answer. You cannot keep on being cross to people if they smile at you, or, better still, if they make you smile at yourself! The sense of humour differs extraordinarily in different people. It has been said that Thackeray was committing a positive blasphemy when he published *Mrs. Tickletoby's History of England*, yet a skilful historical parodist may deepen our intimacy with the great figures of the past by mocking the human foibles which a serious historian would not condescend to notice. This is not to be found in *Mrs. Tickletoby*, or in that singularly depressing book, Gilbert Abbott à Beckett's *Comic Histories of Rome and England*, but Leech's illustrations to it are delightful.

It is difficult to agree with Dr. Johnson's sweeping denunciation of parody, for it has been one of the greatest weapons against humbug, pretence, and folly. It cannot, of course, be considered in the same category as serious verse or prose. It does not appeal to the higher emotions, and it is too much indebted to the work it parodies to take a very exalted place in literature. But every generation has had its parodists, who have flourished more or less according to the taste of the age they have lived in. The modern idea of parody is not the same as that of burlesque, although in Dr. Johnson's day they seem to have been synonymous. A true parody should raise a comprehending smile, burlesque a loud laugh or possibly a yawn, for burlesque as interpreted in the modern "Revue" is often unspeakably dull. Parody, the best form of parody, should be delicate and refined (even if the subject

is coarse) and a little illusive. Burlesque is not necessarily either delicate or illusive, but unfortunately the public taste is generally with the idle laughers, and fine and subtle wit is not a "paying proposition"!

A really good parodist does not necessarily ridicule the original. In many cases he only puts the grand style to more homely uses. George Meredith said, "There are many reasons why the comic poet is not a frequent apparition," and he also insisted that to produce a good parody a society of cultivated men and women is required, "wherein ideas are current and the perceptions quick." That is why the satiric poet flourished in Athens and at the best period of Roman literature. It is in consequence of the scarcity of such societies that we have had few good parodists, and the few we have stand out with more prominence than perhaps they deserve. To quote Meredith again, "To touch and kindle the mind through laughter demands more than sprightliness, a subtle delicacy." This is necessary in a truly witty poet who aims at the brain, not the emotions. Comedy is the fountain of sound sense, not the less sound because of its sparkle. "Philosopher and comic poet are of a cousinship in the eye they cast on life," said Meredith. The appreciation of comic and humorous satire is the hall-mark of the cultivated mind, but although we all like to be amused, everyone is not amused by the same kind of humour, and there are only a few wits that appeal to men of all ages.

Folly is the natural prey of the satiric poet or parodist, who should show up weakness, but need not do so unkindly. Addison, that kindest of poets, wrote a satire on the exaggerated dimensions of the hoop, the abuse of canes and snuff boxes, and on a citizen's wife for caring too much for the puppet-show and too little for her husband and children. All the little sins he satirises are amusing; he treats them with a gentle humour and dismisses them with small penalties and a few charming words of admonition. While Dean Swift went about hanging and ruthless, a literary Jeffreys, in Addison's kind court only minor cases were tried. Perhaps Addison did not go very far below the surface of things, and so did not discover the baser metal.

A true parodist must be witty, not merely grotesque. Landor says: "Genuine humour and true wit require a sound and capacious mind, which is always a grave one. Few men have been graver than Pascal, few have been wittier." But satiric comedy, if not quite the same as parody, is of equal value in contemporary life.

Mr. E. V. Knox, in his book of parodies republished from *Punch*, says that "parody is criticism with a laugh," and this is briefly one of the best definitions. Comedy, if it does not soar to Empyrean heights, appeals very strongly to all cultivated men and women,

for it contains that most uncommon gift, "common sense." For instance, Butler's *Hudibras* was a satire or parody of the puritan literature of his time, and pointed out its exaggerations. But the satirical spirit has one great drawback, sane and full of common sense as it is. It is never enthusiastic. Parody, though it consists in the exaggeration or travesty of some chosen work, is sometimes enthusiastic, and the cleverest parody can be a genuine tribute to the original, instead of, as in "grotesque parody," making it merely ridiculous. Grotesque parody is burlesque carried to the realm of the impossible. Dean Swift was a master of the art of grotesque parody, the only great one, though many have attempted it and signally failed. We have had many grotesque parodists amongst the illustrators, of whom Cruickshank was perhaps the best. Swift was often accused of plagiarising, as all writers of burlesque and parody must necessarily be. He countered this charge when he wrote: "If I light my candle from another, that does not affect my property in the wick."

It will be agreed that, amongst the few wits who are for all ages and all countries, Molière stands alone, for his writings seem applicable to any age, country, or condition. His wit was (to quote Meredith again) "like a running brook with innumerable fresh lights on it at every turn of the wood, through which its business is to find a way." The comic humanity of Tartufe, as described by the adoring organ in the verse which, translated, runs: "A trifle is sufficient to scandalise him, for actually the other day he accused himself of having caught a flea when he was saying his prayers, and of having killed it with too great severity." This is true parody, the parody of the virtue of humanity.

Not many examples of parody in German literature are known to the writer; from one's knowledge of the German language and temperament their poets would be too solid for such illusive stuff, and, to judge by the humour portrayed in their comic papers, their humour would be too coarse for anything but grotesque parody. A country in which woman has for so many centuries held an inferior position to men, as German women have, is less likely to develop the delicate spirit of true comedy than one where she has held a more equal place.

Goethe seems to have had the nearest approach to the satiric spirit, but it loses much in translation. Heine wrote a jesting poem, which, slight as it is, has the true flavour of comedy, but then he lived almost entirely in Paris. Translated, it runs thus:

When once you are my married wife
You will be a very enviable woman;
You will live in one long round of delight,
Nothing but pleasure and joy.

PARODY, COMEDY, AND SATIRE.

And if you scold, and if you rage,
I'll bear it patiently;
Only if you do not praise my verses
I shall obtain a divorce.

This trifle has the delicacy combined with that essential basis of truth which all satire should possess. It has the proper sting in its tail.

Travesty, another and lower form of parody, is rare. It consists in the degradation of elevated material through inferior form, some of which may be read in Scarron's travesty of the *Aeneid*, and in Canning's *Knife Grinder*, which ridicules both form and matter, and so could hardly be called a true parody of Southey's dignified Sapphics, for it renders them absurd.

Parody of the epic is a genre of itself, and should have much of the dignity of the original. This particular kind of parody has existed since the days of the imitators of Homer, who ridiculed the epic by substituting frogs and mice for men, and making them engage in mortal combat. Satiric parody from Aristophanes, through Molière, to the present time, has attracted the attention of most poets and writers. Pope, Shelley, Keats, Scott, Lamb, Southey, Wordsworth, and Swinburne, to mention a few names at random, have all tried their hand at parody with varying success. Shelley and John Hamilton Reynolds produced almost simultaneously very cruel imitations of the naiveté and baldness of Wordsworth's *Peter Bell*. A true satirist must never descend to abuse; his attitude should be one of amused superiority.

Political satirists are characteristically English, and flourish mostly in times of political upheaval. The present upheaval has brought forth a plentiful crop of parodies. Mr. E. V. Knox's parody on Masfield's *Renard the Fox*, and others republished from *Punch*, in his book called *Parodies Regained*, are most excellent. A devout admirer of De la Mare resented his parody of that poet's work and methods as sacrilege, but surely a poet must be a poor one if his writings cannot bear the light of parody upon them. I am sure Mr. De la Mare would appreciate the fun of "Sea Cook Pie" and, as a rule, poets and their parodists are the best of friends.

The brothers James and Horace Smith are said to have revived the art of parody by their publication, *Rejected Addresses*, in 1812, but, except during the puritan era, when all free play of thought was forbidden, the comic spirit has always flourished in England. *Rejected Addresses* are well known and topical of their time. Most of the customs and follies they parodied have altered, and the allusions fall flat on modern ears, so are no longer amusing. The humours of the theatre, the Half Price House, the Debtor's Prison,

etc., are all of a bygone day. We value their parodies as giving us a picture, often a very true picture, of the humours of the times they were written in; but parodies of our own time which show up our modern faults and foibles are more entertaining to us, or the satires of still earlier times, many of which, like *Don Quixote*, appeal to all ages. Isaac D'Israeli said that, unless the prototype of a parody is familiar to us, the parody is nothing, but of some of the best parodies the originals have long been forgotten. There is not space, nor is it of interest, to allude to half the parodies of the last century, but Calverley, as one of the most widely read of the late Victorians, cannot be left out.

Calverley was a great favourite amongst his fellows, and, like Philips, he was a devoted admirer of Milton's poems. But he had far better health as a young man than Philips, and lived longer. His real name was Blades, which was the cause of many puns being made at his expense, when puns were still fashionable. Blades was sent down from Oxford for being the ringleader in some furious rag, although he had won the Balliol Scholarship for Latin verses, which might have made the authorities more lenient. Some years later, when his family had revived the name of Calverley, he entered as a freshman at Cambridge under that name. We know him best by his parodies, but he did a great deal of serious work also. He had a charming character, and his attitude to life is summed up in the following lines on his own book :

Not my namesake of Chios, but I, who belong
To the Syracuse burghers, have sung you my song,
I'm Praxagoras' son by Philinna the fair,
And I never asked praise that was owing elsewhere.

The *Battle of the Bards* is probably known to every reader of Calverley. It is very long and has a strong Victorian flavour; the allusions which interested his generation do not greatly interest ours. Calverley, like Philips, parodied his beloved Milton. In the following verse he parodied Milton in the subject and Byron in his metre :

How Lycidas was dead, and how concerned
The nymphs were when they saw his lifeless clay,
And how rock told to rock the dreadful story,
That poor young Lycidas had gone to glory.

He parodied the nature school in *Lovers and a Reflexion* and the ode in his *Ode to Beer*. Calverley's *Proverbial Philosophy* is proverbial, and his writings (if old-fashioned now) were scholarly and full of the wisdom of his age. But satire in any form was never a great feature of the Victorian Age. Probably Victorians were too prim and pretentious or, like their furniture, too solid to appreciate the light touch required for it.

It is curious how many poets have written in praise of drink and tobacco, the two faithful solaces of literature. The parodists have not been behindhand. There is a modern humorous verse on the subject which is of the nature of parody :

Cold water is the best of drinks, as all the sages sing,
But what am I that I should have the best of anything?
Poets may pander to the pump, Peers with the pond make free,
But Whisky, Wine, or even Beer, is good enough for me!

Here is a little couplet on wit, which is the keynote of all good parody, for it must be spontaneous and original :

Wit that tries to speak the popular voice,
Puts on its nightcap, and puts out the light.

But satire is not always either kind or patient with folly, for

If only the good could be clever,
And if only the clever were good,
But the good are so hard on the clever,
The clever so rude to the good.

Lines of encouragement to a man about to write his memoirs :

Lives of "small" men all remind us
We should write our lives ourselves,
And departing leave behind us
Two octavos on the shelves.

Judging by the books that have been published recently there seems to be a great revival of interest in parody at the present time. John Philips's poems have reappeared amongst *Minor Poets of the Seventeenth Century*. It is a healthy sign, for we all need a little wholesome laughter.

EDITH SPENDER.

H. VON HOFMANNSTHAL AND HIS COLLABORATION WITH R. STRAUSS.

THE following appreciation of one of the most exquisite masters of verbal music is neither meant to be a biography nor a bibliography. Hugo von Hofmannsthal (February 1st, 1874-July 15th, 1929) had no biography in the usual sense, for external events influenced his life but little or not at all. Even in his correspondence with Richard Strauss, that unique monument of impetuous collaboration, he never mentioned the war by a single word, although the decidedly Teutonic musician gave him many a chance to join in his chauvinistic outbursts.

And yet Hofmannsthal was a confirmed "traditionalist" in Goethe's and Bourget's sense. Descended from a family of Jewish-Spanish emigrés, firmly rooted in Viennese soil, "that big, small, heavy and yet light-winged town of flippant days and profound dreams, that town which it is easier to love and to hate than to understand and leave," he had to pay at an early date the penalty of belonging to a cultured and imaginative Viennese stock: namely, to be torn between the manifold foreign artistic influences and tendencies crowding around him and his fanatic desire to transmute these spiritual experiences, some of them of an atavistic character, into the poetic formulæ of his native tongue. His university studies, in which I had the good fortune to be his fellow-worker, already pointed towards that "Drang nach der Ferne" which he was later on to satisfy in travel, artistic discovery, and experiment. We both studied Romance philology under Mussafia and Meyer-Luecke, the two most eminent scholars in this special branch. Unfortunately neither of them was a *littérateur*, a fact which made Hofmannsthal, to whom historical grammar was abhorrent, write those scathing lines in one of his "Speeches and Essays": "Languages are usually divided into living and dead ones. Those who teach all of them as if they were dead ones, are called philologists. The others who teach them as living ones and as their own, are simply dubbed language teachers. They are despised by philologists, although some of the latter are sometimes horrible creatures, whilst many of those simple language teachers are kind and intelligent people. The reason for this may be that they were almost everyone of them real human beings before having become language teachers."

Whilst still a student, the young poet was discovered by Hermann Bahr, lionised by society, and prophesied a unique career by all critics who counted. Of a receptivity rarely found amongst poets or musicians, he needed all the freshness and originality of his remarkable creative genius and almost sleight-of-hand technical

schooling not to succumb to the numberless influences which he, the eternal young, modest, and joyfully appreciative artistic gourmet, readily and thoroughly assimilated. A brilliant classical scholar, he was one of those few happy beings who could read a Greek drama in the original and enjoy it. He nevertheless felt classical antiquity more in its prehistoric vagueness or in the hyper-æsthetic artificiality of an Alexandrian or a Fronto and Apuleius than from the traditional standard of a Winckelmann. "I intended," he wrote in a letter, "to interpret those fables and mythical tales which the ancients have left us and in which painters and sculptors find such thoughtless pleasure, as hieroglyphs of a secret, inexhaustible wisdom whose breath I seem to feel as if through a veil."

And this flair for the mixture of different cultural and ritual aspects in ancient art gave him that prophetic insight into the underlying meaning of such works as Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon*, of which he writes in one of his essays: "In it breathes not that Greek beauty which had attained self-centred clarity and rhythmic grace, but that still primitive, passionate, and misty Greece of Orphic remoteness." This same aspect can be found in Hofmannsthal's own works, free translations or adaptations of classical themes, his translations of Euripides' *Alkestis*, of Sophocles' *King Oedipus*, his own *Oedipus and the Sphinx*, and, beyond doubt his greatest achievement, the adaptation of Sophocles' *Elektra* (music by Richard Strauss), a work which the great Athenian would have recognised for his own as little as Euripides could have understood Goethe's *Iphigeneia*. And in the poet's *Idylle* (after an antique vase-painting: centaur with a wounded woman on a river's brink) with the added note: "the scene in Boecklin's manner," we can already see the pupil of the Renaissance to whom the blending of styles was becoming second nature. For Hofmannsthal's catholicity of taste and thirst for artistic sensation could not be satisfied with the lure of classical antiquity alone. Seldom was the Terentian "*Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*" so fully interpreted from an artistic point of view as in Hofmannsthal's case.

As a prose-writer he belongs to the school of Hermann Bahr and Stefan Zweig, the heralds of all that is dazzling and sublime in the German language, but the discerning critic will easily discover behind those finely tempered and chiselled phrases of his *Dialogues on Literary Subjects* the influence of Oscar Wilde, whose *Intentions* and *Fairy Tales* Hofmannsthal was one of the first to introduce among his friends and the wider public. In a similar way D'Annunzio, and in a deeper sense the experience of Eleonora Duse's art, coloured the poet's work when transplanted into the

atmosphere of the Renaissance or the Venice of the seventeenth century, *Der Tod des Tizian*, *die Frau in Fenster*, *der Abenteurer und die Saengerin*, from Casanova's *Memoirs*, and *Das gerettete Venedig*. In the last-named play, which is an adaptation (certainly vastly more poetical, though perhaps less dramatic, than the original) of Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserved* (1682), Hofmannsthal once more leans towards the pasticcio style.

That the Spanish drama which had so deeply influenced Grillparzer's work left its mark also on his great successor is only natural. In *Der Turm* we meet not only with the same locality as in Calderon's *La vida es sueño*, a kingdom of Poland, yet more in the spirit of legend than of history—time: "the vague past," but also with the same names: Basilius, Sigismund. In his subtlest psychological play, *Die Hochzeit der Sobeide* (Hofmannsthal's dramas are, by the way, not mere book-dramas, but proved decided successes on the stage), the Orient supplies the atmosphere. For works like *Der Tor und der Tod*, *Der weisse Faecher*, and that strange adaptation of an episode taken from the *Journal de ma Vie* of the Maréchal de Bassompierre which Goethe had also used in his *Unterhaltungen deutscher Auswanderer*, Hofmannsthal evokes the "Biedermeierzeit," the period which supplied him with his *Rosenkavalier*, in Strauss's setting, the most popular musical comedy of our times.

To speak of Hofmannsthal as a lyrical poet would mean having to analyse his complete work, which is pervaded by symbolism and mysticism, the two characteristics of all great poetry, modern and ancient. Occasional obscurities are not so much the outcome of lack of plastic thought as the result of an acquired mannerism of style adopted from his beloved Spaniards and Elizabethans: as a characteristic example of international Euphuism I should like to quote the line:

Since Life to me was Death, be now, Death, Life to me!

Moreover, Goethe's much-discussed and misunderstood words: "That were bad Art indeed which everybody could understand at once," must be applied to all artists who have something original to say in an original form.

Was Hofmannsthal a modern artist as we understand Stéphane Mallarmé or Francis Thompson to be moderns? Scarcely, if we take into consideration his almost constant communion with classical authors, his enthusiasm for the measured rhythm of life and thought as he found it in the France of the seventeenth century, and his striving after the highest expression of clarity in verse and prose. How deeply he felt the urge of modern tendencies in life and art, above all in pre-war Vienna where everybody was eagerly

listening to somebody else's *dernier cri* or trying to produce one himself, can be gathered from the following paragraph from his *Speeches and Essays*: "Two features seem to me to express modernity: the analysis of life and the flight from it. People seem to have little joy in action, in the interplay of the inner and external powers of life, in the understanding of its essence, as Goethe's Wilhelm Meister learnt it. People of to-day practise either a kind of anatomy of their own souls or they simply vegetate in their dreams. It is all reflection or fancies, mirage or dream-pictures. What is really modern? Old furniture and neurasthenia!"

Another point raised by some critics, especially of German nationality, who had but rarely felt the necessity of an intellectual *Anschluss* with Austrian writers, was: whether Hofmannsthal may not be merely a formalist whose "chosen coin of fancy flashing out from many a golden phrase" was only hiding emptiness or vagueness of thought. I doubt whether questions of this kind can ever be solved by a critic who has not had sufficient technical experience as a poet to feel and find out how much of what is commonly styled "thought" may be hidden in what is called "form." Hofmannsthal himself has faced this kind of criticism in the Prologue and Epilogue to his *White Fan*:

Now listen to a play with no more weight
Nor driving power than a shuttle-cock!

And:

It (the play) does not wish to carry greater import
Than what a fleeting moment can embrace—
Take it then, friends, as such a flimsy stuff
As found on painted fans—no more—nor less!

Hofmannsthal never pretended to be a philosophical poet, a Lucretius or a Sully-Prudhomme; he was a weaver of fancies, in his own words:

To dreams I say: stay with me, oh, be real!
And to reality: be dreams and fade!

This proud exclusion of life's realities as sources of artistic inspiration resulted in something else which many of his detractors might deem a serious drawback: Hofmannsthal had no evolution as an artist; he remained stationary from his twentieth year to the day of his death, producing a rich harvest of precious work, all however being variations, though never mechanical, on the same theme: a soul's adventure. He expressed this at our last meeting in Vienna (about two years ago) in his usual modest way: "You find me unaltered in my outlook on art, I am still the student of 1896, with the same strong digestion for everything interesting, only my menu has become more restricted! But this is Dr. Strauss's fault, he keeps me busy!"

Hofmannsthal is known to the general public, even in his own country, chiefly as a collaborator of Richard Strauss. But what a "librettist"! to whom even the otherwise reticent composer wrote (1908): "You are a born librettist which is, in my opinion, the greatest compliment, for I consider it far more difficult to write a good operatic text than a fine drama." Only those who have followed the history of opera since Mozart's time and the insipid textbooks which were only an excuse for the music—until Wagner and Peter Cornelius decided to write their own words, this time poetry worthy of their music—will realise the importance of Hofmannsthal's share in the success of Strauss's dramatic music. After having failed with *Guntram* (to his own words) and *Feuersnot* (words by E. v. Wolzogen), Strauss had the good fortune to hit upon Oscar Wilde's *Salome*, which proved to be his first unqualified success; the musician had found his congenial poet and refused anything second best. He and Hofmannsthal decided to work together, and their correspondence, the most fascinating manifestation of sincere, almost reckless, mutual criticism, all with the one object, as Hofmannsthal puts it: "to raise each other to a higher plane of artistry," is at the same time a manual on the technique of the poet in the musician's service. Strauss is the more dominant personality in this correspondence, the greater "Realpolitiker," compared with the hypersensitive Viennese. The composer's bantering spirit is shown in a letter in which he complains of Hofmannsthal being remiss in sending him a fresh supply of text:

"My dear poet, you are really funny! You want to hear some of my music? Very well, let me have the words to read and then you can hear my music." Or, when Hofmannsthal proposed to the composer as a new subject the legend of Joseph and Potiphar's wife: "That chaste Joseph is not to my liking! I cannot set to music what bores me stiff ('Was mich mopst')." Hofmannsthal's established position as a widely known *littérateur* sometimes blinded the composer (Strauss is, after all, a man of uncommon literary culture) as to the practical effect of a work upon the masses. Thus, while *Elektra*, *Der Rosenkavalier*, and *Ariadne auf Naxos* (a delightful blend of Molière, *commedia dell'arte*, and classical background) were an immediate success and will probably remain so, *Die Frau ohne Schatten* (an abstruse medley of *motifs* from *Undine*, Hauptmann's *Versunkene Glocke*, Peter Schlemihl and mediæval mysticism), *Josephslegende* and *Helena* could not, in spite of numerous poetic purple patches, react sufficiently upon the composer's dramatic powers and must be classed rather as a *succès d'estime*.

The eminence of Strauss's position as composer somehow makes one forget another collaborator of Hofmannsthal without whom

the poet's most widely known dramatic work would have remained a book-drama, considering the complicated stage machinery required. I mean Max Reinhardt, whose genius and artistic intuition helped to produce Hofmannsthal's *Everyman*, which is annually drawing huge crowds from all parts of the globe to Salzburg and has contributed more to the poet's fame than any of his other works except *Der Rosenkavalier* and *Elektra*. But to me personally Hofmannsthal is not so much the universally known collaborator of the music-magician Strauss and of the most original stage-manager of modern times, Reinhardt. I shall always think of him as one of the few great connoisseurs of international art, initiated in the mysteries of the poetical craft and a maker of beautiful things himself, to whom his words in *Titian's Death* might be fully applied:

And what we all love in our dreams to see,
What, waking, fills us all with ecstasy,
In beauty it was steeped by him alone,
Since through his quickening soul it once had gone!

M. JOUBERT.

A JOURNEY IN RUTHENIA.

AUGUST! The sun shines with all the heat of a continental summer, so that railway travelling is almost unbearable. From Kaschau, the centre of Eastern Slovakia, the train pants over a range of hills to descend upon the other side to the spurs of the grape-growing district of Tokai. As one leaves the desolate station of Slovenské Nové Město, the problem of Eastern Mid-Europe is once again manifested. The town to which this station belongs, Sátoraljaujhely, is actually in Hungary. From the window of one's compartment one sees the Frontier Posts, and into the back rooms of the houses of another State. For a time the railway line itself forms the frontier, in whose proximity it keeps all the while.

Confusion and hustle at the station of Užhorod, the capital of Ruthenia, that district settled by the Ruthenes, and attached to the Czecho-Slovakian Republic with an autonomy which had already been granted it by Karolyi's government and confirmed by the Treaty of Trianon. One pushes oneself forward and finds a motor-bus which takes passengers to the town. Something strikes one as strange and unfamiliar, and yet it is not the figures of the Jews with their kaftans and side curls, nor the peasant women in their gay cloths—neither is it the noise, nor the many untidy packages, nor the somewhat primitive sanitation which disturbs the traveller from the West during his ride into the town. Once in the inner streets, filled with lively bustling traffic, he sees that it was the incursion of the countryside which had given him his first impressions. For he now finds once more elements with which he is much better acquainted and recognises the country people in the streets at once as the new factor that gives an Eastern touch to the scene.

The Už divides the town. It is one of those rivers which lend a character to the landscape unfamiliar enough to us—the water and banks mingle, fords cross it, and it is a strange sight when an extremely modern motor passes across. Only lately has the Czech administration begun to build embankments. Through fields—golden with the splendour of sun-flowers, whose seeds are needed by the Jews for the provision of the fats required by their ritual—the auto speeds along the river towards the mountains. Naked boys stand everywhere tending the cattle. Their beautiful brown bodies give the picture a compelling and joyous charm. Mountain peaks come nearer and are pushed together like the wings of stage scenery. Then for some time a long treeless ridge commands the landscape—it is one of the "Poloninas," those grassy uplands which often provide the basis of pastoral life here still very

primitive in character. Every kind of life here is primitive. This is not to be wondered at when one remembers that in the district 70 per cent. of the people can neither read nor write. Thus it is no matter for surprise that many things that happen here give the dweller in the West material for anecdotes, which really find their explanation quite naturally in the cultural backwardness of the country. That the peasants of one village used the cocoa, which an American relief organisation had given them soon after the war, to colourwash their walls, is perhaps generally known throughout Europe. There are many such symptoms of a backwardness almost incomprehensible to us.

The car now turns once more towards the plain. On every road one sees teams of white, broad-browed Podolian oxen, to whose mighty horns the reins are fastened. From afar appears the solitary cone rising out of the plain, upon which stands the castle of Munkács—once the prison of the hero of the Greek struggle for liberty, Alexander Ypsilanti. Trees appear, and farther on rather irregular streets and low houses surround us. Munkács is the largest town of the country. This is at once evident from the noisy traffic in the streets. Here is the genuine East. One feels that a breath from another world intoxicates the senses; a feeling of liberty, of illimitability, and of freedom from care takes possession of the stranger who comes to this country with an unbiassed and open mind. The Western European surveys once again the history of his development and recognises with sorrow how poor a life he has made out of the riches of unwasted humanity in the course of the centuries. Thus here he lives through the bygone youth of his race, like a greybeard who remembers with a smile the dreams of his boyhood; and he knows the melancholy future which lies before these people of the East if their present Western rulers should succeed in transplanting to that soil the spirit of their culture together with their methods of work. For Western Europe, American influence has already become a problem that brings a kindred tragedy, but for the East the introduction of Western methods spells its complete uprooting. It means an increasingly "Pinchbeck" culture and a more and more crippled spirit. This is not to say that we may not give the East the good things which we have to give, but they must remain purely technical and civilising in character.

The song of this Eastern land is heard through the narrow streets. It is the plaintive melody which comes from the lips of the beggar as he squats upon the ground at every corner, a heap of ragged misery. It is a moving monotony filling the air with a strange penetration although the sound is not great. It penetrates all the noise of the Eastern street, and perhaps nothing remains

in the memory with such symbolic clearness as the outward appearance of poverty which separates from their fellow-creatures those to whom nature or accident has given the most grotesque bodily forms as a visible sign of their misery.

And ever speeds the motor out into the boundless plain. In a meadow stands a blue aeroplane belonging to the well-known "Bat'a" shoe company. It serves simultaneously as an advertisement and a means of transport for quick deliveries. The distance from Prag and Brünn is immense. The express from Prag to Užhorod takes twenty hours; and the last station, Jasiňa, twenty-four hours from the capital, is as remote from it as Paris or Venice. Quite near to the right, Polanok—the castle of Munkács—rises above vineclad slopes and bastions upon its lonely height. The church tower of the Italian Renaissance period is its central feature and against the deep blue sky the picture stands out like a bit of the South. The third town of this little country, in which every stranger is soon as well known as a "spotted cow," and where he is constantly meeting the same people, is Beregszász. Although it lies not only rather south of Munkács, but even more to the east, from its outward appearance it gives one the impression of belonging more to the west. It may be that this impression is awakened in one who himself comes from a vine-growing district of Western Europe by the wine industry whose careful tending may perhaps have a civilising influence upon the people of the place.

The road runs along the very edge of the Steppe, just where the first hills, upon whose heights the divine fruit flourishes, rise abruptly from it. Amidst the pastures is a living bit of Asia—Karakul sheep, whose fleeces raised in this district fetch almost as high a price on the market at Leipzig as genuine Persian fleeces from Bokhara. And in one field stands another memento of Asia, a ruined chapel from the time of the Tartar invasion. The road here leads ever farther up into the valley of the Theiss direct to the Pass of the Tartars over which their wild hordes broke into the land long ago. Many brown gipsy folk are on the road. Their appearance is often almost Central African. A little boy, entirely naked save for a narrow band as necktie, runs past us. Under the new régime in Užhorod the gipsies have obtained their own school. As they are subject to the law of universal education they were at first obliged to go to school with the children of non-gipsy nationality. But the European parents soon refused to let their offspring be taught together with their small brown colleagues, so that it was necessary to decide to build a special school for them. The influence of the small gipsy boys and girls, initiated since their earliest childhood into the affairs of sex, spoiled the European morals of the others.

Continuing our journey we pass the ruins of two castles, outposts of the old line of defence in front of the mountains, which began with Užhorod and Munkács and continues as far as Transylvania. At one of these, Chust, we take the train once again, and soon reach the last station in Czecho-Slovak territory, Terešva, an idyllic village hidden amongst trees on the banks of the Theiss. Here the young men of marriageable age wear a curious short shirt and a broad red leather belt, leaving the body partly bare. The name of Terešva must be preserved to history for yet another reason—on account of its prison, already historic because of the administrative reforms introduced in the summer 1928, and now "closed"—if one may use such a term of an open-air penitentiary. Terešva was until recently the seat of a court with power to inflict certain penalties. As, however, no lock-up existed the prisoners were obliged to undergo their punishment on the veranda of the building, with its idyllic covering of vines. They were, of course, called upon to do certain work, but for the most part passed their existence in doing nothing. They brought their own food with them, and if they happened to have acquaintances in the place spent the night in the houses of their friends. The only unpleasantness connected with this time of correction was that they lost their employment, which was, however, of comparatively little importance to them, as the standard of living is low.

Now the train passes the Roumanian frontier. At the first station it is placed under guard, and it is a strange sight in a nominally peaceful Europe to have to travel under the protection of loaded rifles and fixed bayonets. At the junction for the local lines running to the Czecho-Slovak villages on the other side of the Theiss, the impression of European provincialism is still further increased. Since travellers to Czecho-Slovak stations may pass through without passports, the Roumanian authorities only permit a change between the coaches—a very exact "climb-over" as it is called in the local official German. This frontier circus is played to such an extent that one is not allowed to get out of the train before the connecting train has arrived. Since, however, the trains from the opposite direction on the main line stop at different ends of the station, the traveller in the local train is given a little extra ride so that the change from the main line in either direction will be made in the narrow space between the coaches, and that the Roumanian station buildings may not be scandalised by the sight of a Czecho-Slovak travelling without a pass! There is an old German song on which this state of things is a curious commentary, "Europa hat Frieden, Europa hat Ruh" . . . Europe has peace, Europe has rest. . . ! At length, after an hour in Roumanian terri-

tory the Czecho-Slovak frontier is passed again. No more the oak forest of the plain, nor beech forests, but dark pine-woods follow the line through the narrowing valley of the rushing and rapid Theiss. We are in the district of the Hutsuls, certainly the cleverest, richest, and most industrious stock amongst the native Ruthenes. The men may now be seen on the stations in their beautifully embroidered costumes.

A little before our destination—Jasiña—one has to leave the express to change into a slow train. Some years ago a cloud-burst transformed the Theiss, which is here a mere mountain stream, into a roaring torrent which washed away the road, railway, and bridges. To-day one can travel once more over the line, but the construction is still unfinished and unfit to bear the weight of heavy express coaches. In the cool of a mountain evening we finally reach Jasiña, the chief place of the Hutsul district, which stretches over the Polish and Roumanian frontiers. This straggling village, whose area is said to be as large as that of Prag, and whose population—though certainly a very scattered one—is really equal to that of a town, brings back memories of the time of conflict. In the village itself a concrete emplacement reminds one of the time when these districts lay in the fighting area of the World War. Later it was the scene of the struggle between the soldiers of the West Ukrainian Republic whose capital was Lemberg, now a Polish town, and the Hungarian troops. Finally the valley was occupied by Roumanian divisions, which only withdrew when it had been handed over to Czecho-Slovakia. Afterwards there were religious struggles between members of the Greek-Catholic Church, Uniate and dependent on Rome, and the Greek-Orthodox, which is now under the Serbian Patriarchate. Gendarmes and military were obliged to come in to separate the contending parties and restore the churches to their proper owners, or to prevent their being taken away. Such disputes are, indeed, not confined to Christian believers, but also take place amongst the Jews, between the orthodox, who find their staunchest supporters in the miracle-working Rabbis, and the nationalist Zionists, who have been able to build a Hebrew middle-school in Munkács for the furtherance of their ideals. The attempt is being made to forbid them the use of the synagogues on account of their modern outlook.

Above Jasiña lies the Tartar or Jablonica Pass, which marks the Polish Czecho-Slovak frontier. Once I stood at the Polish barrier—my passport was in order, but was of no use here. The Polish authorities do not recognise this Pass as a regular frontier route—so paradoxically they demand not a passport but a tourist certificate from all who seek to pass that way. In such

moments of political and bureaucratic tragi-comedy one is compensated at least by the panorama over the mountains. This landscape of the Eastern Carpathians is, perhaps, one of the most beautiful in Europe—in any case one of the most unspoiled. Under the dark line of trees lies a real primeval forest, in which the bear has his home. As one walks through its eloquent silence, one experiences a tremor of fright on coming suddenly upon a barbed-wire entanglement behind which are huts, ruined by gunfire and rotten with age, and crumbling trenches. Up above, near the Howerla, one can look far away over the billowing mountains. Here I had one of the most impressive experiences still possible in Europe. I had lost my way and a young Hutsul boy brought me back to the right path. He led me for two hours, and although neither of us understood the other's language he was able, in his natural unsophisticated way, to explain everything so well by signs that I lost nothing of his tale. When with a gesture of reproachful pride the boy refused any payment, it was clearer to me than before how much poverty man has brought upon himself along with the riches of his civilisation. One who has learned to know these people must love them and their land.

The international status of Ruthenia is peculiar. It is asserted that it would have remained a part of Hungary if the latter had not revealed itself by the Red Revolution as the possible germ of a Mid-European Bolshevik State. Hungary would then have had the historic frontier with Poland for which those who wish to revive the historic friendship of the two countries are striving. These efforts find support from the defenders of the thesis that Ruthenia must be joined to Hungary again on geographical grounds. Such an argument might certainly be adduced also in the case of the Slovaks, but with less cogency, the Slovak sense of nationality, in contrast to the Ruthenian, being already so developed that it has sufficient inner force to outweigh the geographic argument. From their side the Poles do not at all like the annexation of this Ruthene district to Czecho-Slovakia, since its inhabitants have received by the guarantee of autonomy (which, as a matter of fact, has not yet been introduced) more national rights than the more nationally developed, and culturally capable, Ruthenian Minority in Polish East Galicia, so that it is feared that Ruthenia might become the centre of a Ruthene national movement whose propagandist power would extend over its borders to Poland. It is also said that the object of the newly established Polish consulate in Užhorod is to keep watch over the Ruthene emigrants from East Galicia who have found a home in Ruthenia. But the Poles also seem to be economically in fear of this country belonging to Czecho-Slovakia. They see in it an

aspiration of the Czechs for Galician oil; this might be fulfilled, not by the political union of Ruthenia with East Galicia, but by the sinking of wells south of the Carpathians, as a result of which the oil from the Galician wells might be diverted to the south. It is general knowledge that several decades ago borings on the Hungarian side were stopped on the demand of Galicia. The small Ruthene intelligentsia which desired the annexation of the territory to Czecho-Slovakia did so because they recognised that, at any rate to begin with, no other political attachment would be possible if the national interest of the population were to be considered. At the back of their minds was the thought that some time or other a Ukrainian State might arise which would include its racial brethren south of the Carpathians, either within the limits of an independent State or of a Confederation of all the Russian countries. Numbers of Czecho-Slovaks would welcome a solution of this kind in the future, because, as a result, they would acquire a common frontier with Russia. Against these there are other circles who wish to keep the district permanently as a part of Czecho-Slovakia. In any event this all goes to show that Ruthenia, although a rich country whose resources as yet remain untapped, will play no unimportant rôle in the future development of this part of the world. With the help of the map one must try to imagine what results the realisation of these political aspirations might bring. Even though it is only a small district in Europe, Ruthenia is still sufficiently important to demand more attention.

ALEXANDER ROSSMANN.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN COMEDY.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN relations continue to fulfil their function of comic relief in the world's diplomacy. It is hard to believe that any harm will ever be done to anything by the apparently unending dispute between London and Moscow, and to that extent it is a pleasanter subject of study than, for instance, the equally unending process of civil war in China. Moreover, the London-Moscow dispute has been going on for only eleven years, whereas the Chinese civil war has already lasted eighteen years.

It was commonly expected at the beginning of June last, so far at any rate as British opinion was concerned, that the advent of a Labour Government to power in Great Britain would cut some of the cackle. There was the precedent in 1924 to encourage such an expectation.

The expectation, however, was not immediately fulfilled, mainly because, on the Russian side, some unpractical and exaggerated criteria were laid down whereby the good faith of the British Ministry was to be tested. What precisely was expected of Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Henderson was never clearly expounded in Moscow; but there was ground for the assumption that if Mr. MacDonald had formed a detachment of the Red Army in London, with himself as Commander-in-Chief, and with the British Empire generally as its objective, there would have been less disturbance of spirit in Moscow than Mr. MacDonald actually produced. The situation at the beginning of June, resulting from the Arcos Raid of 1927, was that Great Britain and Russia were not on speaking terms, except in the rarefied atmosphere of Geneva. If the British Government wanted to say anything to the Russian Government, it had to say it via Norway, and if the Russian Government wanted to answer, it had to answer via Germany. At Geneva, on the other hand, when the Russian and British representatives had to sit in the same committee and at the same table, there seemed to be an unanswerable case for their speaking to each other there and then across the table, in so far as they had anything to say to each other.

Now the Labour Government made it one of its first ambitions to regularise so childish an irregularity as that whereby on the one hand London and Moscow refused to speak to each other and on the other hand stultified themselves by making an elaborate arrangement whereby they could speak to each other indirectly. Hence it was that in the King's Speech (July 3rd) we were told that "My Government are examining the conditions under which diplomatic relations with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics may be resumed, and are in communication with my

Governments in the Dominions and the Government of India on the subject." Moreover, there was the practical disability that trade could not be satisfactorily restarted until a contractual relationship had been established on such points as the mutual recognition of maritime law, judicial decisions, territorial rights, and existing treaty provisions.

If such questions were to be discussed, they could be discussed, with any prospect of results, only round a table and directly between the two parties. Mr. MacDonald had expressed precisely such a view before the election. After the election, however, probably because he was still vividly conscious that his Russian policy had given his political opponents their opportunity for unseating him at the end of 1924, and that he now again faced the House with a minority of members, he gave a pledge that no agreement would be made with Russia for the resumption of diplomatic relations, except on the understanding that such agreement should not become operative until it had been submitted to, and approved by, Parliament. Thereupon in the eyes of Moscow Mr. MacDonald became less Bolshevik and more Menshevik, more bourgeois, more "capitalist" (whatever that may mean) than ever.

Mr. Dovgalevsky, Russian Ambassador in Paris (Paris being more realistic than London in its Russian policy), came to London at the end of July to discuss the resumption of diplomatic relations. For three days (July 29th to July 31st) he negotiated with Mr. Henderson, holding what was officially described as a "friendly exchange of opinion" on the "present relationship of the two countries." He then returned to Paris, the negotiations having broken down. Thus did history not repeat itself, for the first act of the Labour Government in 1924 was the successful resumption of relations with Russia, and the first act of the Labour Government in 1929 was a failure to do the like thing, now again made necessary by the intervening Government. The July negotiations broke down on a question of procedure. Mr. Henderson demanded that the machinery for settling the outstanding problems, such as debts, claims, trade, and propaganda, should be set up before the Ambassadors were appointed; wherein no doubt he was partly actuated by a kindred motive to that of Mr. MacDonald's aforesaid. Mr. Dovgalevsky on the other hand demanded that the Ambassadors be appointed first, without condition. When on August 1st Mr. Dovgalevsky returned to Paris, it was officially announced that "the conversations will not be continued for the present." It was further reported in the official statement that Mr. Henderson "felt sure that, with good will on both sides, sufficient progress might be made to enable him on the reassembling of Parliament in October to report what had been achieved, that the principles on which a

settlement could be worked out had been defined, and to request authority, even if a complete settlement of all outstanding questions had not been reached, for the exchange of fully accredited Ambassadors between the two countries." By a stroke of irony, such as Russian affairs are fruitful in producing, Mr. Dovgalevsky had countered Mr. Henderson's bogey of the British Parliament by the bogey of the Præsidium of the Central Executive Committee in Moscow. "Mr. Dovgalevsky," so ran a passage of the official statement of August 1st, "on instructions from his Government, replied that in the view of his Government the best method of proceeding was the immediate exchange of Ambassadors, that the Government of the U.S.S.R. could not, at present, accept Mr. Henderson's proposals, and would have to refer them to the next session of the Præsidium of the Central Executive Committee."

The capacity of Russian diplomacy for what may not unfairly be described as apolaustic controversy was well illustrated in a document handed by Mr. Dovgalevsky to Mr. Henderson on July 31st, in which the point was made that "the British Government do not desire or are unable to bring about the resumption of these relations. If such were not the case, the British Government would not have proposed, as a preliminary condition for the re-establishment of normal relations, the solution of questions so complicated and contentious as the mutual claims and counter-claims."

A month passed. On September 4th, when he was in Geneva, Mr. Henderson threw out a hint that the negotiations be resumed. In a statement to the Press he explained that the British invitation to the Russian Government to send a representative to London to discuss the procedure to be adopted in the restoration of diplomatic relations still held good. Mr. Litvinov, who can never remain silent or unresponsive to stimulus of whatever kind, formulated an answer, which he issued on September 7th, to the effect that his Government would resume the discussions whenever and wherever London chose, but added (again in the Russian manner of controversy) that the actual discussion of the points in dispute could take place only after the full resumption of normal relations. On the following day none the less, the British Government sent a Note to Moscow (still via Norway) to suggest that the negotiations be resumed on September 24th. On September 13th Moscow (via Germany) accepted that suggestion, and ten days later (September 23rd) Mr. Dovgalevsky again arrived in London in readiness to talk on the following day. On the very evening of his arrival, before seeing Mr. Henderson, he issued a statement illustrative of his unshaken obstinacy in prescribing which was to be the horse and which the cart in the order of procedure. He said he was sure to agree with Mr. Henderson "as their subject consists entirely of

formal matters regarding the procedure of the negotiations which shall take place *after* [my italics] the establishment of normal diplomatic relations."

After three days of conversation with Mr. Dovgalevsky Mr. Henderson issued a piquant statement, namely, that the talk had "resulted in agreement being reached on a list of subjects to be settled by negotiation, on the resumption of full diplomatic relations, including the exchange of Ambassadors." The style of that statement was a little confusing, and suggested perhaps that it was a halting translation of a formula laid down by Mr. Dovgalevsky. In any case, if it meant anything, it meant that Mr. Dovgalevsky had won his point. The Moscow Press heralded the "victory" with much flourish: its military metaphors being a little out of place in a description of what was ostensibly an attempt to restore the full form of peace. For the rest, the issue, which had kept London and Moscow apart for several weeks, had been entirely puerile, and the criticisms passed on Mr. Henderson for his "surrender" to Mr. Dovgalevsky were therefore equally puerile. The important thing was to resume relations and to stop, if possible, a chronic and futile controversy. In a statement to the Labour Party Conference on October 1st Mr. Henderson confirmed the point that, with the concurrence of Westminster, the Ambassadors were to be appointed as a first measure.

The text of the Henderson-Dovgalevsky Protocol was issued from the Foreign Office on October 4th. It stipulated that immediately after the resumption of normal relations the two Governments would proceed by negotiation to settle the following questions: (1) Definition of the attitude of both Governments towards the treaties of 1924; (2) Commercial treaty and allied questions; (3) Claims and counter-claims, intergovernmental and private; debts, claims arising out of intervention and otherwise, and financial questions connected with such claims and counter-claims; (4) Fisheries; (5) Application of previous treaties and conventions.

As if to forestall and to baulk those who suffer from the propaganda complex about Russia, it was further stipulated (Article 7 of the Protocol) that "Immediately on the actual exchange of Ambassadors, and not later than the same day as that on which the respective Ambassadors present their credentials, both Governments will reciprocally confirm the pledge with regard to propaganda contained in Article 16 of the treaty signed on August 8th, 1924, between Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

The Article 16 of 1924 therein alluded to stipulated that "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 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."

After eleven years of empty vendettas and meaningless quarrels we thus reach the point where (for the second time) the two Governments are about to discuss their differences. The discussions cannot begin until the House of Commons has given its *fiat*.

THE MACDONALD-HOOVER CONVERSATIONS.

The circumstances and success of Mr. MacDonald's voyage to the United States throw a light upon the importance of the method and the temper, as distinct from the substance, of diplomacy. In their hearts Sir Austen Chamberlain and Mr. Baldwin were without doubt as anxious as was Mr. MacDonald to do what Mr. MacDonald has done: and it seems clear that they neither of them would quarrel with any detail of the policy that has been expounded by him. As long ago as February 6th of this year Sir Austen Chamberlain announced in the House of Commons that "all questions concerning our relations with America and the naval conditions of the two countries are under consideration by His Majesty's Government"; and Mr. Baldwin, before he lost the election at the end of May, had conceived in his mind the very project of crossing the Atlantic that has now been carried into practice by Mr. MacDonald. Yet the history of this highly important episode in Anglo-American relations will give much glory to Mr. MacDonald, and none to Sir Austen Chamberlain or to Mr. Baldwin. Why? Partly, it seems clear, because Mr. MacDonald had most of the luck, and his predecessors little; but partly also because Mr. MacDonald has more imagination and knows how to take an opportunity when he sees it.

The luck consisted in this, that President Hoover, the man needed on the American side to exploit the reaction that had already set in against the 1927 failure, did not enter the scene till the beginning of March, and it takes a Conservative Ministry more than three months to pick up a new thread. Mr. MacDonald stepped into Mr. Baldwin's shoes three months after Mr. Hoover was inaugurated at the Capitol. As one bit of bad luck leads to another, General Dawes did not arrive in London till Mr. Baldwin had lost the election. By the same measure Mr. MacDonald's luck served him well.

More important however than the luck was the contrast of zeal and of energy between the two Administrations. General Dawes, on landing at Southampton, was invited straight to Scotland to see Mr. MacDonald, and from that moment there has been no pause on Mr. MacDonald's part. In the August *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* (pp. 242-247) some account was given of the MacDonald-Dawes preliminaries to what seems now likely to prove a great historic attempt to wean the world from war.

The next contribution to the work was made directly by President Hoover. On July 23rd he issued a statement in which, starting from the premise that "our whole situation is certainly modified" by the Kellogg Pact, he went on to submit that "the American people should understand that the current expenditure on the strictly military activities of the Army and Navy constitutes the largest military Budget of any nation in the world to-day." Such doctrine called for courage on Mr. Hoover's part. On the following day he announced that the construction of the three cruisers specified in the current year's naval building programme would be suspended until there had been an opportunity "for full consideration of their effect upon the final agreement for naval parity" which he expected would be reached by the United States and Great Britain. On July 25th the Secretary of State issued a statement to the Press to explain that the purpose of naval parity with Great Britain was the preclusion of conflict between the two countries and the reduction of their naval strength.

On August 14th a conference was held at the White House, attended by the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Navy, the Under-Secretary of the State Department, and the Executive Committee of the General Board of the Navy, as a result of which it was allowed to be known that good progress was being made in the naval discussions with Great Britain. By the end of August Mr. MacDonald was able to confirm his intention of sailing for the United States on September 28th, from which it was inferred that his conversations with General Dawes had succeeded in satisfying him that there was reason to expect results from his journey. That inference was confirmed by a semi-official statement issued from Washington on September 6th, which stated that the naval negotiations with Great Britain had already led to an agreement on two principles, namely (1) that Great Britain acknowledged the right of the United States to a greater number of 10,000-ton cruisers than Great Britain herself, and (2) that the United States recognised Great Britain's right to a larger total cruiser fleet than that of the United States. No agreement had at that time been reached about the figures.

It was on September 6th also that the "naval expert," Mr. Shearer, was publicly denounced by President Hoover, who declared that he would not tolerate mischief of such a kind directed against international agreement. Mr. Shearer had had the frankness to admit that he had received large sums of money from shipbuilders in payment of the propaganda he had conducted in 1927 and at other times against naval limitation and in favour of increased armaments: a savage way of making money. By September 9th it was disclosed semi-officially in Washington that Mr. MacDonald's tentative figures for an agreement were a maximum cruiser tonnage of 340,000 for Great Britain and of 295,000 to 305,000 for the United States, it being understood that the United States should be allowed as many as eighteen cruisers of 10,000 tons carrying 8-inch guns. In other words, his proposal was said to be that the United States be allowed a greater number of big cruisers and that Great Britain be allowed a greater total number of cruisers and a greater total tonnage.

While that proposal was being considered, some further thought was expended on Mr. Shearer. The President himself issued another statement (September 10th) in which he gave it as his view that Mr. Shearer's activities "should be gone into to the very bottom." On the same day the Naval Affairs Committee decided to hold an inquiry into those activities, and the Secretary of the Navy issued a statement to the effect that Mr. Shearer had never been connected with the admirals, and that Admiral Jones, the United States delegate to the Tripartite Conference of 1927, did not even know him.

It had not yet been confirmed in London that Mr. MacDonald would carry out his projected visit to the United States. It was understood to be his view that it would be wise to carry out the project only if, from his conversations with General Dawes, he saw some clear prospect of an agreement, although at the same time he was known to be confident that the condition would be fulfilled. On September 12th he discussed the matter at some length with General Dawes in an interview that was generally interpreted as likely to be decisive. That the interview went well was to be inferred from an official statement issued the same day that Mr. MacDonald would definitely sail on September 28th. The official spokesmen thereupon allowed it to be known that the difference between the two countries had been narrowed down to a question of three 8-inch cruisers more or less for the United States, that is, to the question whether the United States should be allowed eighteen or twenty-one of such cruisers. It was clear that General Dawes had been able to give to Mr. MacDonald a satisfactory assurance that

the difference between the two views was now negligible, for on the previous day, September 11th, a conference had been held at the White House which was attended by the President, the Secretary and Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Adams, and the Navy General Board. Even in such exciting circumstances Mr. Shearer was not forgotten, for on the same day the Senate by a unanimous vote ordered an investigation to be held into the activities of American corporations during the 1927 conference, and on the following day, September 12th, the Naval Committee of the Senate appointed a Sub-Committee of three to explore Mr. Shearer.

On September 13th the Secretary of State announced that Great Britain and the United States were "now prepared for a (Five Power) conference," and that the only outstanding point was whether the United States should be allowed to build three 8-inch cruisers or five 6-inch cruisers. On the 14th the Navy Department published a table of the relative naval strength, actual and prospective, of the two countries:

	Total Tonnage.	Cruiser Tonnage Actual.	Cruiser Tonnage Under Construction.	Further Cruiser Tonnage Authorised.
Great Britain	1,345,232	311,991	66,800	nil
U.S.A.	1,293,972	70,500	130,000	100,000

The main interest of that table was to show that, according to existing arrangements, Great Britain's maximum tonnage in cruisers would be 378,791, and that of the United States, 300,500. As the Anglo-American discussions were now aiming at a stabilisation of respective tonnages at something like 340,000 for Great Britain and something like 315,000 for the United States, the result would involve a substantial decrease in the British tonnage and an increase in the American tonnage: a result that ought not wholly to have displeased the American big navy party.

Further details were given from Washington on September 16th about the nature of the Anglo-American figures. Great Britain, it was stated, would be satisfied with fifteen cruisers carrying 8-inch guns and of (say) 10,000 tons out of a total number of fifty cruisers, while the United States would want twenty-one cruisers carrying 8-inch guns in addition to the existing ten cruisers of the *Omaha* class (7,000 tons, 6-inch guns) and another five cruisers of that class. On that basis the cruiser tonnage would be 339,000 for Great Britain and 315,000 for the United States. It was at the same time announced that Mr. Stimson would be placed at the head of the American delegation to the Five-Power Conference, and that the Conference would not be held till January.

Mr. MacDonald lost no time in setting into motion the machinery for convening the conference and nipping in the bud any incipient suspicion that might be felt by the other three Powers that they were being ignored. On September 17th he informed the French, Italian, and Japanese Governments that instructions were being sent to the British Ambassadors in the three capitals to invite those Governments to a Five-Power Conference to be held in the third week of January, 1930. It was concurrently rumoured across the Atlantic that the Navy Department had decided that nineteen (and not twenty-one) cruisers of the big type would satisfy its needs if thirteen of them were of 10,000 tons and if all carried 8-inch guns.

Mr. MacDonald duly travelled to Southampton on the evening of September 27th and sailed in the *Berengaria* on the following morning. The "Peace Ship" (as the American journalists called it) arrived in New York on October 4th, and Mr. MacDonald, the first British Prime Minister in office to visit a United States President in office, was given the sort of rapturous wild welcome for which that city is famous. October 4th was a Friday. Mr. MacDonald spent the week-end at Mr. Hoover's camp on the headwaters of the Rapidan in Virginia, seventy miles from Washington; and on October 7th (Monday) the two issued a joint statement thus: "We have frankly reviewed all questions which might give rise to friction between our peoples. Gratifying progress has been made, and conversations are continuing." On the same day the invitations for the Five Power Conference were sent to France, Italy, and Japan, the place of the conference being given as London and the date January 20th.

Mr. MacDonald addressed the Senate on October 7th, making as good an impression as he had already made on October 4th when he spoke in acknowledgment of the Address of Welcome presented to him by New York City. The points he made in his speech were that he had come, not as an individual or the representative of a party, but as the representative of a united nation; that the personal contact now made between the heads of the two States was of great importance ("nothing," he said, "will ever remove the misunderstandings which have been growing up, and which exist between us, except personal contact"); that British policy was not only loyal to, but guided by, the principles of the Kellogg Pact ("if we do our duty in making the Peace Pact effective, it can only mean that no section of our arms on sea, on land, or in the air can ever come into hostile conflict again"); and that British policy aimed, not at alliances, which are directed against third parties, but at general co-operation between the nations.

Two days after addressing the Senate Mr. MacDonald's conversations with Mr. Hoover had been completed, having taken little

more than half a week. On October 9th a joint statement was issued simultaneously from the British Embassy and from the White House to chronicle the results of the conversations. That statement is not only an important historical document, but will give the clue to the spirit in which the January conference is likely to be conducted. Some of its passages are here reproduced :

" . . . In signing the Paris Peace Pact fifty-six nations have declared that war shall not be used as an instrument of national policy. We have agreed that all disputes shall be settled by pacific means. Both our Governments resolve to accept the Peace Pact not only as a declaration of our good intentions, but as a positive obligation to direct our national policy in accordance with its pledge.

" The part of each of our Governments in the promotion of world peace will be different, as one will never consent to become entangled in European diplomacy and the other is resolved to pursue a policy of active co-operation with its European neighbours ; but each of our Governments will direct its thoughts and influence towards securing and maintaining the peace of the world. . . .

" We should approach the old historical problems from a new angle and in a new atmosphere. On the assumption that war between us has been banished, and that conflicts between our military or naval forces cannot take place, these problems have changed their meaning and character, and their solution in ways satisfactory to both countries has become possible.

" We have agreed that those questions should become the subject of active consideration between us. They involve important technical matters requiring detailed study. One of the hopeful results of the visit which is now terminating officially has been that our two Governments will begin conversations upon them, following the same method as that which has been pursued during the summer in London.

" The exchange of views on naval reduction has brought the two nations so close to agreement that obstacles in previous conferences arising out of Anglo-American disagreements seem now to be substantially removed. We have kept the nations which took part in the Washington Naval Conference in 1922 informed of the progress of our conversations, and we have now proposed to them that we should meet together and try to come to a common agreement which would justify each in making substantial naval reductions. An agreement on naval armaments cannot be completed without the co-operation of the other Naval Powers, and both of us feel sure that by the same free and candid discussion of needs which had characterised our conversations such mutual understandings will be reached as will make naval agreement next

January possible, and thus remove this serious obstacle to the progress of world disarmament.

" Between now and the meeting of the proposed conference in January our Governments will continue their conversations with the other Powers concerned in order to remove as many difficulties as possible before the official formal negotiations open.

" In view of the security afforded by the Peace Pact, we have been able to end, we trust for ever, all competitive building between ourselves, with the risk of war and the waste of public money involved, by agreeing to a parity of our fleets, category by category. . . ."

It is a matter of general congratulation that the two most influential nations in the world are thus committed to a policy of common sense and pacifism. Such commitments, when understood and remembered by the mass of people in the two countries, are likely to prove more practical in safeguarding the peace of the world than any juridical instrument of the European Continental type.

ANGLO-FRENCH RELATIONS.

While Mr. MacDonald was at Geneva on the occasion of the League Assembly he was interviewed by the Editor-in-Chief of the *Petit Parisien* on the subject of Anglo-French relations. Since the present Government came into office, and more particularly since Mr. Snowden went to The Hague to negotiate a modification of The Hague plan, French opinion has taken a lively interest in that subject. It is refreshing, after a prolonged period during which French diplomacy has been able to ignore the views of Whitehall and the interests of Great Britain, to witness the dawn of a doubt in France about the continuance of that pleasant state of affairs. What Mr. MacDonald said to the *Petit Parisien* was less important than the eagerness and the anxiety with which it was read in Paris. He said little that he had not said before on the same subject. He reaffirmed his view that the pre-war relationship of France and Great Britain as parties to an alliance was an anachronism, but with a diplomatic finesse such as French opinion should be able to appreciate, added this observation : " I should never think of negotiating with any State any alliance whatsoever from which France would be excluded or which would be directed against her."

With corresponding finesse the editor of the *Petit Parisien* next put to Mr. MacDonald a delicately tendentious question to this effect : inasmuch as France, recognising the field of naval armaments as being a particularly British field, had been content to stand aside while Mr. MacDonald had been conducting his recent naval discussion with General Dawes and with President Hoover, would not Mr. MacDonald regard it as proper that France, being pecu-

liarily interested in the field of land armaments, should be given a corresponding courtesy in that field? But Mr. MacDonald normally keeps his wits about him, and on this occasion showed that in an emergency he is capable of skating gracefully on thin ice. The ice was thin as a result of Lord Cushendun's incautious complacency a year ago. Mr. MacDonald's answer was evasive, but on the face of it perfectly proper. "We have not yet," he said, "settled our position; our decision will depend upon the discussions before the Commission which sits at Geneva."

It is likely to be a healthy thing for European diplomacy if the prevailing convention whereby the British Government is regarded as the handmaiden of the French Government is exploded. As a result of the Great War French policy became a decisive force in Europe: but in spite of the Great War British opinion has taken little realistic interest in the question how far the post-war diplomacy of the Quai d'Orsay has added to British burdens and to British dangers.

The war ended ten years ago; and in those ten years the affairs of Europe, and in particular of France, have been exerting their influence on British interests. A word deserves to be written on that subject. The story of Anglo-French relations, as evolved since the war, illustrates how important may be French influence on British policy and on British interests. The effect is constant and cannot be ignored. The geographical nearness of France to England is in itself a factor in British diplomacy: for four-fifths of the food consumed in the British Isles comes from overseas, and it is estimated that at any given moment the forty million inhabitants of these islands are within a fortnight of starvation. The German blockade of Great Britain during the war came near to cutting her off from the outside world. If it had succeeded in that object the war would have been over in a fortnight. Similarly a French naval blockade of Great Britain is of potentially comparable importance, a circumstance which lends point to the consistent French naval policy, as pursued since the war, of maintaining a large submarine fleet. It is distasteful to right-minded people to dwell on diplomatic potentialities in terms of potential war; it is still more distasteful when the hypothesis contains the somewhat cynical element of war between recent allies and friends. Such unpleasant material, however, does unfortunately go to the making of diplomatic technique.

There seems little doubt, as the facts quoted below will perhaps suggest, that French diplomacy since the war for one reason or another has worked from an anti-British motive. It has had a somewhat controversial effect on British interests, and in particular on British relations with the United States. Subconsciously, no

doubt, French minds have been influenced by a certain uneasiness due to the fear that the British diplomatic principle traditionally known as the balance of power in Europe has continued to operate. There appears to be some justification for such a feeling. When Germany was powerful, and when a German menaced Europe, or was thought to threaten Europe, the Anglo-French Entente passed unchallenged in the minds of British men of affairs. When after the war Germany was subdued, British policy tended to help Germany in her recovery and to react against the French policy of "vae victis!" France, on the other hand, has traditionally regarded Germany as her enemy, and since the war has exploited to the full the opportunity of keeping Germany down. She has regarded Great Britain favourably or unfavourably according as the prevailing Foreign Secretary in Great Britain has lent himself to, or dissociated himself from, that supreme French objective.

It seems necessary to bear in mind that broad axiom of French diplomacy if one is to understand the recent effect of France on Great Britain.

The resultant problem for Great Britain has produced two schools of thought. There are those in this country who think that France should be given her head, others who take the opposite view; but there is only one estimate of the extent to which the problem of France protrudes in several fields of British policy, economic, financial, diplomatic.

Sir Austen Chamberlain's conception of what is expedient in this matter has differed from that of every other post-war British statesman who has come into contact with the Quai d'Orsay. Lord Curzon, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, all agreed in refusing to yield ground to France. Mr. MacDonald in 1924 attempted without yielding ground to humour France. Helped at the outset of his enterprise by the supersession of M. Poincaré by M. Herriot, he achieved some measure of success, but did not hold office long enough for his tactic to be tested. Sir Austen Chamberlain's five years of office gave us the consistent and apparently deliberate spectacle of a British Foreign Secretary who took France for granted and who adjusted his politics not in Europe only, but in the United States, to suit the postulate of the Quai d'Orsay. The classic example of the use made by France of British complacency was no doubt active in the mind of the editor of the *Petit Parisien* when he interviewed Mr. MacDonald at Geneva. In the summer of 1928 the Quai d'Orsay induced the Foreign Office to associate itself with the now notorious Anglo-French proposal for a naval "compromise." The plot was stage-managed with such exquisite precision that it came to a head at the very moment when

the "Kellogg" Pact was signed in Paris. French opinion had been anxious in 1927 to secure from the United States a bilateral pact, of which the practical effect would be to engage the United States never to make war on France: but when in 1928 Mr. Kellogg transformed M. Briand's original proposal into a multilateral pact against war, French enthusiasm was rapidly deflated and French finesse bent itself in covert ways to the task of belittling, and if possible of destroying, the effect of Mr. Kellogg. The Anglo-French naval compromise was a master stroke of French diplomatic strategy, and a monument to the dull-wittedness of the British diplomatists who were ensnared. The French approach was correct enough in its juridical aspect. The Preparatory Commission of the League of Nations Disarmament Conference had reached a deadlock. The Tripartite Naval Conference of 1927 had failed. What could be more desirable than that France and Great Britain should attempt to restart negotiations? The French Press maintained a complete silence about the matter until Mr. Kellogg had actually sailed for Europe to sign the Kellogg Pact. While he was on board ship the French Press suddenly disclosed the alleged fact that a new Anglo-French Entente had been concluded of far greater potential significance than any Kellogg Pact. The popular enthusiasm that in many countries had been trained on the impending ceremony of the signing of the Pact was dissipated and replaced by confusion and doubt. The Quai d'Orsay had triumphed.

It next remained for the British Government, having sown the wind, to reap the whirlwind. Sir Austen Chamberlain had in effect accepted at the hands of M. Briand a suggestion (1) that France should agree to support the French naval contention as against the American naval contention which had broken up the Three Power Conference; (2) that in return for that friendly gesture Great Britain should give to France a free hand in her European policy in land armament and should drop the objections formerly entertained against that policy as enunciated by France in the discussions of the Preparatory Committee of the League's Disarmament Conference. The outcry that arose in Great Britain when that disclosure was made was such that the Anglo-French compromise was promptly dropped; but we were then left piecemeal to discover that the two parts of the Anglo-French scheme had not after all been correlated as two parts of a bargain, and that the British Government in agreeing no longer to oppose the French thesis about land armaments had done so on the separate merits of that question by itself. The British Government, in its simplicity, argued that France could impose her will in the long run, and London therefore agreed that in the computation of land effectives

account should be taken only of men under arms, and not of trained reserves. The result was that France would be given a clear field to perpetuate trained reserves to any extent she liked, a circumstance which reduced all talk of European land disarmament to rubbish. The net result of the whole episode was that the naval sop to Great Britain was valueless, France retained what she had gained in the matter of armaments on land, the moral capital of the Kellogg Pact was depleted, and Anglo-American relations were embittered. It was hard to believe that British diplomacy could ever have hoped to produce international harmony by so frail a stratagem as the submission to the United States of a Franco-British rehash of a British proposal already rejected by the United States, especially as the stratagem was conceived and carried out in a manner and at a time calculated to arouse the maximum of resentment in the United States. There has appeared, however, no evidence to show that the British Government acted from any other motive than that of a genuine desire to remove a Geneva deadlock. The British Foreign Office, if one may describe a crude event in a crude metaphor, had had its leg pulled by the Quai d'Orsay.

In all her attempts to hitch the British flag to French crusades, the Quai d'Orsay has relied on the axiom that Great Britain, by her position, is potentially at the mercy of France. There are two opinions about the accuracy of that axiom; but if French finesse had been as clever on the long, as it undoubtedly is on the short view, there no doubt would have been introduced some modification of the extremist French principle of making use of London on the one hand and of ignoring London's interests on the other. It would give the most lively pleasure to British students of French policy if they could discover even one post-war instance where French diplomacy or French finance has helped Great Britain.

Those people who take a serious view of the problem of Europe, of the fears and vendettas which are the curse of Europe, recognise that France is an indispensable party to any attempt at constructive progress. It is not from any hasty or ill-considered sense of grievance against France that British opinion is inclined to be critical of France. The most serious people in Great Britain try to understand the condition of nervous fear, fear of Germany, which is largely responsible for the reactionary trend of French diplomatic thought. That is one reason why Sir Austen Chamberlain was so enthusiastically supported by imaginative British opinion when he gave to France the military guarantee embodied in the Locarno treaties. The King knighted him for that work, and therein interpreted the unreserved view of British public opinion. There can be no peace in Europe until the triangle—Germany,

France, and Great Britain—is amicably composed. It never could be composed while Whitehall adopted an attitude of uncritical acquiescence in whatever the Quai d'Orsay might do.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

October 15th, 1929.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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THE UNIVERSE AROUND US.*

Sir James Jeans, out of the plenitude of his knowledge and by means of a brilliant prose style—his thought is complementary to that of Professor Eddington—has given to the general reader a singularly lucid picture of the processes that are observable in the sky and of the theories that even to-day are struggling for mastery in the obscure problems of the nature of matter and of the structure of the stars. The excellent illustrations help the reader, but it is Sir James Jeans's triumph that he has been able to give the reader who has no specialised knowledge a judicial account of the world around us and a warning when he dips into the deeps of conflicting theories.

He begins with Galileo working at the new telescope on the evening of January 7th, 1610, but in fairness to us he reminds the reader that Roger Bacon three centuries before prophesied in detail the telescope that was to come. The hunger of man for astronomical knowledge was not mere intellectual curiosity.

The wish does not originate solely in their intellectual curiosity, in the desire to see over the next range of mountains, the desire to attain a summit commanding a wide view, even if it be only of a promised land which he may never hope himself to enter; it has deeper roots and a more personal interest. Before he can understand himself, man must first understand the universe from which all his sense perceptions are drawn. He wishes to explore the universe, both in space and time, because he himself forms part of it, and it forms part of him.

* *The Universe Around Us.* By Sir James Jeans. Cambridge: at the University Press. 12s. 6d. net.

We must compare this striking statement with Sir James Jeans's approach towards the final meaning of life itself, the life which is so rare that there is no evidence at all that it exists outside our earth.

Is it the final climax towards which the whole creation moves, for which the millions and millions of years of transformation of matter in uninhabited stars and nebulae, and of the waste of radiation in desert space, have been only an incredibly extravagant preparation? Or is it a mere accidental and possibly quite unimportant by-product of natural processes, which have some other and more stupendous end in view? Or, to glance at a still more modest line of thought, must we regard it as something of the nature of a disease, which affects matter in its old age when it has lost the high temperature and capacity for generating high-frequency radiation with which younger and more vigorous matter would at once destroy life? Or, throwing humility aside, shall we venture to imagine that it is the only reality, which creates, instead of being created by, the colossal masses of the stars and nebulae and the almost inconceivably long vistas of astronomical time? . . . But by what light we have, we seem to discern that the main message of astronomy is one of hope to the race and of responsibility to the individual—of responsibility because we are drawing plans and laying foundations for a longer future than we can well imagine.

For these if for no other reasons it will be well for the layman to study, and not in any superficial sense, this book and its message. The layman must become acquainted "with the best" that science has to offer. The changes of viewpoint have rapidly been ours. There was Ptolemy's astronomy that the earth is the centre of things, Galileo's telescope showing that "man's home in space is only one of a number of small bodies revolving round a huge central sun"; nineteenth-century astronomy which thought that the earth was one of myriad earths; and now twentieth-century astronomy which seems to say that man after all is the central figure though he is placed on a speck of dust in an unimaginably vast though finite room. There is a certain irony in the fact that astrology, with all its nonsense, had this truth in it, that personality is probably the most important element in the physical universe and not impossibly transcends it. "As soon as man began to realise, even faintly, his own insignificance in the universe, astrology died a natural and inevitable death." And yet it was by that death, by the substitution of pure thought for utilitarian nonsense, that we come once again to the possibility that "life is the only reality, which creates, instead of being created by, the colossal masses of the stars." It would seem that the astrologer vaguely thought that the two realities, personality and matter, had some intimate relation.

If the observation of Galileo in 1610 was the first landmark in true astronomy, the third occurred in 1838, when the distance of a

star was first measured. We by the fact entered into touch, so to speak, with our great and remote neighbours who, the nearest of them, were found to be a million times farther away than our nearest planet. Venus is 26,000,000 miles away, while *Proxima Centauri* is 25,000,000,000 miles away. When this new field was opened we began to measure in distances called light years, that is to say, the distance that light, travelling at 186,000 miles per second, takes to traverse in a year. *Proxima Centauri* is 4.27 light years away from us, and would be "over four and a quarter years late in hearing a terrestrial wireless concert." The fourth landmark also showed itself in the nineteenth century, the application of photography to astronomy, a new era of truth, since "the camera cannot lie." The twentieth century in a sense

consists of nothing but landmarks; the slow, arduous methods of conquest of the nineteenth century have given place to a sort of gold-rush in which claims are staked out, the surface scratched, the more conspicuous nuggets collected, and the excavations abandoned for something more promising, all with such rapidity that any attempt to describe the position is out of date almost before it can be printed.

But Sir James Jeans makes it possible for the general reader to understand the actual achievements and what may be called the general drift of astronomical policy. The fundamental work of Newton is described. The conclusion is reached that "the weights of the stars are mostly fairly equal, very few stars having weights greatly dissimilar from that of the sun. This seems to indicate that a star is a definite species of astronomical product, not a mere random chunk of luminous matter." On the other hand, "the candle-power per ton is far greater" in heavy stars than in light stars. The significance of the spectroscope in measuring velocities is explained in the clearest way. He shows that a method has been found (thanks to the labours of Miss Leavitt of Harvard) of surveying the Universe wherever certain variable stars—the very numerous Cepheid variables—can be found; this is specially effective in the case of objects that exist a million light-years away. But there are other means of sounding the depths of space not only for the galactic system of stars bounded by the Milky Way to which we belong (our second landmark due to the two Herschels) but for the two million extra-galactic nebulae, each nebula consisting of some possible 2,000,000,000 possible bodies. "The most distant of them is about 140,000,000 light-years from us." This, we are told, "is the greatest distance which the human eye has so far seen into space. The 220,000 light-years which formed the diameter of the galactic system seemed staggeringly large at first, but we are now speaking of distances some six hundred times greater." Yet it does not mean that there is no limit to space. Dr. Einstein "claims to have estab-

lished that space also, although unlimited, is finite." Space, like a sphere, bends back upon itself, and it is probable that "light can travel round the whole of space and return to its starting point," but the journey is long, occupying thousands of millions of light-years.

Sir James Jeans turns from almost infinitely vast things to almost infinitely small things. A piece of substance can be broken up, quite simply by heat, into its ultimate grains or molecules, and this the Greeks knew. But modern experiments have broken up the molecule into its constituent atoms, ninety different kinds of atoms have been revealed, and there may be more. Most of the ninety are rare, and only about fourteen are common. Each atom in a flame emits a characteristic light, and the fact is a fundamental one in modern astronomy. Auguste Comte announced shortly before his death that the limits of our knowledge of the universe had been reached. This example of the positivist creed was answered by the invention of the spectroscope shortly after his death. The next problem was to observe the structure of the atom. Could it be broken up? In 1895 Sir Joseph Thomson showed that not only was the atom structural, but all the fragments were identical: "no matter what type of atom they came from; they were of equal weight and they carried equal charges of negative electricity." The atom also contained a positive charge to neutralise the combined negative charges of the electrons in the atom. In 1911 Sir Ernest Rutherford described the structure of the atom with its almost infinitely small positive charge round which the electrons play. The number of electrons vary, and it is probable that there are ninety-two "elements" varying from the hydrogen atom with one electron to uranium which has ninety-two electrons. Electromagnetic energy or radiation is a third ingredient of the atom. There is, however, a check in the emission of radiation from an atom, and that fact "succeeds in keeping the universe in existence as a going concern." That check, as exhibited in the Quantum theory, seems to drive the human mind down to the limits of intellectual expression. It seems as if in time the whole universe will "dissolve away in radiation," but it also seems that in these almost despairing efforts to understand the ultimate structure of the universe we see dimly a Personality at work keeping the universe alive. Sir James Jeans aptly quotes the famous speech of Prospero, but he evidently doubts the mystic's final conclusion, and does not follow, as of necessity, the logic that if the universe dissolves we dissolve also. This doubt is an aspect of his brave imaginative venture that, after all, the only reality is life. The implications of this deep thought must attract the attention of the student and give him a new key to old mysteries.

J. E. G. DE M.

THE EIGHTEEN-SEVENTIES.*

The eighteen-seventies is a decade that does in fact call for special attention at the hands of the student of English literature, since it was what may be called a turning decade when a new world was about to be disclosed to the spectator of what is eternal in literature. Mr. Granville-Barker declares that "it is a period that is just about to become historical. Those of us who were born in it found our elders still clothing their romance in powder and patches and brocade." It is, writes Mr. Walter de la Mare, "a period for many of us (a many rapidly dwindling to a few) just remote and just retrievable enough to be singularly beguiling." At the entrance to the decade, Mr. de la Mare reminds us, the world was still mourning the loss of Charles Dickens, the School Boards were established in 1870, the *Descent of Man* was published in 1871, in 1871 *The Bells* were ringing at the Lyceum, in 1873 Lord Lytton the romanticist died, and in the same year the typewriter was born and Girton College was in full swing, the telephone came to earth in 1876, in 1878 "England secured 'peace with honour' at the Congress of Berlin, Parnell became the uncrowned king of Ireland, and *Pinafore* was produced. In '79 John Henry Newman received the Cardinal's hat. In 1880, a year before his death, Benjamin Disraeli's last novel, *Endymion*, was published." The new freedom of women was celebrated in a debauch of novel-writing, novels for the most part forgotten, though no history of the novel can neglect Rhoda Broughton, Mrs. Oliphant, Mrs. Lynn Linton, Mrs. Alexander—whose hymns still live—Jessie Fothergill, Mrs. Annie Edwardes, Ouida, "witty, cynical, flighty, odd," but capable of very great things, Rosa Carey, Jean Ingelow. The best work of Ouida seems likely with the best work of Benjamin Disraeli to suffer a resurrection, though Mr. de la Mare does not exactly hint at the fact.

Lord Crewe, the President of the Royal Society of Literature, opens the volume with what is perhaps the best essay in it, a detached, faithful, and yet withal filial account of "Lord Houghton and his circle." Richard Monckton Milnes was born in 1809, the year of Gladstone, Tennyson, and Lincoln, and was born, so to speak, into the purple. His father at the age of twenty-five had been offered and had refused a seat in Percival's Cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer or as Secretary of War. Richard went to Cambridge in 1827 a friend of a brilliant circle, the last of whom, James Spedding, died in recent years. Perhaps his Cambridge feat that deserves to be remembered was his balloon ascent: "his *exeat*

* *The Eighteen-Seventies: Essays by Fellows of the Royal Society of Literature.* Edited by Harley Granville-Barker. Cambridge: At the University Press. 12s. 6d. net.

was couched in the form 'Ascendat R. Milnes.' " He certainly ascended, though not in the spirit which he most desired, the spirit of a statesman. That was the tragedy of Monckton Milnes's life. He was a free trader (while his father was a protectionist in friendly opposition), and with respect to the American Civil War he was a Federalist. He sat twenty-six years in the House of Commons and twenty-two, as Lord Houghton, in the House of Lords, and with his splendid gifts might well have looked for high office. But the opportunity came too late. In 1855 he was offered a Lordship of the Treasury, but he deemed it too late to begin. Disraeli, his early friend, lost touch with him, and, indeed, learnt to dislike him. There was apparently some touch of jealousy between these great men, and possibly the intimacy between Lord Houghton and Gladstone did not improve matters. Literature made amends for the neglect that Lord Houghton suffered from the bitter game of politics. He reigned as of right in the world of letters, and gave to literature the status of a profession. In the eighteen-seventies we see him in his true rôle, a man of letters and a patron of literature, though patronage is the very last word to use in respect to his dealings with writers of the day, the humblest as well as men of the standing of Carlyle, Swinburne, Trollope, Herbert Spencer, Dean Stanley, Francis Doyle, Fawcett, Forster, and John Morley.

His tolerance, and his wish to see people happier, and his hatred for cruelty and harshness, never varied except to grow stronger as the years went on. If he had been more methodical and systematic he might have cut a finer figure in the world, and have occupied a larger niche in English history. He could hardly have enjoyed so many friendships or have left behind him such a gracious memory.

Mr. Hugh Walpole, in dealing with the novelists of the period, declares that "these ten years cover the most markedly transitional period of the English novel, and they show so curious a meeting of opposite waters, so violent a contrast of men, methods, ideals, and morals, that there has been no other confusion quite so great in all the history of English Letters." This statement seems to be somewhat exaggerated, since some of the names mentioned to illustrate it have already fallen from actuality, and in any event the confusion cannot be compared with the confusion of great men in the late Jacobean period, men who are still outstanding figures in the scene of English and indeed world-wide Letters. That there was a confusion is true in the eighteen-seventies, and it may be that has affected the drifts of later literature. Mr. Walpole holds that there is neither progress nor retrogression in the history of art, "and most certainly not in the history of the English novel," if it be regarded as an art, as it was not before 1870 (according to Mr. Wal-

pole), despite Dickens and Thackeray and their influence on the art of the modern novel. But with the birth of art (if it was born) in the 'seventies there was certainly a diversity of figures from Butler to Disraeli, apart from the domestic novel, "composed of milk and water." To exclude Trollope is unkind, as unkind as to include Disraeli, since both were domestic novelists of a sort.

Mr. Drinkwater deals with "the Poetry of the 'seventies," and finds that the period of strict perspective has not been reached for poets of the calibre of Mary Coleridge and Robert Bridges, but he is clear that "the major Victorian impulse was waning, and the new poets of its dying fall were for the most part expressly minor." O'Shaughnessy must be excepted, as well as some who reached maturity later than the end of the decade. An analysis of the work of the women-poets of the period by Miss V. Sackville-West supplements Mr. Drinkwater's very judicial effort.

The Theatre in the 'seventies is fully dealt with by Sir Arthur Pinero: "It was a place of charm and mystery. Though its drama had a smaller relation to facts than our drama now has, it was less pretentious; and as it had less freedom, its practitioners made less clamour. And it was as healthy and clean as the veriest fairy-tales." The editor of the volume deals with "Tennyson, Swinburne, Meredith—and the Theatre." Tennyson's verse does not vibrate for the stage, but "who shall say that Swinburne had not the stuff of the dramatist in him?" The Theatre when it lost Meredith, the critic and the secret dramatist, lost a salutary force. But all three were, after all, "would-be dramatists." "A theatre could not profit them, nor profit by them. Something was very wrong, surely; and for that matter, still is, perhaps." Can the same be said about Browning, "the writer of plays"?

Dr. Boas deals with critics and criticism, with Hutton, Stopford Brooke, Stephen, and the poet-critic Matthew Arnold, whom he considers "had neither the temperament nor the technical qualifications" for controversy in the fields of theological and social questions. This opinion will be much questioned so far at any rate as social problems extend. Dr. Saintsbury deals with the poet-scholar Andrew Lang, and the essay is just and memorable and would, perhaps, better have been placed as an introduction to Dr. Macan's essay on "Oxford in the 'Seventies" (a valuable paper with a revealing section on Benjamin Jowett and Mark Pattison) and Dr. W. E. Heitland's essay on "Cambridge in the 'Seventies," which gives an invaluable account of the University and the Colleges teeth to teeth with the Commissioners of 1877. Things worked out well.

It is a comfort in 1929 to feel as I do that so many eager hopes have so far ended in little disappointment. Surely the men of the somewhat stormy 'seventies did their duty well according to their lights, and deserve kindly recognition from us and from the generations to come.

That feeling ought to stimulate all our outlook on the eighteen-seventies.

* * *

MR. NOEL BUXTON'S TRAVELS.*

It was well for Mr. Noel Buxton to set down what he regards, in the records of his extensive travels, as of most permanent interest, though the brief account of what he has decided to omit clearly makes a supplementary volume from the pen of the Minister of Agriculture necessary. Two kinds of journeys are included.

I travelled first for travel's sake only, but these journeys roused my interest in political matters which, in turn, led me to travel with a purpose. I have not, therefore, rigidly excluded politics, but the reader will observe that where I have included them they refer to questions which are still alive or to conditions where interest is only increased by the revolutionary changes which have supervened.

The opening paper, "Among the Kurds," gives a wonderfully vivid account of travel in the wild borderlands between Turkey and Persia. The Kurd is the cuckoo of the East, and when he fancies that he will settle down he simply occupies Armenian villages. As for religion, "a large proportion of the Kurds are Kazilbashis, heretical Moslems with pro-Christian leanings, despised by the orthodox Mussulman," a fact that they ignore. The life of a great Kurd chief and his clan is a survival of a past age.

They lead a life such as survived on the Scottish border till the days of Elizabeth. Plundering forays, tribal vendetta, frontier raids, pilfering, smuggling, casual killing—such are the trimmings of an existence which to these men is traditional and is flavoured with a dash of loyalty and romance. . . . When contemplating the Kurds, one feels that it is indeed a cruel fate that has so debased the fundamental gold of human nature. The combination of ignorance with lawless power has ruined their soul. It produces an evil greater in reality than the trouble they give to their neighbours. The poorer villages are a scene of rags (too scanty to seem worth wearing) and scowling repellent faces. . . . To those who have not studied it, the Kurdish situation is hard to describe because it is unique.

But there are dim signs of improvement. "A young Kurd, son of a chief who had indulged in massacre, was seen with the peasants learning to plough. The father remonstrated against the indignity of such work. The son replied: 'When you have killed all the

* *Travels and Reflections*. By the Right Hon. Noel Buxton, M.P. George Allen & Unwin. 10s. net.

Christians, we shall have to work or starve.' " The story may be apocryphal, but it is evidence that the Kurds are thinking (for them) furiously.

The account of Albanians has a kinship to the account of the Kurds. Before the War Albania was still inconceivably savage, and it is at our very doors. There may be seen the remnant of the Moslem flood that two centuries ago reached and almost overwhelmed Vienna. "Never again will such remoteness be within the compass of a month's holiday." It is well to have such a vivid record as Mr. Buxton has made. It is a far journey from the Balkans to the mountains of Japan, which are described by Mr. Buxton with almost passionate enthusiasm:

Who can feel himself worthy to speak of Fuji the loveliest mountain in the world; the idol of poets for centuries; the inspiration of painters; and, one must almost say, the trademark of Japan. . . . Fuji is a flat-topped cone over 12,000 feet high, standing in the midst of a circular plain round which is a ring of smaller mountains. With a glorious sweep the sides rise from the chequered expanse of many-coloured fields, steeper and steeper to the snowy summit. Rising from near the level of the sea, the effect of height is vastly enhanced. The flanks are often hidden in clouds, the level top appearing far above them. . . . For this once, when I saw him, he stood without a single cloud in the morning sun—a sight not often obtained.

With such a noble interlude from the Far East we are led back to the Balkan hills, to the horrors of the attempted assassination of the author and his brother in Bucarest, and then away to the veritable Ararat and Persia, and last of all, after a description of the Balkan War of 1912, to the Sahara and its infinities. The book from cover to cover is vivid in the extreme, being expressed with that simplicity of language which the Bible has taught us is the best vehicle of romantic realism.

* * *

A LITERARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND.*

The Senior English Master at Clifton College is greatly to be congratulated on his admirable literary history of England. Mr. Groom's ease of style is coupled with a profound knowledge of his theme—his range of reading recalls the achievements of Dr. Saintsbury—and his theme is of the greatest: "a short critical account of the greater English writers only, not in the usual setting of minor literature, but with the background—intellectual, political, or social—which best helps to explain their work." Mr. Groom has not only accomplished this task, but he has added to the reader's

* *A Literary History of England*. By Bernard Groom. Library edition. Longmans. 8s. 6d. net.

debt an extraordinarily judicial estimate of English literature as it stands to-day, and it is a pleasant thought that his estimate is not only favourable but hopeful, even in regard to that much-abused form, the novel. There is, we are told, "a widespread sense of what a novel should be." What the influence in literature is likely to be of universal secondary education it would have been useful to hear. But though the author does not venture into the dangerous ground of prophecy, it is plain from his pages that the difficult period from, let us say, 1889 to 1929, with the curious and widespread influence of a not always literate press, has done no permanent harm, though "the vogue of the highly individual style seems to have passed. The best prose of to-day is the product of intellect and culture rather than of creative imagination." Perhaps in an age of transition this is not an unmixed evil.

There are various points upon which it is possible, not to disagree but to argue with Mr. Groom. Familiar as he is with Anglo-Saxon literature, it is difficult perhaps, at first sight, to agree that in this literature it is only here and there that we recognise "glimpses of the English spirit . . . for the most part one moves in a world which is strangely unfamiliar." Is that not due to the comparative lack of published material? The moral battle between Good and Evil, the tragic motive that has dominated the greatest English literature, is first set out in Anglo-Saxon literature. Moreover, as Dr. Saintsbury points out, *Beowulf* has "the whole literature of romance for successors." Something also might have been made of *Mystère d'Adam*, which Milton must have read. It is impossible to agree that "there is but little for which we should return to Anglo-Saxon literature in the spirit in which the hero of the *Æneid* was bidden to seek the ancient home of his race: 'Antequam exquirete matrem.'" Anglo-Saxon literature gave us the beginnings of the literature of tragedy, of the literature of romance, and it is not at all certain that there are not a good many humorous passages in still unedited Anglo-Saxon works.

But however that may be, when we enter the region of East Midland English, the language that we now speak, Mr. Groom does full justice to Chaucer and his contemporaries, with the exception of John Gower, a true poet if ever there was one, and a great one from the historical point of view. *How a King was Taught* should appeal to Mr. Groom with its living directness, such as the description of August, the month

When every felde hath corne in hand
And many a man his backe hath plied.

Gower is worthy of more than four lines in even the most limited history of literature. But Chaucer excels all the romancers and is

on the same plane as Shakespeare in observation, in the sense of humour, and of the value of the obvious, and above all in the sense of tragedy and of the tears of things.

An interesting chapter on the Renaissance and the Refórmation introduces the reader to Edmund Spenser, the "new poet" of the first rank, who appeared one hundred and seventy-nine years after Geoffrey Chaucer's death. It was a great gap of time so far as human measures are concerned, and should teach us to be patient in this present age, a generation that has seen no star of the first magnitude since Robert Browning was gathered to the side of Chaucer near the spot where the poets of the Elizabethan age flung their quills—a poem in itself, a superb abnegation—into the grave of Spenser. Mr. Groom justly says that "Spenser's influence on English poetry has been immense." His character emulated or mirrored the splendid idealism of his verse and its infinite tenderness:

Of every sort which in that meadow grew
They gather'd some; the violet, pallid blue,
The little daisy that at evening closes,
The virgin lily and the primrose true,
With store of vermeil roses
To deck their bridegroom's posies
Against the bridal day, which was not long:
Sweet Thames! run softly, till I end my song.

Mr. Groom has some wise things to say about Shakespeare, his times, and his stage. While fully admitting "the supreme merits" of the plays, Shakespeare was, after all, a man, though writing for all time, writing for his own age. This critic in fact agrees with Jonson that there were many lines that Shakespeare should have blotted out, but much is explained by the conditions of the stage, of the audience, and even of the actors, since women did not foot the boards. "It needed supreme skill to adapt the demands of the groundlings to the purposes of art; and nothing in Shakespeare deserves higher praise than the skill with which he performed the most difficult task." If the lines that his greatest lovers deplore had been "blotted," this task could not have been performed. A very just criticism of the plays is given to the reader, and due appreciation is given to *Hamlet*. Perhaps there is one critical error. Mr. Groom says that in *Antony and Cleopatra* "the scene is shifted from place to place with a rapidity which even to the imagination is startling, and on the stage is almost preposterous." The critic is wrong. It was the only way to give an impression of the magnitude of the Roman Empire and the magnitude of the issues involved, and so successful is the device that, in the light of our extended knowledge of Roman history, Shakespeare rather than Gibbon is the man who grasped the reality of imperial things.

The criticism of the Elizabethan period as a whole is very just, and attention is duly drawn to Marlowe's great narrative poem, *Hero and Leander*, which contains the famous line—

Who ever loved that loved not at first sight?

An extremely useful chapter on "The Elements of Prosody" follows the story of Elizabethan literature. The story of English prose from Lyly to Clarendon, a vision of the Miltonic age—Milton "was one of the chief figures of the Renaissance, and he belongs to humanity"—of the Restoration period, of Pope and his times, of the nobler age of Dr. Johnson, of the early nineteenth century and the great Romantic revival of the Victorian age, are dealt with in detail, perhaps more detail than a critic a century hence would admit as just. Tennyson and Browning and Arnold receive adequate treatment, but Macaulay and Carlyle call for far briefer consideration than they receive.

J. E. G. DE M.

BURFORD, PAST AND PRESENT.*

Mrs. Sturge Gretton's admirable account of the famous little Cotswold town of Burford—based on an earlier edition of 1920, to which Dr. Warde Fowler contributed a valuable preface—forms an important supplement to Captain R. H. Gretton's large volume entitled *The Burford Records*. Dr. Fowler states that in 1874, when he first visited Burford, the history of the town was likely to vanish into the limbo of forgotten things. But souls were found to save it. "The work of Archdeacon Hutton made that fate impossible, and now Captain Gretton, in full possession of the necessary material, has worked out the whole story of the little town from the eighth century onwards." Now it is a commonplace of historical workers to-day that local history is an indispensable factor in bringing the history of any country into due and true perspective. The scientific method of working from concrete elemental facts to large generalisations is specially true of history, and to some extent local and county histories and antiquarian or archæological societies are supplying the material from which historians can work. But the *format*, so to speak, has been lacking. A standard local history in good prose and using scientific and judicial methods was wanting. In the work which Mrs. and Captain Gretton have produced on Burford that standard is attained, and numberless little towns should follow the example. "Here," says Dr. Warde Fowler, "at last is a guide-book worthy of a traveller who wishes to know something of that fragment of national history that has focussed itself

* *Burford Past and Present*. By M. Sturge Gretton. With Preface by the late W. Warde Fowler, D.Litt. Martin Secker. London. 7s. 6d. net.

on a particular site." It is from these fragments that the student as well as the traveller can reconstruct the living England of past ages.

Burford is a peculiarly interesting historical fragment, and it is singular that it was reserved for our times to save it, though Mrs. Sturge Gretton makes clear enough why the darkness of oblivion descended. The town itself has never been overtaken by the age of machinery. "No later industrialism has overlaid its mediæval entity. National influences of 1830 to 1890 passed it by completely." From the days of the passing of the mail coaches till the coming of the motor-car it was blessedly forgotten. The very fact of its ancient corporate structure—far older than the boroughs that sprang up like mushrooms in the days of Richard and John, when communities bought corporate life from a moneyless Crown—made that corporate structure comparatively ineffective. Yet this bronze-age settlement, which was the scene of a battle between the folk of Mercia and Wessex in 752 and has its place in the Domesday Book, is the earliest instance of the establishment of a Gild Merchant, a fact that modern historians have grasped with avidity. The charter of Robert FitzHamon dates from the end of the eleventh century and includes not only a Gild Merchant, but

the liberties customary in the setting up of a borough, namely, the right to hold houses and lands at a money rent instead of service, the right to sell or otherwise dispose of property and to devise property by will without obligation to the lord of the manor, the right to hold a market, and other "free customs"—in this case free customs matching those of the men of Oxford.

FitzHamon had incorporated the Manor of Burford in the Honour of Gloucester, and his charter, coupled with a charter of Henry II addressed to William Earl of Gloucester with special clauses referring to Burford, provided the town with its principal privileges, including the Gild Merchant. But Mrs. Gretton makes the point that those privileges were not wrung from the Crown by the demands of would-be burgesses in exchange for money, but were grants to the manorial lord for the improvement of his property. Yet it is doubtful whether there can be any difference in kind, if the Corporation is once recognised, between a corporation acting as Mrs. Gretton supposes as an agent of a lord of the manor and a corporation that has purchased its rights from the Crown, or for the master of that from a lord of the manor. But in the latter case the privileges are more exact and extensive, while in the former case the privileges may die out altogether from want of popular interest. That there was a corporate body at Burford exercising executive functions in the early fourteenth century is certain. It may have and probably did spring from the Gild Merchant, but in fact this

Gild must have had an earlier origin. Professor Maitland says that

the history of the gild merchant begins with the Norman Conquest. The earliest distinct references to it occur in a charter granted by Robert FitzHamon to the burgesses of Burford (1007-1107) and a document drawn up while Anselm was Archbishop of Canterbury (1093-1109). It is mentioned in various charters of Henry I, and it is one of the franchises commonly granted to the towns by Henry II, Richard, and John. Dr. Gross rightly, as it seems to me, insists in many places that the privilege of having a gild merchant is one among many franchises (*liberlates*), that is to say, privileges which none but the king can grant. . . . Now the meaning of this franchise is best seen from an account preserved in the Domesday Book of Ipswich, concerning what happened there in the year 1200. The men of Ipswich obtained a charter from King John which granted to them, among other rights, the right to have a gild merchant. They proceeded to organise themselves as a borough. They elected bailiffs, coroners and capital portmen; and then, this done, they proceeded to establish a merchant gild, which was to be governed by an alderman and four associates. . . . Indeed it is in the small mesne boroughs that the importance of the gild merchant reaches its highest point. In such boroughs the Court is still under seignorial influence—the lord's steward still presides over it; and so the burgesses attempt to make their gild a general organ of self-government (*Collected Papers*, vol. ii, pp. 227-9).

That is what happened at Burford, but the point that is not fully emphasised by Mrs. Gretton is that the Gild Merchant was granted to the burgesses of Burford and that it was in effect a grant not merely of a lord of the manor but of the lord acting under royal authority. It may be, therefore, not correct to say that the Corporation was an agent for the lord of the manor. The existence of the Gild Merchant was something independent of the feudal lord. The corporate and borough life grew from the year 1350 to the end of the Middle Ages; at the opening of the sixteenth century the corporation consisted of an alderman, a steward, and some fifteen burgesses. The steward is now only second officer of the corporation, while the bailiffs appeared to have lost touch with the manor altogether. The Borough Court had the usual powers of such a Court in the sixteenth century, and in the reign of Elizabeth, when the Gild property was annexed by the Crown, the burgesses re-acquired at their own cost some of these lands.

But a tragedy happened early in the seventeenth century: In 1598 the Crown (which had long been in possession of the manor) alienated the manor and purported to alienate the town to Sir John Fortescue, who in 1617 alienated the same to Sir Lawrence Tanfield, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who decided to reside on the property. At his instigation in 1620 the chief inhabitants were

charged on an information with exercising "without warrant or royal grant" the Borough privileges. The same attack might have been made on many towns, and would have been resisted with complete success. The Information was essentially corrupt, but the men of Burford had not the courage nor perhaps the means nor the knowledge to put up a proper defence, and as the result of the Information most of the privileges were resumed by the Crown. But the Corporation still owned the lands that it had bought, and in some fashion or another it carried on. The Tanfield family influence passed on Lady Tanfield's death in 1629 to her grandson, Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, who (such are the ironies of history) sold the lordship and the old priory to William Lenthall, a Burford man, the famous speaker of the Long Parliament, and the Lenthall family owned the manor until 1828, when it passed into alien hands. The Corporation survived until at last in 1861 it passed away in almost glorious recognition of its survival, since the Act of Parliament abolishing it declares that "the existing corporation of the alderman, steward, bailiffs, and the burgesses of the Borough of Burford is hereby dissolved." That phrase in fact almost recognises the bad law, history, and morals that lay behind the infamous decision of 1621.

Mrs. Gretton, of course, does not limit her story to the history of the Borough; indeed, in some ways that is the least part of the book. We see the growth of Burford until the days, after 1761, when great coaches were pouring through it all day and all night. There were some forty coaches that passed through it on regular routes: the first was the Cheltenham coach on its way to Oxford passing at 9.30 a.m., and the last was the Gloucester Royal Mail on the up road at 4.30 a.m. It was a noisy epoch, but the ancient silence was again imposed by the railroads until, about 1890, the motor traffic once more wakened the echoes of the Cotswolds. Mrs. Gretton tells the story of the twelfth-century church and its four churchwardens, one *pro rectore*, one *pro vicario*, and two *pro villa*, an echo of the old community of freemen who won the Gild Merchant; the story of the Grammar School, founded in 1571, and the Priory where Lucius Cary was born, where King Charles II dined in the house of his old but penitent enemies. Lastly Mrs. Gretton tells the modern story of the famous little town, and her record will delight those who are now living on the site where Cavaliers and Roundheads strove bitterly in the years 1643 and 1644, the year when, on a Saturday in June, King Charles I lay at the "George" and went to the ancient church next day (to hear a sermon and think his thoughts) on his return journey to Oxford, having outwitted, of all men, Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex.

J. E. G. DE M.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA.*

This volume of *The Cambridge History of India* is one of the two volumes dealing with British India which are being edited by Professor Dodwell. It would have been somewhat absurd to have a separate volume in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* dealing with India, and therefore the somewhat ingenious and sensible plan has been devised whereby the same volume is also added to the latter series as its fourth volume with a special title and binding, to the great advantage of that series, and presumably without sensible loss in sales to *The Cambridge History of India*. The period covered by the present volume is from the discovery in 1498 of the new route to India by Vasco da Gama to the Indian Mutiny and the end of the Moghul dynasty in 1858. Professor Dodwell says that the movement in favour of the abolition of this dynasty at the death of Bahadur Shah was precipitated by the Mutiny.

After the fall of Delhi the old Emperor was tried for complicity in the Mutiny, and ended his days in exile in Rangoon, while the direct government of the Company's possessions by the British Crown was at last established. That the course of events, the gradual stripping of the imperial house of all the emblems of royalty, and the final resolve to terminate its honours, created a furious resentment within the walls of the palace, and was represented as a blow at their faith by the more fanatical Muslims in India, may be accepted as certain. But to regard it as the main, or one of the main, causes of the outbreak involves the absurdity of attempting to explain a complex movement by viewing it from one only of its many aspects. The hostility of the Moghul Court had been a constant factor from the day, eighty odd years earlier, when Warren Hastings had refused to continue the tribute due from Bengal as a Moghul province; it had inspired Akbar II when he saw the Company's government assuming the marks of Eastern sovereignty; and it was in itself no more formidable in 1857 than it had been any time in the previous eighty years. . . . The peculiar factor in this case was not the separation of right and power [a familiar phenomenon in the east], but the fact that the East India Company was not a purely Indian body, that it represented the sovereign of Great Britain and brought with it a European impatience of pretensions that had ceased to have a basis in fact.

It is at this point that Professor Dodwell's first volume ceases, but this preparation for the discussion of the special problems of British India is made easier by the late Lieut.-Col. C. E. Luard's chapter on the Indian States between the period 1818 and 1857. Though the Moghul Empire had vanished, the States survived and still

* *The Cambridge History of India*. Volume V. British India, 1497-1858. Edited by H. H. Dodwell. [This volume is also published as Volume IV of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, and can therefore be obtained with the title-page and binding of that series.] Cambridge University Press. 30s. net.

survive. The history of India in the past seventy years consists not only in the history of British administration but in the history and the remarkable development of the Native States. Professor Dodwell necessarily gives much space in this volume and the next to the development of the administrative system—"a subject on which easily accessible information is scanty and inadequate"—but the Native States have here, and no doubt will have in the last volume of the series, special treatment.

Professor Dodwell has been able to gather round him for the purposes of this volume a famous band of specialists. Sir Denison Ross deals with the story of the Portuguese in India and Ceylon and makes the story fascinating as well as detailed. Dr. P. Geyl, the Professor of Dutch History and Institutions in the University of London, relates the story of the Dutch in India, where Holland has still some possessions. M. Henri Froidevant describes the settlement of the French factories, while Professor Alfred Martineau tells the story of Dupleix and Bussy. Sir William Foster traces the history of the East India Company from 1600 to 1740, while in an admirable series of chapters Mr. P. E. Roberts examines the relationship of the Company to the State from 1772, the early reforms of Warren Hastings in Bengal and the later relationship of Hastings and the Council, Hastings's efforts to reform Oudh, and lastly he relates the story of the impeachment. Mr. Roberts says that in the matter of the impeachment

Burke's errors were the errors of a noble, if utterly misguided soul. He never recovered from the verdict. The day after it was given he left the House of Commons for ever. Throughout the trial—in the darkest hour of his fate—Hastings had borne himself with the same dauntless courage which had enabled him to hold his head high under the cruel "bludgeonings of chance" in scenes far distant from Westminster Hall. Nothing, not even the scorching invective of his accusers, nor the long mental agony of the seven years' ordeal, had been able to break that indomitable spirit . . . and so perhaps the greatest Englishman who ever ruled India, a man who with some ethical defects possessed in superabundant measure the mobile and fertile brain, the tireless energy and the lofty fortitude which distinguishes only the supreme statesman was left with his name cleared but his fortunes ruined.

Professor Dodwell contributes no less than eight chapters to the volume, beginning with Clive in Bengal. Dr. Hutton deals with Tipu Sultan and Oudh and the Carnatic, "The Conquest of Ceylon, 1795-1815" is dealt with by Sir Montagu Burrows, Dr. Lilian M. Penson describes the Bengal Administrative System from 1786 to 1818, while Mr. W. A. J. Archbold contributes very important chapters on Afghanistan, Russia, and Persia, and the conquest of Sind and the Punjab. Other very learned contributors make

up a volume possessing an admirable sense of proportion in respect to the various and mighty themes that compose these tremendous three and a half centuries of history in the sub-continent of India.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Miss Christitch's little book on *The Women of the Gospel*,* despite its merits, is somewhat spoiled by its form of advocacy of the woman's cause since that is a *res judicata* at the present day. The Lord Christ came to proclaim His gospel of salvation irrespective of sex: and all sorts and conditions of men and women came under His influence. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." It appears a mistake to differentiate between the sexes. Women have always played their part in the history of the world and will continue to do so. But their opportunities to-day are greater than ever with the cessation of absurd legal inhibitions, and their responsibilities are also greater. In the Gospel narrative our Lord looked to the faith and the need of the sufferer whether man or woman, and His commendation was equally bestowed, whether on the Mary who anointed His feet, or on the Centurion at whom Jesus marvelled, saying: "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel," or on the woman of Canaan: "O woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou wilt." The author of this book mourns the fact that few men compared with all the women named in the Gospel responded to the Divine Grace. Christ, however, chose twelve men as His friends and disciples, and sent them out to teach and to cure and to heal, and He also sent out other seventy to say to the cities, wherunto He bade them go, "that the Kingdom of God is come nigh unto you." There may have been women among these seventy, but on that point there is silence. The recognition of Christ as the Son of the Living God was shared equally by men and women: by Peter, to whom it was revealed by "My Father which is in heaven" (his faith failed him in the last extremity and was repented of with tears); by Martha in her loss and sorrow, who found Him and confessed Him as The Christ, the Son of God by Mary, to whom so much was forgiven; and lastly by Thomas, to whom was given the proof that he claimed, and who responded in the ecstasy of belief with the cry: "My Lord and my God." This recognition was proclaimed by ordinary men and women each according to his or her faith. To Mary, the Mother of our Lord, came the salutation of "Blessed are thou among women,"—a salutation not new to her Jewish upbringing—and to which in faith she replied: "Be it unto me according to thy word." The author has brought before the reader each and all of the women of the Gospel in a truly vivid manner, and they stand out in all their individuality as faithful and devoted followers of our Lord, needing His teaching and forgiveness and help, then as always to the present time, without competition or rivalry with men, each adding her tribute of faith in the knowledge of the Son of God.

S. DE M.

* *The Women of the Gospel*. By A. Christitch. Burns, Oates, and Washbourne. 2s. 6d.

It would be difficult to overpraise Professor Salvador de Madariaga's *Disarmament*,* which combines first-hand knowledge with a penetrating judgment and a brilliant style. As Director of Disarmament in the League of Nations Secretariat he watched every move in the game, meeting the principal actors and, we may be sure, aiding the good work wherever possible with the resources of his own singularly acute intelligence. The message of the book is that disarmament is not an isolated problem but a feature of our present international life, and that it is therefore hopeless to try to solve the problem of armaments in isolation from the remaining problems of the world. For this reason he greatly prefers the "indirect" to the "direct" methods of solution. The Kellogg Pact, he declares, is a gesture like the Soviet disarmament proposal, for both fail to realise that the most urgent task is the patient construction of a new international order. The direct and indirect methods must run parallel, but the greatest need is the strengthening of the League. Our author believes in the League because there is nothing else which can do its work, and his highest praise is reserved for the men of faith, above all Lord Cecil, who desire to enlarge its scope. He takes no pains to hide his contempt for those who, while pretending to be its friends, argue (often for selfish means) that we must not put too heavy a burden on its youthful back. Thus, while naturally desiring the entry of the United States, he is utterly opposed to any whittling down of its powers in order to woo her support. The way to bring her in is to show that we can make a success of the League without her, for she knows and respects success when she sees it. Equally our author would welcome the entry of Russia, confident of the power of the genial atmosphere of Geneva to make her a useful member. To every country, big or small, the League brings safety and the opportunity of healthy self-realisation. The British Empire itself needs the League as a larger framework within which the Dominions may combine unity of sentiment with unfettered nationhood. It is both flattering and inspiring to learn that the distinguished Spanish scholar and publicist looks to our country to assume the leadership of world construction.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mrs. Dorothy Gardiner in her delightful book entitled "Six Little Scenes from Canterbury History: an Entertainment"† combines historical scholarship and literary skill, accompanied by excellent verse chanted by the *Genius Loci*, as she introduces six of the many phases of the history of the famous city. The first phase is the rebuilding of the cathedral of William of Sens and William the Englishman after the great fire of September, 1174. Here Mrs. Gardiner gives life once again to the inspired craftsmanship and lofty ideals of the early masons. The second phase is a visit of Chaucer's Pilgrims about the year 1390, soon after the murder of Simon of Sudbury, and here we see, described with vividness, the late mediæval

* Oxford University Press. 15s.

† *Canterbury: Cross & Jackman*. 1s. 6d. Permission to perform these plays must be obtained from the author, 14, The Precincts, Canterbury.

life already tainted with the coming materialism of the fifteenth century, but still infused with a spiritual force. The third phase is an historical picture of the city in the grip of the disorders of the Wars of the Roses after the Battle of Tewkesbury in 1471. The fourth phase, illustrated with brilliant dialogue—perhaps the most original invention in the book—describes the mocking visit of the last of the pilgrims, Madame de Montreuil, as “told in letters to Thomas Cromwell, Minister of Henry VIII, by the Court Physician, Sir William Penison.” It is a real drama since the last of the Priors, Prior Goldwell, is almost persuaded to believe that Madame de Montreuil, late Governess to Madeleine Queen of Scots, is a real pilgrim and that she foreshadows the re-awakening of the ages of faith. Undeceived, he cries, “We are fallen upon the dregs of time. We are bankrupt of honour, wealth, even of common reverence,” and with that cry he realises that the end has come. A happy phase is reached with the arrival of the Huguenots and the gift to them, after some economic doubts, of the Western Crypt for unmolested worship, the forerunners of a new Pilgrimage. Lastly the economic note of city jealousy in the seventeenth century is set forth in a brilliant little scene where a stranger, a currier wounded in the Civil Wars, strives to set up shop and in a strange way wins his freedom by the taking of a charity boy from the good schoolmaster’s hands as an apprentice: a very human picture and not least in the wordy violence of the wives of the city curriers.

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Mr. Edmund Blunden in his scholarly and pointed essay entitled “Shakespeare’s Significances,”* a paper read before the Shakespeare Association last January at King’s College, London, quotes a sea-captain devoted to literature: “Old captains tell me that you can’t read Shakespeare until after you’ve turned forty.” This is perfectly true if Shakespeare is regarded as a literary artist and not as a dramatist. As a dramatist he appeals especially to children. But as an artist he has problems that can only be appreciated and solved by well-ripened minds. Mr. Blunden deals in this paper with the vast literary problem of *King Lear*, and produces “a series of examples of his myriad-mindedness from a play in which he delineates one of his most perplexing subjects.” The play is here regarded as “a revelation of the sanity, or inevitable sequence, underlying and co-ordinating what superficially seems incoherence.” Mr. Blunden finds—it is a new point—“a unity between the scattered incoherencies of *Lear*,” and that there is a definite by-play with, of all persons, Horace as the master-mind and, of all things, the symbolism flowers as a *leit motiv*, with the Fool as an all-knowing spirit. “Is there any cause in nature that makes these hard hearts?” was one of Shakespeare’s hardest problems. He solved it in all cases except that of Iago.

* Published for the Shakespeare Association by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1s. 6d.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE UNITED STATES.

THE Prime Minister has returned in triumph to this country and there can be no question of the service he has rendered to the cause of British friendship with the United States. The week-end conference held early in October with the first of American citizens in the President’s camp on the headwaters of the Rapidan, and the frank review there in intimate companionship of “all questions which might give rise to friction between our peoples,” has proved to be the prelude only to a happy and significant demonstration of goodwill. Meeting as friends, with nothing to conceal and with no controversies to divide them, unembarrassed by any traditions of the old diplomacy or by any worse traditions of enmities long dead, the two statesmen were able, in President Hoover’s phrase, to discuss their problems “in the long-distance view and solely in the broad aspect of human welfare.” They were both determined to prevent misunderstanding, to promote co-operation in the future. They were both resolved to take the Kellogg Peace Pact for their starting-point, their “guiding idea” in policy, and to make practical preparations for renouncing war. And they were both convinced that the other nations most concerned with questions of maritime defence would accept their invitation to enter into conference on the basis of unsuspecting friendliness which they had laid down.

Certain special circumstances attending Mr. MacDonald’s visit to America have contributed in no small degree to its success. To a nation which has proclaimed it as a self-evident truth that all men are created equal, a Labour Prime Minister makes a natural appeal. He is credited with a simplicity of spirit which in English statesmen of an older school might not be so readily acknowledged. He has no pretensions of rank or official tradition. He knows nothing of exclusiveness. He belongs to no superior caste. He runs no risk of rousing that sense of watchful self-assertion—akin to the shyness of the strong but homely countryman in presence of the more sophisticated product of the town—which lies behind the sensitive and half-scornful independence, not of our American cousins only but of some of our Colonial fellow-subjects still. They are rightly determined that they will not be condescended to; and they sometimes perhaps make their determination unnecessarily plain. Yet all the time we suspect that they are fiercely and lovably conscious of being, and of wishing to be, uncommonly like ourselves. To the advantages of his special position Mr. MacDonald added others of his own. He bore himself as the representative of a great democracy should. Observers

noted that he did nothing and said nothing which vigilant critics would have wished undone or unsaid. His speeches were eloquent, sincere, in the best sense emotional, and touched with a fervour of idealism which went home to the hearts of a nation as idealistic as ourselves.

In the old days, when two people spoke together, other people imagined a conspiracy. That was the spirit of war, and it must be extirpated. Now, when two nations talk together it ought to give hope and confidence to the other nations of the world. . . .

All we seek is co-operation, and that free and friendly relations may be established, not between your country and my country, but between your country, my country, and all the other civilised and honest countries of the world.

His belief in personal contact was justified: to know each other is to dispel distrust. His interviews with American statesmen left them friends. His address to the American Senate—a memorable occasion—not only roused enthusiasm: it rang true. The Pact of Peace, he told his audience, had made war between Great Britain and the United States impossible. If that high forecast should become an article of faith in future, the visit of our Labour Prime Minister to America may prove to be a landmark in the history of mankind.

That is not to say that we have cleared away in a moment all the difficulties ahead, either in settling the details of our naval arrangements with Washington, or in the more complicated task of bringing in as parties to that settlement sensitive coadjutors like France, Italy, Japan. The Five Power Conference in January next will have many a thorny question to handle. Even to-day, in spite of the Washington Convention, four of the five Powers, all in fact except "Great Britain," are spending on their fleets far more than they spent before the war. France and Italy, Japan and our Dominions, all have their special necessities to consider. Italy has been quick to intimate her readiness to join in conference. Overburdened by armaments which she can ill afford, she is believed to be genuinely anxious for reductions. France is more guarded. She is still very nervous about aggression, and is tempted to try to preserve peace by force of arms. She has still strong views as to the armaments which she must have for her defence. She does not think that her naval requirements are necessarily identical with Italy's. She is not prepared to allow that the Pact of Paris has rendered great armies and navies needless. The Latin and the Anglo-Saxon approach to the problem of disarmament are not always quite the same. The nations less ready to express their emotions are sometimes more easily moved by political ideals.

On the questions which immediately present themselves, moreover, there is ample room for difference of opinion. Great Britain and the United States hope to abolish the submarine. French opinion at present is disinclined to accept this proposal. Italian opinion seems to be doubtful. And it may well be asked whether, if war is to continue, any nation, in an hour of stress or peril, will be able to resist the pressure to make use of every weapon that it can. If the study of armaments develops, the devices of destruction will develop too. "The major historical causes of difference" between the United States and ourselves, which Mr. MacDonald has referred to, blockade and fortified bases, and the rights of belligerents and neutrals during war, have still to be examined further. The "freedom of the seas"—a phrase quite as full of possibilities of misunderstanding as the phrase "Dominion status" in another sphere—has yet to find an agreed interpretation. All the rules which govern the conduct of war may call for reconsideration. There is no lack of difficulties to test the statesmanship of the five naval Powers when they assemble, differences inherent in the stupendous undertaking of substituting peace for war in the settlement of international disputes. But for the moment it is enough to know that the five Powers have agreed to come into the conference, and that the two Powers specially responsible for it, whose right to give a lead will not be questioned, will enter it together in an attitude of confident goodwill.

Is it too much to hope that our new understanding with America may prove to be the beginning of an era of lasting friendship for us both? Is it too sanguine to forecast a future when historians on both sides of the Atlantic may ask themselves with wonder how it happened that we were content so long and so often to criticise and to mistrust each other? We come from the same stock: it is only five generations since we parted company. We take pride in the same ancestors. We speak the same language. We inherit the same obstinate love of freedom. We share the same qualities, prejudices, and beliefs. We respond to the same impulses. We shyly acknowledge the same ideals. What fate or perversity has so far prevented us from admitting the natural partnership for which we seem to be designed? President Wilson once roused some angry comment in this country by telling his fellow-countrymen that a nation might be too proud to fight. It is a common thing for nations to be too proud to make friends. And a certain stubborn pride, it may be, kept alive by the want of those personal contacts for which Mr. MacDonald has lately pleaded, did more than anything else for generations to keep ourselves and the Americans apart. "The desire of having someone below them" Burke thought in early days, was among Englishmen the root of

the mischief. "Our subjects in America, our colonies, our dependants," was the spirit on our side which had provoked the American revolt. And it was, no doubt, a protest against this half-unconscious implication of inferiority, added to grievances of a more practical kind, which led the citizens of the young Republic to view English policy with such steady unfriendliness in the dreamy period when Abraham Lincoln was growing to boyhood in the backwoods of Kentucky, and when Wellington's Peninsular veterans were destroying the public buildings of Washington in a purposeless and fratricidal war.

Already by that time Englishmen and Irishmen, rebels against the conditions of life in their own countries, or, it might be, fugitives from the press-gang during the Napoleonic struggle, were seeking a refuge in America, and nursing there the resentments which had driven them from home. British seamen in thousands served on the ships which captured an uncomfortable number of British vessels in the first attempt made by the American Navy to enforce the doctrine of the freedom of the seas. And during the first half of the nineteenth century this unhappy prejudice survived. Tory England was regarded, not without some reason, as the old enemy and the ever-grudging critic of the new Republic. The tradition took root in American history: American school-books have preserved it till quite recent times. More and more Britain came to be identified with ideas of high-handed aristocracy, as aristocratic influences in the government of America declined, and the gulf between the two countries widened as Jefferson's followers made the doctrines of equality and liberty more and more the foundation of the national life. It was to the new France and not to the old England that the majority of Americans had begun to look for political ideals.

It might perhaps have been expected that the growth of liberal sentiment in England during the nineteenth century would have shown itself more quickly in an increase of sympathy with the great Republic of the West. And gradually, almost imperceptibly, some change began to work. But the process was often interrupted. Even Sir Robert Peel contemplated the possibility of differences which now seem insignificant involving us in war, and Lord Melbourne confided to his Sovereign that the Ashburton Treaty with the United States, negotiated by an English peer who had married an American heiress, might be taken in England to betray "too great an anxiety for peace." There were disputes about boundaries, beyond the Rocky Mountains and elsewhere, disputes about the enlistment of British soldiers in America, disputes over the arrest of Confederate envoys in 1861 upon a British ship, disputes over the Alabama episode, which, but for the wise influence of the Prince

Consort and others might well have brought us in as parties to the Civil War. There were serious moments when a rash phrase of Mr. Gladstone's, afterwards described by him as an offence of "incredible grossness," suggested that the leaders of the South had made a nation, when Louis Blanc declared that English sympathy with the North was a dam and English sympathy for the South a torrent, and when the American Minister spoke with grim humour of packing up his bag. And more significant still perhaps was the disappointment felt in American circles when a great popular writer like Charles Dickens, whom they had welcomed with overflowing enthusiasm, published on returning his vivacious comments on the faults and weaknesses—"the blots and stains upon its high pretensions"—which his first visit to the Republic had revealed. To be chilled by criticism, where they had looked for admiration, checked the natural instinct of friendliness which few Englishmen or Americans could permanently repress.

But as time passed this sense of alienation lessened, and the sense of common interests and affections quickly increased. The crudities and exuberances of a young nation fell into their just proportions. The scale and worth of its achievement more and more impressed its critics. The grandeur of a character like Lincoln's roused enthusiasm even in the British upper class. Famous men, said Pericles, have the whole world for their tomb. The strength and sincerity which lay behind the apparent superciliousness on the one side, and the somewhat exasperating habit of twisting the lion's tail upon the other, gradually made themselves felt. If Mr. Gladstone had once offended American sentiment severely, he came in time to be venerated in America hardly less than in Scotland, Italy, or Greece. If Dickens, on his first visit, had been a little contemptuous in his comments, he found on his second visit twenty-five years later that the sharp tone of the *American Notes* and the caricatures in *Martin Chuzzlewit* had been forgiven, and that the welcome awarded him was even more generous than before. Other great Englishmen helped the movement of reconciliation on. Cobden, at first perhaps a little uncertain—he was shocked by the evil of the Civil War and by the great suffering inflicted on our cotton trade—John Bright, with no moment of uncertainty, pleaded steadily for peace and understanding, for arbitration if disputes arose, for patience if bad temper or bad manners made it necessary. And gradually it became evident that there was behind these men in England a great public opinion neither hostile nor contemptuous towards American struggles, errors, and ideals.

Even more important perhaps was Queen Victoria's unconscious influence—though her views were not the views of Bright or Cobden. Her life with its elements of domesticity and goodness,

appealed strongly to a great middle-class nation. She was not mistaken when she wrote to Mr. Gladstone, with characteristic underlining, "In *America generally* she is a *great favourite*, she knows." Queen Victoria's Court became more and more a centre to which leaders of American fashion turned. Inter-marriages increased. American women brought their fortunes to refound old English houses. They became the wives and mothers of English statesmen. Victorian literature forged fresh bonds between us. Carlyle, Macaulay, Ruskin, Tennyson, George Eliot, and a thousand English writers later, found an even wider audience than at home. And, as our common literature increased, the conception of international copyright, for which Dickens had pleaded vainly, penetrated to the mind of the American public and put to shame the piratical habits of the past. The last sixty years have seen these intimacies growing and their influence increasing every day. Ambassadors and statesmen on both sides, Americans like Motley and Lowell, or like Mr. Roosevelt, Colonel House, and Mr. Page, Englishmen like Lord Bryce, Lord Balfour, and many others, have worked steadily to establish our friendship. There has never in recent years been any doubt of our desire to woo American opinion: the only doubt with us has been how far it was willing to be won. Words spoken in great moments, like Lincoln's words on the battlefield of Gettysburg, words like President Wilson's in those majestic arguments which in the last years of the Great War seemed to embody the claims and hopes of the English-speaking world, have shown the resources of our common language, the strength and purpose of our common aims. Prejudice still lingers, no doubt. Criticism, misunderstanding, quarrels may arise, and moments of disillusion and annoyance follow. But the forces and interests now drawing us together are so strong that no accident or littleness of mind must be permitted to prevent our moving side by side along the path of amity and peace.

One reason for Mr. MacDonald's success in his recent visit to America was the outspoken sentiment in the speeches he delivered. Fundamentally the American democracy, like our own, is ruled by sentiment, and in most cases the sentiment is simple, honest, and sincere. Change as the vast Republic may, the old Puritan tradition still governs American middle-class opinion, and that opinion still dominates American life. The population of New York is now said to be some ninety per cent. of foreign extraction. But the spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers, and of contemporaries from Holland as sturdily religious, still rules the heterogeneous company of descendants whose pedigree might be difficult to prove. And the American people as a whole is still as responsive as its British ancestors to Puritan ideals, as anxious as its kinsmen in Crom-

well's armies "to make some conscience of what they do." Faith, piety, goodness, even in the twentieth century, rarely fail in their appeal. Convince them that a cause is just and in the end they will take hold of it. For years their politicians may recommend compromise or tactics, as in the long years which saw slavery tolerated or excused. Show them wrongdoing which they can prevent, and they will not easily be kept from action. An appeal to the mass of American opinion to relieve suffering, to stop persecution, to avenge injustice—such appeals as Mr. Gladstone sometimes made to the conscience of this country on behalf of Italy or Armenia, Bulgaria or Greece—may yet have in politics astonishing results. There is no nation perhaps except our own so liable to emotions of this nature, so capable of being drawn into crusades. And deep down in their hearts, as Mr. MacDonald put it, the Americans know and are glad to know that this idealism is shared by us.

It is, no doubt, possible to indulge these crusading instincts too freely. In the development of religious liberty, it may be, we have long since provided some material for cynics. There are probably few forms of creed or credulity which have not found encouragement both in America and in England. Any new faith preached with vigour and vivacity may count, it seems, on finding adherents in both countries, and will probably secure in the United States a score of disciples for every disciple attracted here. The crusading spirit applied to politics may sometimes lead to strong conclusions, and in one domestic matter the Americans have carried it to lengths impossible here. Abraham Lincoln, a teetotaler, once told a temperance society that the heads and hearts of habitual drunkards would "bear an advantageous comparison with those of any other class." But there is at present little sign of the same large if not excessive tolerance in the sentiment which moves America to fight the curse of drink. The business instinct too may have its temptations. The last few months have seen an outrageous Tariff Bill propounded, a Bill as narrowly selfish in protecting certain interests as it was alarming to nations trading with America and to the great natural products of the States themselves. Even American politicians hardly realise to what extent their vast population now depends for its comforts on the labour of other lands. The pitfalls of American politics are many, and the battle of interests is keen. It is easy enough to find points to criticise, if it ever helps nations to a better understanding to be for ever dwelling on each other's faults. And the business instinct which led the American people on the one hand to make great fortunes, quite legitimately, out of the war, and the American Government on the other hand, when the war was over, to bear

more hardly upon us than upon any other nation for the repayment of debts incurred in the interests of all, has seemed to some Englishmen to be a little lacking in the magnanimity which Burke recommended for great empires and great minds. A statement made in 1919 by the Secretary to the American Treasury is not without significance :

For nearly three years before we began to fight with the Allies the United States profited tremendously in a commercial and industrial sense by the European War. Immense fortunes were made, prosperity pervaded our land. Our domestic trade was almost past computation, our foreign trade in many lines epochal. It reached the immense proportions of \$23,462,000,000 of exports, against \$11,881,000,000 of imports. We imported more than \$1,000,000,000 in gold from debtor nations.

Speculation may cause a collapse. Stock Exchange values may tumble. But of America's deep-rooted prosperity no American and no Englishman can doubt.

We do not grudge our great neighbour her resources. We cannot prevent her building ships. We cannot question her power to surpass us in any form of expenditure which she may think her necessities require. But as we survey our diminished trade, our overwhelming taxes, and our high tale of unemployed, we do appeal for her powerful co-operation in lifting the burden of armaments from the shoulders of mankind. And the only effectual way to rid us of this burden is to rid us of the possibility of war. That is the paramount purpose, alike of Mr. MacDonald's visit to America and of the Conferences to be held in Europe. We may argue for ever over parity of ships, belligerent rights and fortified bases. But these questions fall into insignificance if we can succeed in making war as unlikely between civilised nations as it has already been pronounced "unthinkable" between Great Britain and the United States. Time is going on, a great statesman has reminded us. Eleven years have passed since the armistice. Are the nations moving still on the old lines which led to the catastrophe? Or are they moving on new lines which may lead us to security in place of the old fear? If the fear which drives men into hostile camps is to be extinguished, our only hope is to find a way of substituting law for violence and arbitration for war. And the first step in that direction is the step which we have taken, to reaffirm and fortify the friendship, based on old ties and built up by new affections, between the two great branches of the English-speaking race.

CHARLES MALLET.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION ON THE HOME FRONT.

THE Labour Government has now been in office for just over five months. One is not justified in expecting a large record of achievement in so short a period, but sufficient time has elapsed for a display of vision, imagination, and courage. And one is entitled to estimate the probable yield of fruit from the blossom that has bloomed. No close student of the issues at the recent General Election would controvert the assertion that the unemployment problem loomed large as the dominant question. Parties were judged by their reactions to it. The nation is rightly alarmed at the magnitude and the persistence of this problem. We are now approaching the tenth winter of acute distress. Ever since January, 1921, with the exception of a week or two, the unemployment figures on the live register have remained obstinately above the million mark. Indeed, the latest of 1,252,000 are only 97,000 less than when seven years ago the Coalition was dissolved.

At the General Election all parties put forward their specific remedies. The Conservative contribution was the de-rating of industry with a view to lowering production costs and stimulating trade recovery. The Liberals in their famous Orange Book entitled *We Can Conquer Unemployment* submitted a daring scheme of National Development out of public funds, coupled with a pledge to reduce unemployment to normal within a year. The Socialist Party concentrated on National Development without a time-pledge, but with more generous maintenance for the workless pending the provision of work. In the result, the nation decided that de-rating was too slow a remedy and preferred the Socialists' "Work or Maintenance" to the Liberal "Work," even with a time-pledge attached.

The burden of Labour's election complaint was this : "Both you older parties, alternately in power for a century, have failed to recognise that the problem of unemployment existed. You have no solution. We alone have a positive remedy. We alone can tackle it with resolution. Give us our chance now." The Labour Election manifesto declared : "Our schemes for dealing with unemployment have been before the country for years before the Liberal Party appropriated them," and moreover, "when the Labour Government was in office it announced to Parliament schemes of comprehensive and far-reaching character which it had already begun to put into effect." If, then, there is profound disappointment at Labour's achievement especially in their own ranks, their leaders have only themselves to blame. The nation was taught to expect great things. Five months may be all too

short a time for "miracles" to be worked. But what of the previous eight months' experience of the problem in 1924? It is not unreasonably being asked, where are the schemes which have been before the country for years, and which, but for the machinations of Tories and Liberals, would have burst into fruition in the autumn of 1924? Let Mr. Thomas speak for himself.

It was before a crowded and expectant House of Commons that on July 3rd Mr. Thomas, the Lord Privy Seal and "Minister of Employment," addressed himself to his task. His first argument was one with which the country is all too familiar. True, there are over a million unemployed, but half that number is only temporarily out of work—merely passing through the live register on its way to employment. The voice is the voice of Thomas, but the argument is the argument of Steel-Maitland. A shudder swept over the Labour benches like a sudden gust of wind over a field of wheat. It is unnecessary here to examine the truth of this argument except to observe that, even if there is a continual change in the personnel of the unemployment register, this surplus of a million workless men has persisted for nine years. Indeed, it would be easier to argue, if Mr. Thomas's assertion be true, that the evil is more formidable than is imagined because it is more widely spread.

When the House had recovered, Mr. Thomas proceeded to unfold the schemes of the Government which have been before the country for years. Very briefly, they were as follows:

(a) A home Development Committee (the Duckham Committee) to sanction a State guarantee of loans (up to £25,000,000) or to defray in whole or part for fifteen years the interest charges on loans (up to another £25,000,000) raised by statutory public utility undertakings (i.e. railways, tubes, docks, etc.).

(b) A Colonial Development Fund of £1,000,000 a year to assist by loan or grant development in the Crown Colonies.

(c) The fuller utilisation of the Lord St. Davids' Committee (set up by Mr. Lloyd George in 1921) for the purpose of stimulating by percentage grants schemes approved by Local Authorities.

(d) The expenditure of £37,500,000 on a five-year road programme for trunk and classified roads.

(e) The appointment of a Committee to examine the extension of the school-leaving age and the removal of persons over sixty from industry.

These constituted the main proposals of the Government. An extension of the principle of Trade Facilities, a small grant to stimulate Colonial Development, a committee—it is all admirable. The Road Fund is not to be raided for other purposes. The new programme will almost be financed out of the present surplus plus the aggregate of the five-years' normal increment in the fund (amount-

ing in all to over £30,000,000). It is all very reassuring. The proposals are sensible, moderate, and practical. A little extension here, a little adaptation there of measures initiated by Mr. Lloyd George in the autumn of 1920. There is nothing here to make one catch the breath or raise an eyebrow! Nothing here to suggest that for nine years over a million of our fellow citizens have been engulfed in a morass of mental, moral, and physical degradation. Nothing to suggest that three or four millions of their helpless dependants have gone short of the barest necessities of life!

In a recent speech Mr. Thomas has revealed the results of his five months' effort. The Duckham Committee has sanctioned schemes for £7,000,000, the Lord St. David's Committee schemes for £11,000,000; a further £3,000,000 has been earmarked for the Zambesi Bridge; £21,000,000 of the new road programme has been sanctioned. In all, schemes with a capital value of £42,000,000 have been approved providing work ultimately for 1,400,000 man-months or for an average of 39,000 per three years. Many of the schemes will not be in full swing for a year. The bulk of them will spread over three to five years or more. Since the Labour Government took office the unemployment figures have increased by 151,000. This increase is no doubt seasonal. But it may safely be predicted that less than a third of the increase will find work this winter. Sensible and practical no doubt the Government proposals may be. They can hardly be called an adequate programme of national development.

In all fairness to the Government it should be remembered that it inherited at the start a formidable legacy of foreign problems requiring immediate attention. Nothing but praise is due to them in this sphere. Nevertheless, this accumulation of foreign problems has diverted the mind of the Cabinet from vital issues at home. It might almost be said that England has been governed from abroad. Mr. Snowden directs from The Hague, supported by Mr. William Graham; Mr. Henderson from Geneva supported by Mr. William Graham; Mr. Ramsay MacDonald governs from Washington. During the recess inaction become more confounded. Mr. Thomas exiled himself for six weeks in Canada and discovered that unemployment and emigration must not be linked. His lieutenant, the Chancellor of the Duchy, spent a well-earned holiday sun-bathing in the South of France. Of the three Ministers entrusted with the problem of unemployment, Mr. George Lansbury alone remained at home. He kept up his wicket by skilful publicity. Frequently he was to be seen swinging with children and, jealous no doubt of his sun-bathing colleague, he declared his intention of initiating sun-bathing by the Serpentine. The absence abroad of so many leading Ministers may have been

inevitable. It has not been conducive to vigorous action at home. What Mr. Lansbury has gained on the swings, his colleagues have lost on their foreign roundabouts.

In remoter days of our history statesmen faced with insoluble home problems promptly declared war. In the wave of sentiment that ensued all domestic grievances were submerged. The present Government has improved on this subterfuge—it has been declaring "Peace." Veritable as are their triumphs in foreign fields, by some grim irony these triumphs must ultimately aggravate the unemployment problem at home. Washington, if it leads to a successful conference, will mean heavy discharges of dockyard labour and unemployment among workers in armament firms. The Hague, which won for us an extra £2,000,000 a year, will increase the import of reparation goods from Germany with the consequent repercussion on the unemployment problem.

There is much weight in the argument that five months largely devoted to foreign affairs is all too short a period for an inroad to be made into the figures of unemployment. Nevertheless, the failure is not merely a matter of time—it is a question of policy and method. It is abundantly clear that Ministers are wedded to the so-called Treasury doctrine that to the extent to which the State uses public funds for national development, less funds are available for industrial expansion by private enterprise. The sum of employment, we are told, is not thereby augmented. Employment is created, but to an equivalent or even greater degree it is reduced. Lack of space prevents us from following the doctrine to its logical conclusion. Suffice it to say that this is not a doctrine acceptable to the brilliant economists and business men who framed the Liberal pamphlet *We Can Conquer Unemployment*. Nor is it judged to be well founded by Professor Henry Clay in his recent illuminating book on the unemployment problem.

If national development out of public funds is wrong, it must be very wrong. If it is right, it must be very right in the present emergency. Mr. Thomas, as the Government's spokesman, treats this policy as half right and half wrong. A study of his speeches shows that he has no sure faith in it himself. It would be far wiser to condemn the use of public credit for national development as the Conservative leaders have done, than to embark on a feeble imitation of this policy. To argue that until trade recovers of itself acute unemployment must remain with us may be an inhuman belief, but it is understandable. National development cannot yet be condemned from our own experience because it has not yet been tried on a daring scale in this country. In other countries it has been attempted with remarkable results. The direct financing of great schemes of a capital nature in anticipation of future

revenue to the tune of £200,000,000 in five years (and concentration in two) as the Liberal economists—and the Liberal Party—urged, is at least a challenging policy. Its effects would be more felt than the cautious and tentative Government procedure. It has the quality of courage and imagination. Their orthodox and complacent treatment has the quality of neither. The failure of the Government to deal drastically with the unemployment emergency is having its natural consequences. Mr. Maxton points a minatory finger at the Front Bench and demands more generous maintenance for the unemployed if "work" is not forthcoming. Mr. Snowden and Miss Bondfield have been subjected to great pressure. An ultimatum is said to have been issued. We see the effects of it no doubt in the Unemployment Insurance Bill recently presented to Parliament. The adolescent unemployed are to be consoled by a slight increase of benefits.

For the rest, we have still to wait for the Government's Housing and Slum Clearance Schemes, the training of out-of-works for industry or agriculture, the removal of men of 60 years of age from industry, the drainage of land or afforestation. The Wheatley Housing subsidy has been partially restored; that is all to the good. The school-leaving age is to be raised in April, 1931. No one expected this reform could be accomplished sooner and its postponement shows that it is not to be considered as an urgent cure for unemployment as we were led to believe during the General Election.

No less than eighteen commissions or committees have been appointed to inquire into the state of basic industries or questions of grievance. More ambitious is the Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions Bill now before Parliament. Although it cannot be said to implement the Prime Minister's pledge of "pensions for all widows in need," or Mr. Henderson's pledge on behalf of the Party for the immediate extension of Voluntary Insurance, it certainly removes some of the injustices created by Mr. Neville Chamberlain's Act of 1925. It must be considered only as an instalment pending the comprehensive measure of co-ordination and extension of all the pensions schemes to which the Labour Party is pledged.

There remains the problem of the Coal Industry. At the moment of writing Government action can only be the subject of intelligent speculation. In *Labour and the Nation*, the official pre-election treatise on Labour aims, the Party was committed to the repeal of the Eight Hours Act, the establishment of a superannuation scheme for aged miners, and the transference of the industry to public ownership. In Labour's election manifesto we find the following:

The state of the Coal Mining Industry is so tragic that measures would be immediately undertaken to alleviate the distress in the coalfields, re-organise the industry from top to bottom, both on its productive and marketing sides, and shorten the hours of labour. A Labour majority would nationalise the mines and the minerals as the only condition for satisfactory working. It would develop the scientific utilisation of coal and its valuable by-products now largely wasted.

The Editor of *The New Leader* (November 1st) forecasts the Government's coal policy thus:

(a) Miners' hours to be reduced by one-half hour from next April, and by a further half-hour when the economic state of the industry permits.

(b) Legal force for approved marketing schemes or in their absence legal imposition of schemes by the Government.

(c) The acquisition of mining royalties by the State as leases fall in.

It is to be hoped that this forecast is not an accurate one. If it is, the Government's policy will constitute a clear breach of faith with the miners.

The difficulties arising under (a) are that wages and hours are so correlated that, if hours are reduced, piece-rate wages are also reduced unless piece-rates are raised. Yet it is not the Government's intention to reduce wages. In several districts (Yorkshire being one) seven and a half hours are already in force and no benefit will accrue from the first stage of the proposed reduction. Indeed, the return to the seven-hour day by stages is held to be a breach of the spirit of Labour's pledge by many of the miners' representatives. Mr. Snowden has bluntly declared that an immediate return to the seven-hours' day would inflict grievous disaster on the industry. Moreover, though wages are not to be reduced, no steps are apparently to be taken to prevent it. Since the coal stoppage, there has been no National Wages Agreement. Districts were left to get the best terms for themselves. The need for a National Wages Agreement, coupled with a National Minimum Wage, is a question on which the miners' leaders feel very strongly. The owners are adamant in their opposition to both. If the Government is afraid to impose a national minimum wage on the industry, bitter feeling may be aroused.

In regard to marketing schemes the Government intends, if speculation is to be credited, to limit production by fixing a quota. The inefficient pit, protected by a quota, would either get a share of the production now enjoyed by a more profitable pit, or, in the alternative, would be able to sell this new form of property—the right to produce—to its restricted rival. The result would be the raising of the home price of coal to the producer. This system

of "production by quota" is the opposite process to "Rationalisation" which concentrates production on the cheapest producers. Export coal, it is said, is to be subsidised by a levy on home production, and home industry, penalised by dearer coal, would have to compete with foreign industry enjoying the benefit of cheap British exported coal. The Cabinet is said to be divided as to the wisdom of such a policy.

The third proposal—the acquisition of royalties as leases fall in—can hardly be called the reorganisation of the industry from top to bottom. Further comment must wait until the Government's Bill is drafted. It is sufficient to point out that if these proposals are accurately forecast, they fall far short even of the re-organisation of the industry which Mr. Lloyd George, with the assent of Mr. Bonar Law, offered the miners in 1919. They fall far short of the recommendations of the Samuel Commission on which the Liberal Party took its stand at the General Election. Sympathy must be extended to Mr. Herbert Smith, that veteran miners' leader, if at the recent conference he seized his cap in disgust and stalked out of the room.

GEOFFREY H. SHAKESPEARE.

PRINCE BÜLOW.

PRINCE BÜLOW'S political activities ended with the entry of Italy into the World War, and he spent a large part of his closing years in the preparation of his voluminous Memoirs. It is satisfactory to know that he completed the task while in full possession of his faculties. A final judgment of the man must be postponed till we receive and digest his apologia; but it is not too early to attempt a provisional estimate of his policy and of the place he will occupy in the history of our time. He was beyond comparison the most dazzling figure on the German political stage in the post-Bismarckian era, the most brilliant of debaters, the most adroit of Parliamentary managers, the most fascinating of conversationalists. Yet this incomparable *charmeur* has left a reputation darkened by heavy shadows. Of all the eight Chancellors of Imperial Germany he was the least respected and the most widely distrusted. He was regarded, not only by many foreigners, but by some of his own countrymen, as slippery and even false; a flatterer of the Kaiser for his own purposes; a political cynic whose guiding principle was to maintain himself in the high office to which he had climbed; a statesman who scored fleeting successes at the price of ultimate failure; a pilot who steered the ship into the very heart of the whirlpool, from which his successor was unable to extricate it, and in which it was soon to be engulfed. His name is a symbol of controversy, for his career is bound up with the origins of the fiercest conflict in history.

Bernhard von Bülow was born in the purple. He was not only a member of one of the oldest and most distinguished families in North Germany, but also the son of a Minister of Foreign Affairs. Coming of age in 1870, he took part in the victorious campaign, and grew to maturity during the years in which Bismarck bestrode Europe like a colossus. He entered the diplomatic service at the age of 25, and for the next twenty-three years watched the moves of the international game in half the capitals of Europe. As a Secretary of the Berlin Congress he saw the star performers at close quarters, and in the Paris Embassy, under Hohenlohe, he learned to know Gambetta. He now climbed rapidly up the official ladder, passing from Petrograd to his first independent post at Bucharest, and from Bucharest to Rome, where he had begun his diplomatic career, and where he found his accomplished wife. His despatches may be read in the earlier volumes of *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914*, the great collection of diplomatic material in fifty-four volumes published at Berlin after the loss of the war. His future was assured; for in addition to his historic name, his proved capacity, his wide culture, and his irre-

sistible charm, he had friends in high places, particularly Holstein and Eulenburg, who watched over his interests and waited for the clock to strike.

The moment came in 1897, when Bülow, at the age of 48, was appointed Foreign Secretary. Marschall von Bieberstein, who had succeeded Herbert Bismarck in 1890, had lost the favour of his master, and was sent to defend German interests on the Bosphorus. The Chancellor, Hohenlohe, was now 77, and the weary old man longed to lay down the burden which he had reluctantly assumed in 1894. The seven years that had elapsed since the fall of Bismarck had witnessed three important developments in the field of foreign affairs. The failure to renew the secret treaty of reinsurance with Russia, when it ran out in 1890, accelerated the Franco-Russian *rapprochement* which had recently begun. The intervention in the Far East, in company with Russia and France, to limit the aggrandisement of Japan after her victory over China, planted the seeds of an enduring resentment. Finally, the Kruger telegram ended the period of Anglo-German friendliness which—with one or two moments of tension—had existed since the foundation of the Empire, and had inspired Salisbury's shortsighted cession of Heligoland. Despite these excursions and alarms, neither Caprivi nor Hohenlohe had definitely abandoned the Bismarckian policy of limited liability. Notwithstanding the Franco-Russian alliance, the relations between the Courts of Petrograd and Berlin were better in 1897 than in 1890; and though there had been talk of war in 1896, both in England and Germany, the estrangement was not yet irrevocable, and Great Britain remained uncommitted to either of the European groups. The Kaiser's craving for a fleet and for the heady drink of Weltpolitik, with its prizes and its risks, was no secret; but the path was still open, and the fear of encirclement (*Einkreisung*) had not yet found lodgment in the heart of the German people.

The real turning-point in the reign of William II was not the dismissal of Bismarck in 1890, but the almost simultaneous appointment of Bülow and Tirpitz in 1897. For the next twelve years Germany was governed by these two men and their Imperial master; for Hohenlohe was fading out of the picture before Bülow succeeded him as Chancellor in 1900. The achievement of the Triumvirate may be summarised in a sentence: they increased Germany's material strength and weakened her international position. The largest share of responsibility for this result falls on the professional statesman; for Tirpitz was a sailor, with a sailor's limitations, while the Kaiser owed his office to hereditary descent. The ex-Chancellor defended himself after his fall in his brilliant apologia, *Imperial Germany*, and will renew his defence at greater

length in his Memoirs. The indictment has been launched with the greatest pungency in Johannes Haller's striking little book, *Die Ära Bülow*. Students who desire to form their own judgment of his policy must, of course, spend laborious days with the *Grosse Politik*, in which Bülow occupies a larger space than any of his contemporaries, and the *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, edited by Gooch and Temperley.

The great task of the early years of Bülow's tenure of office was to aid the Kaiser and Tirpitz in converting the German people to the idea of a navy, and to the financial sacrifices which such a decision involved. For years William II had longed to possess a fleet which should not only increase the strength but enhance the prestige of himself and his Empire; and the overmastering importance of sea-power was demonstrated afresh by the Spanish-American War in 1898, the year in which the first German Navy Bill became law. It was a modest beginning which aroused no apprehensions, and the only wonder was that Germany, hitherto defenceless at sea, had waited so long. When the reverberations of the Kruger telegram had died away the relations of London and Berlin recovered something of their former harmony. For though Salisbury and the Kaiser had distrusted one another since the Cowes interview of 1895, Germany's support of our position in Egypt was very welcome; and our dangerous friction in 1898 with Russia in the Far East and with France in Central Africa made Germany appear for the moment almost in the guise of a friend. The secret treaty of 1898, mapping out our respective spheres of influence in the Portuguese Colonies, was followed by a sharp dispute over Samoa; but the outbreak of the Boer War drove us to compromise in the Pacific, and the visit of the Kaiser and his Foreign Minister to England in the late autumn of 1899 was hailed with gratitude at a moment when almost the whole world outside the British Empire frowned on our South African campaign.

In 1898 Chamberlain had unofficially suggested to Germany an entente or alliance as an escape from what seemed to him the growing perils of isolation. Salisbury saw no reason to depart from our traditional policy; but he was growing old, and it was not Chamberlain's way to be diverted from a project in which he believed. After discussing the situation with Bülow, he delivered his famous pronouncement at Leicester, on November 30th, 1899, in which he pleaded for close co-operation with Germany and the United States. The response from the latter was what might have been expected from a people instinctively hostile to European entanglements; but the rejoinder from Berlin was both a surprise and a blow to his pride. Instead of echoing the sentiments of the Leicester speech, Bülow replied to his advances in cautious and even chilly terms.

For the journalistic campaign against the Boer War was in full swing, and a *rapprochement* with England at that moment would not have been at all to the taste of the German people. Chamberlain never forgave Bülow for letting him down; and when the Colonial Secretary, in defending the conduct of our troops in South Africa against Continental attacks, reflected on the behaviour of Germany in 1870, Bülow made a sharp reply. Henceforth he was *persona ingrata* in England; and when it was rumoured that he would accompany his master to Windsor in 1907 he was plainly told that he had better stay away.

A few years ago it was the fashion to blame Bülow for declining the reiterated offer of a British alliance at the turn of the century. The chief witness for the prosecution is Eckardstein, whose lively Memoirs appeared in 1920. His testimony was at first taken at its face value both in England and in Germany; and Eugen Fischer, in his powerful work *Holsteins Grosses Nein*, argued that Bülow and Holstein between them had lost a golden opportunity of securing the friendship of the British Empire, of preventing the *Einkreisung*, and of averting the World War. The Editors of the *Grosse Politik* cautioned their readers against accepting Eckardstein's testimony as gospel truth; but it was not till the appearance in 1927 of the second volume of the *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, edited by Gooch and Temperley, that Eckardstein's edifice crumbled away. It appeared that no offer of alliance had been made by the British Government; that Chamberlain's advances had left no traces in the archives of the Foreign Office; and that the only official papers bearing on the subject dated from 1901, when the initiative, according to Lansdowne, came from Eckardstein, not from himself. Even then, Salisbury's objection to anything in the nature of an alliance deprived the ensuing discussions of most of their interest; and the efforts of Germany to associate England not with herself alone but with the Triple Alliance as a whole, rendered even a limited agreement impossible. The significance of the British evidence on this hotly debated issue has been fully recognised by Meinecke, Gerhard Ritter, and Otto Becker.

To acquit Bülow of rejecting an offer that was never made is not to approve his policy towards Great Britain, which was tragically lacking in prescience. The community of our commercial interests in the Far East in face of the Russian advance led us to sign the so-called Yangtze Treaty in 1900, and there is no reason for us to complain of his attitude to the South African War. The history of the projects of intervention during this period is still obscure; but the Kaiser, despite some wild and whirling words to the Russian Ambassador, never seriously contemplated mobilising Europe against us in our time of trial. The real charge against Bülow and

his chief adviser, Holstein, is that they failed to notice that England was entering on a new path. So long as Salisbury was at the helm it was unlikely that any striking departure from our traditional policy in Europe would take place; but the conclusion of an alliance with Japan at the opening of 1902 was an indication that Lansdowne at any rate was not wedded to the past. It was an article of faith in the Wilhelmstrasse that the old enmity between England and the Dual Alliance was a permanent factor in the European situation, and that Germany had merely to wait till we were compelled by the hostility of France or Russia to pay her own price for support. Bülow's defence of his cold responses to British advances, limited though they were, has always been that he had no mind to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for us, or, in other words, to allow Germany to be dragged into our chronic quarrel with Russia and used as our spear-head in a diplomatic or military conflict. To retain the fragile friendship of Russia seemed to him more important than to secure the goodwill and confidence of England. Within a few years, however, he found himself fallen between two stools; for, instead of drifting into war with France or Russia, or both, we made up our quarrel first with one and then with the other before the incredulous eyes of Berlin.

This miscalculation is the supreme condemnation of Bülow's statemanship, and it cannot be seriously argued that events moved forward mechanically over his head. The anger aroused in England by the attacks of the German Press flamed out when the two Governments co-operated in the winter of 1902-3 in the blockade of Venezuela; but a fire soon dies down when it is not fed by fresh fuel. It is true that when in the summer of 1903 Delcassé asked us to assist him to secure predominance for France in Morocco, we accepted the invitation and entered on the negotiations leading to the Treaty of April 8th, 1904. But the deep estrangement between England and Germany was subsequent to the Anglo-French *rapprochement*, and was mainly due to the rapid construction of a formidable navy and the menacing resistance to French domination in Morocco. In both cases, it need hardly be pointed out, Germany was acting entirely within her rights; for every sovereign State in those days claimed the right to possess whatever armaments she desired, and to defend her treaty rights and commercial interests by the means she deemed best. The charge against the directors of German policy is not that they committed a moral offence, but that their policy stood condemned by its results.

The Second Navy Bill of 1900 began the rivalry that was to push two great countries towards the abyss. The driving force behind the new policy came from Tirpitz and the Kaiser, but Bülow supported it and must bear the chief responsibility for its political results. A

defence of his action may be read in *Imperial Germany*, published in 1913, and partly rewritten in 1916. Germany, he argues, needed a fleet for the same reasons as other Powers—for the defence of her territory and trade, and for the increase of her influence in the councils of the world. He never desired to outbuild Great Britain, for he knew that we should sacrifice everything to keep the lead; and he never dreamed of using the fleet for the purposes of attack. His aim was to make Germany *selbstständig*—independent and mistress of her own fate. As her army and her alliance with Austria preserved her from the dictation of France and Russia, so her high sea fleet should save her from the indignity of being compelled to feed out of Britannia's hand. He was well aware that the early stages of the new policy would constitute what he called a "danger-zone," during which England, as Fisher desired, might be tempted to destroy the growing fleet before it became a menace to our security. After the completion of the programme within less than twenty years, Germany, he believed, would have passed through the zone, and harmony would return with the recognition of each other's strength. Clever though he was, Bülow never understood England, and every battleship that was launched drove the Governments and the peoples further apart. The naval policy of Germany was not the ground of our reconciliation with France, which took place while the new fleet was in its infancy; but it was one of the two main causes why the *rapprochement* grew into a working partnership. By 1908, the year of the Tweedmouth letter and the Cronberg interview, even the blindest could see that the naval wedge was driving England and Germany asunder; and at the end of that year the Chancellor, who had at last become conscious of the danger, begged Tirpitz to draw in his horns. The Admiral naturally rejoined that it was too late, and it was left to Bethmann in the following years to attempt—in vain—to undo the mischief.

Parallel with the growth of the fleet went the Franco-German quarrel in North-West Africa. At the opening of the century France determined to bring Morocco within her orbit. A transaction of such magnitude involves compensatory adjustments, and she proceeded to square Italy by assent to her aims in Tripoli; England by her recognition of our occupation of Egypt, and Spain by a secret partition of spheres of influence in Morocco. By a calculated omission, which deprives Delcassé of any claim to a place in the first rank of statesmen, no attempt was made to square Berlin. Bülow lay low at first, and spoke of the Anglo-French Treaty in level tones; but when France proceeded to push forward in Morocco, at the very moment that her ally was struggling with Japan, he sent the Kaiser to Tangier and summoned France to a Conference.

The Treaty of 1904 pledged us to diplomatic support of France in the execution of her Moroccan policy, and we gave it in full measure before and during the Conference at Algéiras. That we offered an alliance or promised armed assistance is a baseless legend; but our stout support was the foundation of the *Entente Cordiale*, and Germany was warned, both by Lansdowne and Sir Edward Grey, that if a conflict was forced on France over Morocco public opinion might force us to intervene. Thus Bülow simultaneously alarmed us by an incipient menace to the safety of our communications, and angered us by a challenge to France in the only quarter of the globe where we were pledged to her support. Germany had an excellent legal case in Morocco, which was scarcely understood in England; but Bülow played his cards as badly as Delcassé himself. In the first Morocco crisis of 1905-6, as in the second of 1911, the Kaiser stood for moderation; and most historians agree that the handling of the Morocco problem was Bülow's worst individual blunder. It is a mistake to threaten when you are not in a mind to fight.

Bülow has been sharply criticised from different angles for the dangerous extension of Germany's risks. Champions of the naval policy, like Tirpitz, realising that its price was at any rate the temporary estrangement of England, complain that he failed to guard his flank by a firm understanding with Russia. A rival school, while eager for a forward policy in Turkey and ready for the challenge to Russian ambitions in the Near East which it involved, argued that he should have guarded his flank by allowing Englishmen to sleep quiet in their beds. The converging criticism is legitimate; for even the strength of Germany was insufficient to confront the risks to which she was exposed by a policy of unlimited liability. Of the two charges, the latter is the gravest. In opposing Russian predominance in the Near East, Germany was fighting Austria's battle as well as her own, and she had no alternative but to support the annexation of Bosnia, little though she approved the step. On the other hand, in menacing our security she was pursuing a course to which her ally was strongly opposed. For while Germany possessed interests in Eastern Europe, Austria had none in the West, and the last thing she desired was an Anglo-German war.

Bülow's foreign policy is of so much greater importance than his direction of home affairs that a magazine article must deal mainly with the former. The number of parties in the Reichstag, the yawning gulf between the Socialists and the bourgeois groups, and the weak demand in pre-war Germany for democratic self-government, rendered the task of an adroit Parliamentary manager comparatively simple. It is an æsthetic delight to read through the

three volumes of his speeches, above all, his rapier thrusts at Bebel, who clamoured for liberty while striving to maintain autocratic control over his followers. Bülow kept the machinery running; but it can hardly be argued that his internal policy was much of a success. The coercion of the Poles was a failure. The formation of the Bloc after the election of 1907 was a fleeting triumph, for the Centrum survived its rebuff and the Socialists grew steadily in numbers. Though he called himself an Agrarian and negotiated the favourable commercial treaty with Russia in 1904, it was in part to the Agrarians that he owed his fall. And finally he showed himself as unaware as his predecessors and successors that the three-class electoral system in Prussia was an indefensible anomaly in an educated and prosperous State.

No survey of Bülow's career, however brief, can ignore his relations to William II, and it is only fair to him to remember that no statesman in Europe had such a difficult and, indeed, exasperating master to serve. The Kaiser pretended that he controlled the foreign policy of his country; but his influence was as intermittent and unpredictable as a flickering flame. He wished to renew the secret treaty with Russia in 1890, but was overruled. He disliked the provocative policy of Bülow and Kiderlen in Morocco, but failed to prevent its adoption. He detested the annexation of Bosnia by his ally, but was compelled to support it. The Kruger telegram represented a good deal less than his overcharged emotion demanded. His pet child, the Treaty of Björko, was stillborn, and produced a threat of resignation from Bülow, which in turn evoked a letter of almost grovelling appeal. He was not always told everything that was going on. In naval policy alone was he a steady, pervading, motive force throughout his reign.

Though the Kaiser's share in the direction of foreign affairs was less than we used to believe, his improvisations and aberrations drove his counsellors almost to despair. There is no more revealing document in the *Grösse Politik* than the long and poignant letter of September 28th, 1909 (*Die Grösse Politik*, XXIV, p. 203-7) in which the fallen Chancellor pours out his heart to his successor and recalls the compromising speeches, telegrams, and letters, which flowed from the impulsive ruler without consulting his responsible adviser. The two men worked together in tolerable harmony till the *Daily Telegraph* affair brought the end within sight, though they were never on the affectionate terms which existed between the monarch and Eulenburg. The Chancellor declared that he had never read the text which had been sent to him at Norderney; but his statement is difficult to believe, and some of his critics denounce it as a cowardly lie. Be this as it may, his handling of the crisis in the Reichstag infuriated the Kaiser who, for a few days, com-

pletely lost his balance and cried aloud that he had been "betrayed." The quarrel was patched up for a time; but on the rejection of the inheritance tax in the summer of 1909 the Chancellor resigned. According to Bülow the resignation was voluntary; according to the Kaiser he was dismissed. The fullest account of the *Daily Telegraph* affair is to be found in a recent anonymous work entitled *Kaiser und Kanzler*, which presents Bülow in an extremely unfavourable light and accuses him of selecting an innocent scapegoat from the Foreign Office to cover his own offence. Despite the universal recognition of his brilliant qualities he was not a very popular chief, and some, though not all, of his subordinates, regarded him as selfish and unprincipled; the rough-tongued Kiderlen used to refer to him as "the eel."

Bülow's resignation at the age of 60 was virtually the end of his career. He emerged for a few months in the first winter of the war, when he and Erzeberger were sent to Rome to keep Italy out of the fray. It was a hopeless quest, for we know from Salandra's Memoirs that the victory of the Marne decided him to fight as soon as he was ready. When the phantom Chancellor Michaelis vanished in the autumn of 1917, Bülow's return was desired by Hindenburg and Ludendorff, and we may read in Scheidemann's Memoirs a contemptuous account of a long interview in the Adlon Hotel, in which the Prince vainly wooed the Socialist leader. The Kaiser had no wish to have him back; but he would doubtless have yielded to pressure, as he had bowed to Bethmann's demand for the distasteful Kiderlen in 1910. What Bülow would have done had he been Chancellor in 1914 or returned to office in 1917 is a fascinating speculation. He himself entertained no doubt that he would have averted the war, which neither the German Government nor the German people desired; and, indeed, no one could have been more clumsy in the critical days than the peace-loving and high-minded Bethmann. The Prince had a poor opinion of the performances of his successor, to whose criticisms in his apologetic *Reflections on the World War*, he wrote a detailed reply in a letter published in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* in June, 1919, and reprinted in Spickernagel's valuable work, *Fürst Bülow*.

When the struggle was over Bülow resumed his habit of spending several months of the year in his beloved Villa Malta in Rome; and he was on friendly terms with Stresemann and other statesmen of Republican Germany. The death of his wife in the spring of 1929 left the childless octogenarian a very lonely man, and he found distraction in Goethe and Horace; but he was weary, and ready for the end. The curtain will rise again on the publication of his Memoirs, which may aid us to correct any injustice in the reflections inspired by his death.

G. P. GOOCH.

MIDDLE EAST MANDATES.

AS the decision of the British Government to adopt in Iraq the policy proposed by the late Sir Gilbert Clayton and the recent disturbances in Palestine have brought the Middle East once more into the European limelight, it is as well to review the position in the mandated territories before further events take place. For this purpose it is necessary to repeat to some extent what has gone before, as the basis of our position in these countries is slowly receding from contemporary history.

On November 7th, 1918, an important Joint Declaration by Great Britain and France regarding British and French war claims in the East was made, the chief passages of which were as follows:

The object aimed at by France and Great Britain in prosecuting in the East the war let loose by German ambition is the complete and definite emancipation of the people so long oppressed by the Turks, and the establishment of national governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations.

In order to carry out these intentions France and Great Britain are at one in encouraging and assisting the establishment of indigenous governments and administrations in Syria* and Mesopotamia, now liberated by the Allies, and in territories the liberation of which they are engaged in securing, and in recognising these as soon as they are actually established. Far from wishing to impose on the populations of these regions any particular institutions, they are only concerned to ensure by their support and by adequate assistance the regular working of governments and administrations freely chosen by the populations themselves. . . . Such is the policy which the two Allied Governments uphold in the liberated territories."

Later came Article XXII of the League Covenant with the following provisions:

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory.

Let us now turn from theory to reality. Although the Arabs were opposed to the division of ex-Ottoman Syria between two mandatories and were strongly opposed to France as mandatory either for the whole or part of Syria, yet the Syrian mandate was given to France and that for Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan to

* This refers to the larger area of ex-Ottoman Syria which included Palestine, and not to the smaller area of French Syria, which did not become a territorial unit till eighteen months later, when it was allotted to France as a mandated territory.

Great Britain. In fact, a homogeneous whole was split up into four separate territories with artificial frontiers, in order to suit the policies of two European Powers. The real reasons why France went to Syria were that she had a long-standing influence and paramount culture in the Lebanon and regarded the people of this territory as her *protégés*; she wanted a *point d'appui* near the Suez Canal to help to secure the position of her East African and Far Eastern colonies (Madagascar and Indo-China), as formerly the only French port between the Mediterranean and these distant possessions was Jibouti in French Somaliland; she wanted more influence in the Islamic world, and thought that she could improve her position by adding the Moslem part of Syria to Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco; as a naval Power in the Mediterranean she saw in the ports of Beyrouth and Alexandretta an opportunity of improving her strategical position.

The reasons why Great Britain finds herself in Palestine, Iraq, and Transjordan need a little more explanation. The answer is to be found in the circumstances surrounding the Balfour Declaration and imperial policy with regard to India, to which may be added British commitments to the Arabs. Much is heard of the Balfour Declaration as an instrument conferring unwarrantable privileges upon the Jewish race in a land from which that race had been effectively dispersed, but little mention is made of the reasons of high policy that led the Allies to adopt the purpose of the Declaration as one of their war aims. The truth is that it was a war measure calculated to yield results of immense importance to the Allied cause, and that for Great Britain there were special reasons why she should adopt and support the policy of the Declaration. These may be found in the obvious advantages of covering the Suez Canal by an outpost territory, in which important elements of the population would not only be bound to her by every interest, but would command the support of world Jewry. That was the long view of British imperial interests taken in 1916 and 1917. It counted for much then, but for even more after the war. Palestine was destined to become one of the chief pivots of British imperial air policy as a main aerial artery between East and West. In short, Palestine was to form part of the "Suez Canal of the Air," which was geographically side by side with the "Suez Canal of the Sea." But apart from exclusive British interests, the Balfour Declaration may be described as essentially a war measure adopted by the Powers of the Entente in the furtherance of their own vital interests. It was a statesmanlike effort to prevent the incalculable and universal influence of Jewry being exerted on the side of the Central Powers—as it was, to a serious extent, then being exerted

—and to transfer this highly important influence to the cause of the Entente. The Declaration certainly rallied world Jewry to the side of the Entente; the war was won by the Entente; and to the Declaration as a means to that end may be attributed a share in the achievement of the great result. Directly and indirectly, the services expected of Jewry were not expected in vain and were, from the British standpoint alone, well worth the price that had to be paid; nor is it to be supposed that these services rendered are to be the last.

Now let us consider why Great Britain is in Iraq. Again, British imperial policy with regard to India is at the root of our Middle Eastern policy. Before the war it was an established axiom of our Eastern policy that there should be a system of buffer States between the Mediterranean and India, but in the years following the war this policy collapsed owing to the successful action of the Soviet Government in Russia and the assertion of a nationalist spirit in the Middle East. With the downfall of friendly Russia and with a temporarily unfriendly attitude on the part of Turkey, it was found necessary to find a substitute policy by forging a chain out of the Arab provinces of the old Ottoman Empire, in the hope that, with Persia and Afghanistan independent, India would enjoy a sense of security from the menace of Russia. Whereas, formerly, an alliance with either Russia or Turkey was considered to be a diplomatic necessity, it had now become impossible to have an alliance with either of these Powers. Iraq now forms an important part of this chain of buffer States. But it must also be remembered that the Arab States created since the war are essentially dependent on one another, and that the holding of Iraq has been necessary for the fulfilment of our commitments in Palestine and Transjordan. Moreover, the British pledges to the Grand Sherif of Mecca and the Arabs on the subject of independence, on the strength of which they had come into the war, were to a large extent fulfilled by the setting up of the Emir Feisal as King of Iraq and the creation of an autonomous Arab State east of the Jordan under his brother, the Emir Abdullah.

The foregoing is, I think, sufficient to show that the Allied occupation of these countries was far from being entirely based on a desire for the "emancipation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks." But it should at the same time be realised that serious efforts are being made, with varying success, to improve the conditions of these territories for the benefit of the inhabitants and to educate the people with a view to ultimate self-government. Yet, as some of these mandated territories may be fit for self-government in the comparatively near future while others may never reach this standard at all, it is conceivable that the term "until such time as

they are able to stand alone " will be made conveniently to suit the particular policy of the Power exercising the mandate.

A few weeks ago the British Government announced that they had decided unconditionally to recommend the admission of Iraq to the League of Nations in 1932, and that a new treaty would be drawn up between the two countries on lines similar to that proposed between Great Britain and Egypt. Although Iraq is far ahead of Syria, and still farther ahead of Palestine, in political education, it is still too soon to say that the country is ready for self-government; but Sir Gilbert Clayton was of opinion that, taking everything into consideration, it would be a wise policy to go ahead with Iraq's political evolution. The late High Commissioner considered that a bilateral treaty of alliance would satisfy the national desire of the Iraqis to shake off the control of the mandate, and would at the same time harmonise with British imperial policy elsewhere; but he did not for a moment contemplate the complete abandonment of Iraq to her own fate. British help and support is, therefore, to be retained, and it is satisfactory to note that it is the wish of the Iraqis that this should be so. Although the Iraqis want self-government and are anxious to take their place among the nations of the world, they fully realise the benefits which the British administration has brought to their country, and they want to get all they can from Great Britain provided that they are no longer treated as a nation still in the nursery.

When I was in Baghdad I was astonished at the stage of advancement which self-government had reached. Authority, both legislative and executive, has been granted to the Iraq Government, consisting of a Prime Minister and seven Ministers—those of the Interior, Justice, Finance, Defence, Communication and Works, Education and Pious Foundations. All the Ministers are Iraqis, and each Minister has a British adviser who has no executive authority whatsoever and considers himself a servant of the Iraq Government. Certain Departments of a technical nature, such as Railways, Public Works, Customs, Irrigation, and Veterinary Services have British directors, but other Departments, such as Agriculture, Police, Public Health, and Posts and Telegraphs, have Iraqi directors with British inspectors to help and advise them. The administration of the districts is entirely in the hands of Iraqi officials, but at each headquarters there is a British officer for advisory and inspectional duties. There is not a single British officer with executive powers in any administrative department. In the technical departments British officers do hold executive positions, but the Iraqis are unanimous in admitting the necessity for this policy. It is most satisfactory, and almost surprising, to note the excellent relations which exist between the British and Iraqi

officials, and it is quite remarkable how quickly the Iraqis have learned to administer their country. There is a spirit of mutual confidence between the two sets of officials: the British official feels that the Iraqi is trying to learn, while the Iraqi feels that the British adviser is really trying to help him. Naturally, a great deal depends on the personal relations between the King and the High Commissioner. Both the King and his Ministers show a great readiness to ask advice, and when the High Commissioner expresses his view they are usually ready to act upon it. The Council of Ministers submits to the High Commissioner all resolutions as well as to the King, and the former is kept in the closest touch with everything that goes on. But there is no question of exercising any authority over the Ministers, and the High Commissioner frequently defers to their views. Nor is the large measure of independence reflected in the present system of government in Iraq illusory. Statements to the effect that the King, the Cabinet, and the Parliament are all part of an elaborate façade behind which the British Government really holds complete power, are entirely devoid of truth. Within the limits prescribed by the British Government's obligations to the League of Nations, the Iraq Government is free and independent, and is rapidly gaining in prestige as it gains in confidence and experience.

With regard to the development of Iraq since the British occupation, suffice it to state emphatically that such money as has been spent has been put to the very best use. Public security has been raised to a high level, and even crimes committed in the vast expanses of the desert are quickly detected. The Iraq army is steadily increasing in efficiency under the guidance of British officers. The financial situation is satisfactory. Considerable improvements have been carried out in the railway service. The Public Works Department has built schools, hospitals, post offices, police barracks, and customs-houses, besides devoting much labour to the improvement of communications by the construction of roads and bridges. Although the Irrigation Department is crippled through want of funds, the river banks of the Tigris and Euphrates have been strengthened, and considerable areas have been brought under cultivation by irrigation works. A great deal remains to be done in Iraq, but the foundations have been laid not only for an independent State, but also of a development which, in years to come, may transform the country into a land of natural wealth and abundant production. There are three standpoints from which the Iraq question must be viewed—that of the British taxpayer, that of the Iraqis themselves, and that of British imperial communications. It is only by maintaining some influence in this area that the

taxpayer can hope to see a return for his money; it is only by supporting the Iraq Government on the spot that the country can develop on sound independent lines; and it is only by keeping some foothold in Mesopotamia that we can safeguard our imperial air communications with the East.

Whereas Iraq may be regarded as a successful mandate, Palestine has far from fulfilled expectations. In a country of two contending races we have tried to move too fast, in the belief that Jews and Arabs could live and work in harmony. As far as the present is concerned, this has proved to be a delusion, which received encouragement from the fact that a few years ago the Arab Executive was losing influence and the ignorant *fellaheen* were inclined to be indifferent. Now, the Arab Executive, which is the connecting link with outside Moslem opinion, represents the Arab ruling class, and can to a large extent control the attitude of the *fellaheen*, has received a new lease of life; and has succeeded in rallying the majority of the Palestine Arabs to its anti-Zionist campaign. Whereas, formerly, the Arab Executive represented little more than the personal interests of its members, now it represents the vast majority of the Arab people. As in Egypt, the masses are at the mercy of professional politicians and agitators, but the fact remains that these masses are at present bitterly hostile to the Jews, and especially to the Zionist immigrants. When I was in Palestine during the years 1923-6, racial antagonism was inclined to be dormant, partly owing to the Arab Executive's lack of funds and partly to the fact that Zionist construction brought money into the *fellaheen's* pockets. Since then, however, conditions have changed, and we now see Palestine in its true light. The mirage of Zionist economic achievement has been partially dissipated, and it is quite clear that Arabs and Jews cannot live together in harmony until such time as they both think it to be in their economic interests for the one to be the complement of the other. But a policy must be devised to enable Britain to honour her pledges to both races, and to establish a *modus vivendi* for forthcoming years.

At present, the Jewish population is scattered throughout the land, and Arabs and Jews live next door to one another in the towns and in the country districts, so that murder can be carried on at will. Many of the Jewish settlements are isolated and liable to attack, while in mixed areas the economic competition of subsidised Zionists is one of the strongest grievances of the local Arab merchants, who have much influence with the *fellaheen*. The only way out of the present difficulty is to adopt a policy of grouping the Jewish settlers in certain specified districts, and of freeing these districts of Arabs as far as possible.

There is no question of a change in the fundamental policy agreed upon by successive British Governments, but is there any reason why an "Arab National Home" should not exist side by side with a "Jewish National Home"? As the failure of three previous attempts has clearly foreshadowed the impossibility of setting up an Arab-Jewish constitution, the best alternative for the present is to aim at two separate constitutions under the guidance of the Mandatory Power, each controlling its own area or group of areas and being responsible for local legislation within limits. Jerusalem and the Holy Places are a matter for the special supervision of the Mandatory Power, which would consider the interests of the two races in legislating for the country as a whole, and would safeguard the rights of each in the Holy City. The Balfour Declaration is of an elastic nature, which enables the method of its execution to be modified without departing from the general line of policy, and measures in this direction are now necessary in the interests of Palestine as a whole. As things are, the Jews are determined to introduce as many subsidised immigrants as the land will take, which the Arabs oppose with a badly-led organisation leading to criminal folly. But to what dimensions is the Jewish National Home to be permitted to grow? Until every available acre carries its full complement of Jews? Certainly not. As Palestine is an Arab country, in which the Jews are guaranteed a National Home, it is clear that the Jewish community must be confined within certain limits and remain a definite minority. The Zionists contend that restriction is contrary to the pledges of the Balfour Declaration, but this is not the case. Great Britain is not pledged to swamp every acre of cultivable land in Palestine with Jews from Eastern Europe, but she is pledged to facilitate the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine, and to help to make it secure and successful. It is only with these as a minority that such conditions can possibly be achieved.

If the Jews were to realise that their National Home was confined to a certain proportion of the population, the tendency would be for the class of settlers to improve, there would be better prospects of their agricultural settlements becoming self-supporting, and the National Home would in time become a credit to Palestine and the pride of the Jewish race. At the same time, the Arabs would realise their present and future position in regard to a community that would remain a constant factor in the country. The uncertainty of not knowing what they may be called upon to face in the future is largely the cause of the Arabs' policy of hostility.

It is quite possible that separation and its consequences may, in course of time, bring the two races together in their respective economic interests.

E. W. POLSON NEWMAN.

THE REAL OXFORD MOVEMENT.*

"D R. WINCHESTER," wrote Edmund Gibbon of his former tutor at Magdalen, "well remembered that he had a salary to receive, and only forgot that he had a duty to perform." The torpor of Oxford in the eighteenth century, the Oxford of Gibbon, of Adam Smith, and of Bentham, has become proverbial and serves as a foil, in the popular imagination, to the general enlivenment of the University in the succeeding age. It is presumably for this reason that a certain religious and theological excitement which caught Oxford in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign is commonly described and accepted as The Oxford Movement. It is not my purpose to dwell upon that "true and noble effort," that "short scene of religious earnestness and aspiration with all that was in it of self-devotion, affectionateness, and high and refined and varied character," which has been described with so much feeling and eloquence by Dean Church, its historian. If it is alluded to here, it is only that we may remind ourselves that there have been other Oxford movements before and since, movements not less noble, in their original intention, not less far-reaching in their ultimate effect, a Scholastic movement, a Lollard movement, a Methodist movement, a movement for the improvement of artistic taste, for the establishment of settlements of University men in the slums of our great towns, and again for the spread of extra-mural instruction among adults. There is, in fact, no one Oxford Movement. England, writes Emerson, "is the land of mixture and surprise; and when you have settled it that the universities are moribund, out comes a poetic influence from the heart of Oxford to mould the opinions of cities, to build their houses as simply as birds their nests, to give veracity to art and cleanse mankind, as an appeal to moral order always must."

The movement of which I wish to speak here belongs to the secular and not to the ecclesiastical sphere. For ten important years, from 1649 to 1659, Oxford was the centre of those active and distinguished discussions and investigations which afterwards fructified in the establishment of the Royal Society. It was here that Dr. Wilkins, the Warden of Wadham, with Seth Ward, Ralph Bathurst, Dr. Petty, Dr. Willis and others held every week "an experimental philosophical club," meeting first at Dr. Petty's, "in an apothecary's house for the convenience of inspecting drugs," and then at the lodgings of the Warden of Wadham. It was in Oxford that these early meetings were held, from Oxford that some of the most distinguished of the original members of the group were drawn. It was an Oxford man, Thomas Sprat, afterwards Bishop of Roches-

* Being part of the Rhys Roberts Lecture delivered before the Royal College of Physicians on November 14th, 1929.

ter, who four years after its foundation traced the early history of the Society with an enthusiasm which has not lost its charm and freshness with the lapse of two centuries and a half.

It would be doing Oxford too much honour to trace this sudden and brilliant flowering of scientific curiosity to any fundamental revolution in the academic curriculum, or enduring triumph of the rational spirit. We are still far from the days of complete academic toleration. The Oxford which was the nursery of the Royal Society not so very long afterwards publicly burned Hobbes's *Leviathan* and acquiesced in the expulsion of John Locke from his Studentship at Christ Church. But during the Civil Wars and throughout the uneasy period of the Protectorate there was developed a tendency, which was evidenced also more recently during the Great War, to embark upon new studies and to break the crust of intellectual habit. Sick of theological dissensions and despairing of public affairs, students turned to Nature and to those methods of eliciting Nature's secrets which had been recommended by the genius of Francis Bacon. The original and natural centre for the prosecution of such studies was, of course, not Oxford, but the capital of the country. London had the Royal College of Physicians, and to the physician there was nothing new in a science of observation and experiment created to serve a practical purpose. Accordingly, about the year 1646, a small scientific club consisting mainly of doctors, but containing also some earnest inquirers who were not of the profession, was formed for the discussion of scientific problems of every description, and met weekly in the rooms of Dr. Jonathan Goddard, afterwards Warden of Merton.

The "invisible college," as it was called, had but a short life. Partly by reason of personal accidents, and partly because the political and religious atmosphere of London became uncomfortable to students of moderate or cavalier views, the chief activities of the movement were transferred to the groves and courts of Oxford. Here was comparative leisure, here was an atmosphere not indeed wholly, but to a large extent, free from religious fanaticism, and here was an intellectual society which had for some years past been quickened by the breath of the new curiosity. "The University," writes Sprat, "had at that time many members of its own who had begun a free way of reasoning; and was also frequented by some gentlemen of Philosophical Minds whom the misfortunes of the kingdom and the security and ease of a retirement among town men had drawn thither." Among its own members were Wilkins of Wadham, Bathurst of Trinity, and two young men of outstanding genius, Christopher Wren of Wadham and Robert Hooke of Christ Church; among strangers drawn to Oxford for one reason or another were Robert Boyle and William Petty, the founder of English

statistical science. Two distinguished Cambridge mathematicians, John Wallis and Seth Ward, holding respectively the newly founded Savilian Chairs for Mathematics and Astronomy, were of the same circle.

In every wide intellectual movement there are men who exercise an influence quite out of relation to the importance of their positive contribution to the advancement of knowledge. Of such was John Wilkins, Warden of Wadham from 1648 to 1659. He was not prolific as a writer, for his publications—spread over a long life—are contained in two octavo volumes. Nor is his name associated with any great scientific discovery, but he stimulated others by the glow of his active and comprehensive curiosity and made the tenure of his Oxford office memorable in the history of English science by gathering together the men and presiding over the discussions out of which the Royal Society ultimately took shape.

Wilkins, "that most obliging and universally curious Dr. Wilkins," as Evelyn dubbed him, though destined for a bishopric, was primarily a man of science whose vigorous mind had been excited by the new Copernican astronomy and by the writings of Kepler, Galileo, and Bacon. To popularise the new philosophy and to defend it against the strong countervailing force of theological opinion was his first concern. His early writings were directed to prove that there may be another habitable world in the moon, with which it might be possible to communicate, and that the earth itself was one of the planets. His interests, however, were not confined to astronomical physics. The son of an Oxford goldsmith, he had clever hands as well as mechanical instincts, and an ingenious forward-reaching mind. He contrived a speaking statue and apiaries of glass. Holding that "our last and most divine knowledge is intended for action," he wrote a treatise entitled *Mathematical Magic*, to illustrate the operation of the balance, the lever, the wheel, the pulley, the wedge, and the screw, embarking in a field of study which he describes as "one of the most easy, pleasant, useful, and yet most neglected parts of mathematics not before treated of in this language." He had schemes for a sailing chariot, a submarine boat, and a flying machine; but what was more important than any one of his personal schemes or experiments was his sense of the need of scientific collaboration, his excellence in communication, and his rare faculty, based upon good nature, sympathy, and abounding animal vigour, of attaching to himself the men who were then doing important work in any line of scientific inquiry.* It was a letter from Wilkins which in 1654 induced Robert Boyle to cross the Channel and to settle in Oxford. That rare genius, "a corpuscularian without Epicurus, a great and

* *The Life and Times of John Wilkins*. By P. A. Wright Henderson.

happy analyser addicted to no particular sect, but as becomes a generous and free philosopher preferring truth above all,"* lived in Oxford for fourteen years, and the visitor who gazes upon the low dome of the Shelley Memorial in the High Street may reflect that it was on this spot, or not far from it, that Boyle carried out the experiments which have made his name immortal, here that he wrote his three classical treatises, the *New Experiments Concerning the Spring of the Air*, the *Sceptical Chymist*, and the *Experiments and Considerations touching Colour*, and here that, with the assistance of Hooke, he invented the air-pump which is the parent of the steam-engine and so the distant source of modern industrial civilisation.

An equally remarkable visitor adopted into the College society of Oxford at that time was William Petty, by turns a cabin-boy, a hawker, and a seaman, who, returning to England in 1646 after a course of medical studies abroad, was made first a Fellow and then Vice-Principal of Brasenose. Petty was one of those energetic, original, quick-thinking men who make a stir wherever they go. Not content with imparting novelty and reality to his anatomical lectures by the introduction of a corpse, he startled the country by reviving a young woman named Ann Green who, having been hanged for murder, was presented to the doctors for dissection. But it was a common characteristic of this brilliant Oxford group that they were not content with a narrow specialism. Petty was only incidentally a physician. His *Observations on the London Bills of Mortality*, published under the name of his friend and helper, Captain Graunt, in 1662, and his *Essays on Political Arithmetic*, rank among the classics of our economic literature. He was the first Englishman who brought into the study of political problems the notions of number, quantity, measurement, the first to attempt a scientific estimate of national wealth, the first to seize the economic importance of manpower. His miscellaneous papers, a selection of which has recently been admirably edited by his descendant, Lord Lansdowne, show the span and practical nature of his activities. Now he designs a double-keel boat, now frames a scheme for land registration or advocates a Council of Trade and the adoption of a definite policy for the political and social future of England and Ireland. He was sometimes, in the exercise of his favourite pastime of "ratiocination," a little fantastic, but always independent of tradition and authority, and often, as when he advocated the study of comparative anatomy and occupational diseases, in advance of his time. Few thinkers in the seventeenth century have foreshadowed in their writings so many improvements of a later age.

* *Evelyn's Diary and Correspondence*. Ed. Wheatley. Vol. III, p. 479-89.

Petty was one of the Wadham group, and an original member of the Royal Society; but he was only for two years a resident in Oxford. A great part of his life was spent in Ireland, where he carried out with infinite skill and patience, and amid a storm of obloquy and detraction which would have quailed any spirit less stout than his, the land survey on which was based the Cromwellian Settlement. It was characteristic of his practical sagacity that in the process of executing the "Down" survey he made a fortune for himself, and equally characteristic that wealth was no invitation to indolence. "The man," said Charles II, "will not be content to be excellent, but is still aiming at impossible things." Discovery and contention were his master passions. At the St. Andrew's Day dinner of the Royal Society in 1687 he fell into a dispute with another member as to the weight of woods, arguing that of all woods quince was the heaviest, and this with so much passion that, having grown very gouty and corpulent, he went home ill, and a few days afterwards died.

In the brilliant company which met weekly to exhibit and discuss scientific experiments and ideas at Wadham—a college where even the manciple was a skilled maker of mathematical instruments with apparently no injurious results upon the cuisine—there was a lad of miraculous precocity, who, unlike most precocious children, continued to grow in intellectual stature, and made for himself in a few short years the best kind of national reputation. Christopher Wren came up to Wadham as a Fellow Commoner in 1646. He was then only fourteen years of age, but already an ingenious inventor, a brilliant geometrician, and an accomplished Latinist. Everything which he touched turned to gold. Nothing was too big for him and nothing too small. If he had not lived to be the greatest architect of his age he would have been in all probability the first of its geometricians, astronomers, or anatomists. The charm and simplicity of his nature, the prodigality of his inventive powers, the singular union in him of artistic taste with the gifts of the exact scientific thinker and the shrewd instinct of the practical man, disarmed all opposition and conquered from the first the admiration of those who knew him. In the *Parentalia*, or Family Memoirs, published by his grandson, there is a list of the "new theories, inventions, experiments, and mechanical improvements exhibited by Mr. Wren at the first assemblies in Wadham College." The list contains fifty-three items and deals with every kind of subject, the moon's libration, engraving, whale-fishing, music, architecture, carriage-building, ribbon-making, marine observation, anatomy, mining, upon all of which and many other themes the dancing fancy of this very young gentleman was intelligently and curiously playing.

At the age of twenty-five Wren was made Professor of Astronomy

at Gresham College, which became the first home of the Royal Society. His inaugural address was all that a lecture should be: learned, imaginative, full of sanguine anticipations for the progress of his science; but though he helped to make improvements in the telescope, as in the barometer, and was the first to essay a measured selenography, the subject of his chair never held his exclusive attention. He discovered mezzotint, made experiments in the transfusion of blood, and interested himself in projects for the measurement and recording of meteorological phenomena. More and more, however, he was drawn towards architecture by his native taste, his geometrical sense and his rare powers of delicate and exact draftsmanship. The Fire of London gave him his opportunity, London, "the great city which it is pity in the opinion of her neighbours should longer continue the most unadorned of her bigness in the world"; and hardly had the ashes cooled before he sent in to the King a plan for its reconstruction.

The great national tasks on which Wren was henceforth engaged did not snap his connection with Oxford, to which University he was pleasurably bound by a Fellowship at All Souls and from 1660 onwards by the Savilian Chair of Astronomy. His successive plans for St. Paul's Cathedral are among the principal treasures of the Codrington Library. But it is not only here that we must look for the continuing signs of his presence in Oxford. The Sheldonian Theatre, the Old Ashmolean Museum,* and the majestic front of Christ Church, attest his handiwork and constitute the noblest of all the memorials which a son of Oxford has bequeathed to the nursing mother of his mind.

In the year 1654, when Dr. Wilkins and his young men were in full blast, the University received a visit from John Evelyn, who supped at a magnificent entertainment at Wadham on the invitation of his dear and excellent friend the Warden. Fourteen years before, Evelyn, the son of a Surrey squire and reared among the poetic groves of Wotton, had been a Fellow Commoner of Balliol, and though he had profited little from the academic studies which then prevailed in Oxford, he loved his old University and was determined to serve it. Returning to Oxford after a long spell of travel, during which he had made a study of the scientific and artistic collections of France and Italy, Evelyn was struck by the contrast between the speculative energy of the Wadham group and the poverty of the material equipment provided by the University. The mathematical instruments at St. John's were for the most part the gift of Archbishop Laud. The Physics Garden contained no extraordinary curiosities, the Anatomy School nothing extraordinary "save the skin of a jackal, a rarely coloured jacatoo or prodigious

* Gunther. *Early Science in Oxford*. Vol. III, pp. 293-5.

large parrot, and two humming-birds not much bigger than one bumble-bee." But in the lodgings and gallery at Wadham there was "a variety of shadows, dyals, perspectives, and many other artificial, mathematical, and magical curiosities, a way wiser and thermometer, a monstrous magnet, conic and other sections, a ballance or demicircle, most of the Warden's own devising." Moreover, there was that "prodigious young scholar Mr. Christopher Wren."

The associations which Evelyn then made with the Oxford scientific movement were continued through the remainder of his life. An original member of the Royal Society and an enthusiastic believer in its work, Evelyn was concerned to argue that the Universities should regard the Society as "a colony of their own planting" and in no sense as a countervailing or rival influence. His own loyalty was impartially distributed. If he obtained the Arundel Library for the Society, he was the means of securing the Arundel marbles for Oxford. In common with many other members of the Oxford group Evelyn harnessed much of his intellectual energy to the service of the State. His great work on forest trees was undertaken at the request of the Commissioners of the Navy, who were concerned by the waste and destruction of our English woods during the Civil Wars and apprehensive of the growing dependence of English marine power on sea-borne supplies. Evelyn's *Silva* was widely read and deservedly admired, and, if it be true, as he alleges, that "many million timber trees" were planted "by the sole direction of this work,"* there may be some justification for Isaac Disraeli's statement that the ships of Nelson were made possible by the science and forethought of John Evelyn.

Like the Petty papers, the letters and diaries of Evelyn are full of those forward-reaching notions which are the note of the whole movement. The modern reformers who advocate a system of simplified spelling and the introduction of new accents to mark pronunciation will find that the accomplished Surrey virtuoso has been before them.† It is to his credit also that he proposed that collections should be made of country dialects and proverbs as well as of the technical, exotic, and pure English words in the language, that he wrote a treatise for the abatement of London smoke, and was the first to advocate a more careful printing of school books. But for Cowley's death and the Plague of London he might have been successful in creating an organisation which would have anticipated alike the British Academy and the Oxford Dictionary of the English language.

A year after the visit to Oxford which introduced Evelyn to that

* *Diaries*. Ed. Wheatley. Vol. III, p. 463.
† See *Diaries*. Vol. III, p. 309, and IV, p. 3 ff.

"prodigious young genius Mr. Wren," the Oxford group of scientific thinkers were reinforced by the addition of a young servitor from Christ Church, who, like Wren, was destined to make himself illustrious as a man of science and an architect. In temperament and physique no two men could be more different than Christopher Wren and Robert Hooke. Wren possessed every physical endowment which Nature can bestow. His face was alive with a sensitive and captivating beauty; he was healthy and well-bred, brimful of animal spirits and geniality towards men. Hooke, with a brain not less acute and an intellectual curiosity not less comprehensive, suffered from the evils of a wretched physique and a melancholy, mistrustful, and jealous temper. Wren went through life adding to his friends. Hooke was one of those unhappy men of genius who, out of jealousy and overwork, multiply the personal jars of life and get themselves involved in harassing lawsuits. Yet the two men had much in common. Each was a mechanical genius. Each was accomplished in physical speculations. Each was an architect. Each sent in a plan for the rebuilding of London after the Fire. While Wren designed St. Paul's, Hooke was the architect of the Royal College of Physicians in Warwick Lane, of Bedlam, and of Montague House, which is now the British Museum.

It is a note of young men of genius to scatter their powers over a wide field. Hooke shared with Wren that intoxication of universal curiosity which was common in those golden years of Oxford fellowship in scientific pursuits. He helped Boyle with his air-pump, popularised the microscope, discovered the cellular structure of plants, improved the pendulum under Seth Ward's directions, and presented Wilkins with more than thirty designs for a flying machine which he had devised while yet a schoolboy at Westminster. Where, however, Hooke differed from Wren was that, while Wren learnt to concentrate upon the line of his highest powers, Hooke never outlived the prodigality of his youthful inventiveness. His is the singular case of a man who might have been more famous had his mind been less active. With rare powers of reasoning and divination, with astonishing fertility of scientific resource, and a firm grasp of scientific method, he just missed supreme greatness for lack of concentration. Perhaps we may attribute this to physical weakness, perhaps to a certain flaw in character, perhaps to the nature of his office of Curator to the Royal Society, which bound him to make provision for the exhibition of three or four experiments at each weekly meeting, a prodigious draft upon the energies of a delicate man. Thus, while he had the capacity to divine the law of gravitation, it was left to Newton to prove it. So it was with many of Hooke's discoveries. He illumined wide territories for others to annex and make their own.

It may be asked how far the many-sided outburst of intellectual energy which is thus briefly described left a permanent mark on the studies of Oxford. In the history of the great human movements of head and heart, the main work of fertilising irrigation is often carried on in regions far remote from the fountain-head. So it has been more than once with Oxford. So it was with Lollardry, the flame which burnt brightly in many a charcoal-burner's hovel among the beechwoods of the Chilterns long after it had been stifled by persecution in the Oxford colleges. So also was it with Methodism. What, however, are we to think of the passionate impulse of scientific curiosity which during ten years in the middle of the seventeenth century took possession of the soul of Oxford? Is it possible that a movement associated with such famous names and full of so momentous a future should have passed through Oxford without effecting a transformation in the whole intellectual outlook of the place? The answer is, we believe, not that the Wadham movement failed to exercise a continuing influence in moulding a rational habit of mind, but that this influence was disappointingly small in relation to the possibilities. Why was this? Oxford was royalist and the King was notoriously favourable to the Royal Society and all its works. Oxford was orthodox, but so were her scientific leaders, who were carefully insured with the Anglican Church. Yet the atmosphere of the place from the Restoration onwards seems in many ways to have been subtly unfavourable to a great extension of the scientific domain.

Men of science still lived and worked in the University, but without exercising any general influence on its intellectual life. There can, indeed, be no more significant illustration of the way in which Oxford, having for a decade held the lead in co-operative scientific inquiry, suddenly lost it, than the fact that John Mayow, who entered Wadham as a Commoner in 1658 and afterwards proceeded to All Souls, an original chemist, worthy in the opinion of many good judges to rank with Boyle, carried on his researches at All Souls, discovering oxygen and grasping the essential secrets about the formation of oxides and acids in such isolation that Newton, and even Boyle seem to have been unaware of his published work.* Only by slow and painful degrees, and not till many an academic battle had been fought, did science recover that position of eminence in our most ancient University which had belonged to it through personal and political accidents when Christopher Wren was a youth and in the fresh glory of his transcendent powers, and when every generous mind was eagerly turning from the disastrous and sterile battle of the creeds to the new and peaceful pastures of natural knowledge.

H. A. L. FISHER.

* Gunther. *Early Science in Oxford*. Vol. I, p. 31 ff.

SONNINO AND HIS FOREIGN POLICY.

WHEN the World War broke out, I was in China as Italian Envoy. The Italian Foreign Minister, Marquis di San Giuliano, desired that the telegram which he sent to all the Ambassadors asking for their opinion on the situation be, as an exception, sent also to the young diplomat who was then at the head of the Peking Legation, an important post, but not one connected with the terrible events that were then taking place. I make bold to say that the exception honoured San Giuliano, proving as it did that he bore me no grudge—on the contrary—for the divergences of opinion, sometimes very marked, which we had in 1909, when I was Councillor to his Embassy in London, and in 1910-11 in Rome where, having become Minister for Foreign Affairs, he had asked me to be his *Chef de Cabinet*. San Giuliano was convinced that while Germany was on her way to omnipotence, England and France were on a downhill path. When I objected that the atmosphere of court flattery in Hohenzollern Germany was fatally lowering the moral character of the Germans, and that history is made with men, he would smile: "You are a Hegelian. . . ." In Rome—and that is what induced me to stay—I shared all his thoughts and loyal efforts to find a means of agreement with Austria that would do away with the necessity, humiliating for both parties, of having for ever to appeal to Berlin as to an umpire.

To San Giuliano's telegram I answered from Peking:

I can, and will, only judge by what I see here. The progress of Germany in the Far East is from year to year becoming more remarkable. England will soon be outdistanced. Even from a diplomatic point of view, Germany will soon reach the primacy she enjoyed in Constantinople with Marschall. In spite of this, and although analogous situations are revealing themselves the whole world over, Imperial Germany stakes her all on the dice of war. This shows that the leading spirits in Berlin are not up to their task or that they harbour dangerous claims to domination. In both cases our way seems clearly indicated. Neutrality becoming for us a manifest duty, it remains to be decided what shape it will take. For my part, unless you send me different instructions, I shall intensify and develop our interests here without making any mystery of my friendship for the colleagues of the Entente.

The "different instructions," of course, never came; but a month later a letter did, written in San Giuliano's own handwriting, tormented with gout, saying this only:

Dear Sforza, I am afraid that you were right; and that the old tottering mail-coach is safer than the perfect motor-car. How I do envy you your life in Peking!

The words were echoes of our old conversations in Hyde Park. With his unfailing memory San Giuliano had remembered a comparison of mine the drift of which was that with the marvellous German organisation, everything might depend on one foolish driver.

San Giuliano being what he was, there was nothing strange in that—when Austria had sent her ultimatum to Belgrade, leaving her Italian ally totally in the dark up to the last moment—he could not make up his mind to denounce immediately an alliance of which the Vienna Cabinet had so openly violated the most essential clauses. But when he began, in September, 1914, to ponder on the manner in which Italy might enter into the war on the side of the Entente, his ideas were marked with a clearness of vision to which I had not been accustomed from him when we were together in London and in Rome. Death was upon him, he knew it, and he waited for it stoically, working all the while. When it came on October 16th all that had made up the superficial and artificial side of his mind, the importance he attached to contingencies, his too great reliance on “cleverness,” had disappeared. Italy would have had everything to gain in keeping in her programme the ideas he had put down. Schematically they came to this:

To make sure that the Entente, which inclined wrongly to considering Germany as the main enemy, should not be tempted to spare Austria, the chief enemy of Italy (and certain English hesitations during the war showed how shrewd his surmise had been);

To enter into the war with Rumania (and to this end he gave Baron Fasciotti, Italian Minister in Bucharest, instructions, the non-confirmation of which was a great loss to the Entente);

To reach the Alps, our natural frontier, everywhere, as far as the Gulf of Fiume, where Dante had fixed, in the *Divine Comedy*, the eastern boundaries of Italy,* and to acquire a few islands off Dalmatia.

To make such terms with the Serbian Government that war should be waged against Austria to the end in constant military and political agreement (which would have eliminated all possibility, on the one hand, of a survival of Austria-Hungary as a Great Power and, on the other, of annexations in Dalmatia, although Sazonof had offered these to Marquis Carlotti, Italian Ambassador to Russia, during the first days of August; Sazonof's too hasty and indiscreet overtures had, for that matter, made on San Giuliano an impression contrary to that which the Russian Minister, possibly misled by Carlotti's enthusiasm for the Entente, had hoped for).

* . . . presso del Quarnaro,
Che Italia chiude e i suoi termini bagna.
(Dante, *Inferno*, Canto ix.)

San Giuliano's ideas for the post-war period were not less far-seeing. They can be synthetised thus:

A treaty of alliance among the victors in order—he wrote in the warlike language of the time—to “maintain the new map of Europe” (but even if he did not say so, it was clear that an alliance as wide would inevitably have worked in the interest of European reconstruction, for it could not have functioned exclusively *against* someone);

An entente, even after the war, with Belgrade, which would have ensured a pacific Italian influence in the Balkans.

On San Giuliano's death, Salandra, then Prime Minister, offered the portfolio of Foreign Affairs to Sonnino, who accepted it. Of all the leading men in Italy Sonnino had been the only one who—when the World War broke out—had thought that Italy might, or should, side with the Central Empires.

Giolitti, who, on his return from a trip to London, was in Paris on August 1st, went to the Italian Embassy and declared to the *Chargé d'Affaires*, Ruspoli, that “Italy, through the Triple Alliance Treaty, had incurred no obligation to go to war, seeing that Austria was attacking Serbia, whereas the Treaty was purely defensive and enjoined Italian intervention by the side of the Allies only if, and when, they were attacked.” Such were his very words, and the *Chargé d'Affaires*, of course, hastened to repeat them to San Giuliano who, as soon as he heard that Giolitti had arrived at his country place at Cavour, answered him: “Your opinion is the one I transmitted to Salandra and to the King, and the one that was approved of.”

Bissolati, the leader of the Reformist Socialist Party, wrote on August 2nd to his friend Bonomi that he was “glad that the neutrality view had triumphed,” but that “one must prepare the soul of the proletariat for war against the militaristic forces.” Signor Mussolini shouted in his paper, *Avanti*, that the war was a war between capitalistic governments, and that neutrality alone was possible, pending the advent of an international social revolution which he promised as forthcoming.

Sonnino, Sonnino alone then, found, during the very first days, that Italy had to side with the Central Powers. He owed to this in a letter to the former Minister Bertolini, dated August 14th, 1914, a letter which has been published; but speaking with Bertolini two weeks earlier he had been even more categorical in his disapproval of the declaration of neutrality. I had Bertolini with me at the Spa Conference as Second Italian Delegate. During the long evenings we spent together, we often spoke of those first days of the war: How is it, I asked Bertolini, that Sonnino who was so touchy on the point of national dignity, overlooked at the very be-

ginning that, even discarding any other consideration, such as the fact that the treaty was purely defensive, Austria had broken her pledge and had wronged us by preparing an ultimatum and war without warning Italy in any way? And Bertolini would explain that, if the Tory tendencies of his friend biassed him unconsciously in favour of the Central Empires, what really decided him, on those very first days, was the naïve pride of going against the country's unanimous opinion—the opinion of the King, of Conservatives like Salandra, of Liberals like Giolitti, of Socialists like Bissolati.

This came from an essential trait in Sonnino. Son of a Scotch Presbyterian mother and of an Italian Jew, he was obsessed by a puritanical and—seemingly—pharisaical mania for thanking God that he was “not as the rest of men”; a mania which may easily become intolerable cant in private life and an element of incomprehension in public life. Political honesty, the honesty of great men like Cavour who—as always happens in politics—assented to compromises in transitory incidents to which they would not have condescended for their own private affairs, but which they adopted in view of some general noble purpose—this honesty was suspicious to the puritan Sonnino. When, as a young diplomat before the war, I used to see him fairly often in his beautiful solitary house near the Trajan Forum, I could not help being unpleasantly struck by this guileless superiority complex of which he was the first victim. Waiting for him sometimes in his library, round which ran, carved in the oak of the topmost shelf, his motto: *Quod aliis licet non tibi*, I could not help wondering, in my tolerant Italian way, how this man did not feel that maxims like those are beautiful only when they are not boasted of.

The case for Italy, however, was so self-evident that its force dawned on Sonnino as soon as, on San Giuliano's death on October 16th, 1914, he had accepted the Prime Minister's offer and had become Foreign Minister. Article VII of the Triple Alliance Treaty bound Austria-Hungary and Italy, did they wish to alter the *status quo* in the Balkans “by a temporary or permanent occupation,” to come to “a previous agreement based upon the principle of a reciprocal compensation for every advantage, territorial or other, that each of them might obtain over and above the present position.”

Even admitting first Count Berchtold's jesuitic *distinguo* that the Austrian occupation in Serbia was neither permanent nor temporary, but merely “momentary,” the fact remained that Austria was waging war to secure for herself in the Balkans, if not “territorial,” at least “other advantages”; that for this she owed

“compensation”; and that she had violated the Treaty by failing to come to a “previous agreement.”

San Giuliano, enriched by the bitter experience of his vain, long efforts to come to an understanding with Austria that should not be merely formal—efforts in which I had collaborated most eagerly—grasped the futility of discussions with a Power that was destined either to utter ruin, or else to become an even more crying danger for Italy on the one hand and for the Balkan Peninsula on the other. Minds too fond of logic have upbraided him with not having denounced the Treaty immediately after Austria had so flagrantly violated it. Such acts, noble individually as they may be, are of a kind one does not indulge in when the future of forty million men is at stake. But we have seen what his thoughts were when he lay dying, and that they lacked neither breadth nor sense of the future.

As though he wanted to atone for having failed to grasp from the beginning that—for one who sought a solid juridical ground—Article VII furnished manifest proof of the Austrian guilt, Sonnino, as soon as he came to power, clung to it. It was even more than the lawyer seeking to get compensation for a breach of contract: it was really, in him, the re-awakening of the passion of his fathers for the letter of the law. With him, as sometimes with his fathers, the letter killed the spirit, that is, the understanding that a new history was beginning, and that the Triple Alliance Treaty itself, violated as it had been, was nothing but the débris of a far greater wreck. When Italy entered the war in May, 1915, Sonnino published a *Green Book* containing his negotiations with Austria. The man who, alone in Italy, had begun by thinking that our country ought to have joined the Central Powers, wrote in the final dispatch in which he notified the end of the Triple Alliance:

By disregarding the obligations imposed by the Treaty, Austria-Hungary profoundly disturbed the Balkan *status quo*, and created a situation from which she alone would profit to the detriment of interests of the greatest importance which her Ally had so often affirmed and proclaimed.

So flagrant a violation of the letter and the spirit of the Treaty not only justified Italy's refusal to place herself on the side of her Allies in a war provoked without previous notice to her, but at the same time deprived the alliance of its essential character and of its *raison d'être*.

Italians and foreigners have reproached Sonnino with this: that neither in his *Green Book* recording his negotiations with Austria, nor in the negotiations with the British, French, and Russian Cabinets that led to the Treaty of London of April 26th, 1915, was any trace to be found of idealism or sentiment. Far be it from me to gainsay the assertion. When, still in Peking, I read Sonnino's *Green Book*, I felt a burning pang of sorrow greater than any

experienced later on during the dark hours of the war. All our Allies had suffered military reverses more or less similar to ours; none had leaders who seemed to delight in belittling their country's moral grandeur. The words *sacro egoismo* that are held up against Salandra were, in reality, justified in his mouth; with them he simply wished to counterbalance what might have been excessive in the general enthusiasm then reigning in Italy amongst the young for a war of democracies against militarism. The way in which Sonnino conducted his negotiations gave a semblance of verisimilitude to certain ungenerous foreign interpretations of the *sacro egoismo*. To be just to his memory, one has to add, however, that his error was simply an error of mental incomprehension; he failed to see the new human forces at stake—forces even stronger in Italy, at the time, than abroad; and he thought that it was necessary to negotiate on the seemingly solid ground of "realities." It is always so; when one fails to reckon with "idealism" or "sentiment," it is because one lacks an intellectual outlook wide enough to embrace all the "realities."

For indeed, the most objective study of his Treaty of London proves that he had not a glimmer of the political necessities which the dying San Giuliano had realised so clearly. Whereas Giolitti foretold that the war would last three years—Giolitti was the only one, with Kitchener, to put down that estimate in the summer of 1914—Sonnino believed in a very short war; and the proof of this lies in the fact that, although he could have asked anything from the Powers, seeing they were so anxious for our support, he limited the foreign loans to Italy to the ridiculous sum of fifty million pounds.

San Giuliano had been especially preoccupied to achieve a complete, efficient solidarity of the Allies in the war against Austria; he had not in vain lived as Ambassador in London, where he had realised the snobbishness of "society" that looked upon Austrians and Hungarians as "very nice people" because they gave shooting-parties and were fond of horses (and stupid as these reasons seem, they nevertheless helped Austria with official England during the war). Sonnino secured no guarantee whatever for the conduct of the war; and even less for the future. Having by the Treaty of London obtained a great part of Dalmatia, he was obliged—contrary to what San Giuliano had thought—not only to have no understanding whatever with Serbia, but to consider her as a potential enemy. And he thought to ward off the danger by exacting absolute secrecy about his Treaty of London—which, of course, two weeks after its signature, became known to the Serbian Government.

Results were not slow in coming. From the very day of Italy's entrance into the war, General Cadorna noted that the collaboration

with the Serbian army, which he had expected to be close, failed to materialise. He had not wanted the annexation of Dalmatia, he had even advised against it (like his successor Diaz, he declared—and both told me—that, in case of a new war, Dalmatia would have to be evacuated immediately), but Sonnino had, disregarding Cadorna's advice, included Dalmatia in his list of annexations; and from the moment Italy entered the war the Serbians ceased all attacks against Austria and applied themselves to Albania. When, later on, I discussed this phase of the war with Pachich and with the highest Serbian military authorities, my objections with regard to their passivity at that time were not contested by them. They were not very proud of themselves. But one excuse for their attitude they did give: One of our assets, they told me, in fighting against an enemy so much more powerful than ourselves, was the desertions that we provoked on the Austrian front amongst the Croat, Dalmatian, and Slovene regiments; your Treaty of London that took Dalmatia from the Southern Slavs became, in the hands of the Austrian High Command, a marvellous weapon with which they gave their Slav soldiers a popular war-slogan: war on Italian Imperialism.

In spite of the evidence of the facts, Sonnino went his way. His moral character had all the qualities inherent in its defects, and he had an absolute contempt for all the catch-words of the time and for propaganda. The painful and gigantic travail of the nationalities in Austria had escaped him before; and now he took it for a clever piece of the propaganda he so deeply despised. This was his heaviest mistake. He never believed that Austria might disappear, as Bissolati was preaching in Italy and as I was warning him from Corfu and from Macedonia where I had been sent after the entrance of Italy into the war. Honest as he was, he did not escape the frequent illusion of mistaking his own forecasts and plans for the interests of his country. Each year of the war was worth a century of experience, but he shut his eyes and stuck solely to his Treaty of London, to the letter of the Law. On the eve of the great Austro-German offensive against Serbia (summer, 1915) the Italian High Command had agreed with the French to send a common expedition to the Serbian front; it was to be commanded by an Italian general; the French, always fond of titles, had thought of the Duke of Aosta; Cadorna was hoping thus to win a serious advance on the Carso, and possibly the conquest of Trieste, as a result of a decrease of the Austrian forces along the more difficult Italian front. But Sonnino refused; he felt that such a close Italo-Serbian military collaboration would have entailed a revision of his London Treaty.

Later on, obliged to send a division to the Macedonian front—a division that practically always neighboured with the Serbians with

whom it had the most cordial relations—he rejected my urgent requests to have the exceptional services recognised that our 35th Division was rendering to the Serbians and to the common Allied cause. Our division—spread along a difficult front-line—had little by little increased its effective force to seventy thousand men. The French Army Corps, further east, was often far below this figure. “Let us call our division what it is: an Army Corps,” I said, and wrote to him: “You often complain of the Allies, but if we are the first to belittle our efforts, can we expect the others to do us justice?” But it was of no use. And this unique thing happened in the war: that we gave the Macedonian troops the blood and force of an army corps, but we ourselves refused that justice be rendered to the extent of our collaboration.

Later on, especially when it became evident that the Entente would win the war with the help of the United States, and that these would not be bound by any secret treaties on the day of peace, I urged him on several occasions to come to an agreement with the Serbian Government, so as to enable us to go to the Peace Conference freer in the achievement of our general aims, and unfettered by a quarrel about the Adriatic frontier.

The period was very painful for this essentially honest man. On the one hand he shut his eyes to the facts, he hoped that the war would end in the manner he had imagined, leaving Austria still fairly strong and with the Yugo-Slav dreams dispelled; on the other hand, he could not help feeling that the forecasts of the “idealists” might after all come true. In the summer of 1917 he accepted the proposal I made to bring Pachich to Rome in order to come to a compromise with him. I accordingly came with Pachich, who in his careful speeches gave him to understand that he was ready to accept a reasonable formula. Sonnino listened—and in the end answered nothing. Pachich, who was as silent as Sonnino, only said to me: “I expected that.” And he was not too disappointed, for, in his heart of hearts, like Sonnino, he inclined more towards a greater Serbia than towards a destroyed Austria. I, for my part, urgently requested Sonnino to have me recalled. But Sonnino just as urgently asked me to keep my post in Corfu.

“What is the use, if you contradict my language and my policy?”

And he (I quote his words literally):

You will go on speaking according to your conscience; I shall never give you the lie. Even now, I have not done so. Only (and there he stopped a moment, and then went on, somewhat ashamed) I am like the peasants; it is on the market place, at the last minute, that I cut down my prices.

But if anyone were to believe that in wishing me to go on gain-saying his silence by my words, he was indulging in machiavellism (in the cheap sense modern cant has given to the word), he would be heavily mistaken. No man was less capable of such tricks than Sonnino. It was quite otherwise: it was the proof that his conscience ordained him to admit, as possibly true, a faith opposed to his, which he knew to be as sincere as his own. I had no need of proofs to convince me that it was not a question of machiavellism, but a painful moral tragedy that I bowed to, meanwhile, however, deploring the disastrous results I foresaw for my country. Had I needed a proof, I should have had it a few months later, when Wilson proclaimed his Fourteen Points. I was in duty bound to state my conviction once more to Sonnino. I did it in a long private letter, from which I quote these words:

... And at the Peace Conference they will all know how to pay lip-service to Wilson's Fourteen Points, and, underhand, to think only of their interests; we alone, bound by a formula too antithetical, will risk being at variance with Wilson and with everybody; and in a desperate struggle for the Treaty of London, we shall endanger all our interests. European hypocrisy will give itself *face*, as the Chinese say, by denouncing the Italian *sacro egoismo* that will probably turn out to be the least realistic of all the Allied egoisms.

A few days later Sonnino answered, granting himself the one luxury of not quoting my letter: “One must admit that President Wilson's tenets may make the ground for future discussions more complicated; I therefore authorise you to renew with Mr. Pachich the conversations you had with him before his last visit to Rome.” Pachich was not at Corfu at the time. Before he came back, three weeks later, Sonnino had written again to cancel his previous instructions, and ask me to “wait for new ones” which never arrived.

When peace came, he went to Paris alone with his Treaty of London, with no other diplomatic or psychological preparation than that “pound of flesh”; and the inevitable happened. I say the inevitable, for never has it been seen in history that, after a long war, peace has been concluded on lines laid down before that war, in a totally different atmosphere and equilibrium of forces. The conduct of the Allies towards Italy was petty and—worse still—shortsighted. Wilson was wrong in insisting on an integral application of his principles on the Italian sector, when he had given way on so many others. He provoked among the Italians the impression that he wanted to make for himself a new virginity at our expense. But this does not lessen Sonnino's responsibility, for that all this would happen had been easy to foresee, and had been foreseen. The final mistake—his method of negotiating in Paris—was the counterpart of the initial one, that of the short war.

During the Peace Conference it happened that only those who had been branded as "idealists" had a clear vision of reality, as they had had at the beginning of the tragedy.

It was one of Bissolati's most faithful friends, Salvemini, who, in February, 1915, the Treaty of London being based on the assumption that the war would last but a few months, wrote :

The war will not be a military stroll; it will, on the contrary be a very serious task. Germany will want to wage it on our territory; she will almost certainly try one of those rapid offensives for which she has already proved that she has the genius and force, thus obliging us to abandon the defence of the Venetian provinces and the eastern frontier. We must prepare ourselves to face some reverses and, in any case, to sacrifices long and great.

Later on, it was Bissolati from the Carso front, and I from the Balkans, who preached to Sonnino that, under the solid cover of a formidable army—the Hungarians, the Tyrolese, and the Croats have always been amongst the finest soldiers in the world—the body of the Austrian Monarchy gave signs of mortal disease, and that one must prepare the war-agreements and the peace-agreements with those peoples who would become the successor States of Austria. In vain: Sonnino was always opposed to the Czecho-Slovakian legions which we only succeeded later on, and in spite of him, in creating on our front; the creation of Yugo-Slav legions (which would probably have ruined the moral stamina of the Croat troops who always fought against us with fierce obstinacy) he always barred; once he threatened Bissolati with resignation rather than admit such a scheme. He had imagined a short war, a war that would end without the destruction of Austria, and he had never succeeded in realising that history had taken the liberty of evolving on lines different from those he had laid down.

Mazzini, alone in a sceptical Europe, foresaw sixty years earlier that the bigoted and illiberal Austria of the Habsburgs would fall to pieces one day and that the races subject to a hegemony that in Mazzini's day was only Teutonic, and later on became Germano-Magyar, would secure their independence. Italians, faithful to the democratic traditions of our country, from the radical Bissolati to the Conservative Albertini, had exalted Italian intervention in the war as a sacrifice to be accomplished on behalf of a juster and freer Europe. The Italian soldiers who won on the Piave the first of the final battles of the Entente, fought for this ideal. One does not die as they died for *sacro egoismo*. The most magnificent victory crowned the sacrifice of half a million dead. Italy, indeed, not only conquered along the Alps as far as the Quarnero, the most perfect natural boundary in the world, but she saw the

disappearance of the great military power that, on her oriental frontier, had so often hindered her freedom of action.

There is no exaggeration in saying that no one in Europe won the war as Italy did. Not France who, in an unpacified Europe, may always fear the formidable German masses on her sides. Not England, who has lost her naval world-supremacy. Italy on the contrary, through the disappearance of Austria which has given her back her freedom of action and of choice, has seen her friendship doubled in value for other nations, and has acquired an influence that I, for my part, had planned to be predominant in Central Europe and in the Balkans—predominant in the interests of peace. But nothing of all this had found its way into the plans of Sonnino, who failed to adjust himself to a reality so far beyond his field of vision. At the Peace Conference, unconsciously of one mind with all those elements who can only conceive of victory if she be armed, snarling and bristling, against someone else, he thought in all good faith that Italy would lose the fruit of her sacrifices if she did not settle in Dalmatia, thus preventing the unification of the Yugo-Slav nation, whose existence as a state is for us one of the safest guarantees that Austria-Hungary, at whose hands we suffered so much in the past, will never rise up again.

Sonnino, once in the poisoned atmosphere of the Paris Conference, was, in his narrow honesty, outraged by the greeds and selfishness that his colleagues hid under the cloak of the new words. His isolation grew, and with it the impossibility for him of coming to an understanding. He was left alone, alone with his Treaty of London. In spite of appearances to the contrary Italy had won more than her Allies; but she must be told so. Instead of that she saw her plenipotentiary isolated, scoffed, and done—as when the Allies seized the opportunity of his momentary departure and that of Orlando from Paris, to give Smyrna to Greece, with nothing but a petty desire to play Sonnino a bad turn.

Sonnino being Italy at the Peace Conference, what more natural than that an important section of public opinion, encouraged in its error by a Press that had assumed the monopoly of a yellow patriotism, imagined in its anger that victory had been "mutilated"? For my part (and in spite of the outrageous attacks that have always been hurled at me from that side, one of the idiosyncrasies of the professional "patriots" being to believe that by no one is the country beloved but by them) I am ready to recognise the psychological reasons underlying the emotions that clever ring-leaders brought to white heat in order to fish in troubled waters afterwards.

The conquest of Dalmatia, for instance, as it had been planned by Sonnino and his nationalists, was but a sign of weakness: a

suspicious barbed-wire fence against our neighbours, whereas I, when I succeeded to Sonnino, convinced of Italian superiority and sure of our power of penetration, wanted to throw open the doors of the East to Italian influence. But Dalmatia was full of towns, monuments, reminiscences of all kinds, relics of past Italian glory. What more natural again that an ill-informed public opinion, unaware of the fact that the vast majority of Dalmatians were Slavs and wanted to remain Slavs, bore with difficulty the idea of losing the ancient Venetian possession? However much opposed to a sterile anti-Slav policy that would have deprived us of any international liberty, making us heirs of that Austria we had destroyed, I could not help resenting somewhat the advice to cultivate "breadth of vision" that came so often from Allies who would probably have been annexationists against their true interest, had they been faced with an analogous case.

When, after the Caporetto reverse, the Italians alone built up a new line of defence on the Piave, and there started a stubborn resistance against the invader, they resented the fact that abroad the legend was artificially encouraged which ran that the stand had been marshalled by Foch, and that the arrival of foreign contingents had helped towards its success, both facts being equally contrary to truth. That this was told and believed abroad increased the irritation at home. All this, of course, might have disappeared like mist when the sun of victory rose: all this might have been nothing more than an instance of inevitable misunderstandings between Allies. But the disillusionment of the Peace Conference crystallised into a sort of general feeling that Italy had been bereft of the fruits of her victory. Nothing strange if a nation, attenuated by four years of terrible sufferings, did not clearly see that the short-sighted selfishness of the Allies had a practical excuse in the lack of courage, initiative, and imagination of our negotiators. Anger and discontent were especially rife among the middle classes who had sacrificed so many thousands of their sons as officers on the battlefields, and who had cherished most the noble memories of Dalmatia. Looking back chiefly to the past, as happens with the classes imbued mainly with classical culture, it was no wonder they failed to realise that only a policy of generous friendship with the new nationalities could ensure to future generations the gains of victory.

It was from amongst these groups, and owing to these worthy if ill-fated patriotic grievances, that there sprang a youth, sincere and disinterested, to throw itself enthusiastically into the nationalist, and later fascist movement, never suspecting what might lie hidden under the patriotic slogans of the adventure.

SFORZA.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.*

SOME CHARACTERISTICS AND CONTR

I FEEL it an honour to be asked to address this large and representative body of teachers, and I feel that all the more on account of the great subject on which I am invited to speak. There are not many greater subjects than English literature into whatever field of human thought and study we look. And indeed even if one confines oneself almost entirely to the greatest order of literature, to poetry, as I shall do this morning, I am still afraid there is something a little absurd in attempting to deal in an hour with a subject which could scarcely be adequately dealt with in a month or even in a year. Obviously, all I can do is to choose one or two aspects of English literature, or English poetry, in which it seems especially to stand out among the literatures of the world. As I am informed the general object of this course of lectures is to set out English influence—I say English not British; for I hate the word British, which is law and politics and pedantry but not literature at all, and therefore not English—to set out English influence on the civilisation of the world. Those are alarmingly big words—literature, civilisation, even influence—and, at any rate in the discourse of an hour, they involve risks of vagueness and emptiness which it is not easy to escape. I am a strong believer in a mainly literary education as opposed to one mainly scientific, and I am at least a believer in democracy as opposed to any form of autocracy, whether old monarchical or modern Fascist. But there is no doubt that it is one of the strongest and worst temptations, both of literature as opposed to science and of democracy as opposed, say, to narrower forms of government, that they are apt, in the French phrase, *se payer de mots*, to lose themselves in words which have no reality behind them. One of the two or three best of French poets—very un-French in this matter—wrote once, "Faisons taire cet ennuyeux déclamateur: il cherche de grands mots." Whoever handles literature does wisely to bear in mind La Fontaine's caution. The seeker after "gros mots" who is not quite sure that his big words come of big thoughts in his mind or big facts in the world, is a common and dangerous figure in literature itself and among talkers about literature. We ought to be on our guard against that danger. And yet, if by words we become drunken with emptiness, it is also by words, and by words alone, that we realise the fullness of our nature. When perfectly handled words not only may be, but sometimes ought to be, intoxicating things.

* A Lecture delivered at the City of London Vacation Course in Education on July 25th.

To handle them perfectly is to give perfect expression to all the thoughts and visions, all the moods, of the human spirit: and while some of these thoughts and moods are and ought to be quiet and sober, others are and ought to be of an intoxicating exultation. And saying that takes me to the first characteristic of English poetry to which I shall allude. We have known such moods in England; moods in which, as Wordsworth, often so mistakenly supposed to be a merely quiet and sober poet, said, we find our friends in

exultations, agonies
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

Indeed, has any literature at all—I wish to speak soberly—greater expression of those moods than are to be found in English? Such expressions, for instance, as we find above all in the plays of Shakespeare—at once exactly truthful and yet of a sublime intoxication? Nor does Shakespeare stand alone. He is far from being the only English poet who gives us experience of that just and truthful madness of poetry which takes the extremes of hope and fear, of love and hate and sorrow, all our most passionate experiences of life and death, and gives them back to us in words so wonderful that we scarcely know whether our loves or sorrows are borne in more fiercely upon us or dissolved and lost in the sheer beauty of their utterance. There is, I say, not little but much in English poetry the reading of which is an entrancing, exalting, intoxicating experience. To mention many names would take me too far. One or two will be enough: and will show the various forms that entrancement takes. Are there many poets anywhere in the world who surpass our Spenser in sheer loveliness of word, of verse, of stanza, of all sorts and conditions of verbal music? The poets know their own masters and none in England has received such affectionate tributes of allegiance, such grateful admissions of indebtedness, as Spenser has had from Milton and Cowley, Dryden and Pope, Scott and Wordsworth and Keats. There is a superficial unreality about him, but to them, and to us when we are nearest to them, nearest in ear and mind and spirit, the poet of the *Faery Queen* conveys a message whose proof lies in its own intoxicating music, the message that the ultimate secret of things is a beauty which is truth, and a truth which is beauty. Again, is there anywhere a glory of verse, a pomp and splendour and majesty, which rise to the heights of the great epic of Milton? Landor who loved, and lived with, the old classics all his eighty and more years, asked “who was the blockhead who invented the word blank for such verse as that of Milton,” and added, “my prejudices in favour of ancient literature began to wear away on *Paradise Lost*, and even the great hexameter sounded to me

tinkling when I had recited aloud in my solitary walks on the seashore the haughty appeal of Satan and the deep penitence of Eve.” Milton is our great master of the classical manner: the greatest artist England ever produced in any field, the man in whom that order in freedom and freedom in order, which is art, reached its highest harmony of perfection. Yet, man of order and of the classical sanity as he is, no Englishman except Shakespeare lifts us higher above ourselves, gives freer utterance to the exultations and the agonies of the soul of man. Then, take another poet. Is there any poet anywhere, Greek or Roman, French or Italian or German, who gives us the limitless soaring, the free flight of the human spirit as Shelley does? Is there any who reminds us so often that, in Greek and Latin, spirit is the same word as breath or wind, the freest and most uncontrollable of the elements? You remember that famous passage of St. John: “The wind bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth: so is every-one that is born of the Spirit.” There, both in the original Greek and in the Latin of the Vulgate, the word which our translators rendered first as wind and then as spirit is the same word. Wind and spirit are both πνεύμα in Greek, *spiritus* in Latin. So we see how near akin spirit and wind are, the freest things in all the world, which is exactly what Shelley continually suggests or says. And it is perhaps worth while remarking that when we love and praise Shelley we do not rest on English authority alone. I do not speak of the clever and amusing *Ariel* of M. Maurois, most of whose stories were better told first-hand by Hogg, who knew, besides, what M. Maurois scarcely seems to know, that Shelley was not just a joke, though he certainly was that, but a great genius and a divine poet. No: I refer to an authority of very different weight: I refer to the great Italian poet and critic Carducci who, in his poem *Presso l'urna di Percy Bysshe Shelley* grants Shelley alone among the modern poets (*novi poeti*) of any country the glory of a place in his island of the blest, of heroes and fair women and poets: and sends him there borne in the arms of Sophocles, calling him “Spirito di Titano entro virginee forme,” “Titan soul in maiden shape,” and “poeta del liberato mondo,” “poet of a world set free.”

These splendours and entrancements—and they are far from being the only ones—are not small contributions to the civilisation of the world. Yet after all it is possible that they may not be the most characteristically English part of what England has given to humane literature. It is the paradox of our literature to have been at once the most imaginative and the most commonsensical of the literatures of Europe. If Shakespeare is, since

Æschylus, the most daring of the supremely great writers, Dryden and Pope are by far the most brilliant of those who, talking common sense in verse, have brought genius to set it on fire and so have made it poetry. And it is to be observed that it was Pope and Locke and Addison, not Shakespeare and Milton, who conquered for England the large space she has ever since occupied on the literary map of Europe. When Milton died in 1674 Europe scarcely knew that we English had a literature at all. And even some years after his death we seemed for a time, at least on the stage, to be echoes of France, as we had, a hundred years before, to superficial eyes at least, seemed to be echoes of Petrarch, Ariosto, or Tasso. But a hundred years after 1674 what a change we find!

English verse and prose are universally read, translated, and imitated on the Continent. The Victorians were apt to take little account of the writers of our Augustan Age, as the eighteenth century proudly called it, that is the age of the Revolution, Anne, and the first Georges. But history takes great account of it. The simple fact is that whereas before the Revolution English literature was nothing to Europe, by the accession of George III it had already gained the second, and was challenging the French for the first, place among the intellectual influences of the world. The greatest French writers, such men as Montesquieu and Voltaire, made it their business to tell their countrymen what they had to learn from England. Goethe's writings, early and late, are full of England and the English. The greatest poet of the Revolution period, André Chénier, praised Milton, and Chateaubriand, the greatest prose writer of the period which followed, translated him. English philosophy, English essays, English novels, were the staple food of the intellectual circles of Europe. Whether it is still so I do not know, but I do know that thirty or forty years ago no books were commoner on those quays of Paris which booklovers used to haunt than translations of the *Spectator*, the *Taller*, and the other essayists. So Cowper in the 'eighties of the century boasted that *The Task* had sixty readers at The Hague alone. How many readers would a new English poem have there to-day? Even a writer of the second class like Young of the *Night Thoughts* had so prodigious a vogue that no less a poet than Chénier was driven to protest against the influence of "frenzied English despair." But when we talk of "frenzied English despair," we are passing out of the atmosphere of common sense into the second stage of English influence, when, under the banner of Scott and Byron, English poetry carried adventure and extravagance, mediævalism and romance, in a triumphant progress all over Europe.

England has never had so great a European position as after the fall of Napoleon. Our naval and military victories, which had been the chief cause of the deliverance of Europe from the danger of a universal French despotism, our political stability in a world convulsed by Revolution, our enormously increased commerce and wealth, gave us a prestige which no other nation could rival. And we had in our midst great writers who could step into that prepared inheritance. I suppose few writers, and certainly no Englishmen, have ever dominated Europe as Scott and Byron dominated it between 1815 and 1850. The German ballad poets in one manner and Chateaubriand in another may have shown them the way: but it was the *Waverley Novels* and *Childe Harold* whose authors (except for Goethe to whom they both paid homage) were the idols and models of all Europe.

What a contrast to our position at the date I first mentioned! In 1674 the two greatest of all English poets had already lived and died: but outside England one was entirely unknown and the other, if known, known not as the author of *Paradise Lost* but as the secretary of Cromwell and defender of Regicide. A hundred and fifty years later, and of the three most famous poets living in Europe two are English. Yet, and this is the point to which I wish to come back, it was not Byron and Scott who won for England her great place on the intellectual map of Europe. It was not the things they gave Europe which first made Europe honour England. We did not catch the ear of foreigners by any eloquence or imagination or romance. Of those two sides of our contrasted genius of which I spoke it was not the imaginative side which compelled attention to English letters; it was the side of realism and simplicity and common sense. And it may be that that strain in us, though not the more splendid or dazzling, is the one which first and last has made the most permanent contribution to the social, political, and intellectual storehouse of Europe. "The proper study of mankind is man." All poets would accept that doctrine; all practise it indeed, after one fashion or another, or they would not be poets at all; for poetry is the most human of the arts. But none have practised it, I think, quite in the way the English have from the beginning to the end. There is a vein in the earliest English poetry which continues all through the long succession; through Chaucer and Spenser and Milton and Wordsworth and Tennyson; and is only partially and temporarily superseded by a reaction to-day which is both superficial and artificial. I mean a vein of grave and sober inquiring into the conditions of life and conduct. No literature has more of that and none can have anything more worth having. Realism is a word which is bandied about in the criticism of art and letters, sometimes as a

term of abuse, sometimes as one of praise or compliment. People take little trouble to define the thing and so can use the word in almost any sense they please. I mean by a realist literature that which pictures a life which the plain man can recognise as his life; which turns on issues with which the plain man knows himself to be concerned. I hasten to add—though in a gathering like this it is unnecessary and perhaps impertinent—that if a book is that and nothing else, if it is content with mere realism, mere photography of actual life, it is not literature at all. At the best it is science: at the worst it is a reporter's notebook. Nothing is literature which does not in one way or another transcend reality as seen by the plain man: heighten it, deepen it, vivify it, bring to it a goodness or a badness, a strength or a weakness, a beauty or a mystery, a delight or a terror or an ugliness, in one word an intensity, which the plain man cannot, unaided, experience or discover. The greatest literature is that which unites the greatest quantity of reality with its completest transcendence.

Now of the characteristics of our literature perhaps the strongest from the beginning has been its firm hold on reality. In the Anglo-Saxons, in Langland who crowned and ended their tradition with his *Piers Plowman*, in Chaucer who began the new English, began both the language and the literature, and in all or most of the great names which look back to Chaucer as their source and master, we find life as you and I know it and the issues of life as you and I have to face them. My knowledge of our earliest writers is too slight to allow of my speaking dogmatically; but I believe I may safely say that in the whole of our literature, from the beginning to the end, you find more closeness of touch with the ordinary man's life than in the literatures of other nations: more interest in those questions of conduct, of wisdom and folly, of right and wrong, which really concern him, as opposed to ecclesiastical refinements, or philosophical subtleties, or artistic technicalities, which he feels to be outside his life. And we have had less of the trickeries and vanities of verbal and metrical ingenuity than either Italy or France or Spain. They are with us to-day in a school of poets who are trying to make words run alone unaccompanied by meaning: a thing which they can never do: for when sounds became words they forfeited the musical privilege of running alone and were for ever harnessed to meaning. But all this attempt to play with words and to make of them meaningless patterns, to "eliminate life from poetry" as has been proposed by a very distinguished contemporary French poet who happily does not practise what he preaches, is, as I think, only coterie work doomed to sterility. It stands and must stand outside the large currents of human thought and action as great poetry never does. It is at

any rate, which is my present point, utterly outside the tradition of English literature. That tradition is all through predominantly real, human, and serious. We have had our Petrarchists, our Euphuists, our Æsthetes, and other affected and artificial persons. But none of these groups lasted here as they did in some other countries. Our greatest men of genius had not to occupy themselves, as Cervantes and Molière had, in mocking triumphant affectations and unrealities out of the field of letters. It is true that England has no realist greater than Molière. But it may be noted, as illustrating the point I am trying to make, that Molière's greatest creation is an intellectual who is something of a precisian, with little or no understanding of common human frailties: while the greatest of Shakespeare's, whether we choose Hamlet or Falstaff as the greatest, is a very human figure with plenty of weakness in him; and one of those two brings with him the freest laugh the world has heard since the days of Aristophanes, which is largely a laugh at himself. And as Shakespeare has balanced his poetry with his prose, and Richard II with the Bastard, so we have balanced his splendour of genius with the common sense of Johnson, and go quite naturally and not unwillingly from the intoxicating delights of *Romeo and Juliet* to Johnson's cool assertion that "love is only one of many passions" and one which "has no great influence upon the sum of life": and we know in ourselves that both the delight and the criticism are built upon truth. Literature, because it is life, is made up, as life is, of contradictions of which both are true. "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works" is no more and no less true than "Take heed that ye do not your alms before men to be seen of them," which follows it a few verses later. And so the genius which insists upon transcending the experience of every day is not more rightly present in English literature than the common sense which puts that experience in the foreground of its picture.

Of course, both elements are present in all great literature and both bring their own dangers. My immediate business is with the dangers involved in our own realism or common sense. The difficulty about this realism, which, as I defined it, gives us something known and recognised by the plain man, is that experience shows how hard a task is that of having enough of it without having too much. Most literatures, notably the Greek and the Italian, have sunk into degeneration through having too little of it: through substituting art, or rather artifice, mere dexterity of fancy and language, for the lost truth of life and manners. The poets of Alexandria who filled up the last age of Greece and, still more, the poets of the Italian Courts of the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries, were makers of ingenious exercises who knew nothing of reality. In England our danger has been the other way. The balance of our genius has probably, from the days of Chaucer to those of Dr. Johnson and Jane Austen, leaned to the side of plain things and thoughts and people. And with that tendency it has inevitably sometimes failed to remain a balance at all and fallen over on the realistic side, as in the cynicism of parts of Pope, the commonplace of parts of Addison, the occasional ugliness of Crabbe, the occasional stupidity of Wordsworth. Even in Shakespeare himself the same oversetting of the balance may be seen. It is no doubt his just praise that, compared with him, both foreign dramatists and his own English contemporaries and successors seem, in the words once more of Johnson, to give us a theatre "peopled by such characters as were never seen, conversing in a language which was never heard, upon topics which will never arise in the commerce of mankind."

But true as that is we must still admit that this arresting and convincing realism of his sometimes degenerates into a physical and moral coarseness which is not more offensive to the narrowest Puritanism than it is to any generous culture and civilisation. A German professor lecturing at Oxford before the war on *The Taming of the Shrew*, said that he had heard it asserted that Shakespeare's plays were less often performed in England than in Germany, and that England was reproached for this. He did not know, he said, whether the charge was true. But, if it were, he suggested that it admitted of two explanations. One, that in Germany Shakespeare speaks the modern language, the language of the audience, is therefore immediately and universally understood, and has a smooth road to popularity, while in England he speaks a language more than three hundred years old: the other that, in truth, Shakespeare in some of his plays and notably in *The Shrew* represents a stage in manners and civilisation which England and France have long left behind them but in which Germany, at any rate pre-war Germany, still remained, as may be seen in the barbarous practical jokes played everywhere in Germany, even by exalted persons like Bismarck and the Emperor. Anyhow, whatever we are to say of the theory of this modest German, Shakespeare's realism does undoubtedly often give us jokes of this kind—the kind to be seen in *The Shrew*—jokes of the body which, in a more civilised state of manners, are left to people who have no minds to joke with. And sometimes, as in the wearisome reiteration of the jests about cuckolds and horns, his realism becomes the sort of realism which civilisation leaves to the public-house or the lower class of music hall. In the jokes of civilisation, brain, the creative faculty, is dominant: as it is in

Falstaff, as it is in the plays of Molière: and then a joke may handle any topic. But in some of Shakespeare's jokes the brain has done nothing: the realism is of the sort which has left ugly words and things exactly as they are: and the realism of things as they are—untouched by brain or imagination—is not art at all.

But I am more concerned to-day with the strength than with the weaknesses of our English realistic temper. With what clear eyes it has from the first seen both men and nature and with what directness of speech it has told us what it saw! It is noteworthy that we here in England had a very great realist long before any other country. Chaucer is the first great poet of real life. There are many isolated bits of realism in Dante—his poem indeed is sown with them; realities lovely and unlovely—did not Landor call him "the great master of the disgusting"?—but, for all the varied truth of experience he brings into it, his poem is not as a whole a poem of experience or of this world at all. Chaucer on the other hand is frankly a man of the life we know: there is nothing in him for us to stand in awe of as we stand in awe of the man who had been in Heaven and Hell. No poet ever judged the great men of this world with such tremendous severity as Dante. But he is himself a great man, not merely in genius but in habit and temper: an aristocrat of the aristocrats. He knew that pride was his besetting sin and was uncomfortable when he passed through that circle of Purgatory in which he saw the proud suffering their expiatory humiliation. If he alludes to the opinions of the common people on the high matters of his discourse it is only to brush them aside with the double contempt of the scholar and the aristocrat: he does not want to hear what "Donna Berta and Ser Martino," as he disdainfully calls them ("Tom, Dick, and Harry," as his likes among us might say), think about the mysteries of sin and redemption, or life and death. There is little or nothing of this in our genial and humorous realist Chaucer. He is more inclined, like La Fontaine who had a good deal of his temperament, to let his contempt play rather about the highly placed and pompous, the learned and over-serious, than about the people: and it is not without some sympathy on his part that he tells of his monk who pooh-poohed St. Benedict and St. Augustine. He belonged to the Court, made his profit of it, and paid his compliments to it. But he is no moral and intellectual aristocrat like Dante: unlike Dante he seems not to condemn nor even to judge any man: describing the worldly monk, the saintly parson, and the simple ploughman with the same or not far from the same pleasure and sympathy. And then his gift is humour, the gift of plain men, a thing of heart as much as of head: and not wit, which is a thing of the intellect alone. In all this, in his

realism, his liking and understanding of plain people, his gift of humour rather than of wit, he is the true father of English letters. Falstaff and Shakespeare's Fools, Parson Adams and Mr. Bennet and Sam Weller are all of his family.

And there is another matter in which Chaucer is very English and leads the way for the English poets who were to follow him. How real and personal, with the unique note of actual experience in them, and of an experience that had gone to his heart, are his allusions to spring and the birds and the flowers! They have none of the detailed knowledge shown by Thomson, Cowper, and Crabbe, Wordsworth, Keats, and Tennyson, but they give the same impression of a thing the poet had felt and cared for which we get in the Elizabethans and Shakespeare, and which has, I think, belonged to England more than to any country. Racine was a great artist, a great poet, and a great master of the human heart, but there is more awareness of sun and rain and wind, birds and flowers, in many a single scene of Shakespeare than in the whole work of Racine.

In so many matters does Chaucer strike the note which, we may suppose, he had because he was English: for it has been English ever since. In one great matter, however, he hardly does or could for the reason I gave just now. We English have by precept, and especially by example, taught the world much more of the art and science of politics than any other people except the Romans. And our poetry—compared, I think, with that of any other nation—exhibits a political interest and instinct. When Chaucer wrote the nation as a whole had hardly won to a political consciousness, though its leaders had already taken the decisive step that was to make its Parliamentary constitution the envy and model of the world. So Chaucer has little more of politics than a few common-places which had floated down to the Middle Age from the wrecks of Græco-Roman civilisation. Only he has the temper of tolerance and compromise, of the preference for the gradual and practical over the theoretical and abstract, which our whole history, like that of Rome, has shown. So, if he scarcely touches politics, he shows us so much of himself as to make us quite sure that, if he had, his way of touching them would have been as unlike as possible to the narrow and angry partisanship of Dante. The truth is that he exhibits the English temper, for which there was a great political future, while Dante exhibits that temper of quarrelsome faction which was so soon to make political life in Italy a mere memory of the past. Throughout Italian poetry for 500 years the only note of politics you catch, whether in Dante or Petrarch or Chiabrera or Leopardi, is that of regret, reproach, lamentation, and despair. It is not till you come to Carducci—the later

Carducci of the Kingdom of Italy—that any note of hope or pride can be struck. The Italian poets lived at despotic Courts where there was no political life for them to share. What a contrast to our poets here! You may or may not be able to say with any confidence what the exact political views of this or that English poet were. But how alive nearly all of them are to the fundamental issues of political life! The issue in Elizabethan days of the political and religious independence of the nation; how full both Spenser and Shakespeare are of that! The issue of liberty as opposed to arbitrary monarchy in the seventeenth century; how the pages of Milton and Marvell ring with the echoes of that! And then, as another age and other problems come on, how full Dryden and Pope and Thomson, Goldsmith and Cowper, are of the political achievements and the political failures of their country. And then the struggle with Napoleon—did any poet ever give nobler utterance to a nation's voice in a great danger than Wordsworth did in his sonnets? And the social and political evils and dangers which that struggle drove underground and which the victory concealed, how full Byron and Shelley were of all of them! And Wordsworth, too, though it is often forgotten: at least of some of them. For it is Wordsworth, and not Byron or Shelley, who summed up in a single unforgettable phrase the evils caused by the rise of the new industrial system when he spoke of his heart which hung

Brooding over the fierce confederate storm
Of sorrow barricadoed evermore
Within the walls of cities.

There is, in truth, scarcely any English poet who is not politically-minded in one way or another. Not only those I have mentioned, but Burns in his way and Scott in his, Coleridge and Tennyson, Patmore and Morris and Swinburne, were all politicians whose politics, to a greater or less degree, touch and colour their poetry. They did not all agree; and we in this room should not all agree as to which of them were wise and which foolish when they touched on political issues. But that does not affect my point, which is that there is no nation whose poets have shared in their country's political life as the poets of England have shared in it, and uttered their sharing, for nearly four hundred years.

There I must stop. As I hinted when I began, an hour's lecture allows of only a few casual scratchings of the surface of so great a subject as that imposed upon me to-day by those who arranged this meeting. I am conscious that my scratchings are not excavations and cannot have revealed much that you did not know before. But it is not the worst work of literature—indeed the greatest writers constantly spend themselves in doing it—to

make us alive to things which we know, but of which our knowledge too often sleeps in unawareness of itself, never coming up into our living and realising consciousness at all. A lecture—as the lecturer is more conscious than anyone—is not literature. But in its own humble way it may try to share that task with the great books and the great men. What I wish to do for you to-day is to recall to you, what you know, how great our heritage of English literature is and to remind you of one or two of the characteristics in which it stands pre-eminent or alone. It is English: and therefore no more perfect and no more universal than the English genius or the English character. It would be easy, especially for a Frenchman or an Italian, to point out some of its limitations and defects. But we are not French or Italian but English: and the task set to me was to speak not of weaknesses or defects but of power and influence. I hope I have been able to remind you that there is more than enough of both to make us proud of what our great men have left us in their books and ashamed of the little use too many of us make of their gifts.

JOHN BAILEY.

THE NEW "MAGNA GRÆCIA."

IT has been said with some point that the Greek people ought to erect a statue to Mustapha Kemal as one of the great benefactors in modern times of the Hellenic Nation. For unwittingly the Ghazi of Turkey has strengthened the nation against which he fought, and united them as no Greek king or statesman has been able to unite them. The expulsion of the Greek population from Asia Minor and eastern Thrace which followed on the disastrous defeat of the Greek Army in Anatolia has meant that two million Hellenes have been added to the population of the Greek Republic, that is, an addition of one-fifth of the former population. Macedonia, which was before a welter of contending nationalities and in a large part a waste of marshes and rocky hills, is now a compact Greek Province inhabited by a homogeneous population and cultivated by an industrious peasantry. Whereas in 1912 about half the population of the Province was Greek and the other half a medley of Turks, Bulgarians, and other races, now over 90 per cent. belong to the race of the ruling power. Industries of carpet-making, silk-weaving, and cigarette making, which previously were pursued by Greek men and women in the Ottoman land, are now transplanted to the towns and villages of Greece. Lastly, after one hundred years of a history of almost incessant fighting and struggle for expansion, since the kingdom of Greece was founded, the Greek people have redeemed themselves from a foreign domination and are united in one fatherland.

The work of settling the two million refugees who were flung on the shores of a State worn out physically and financially by more than ten years of unbroken warfare, is one of the outstanding achievements of modern statesmanship and international effort. At the grave crisis, the League of Nations contrived to carry out one of its first large acts of constructive co-operation. Under its auspices a loan of nine million pounds was raised in England and America to assist the Greek State in settling within its borders the mass of destitute exiles; and a Refugee Commission was appointed, under American chairmanship and with expert English directors, to organise the work of settlement. Even before this action by the international society, it is to be noted that the Bank of England had made a loan of one million pounds sterling to the Greek Government to enable it to meet the most urgent calls. The international loan was secured on certain revenues of the Greek State which were adequate to provide interest and sinking fund, and it was readily subscribed. It has been supplemented by further loans, so that the total amount of borrowing authorised has been twelve million pounds.

The Greek Government originally undertook to deal directly with the urban settlement, leaving it to the International Refugee Committee to cope with the agricultural colonisation. And roughly one half of the new population was to be settled on the land, and the other half to be spread over the larger towns. Of the agricultural settlers the great majority have been placed in Macedonia, which may be regarded as the Greater Greece of to-day, like that Hellenic colonisation of Southern Italy which took place in the later part of the classical age. The mainland of classical Greece was nearly fully populated, and could not receive more than a few village communities, save in the area of historic Argos, where drainage works have made available a large region of new land for settlement. But in Macedonia, and to a less extent in Thessaly, the Greek Government put at the disposal of the Commission large areas of land evacuated by the Turks and Bulgars, who in accordance with the agreement for the exchange of populations were sent back to their own country. The Government obtained also large areas which were derived from the breaking up of the bigger estates and the process of agrarian reform which have revolutionised agricultural conditions throughout south-eastern Europe. In the event, some eighty thousand farmers have been planted in the land which was originally the kingdom of Alexander the Great. They are distributed in hundreds of villages newly planned and newly built, some upon or adjoining the sites of the old Macedonian hamlets, but many rising afresh from the plain and the hillside. They have their chief market-centre at Salonica, now once again a great Greek city with nearly a quarter of a million inhabitants, and smaller centres at Kavalla on the east and Edessa on the west. The settlers are mainly agriculturists; but there are villages engaged in fishing, and others in carpet-making and the cigarette industry. They retain to a great extent, however, their former village organisations which they have brought from Anatolia, and they have their local government, their churches, and their schools.

The Greek Government has granted the land to the settlers on terms of repayment over a long period of years; while the Refugee Commission either builds houses for them or gives them the means of building, and then supplies them with the barest farm inventory from which they may develop their new life. The Commission, moreover, gives them expert guidance in farming, and maintains at a number of centres experimental stations and stud farms managed by Greeks who have had a scientific training. It maintains also a health service, and particularly an anti-malarial organisation which has so far revolutionised vital conditions in Macedonia that while, in the first years of the exodus, the death-

rate exceeded the birth-rate, the figures of the last year show an abnormally high birth-rate of over 45 per 1,000 and an abnormally low death-rate of 12.5 per 1,000.

The Commission and the Greek Government are already faced with the problem of finding land for the growing generation and for the thousands of families that have still to be settled. For that end and for the general improvement of the health conditions they are turning to the vast work of draining the marshes of the Struma, the Vardar, and the Axios rivers. Those malarial swamps were the cause of the death of thousands of the Allied troops during the war; but they promise to become one of the most fertile parts of the land when drained, and they will provide one and a half million *stremmata* (about three hundred thousand acres) as a new area for settlement. As with the scheme for draining the Zuider Zee, the value of the land reclaimed will more than repay the cost of reclamation.

The persons settled by the Commission have entered into contracts to repay the advances over a period of years, beginning from the third year after their establishment. They have begun in many cases faithfully to honour that obligation, and a sum of over £150,000 has been received from the rural settlers and half that sum from the urban settlers. The amount repaid to the Commission during the first quarter of 1929 was nearly twenty-seven thousand pounds from agricultural settlers, and nearly ten thousand pounds from the urban settlers. The Greek Government has vested the Commission with full power of compelling payment, but the peasants recognise their legal liability as a debt of honour, and though the harsh winter of 1928 to 1929 and the floods have caused postponement of the repayment in a large area, the engagement bids fair to be fulfilled.

The Refugee Commission found itself some years ago compelled to take a hand, and a large helping hand, in the establishment of the new urban population. That task, originally assigned to the Government, proved more than the Government could tackle alone. Hundreds of thousands of destitute refugees were crowded together at the Piræus and Athens and a few other cities; they had to be lodged in the barracks and theatres and schools, and any and every building which could be found. Industries and trades had to be created: quarters had to be built. The Commission set about the function of distributing this population over as large a number as possible of the towns of Greece, of erecting permanent suburbs of simple and adequate houses, and of fostering the new industries by credits. It has already built a number of these suburbs, several of them equivalent to small towns, around Athens. One of them which has a population of more than ten thousand is named after

Byron, in commemoration of the centenary of his death in the cause of Greece.

If the modern Greek cannot reproduce the boast of Pericles: "we love the beautiful without extravagance," there is no gain-saying the cheapness and the adequacy of the housing schemes, and there is a continued improvement in their appearance. The effort to combine the æsthetic with utility has been made in the last urban enterprise now being constructed, and known as Hymettus because it rises on the crest of that famous hill. The suburb can stand comparison with one of the garden city schemes of the London County Council. The houses are sold to the occupants on terms of payment by instalments over a number of years; but the Commission retains by law a lien on the property, and the householder cannot dispose of his house save to another refugee. In the largest suburbs new industries are flourishing, particularly of carpets and textiles, which bid fair to give Greece a start as an industrial country.

The Commission have now been at work nearly six years, and they have spent nearly the whole of the loans raised for the purpose of settlement and reconstruction. During the last year they have advanced a further sum of eight hundred thousand pounds for agricultural development and five hundred thousand pounds for urban development. Formed for an emergency, it is proposed in the near future to liquidate their activities and to hand over the completion of the work to the Greek Government. The liquidation would proceed in three stages. The first stage, which it is hoped to begin before the end of this year, will consist in handing over to the State certain extraordinary services which the Commission has created and which the Government would maintain. Those include the sanitary organisation in Macedonia which comprises 59 dispensaries and a staff of 150 doctors, the agricultural stations and stud farms, and the services of irrigation and inspection of the rural co-operative societies. The second stage, which will be undertaken next year, consists in the dissolution of certain extraordinary services which the work of colonisation has necessitated, such as the provision of supplies and materials for the settlers, and the engineering and building staffs which have been engaged in the construction of villages, water installation, etc. Lastly, the third stage, which would be entered on at the end of 1930, would mark the final liquidation of the Commission and would provide for the handing over to the State of the functions of land settlement, including the definite allocation of their holdings to the settlers and the recovery of the advances made to them.

In accordance with this scheme of liquidation the Government will become responsible for rounding off the agricultural and urban

settlement and for collecting the reimbursements due from the settlers, as well as for carrying out the large enterprises of reclamation which have been initiated by the Commission. It is inevitable that an international body which was elected in an unparalleled emergency to assist in the internal adjustment of the Greek people should give way to the regular authorities of the State as soon as its immediate task is done. At the same time, the direction of a body which has been free from any political influence and unaffected by changes of Government—that have not been rare in Greece—or by political, social, or economic circumstances, has been of supreme value, and its disappearance may not immediately conduce to greater efficiency. But the Greek Government has during the last few years gained remarkable solidarity, and is now embarking on a course of progressive development of the country so that it should be equal to undertaking the whole burden. As one travels over the northern mainland of Greece, and observes the well-planned villages and quarters, the spreading cultivation and the industrious peasantry, the fishing fleets and the factories, the tractors and the granaries, the agricultural colleges and the stud farms, the conviction is brought home that the foundation of *Magna Græcia* is well and truly laid, and that for the Greek people a new destiny is opening of national unity, territorial consolidation and economic progress. The Greek moralist of to-day may well say: "Sweet are the uses of adversity."

NORMAN BENTWICH.

THE END OF THE RHINE ARMY.

THEY came more than ten years ago, marching along a straight *pavé* road through wide German fields from France. The name alone is significant. It suggests Napoleon's wars; the Army of Russia, the Army of Egypt. And Napoleon's armies did in fact come through this country more than a hundred years earlier. And other French armies earlier still. You may find traces of them in the little Eifel towns and villages perched on a hill over fairy-tale country. There is a castle at Nideggen in ruins now, where a stone tells the story: held against the French by the Grand Duke of Julich—that was in the seventeenth century—captured by the French and recaptured. History books will tell for future generations to learn: "After the European War, which lasted four years and three months, the Allied Armies marched into Germany and occupied the Rhine province. This occupation lasted nearly eleven years (1918-1929)." But they will not perhaps tell the significance of those eleven years during which a Europe at war came slowly and painfully back to be a Europe at peace. So that the indignity of the occupation, accepted at first with patience by a population that had endured so much worse things, came gradually to be more and more a source of irritation. And the Army itself, once an army of war-worn and tired men, relieved and relieved again with each trooping season, came to be a post-war army composed almost altogether of very young soldiers who had been children during the war.

This Army accepted it as it would accept any other foreign station: Egypt, India, Gibraltar. No men were surely ever less conscious of their enormous significance, of the gigantic importance of the history which they were making. The regular army, when it came to be that again, and all the civilian soldiers who had won this country had packed up and gone home to their civilian occupations, settled down in Cologne to live as in India, as in Egypt, as at Aldershot.

It is a story of eleven years divided into chapters. In the first chapter, a British Army of 400,000 men marched through France and Belgium ("past the field of Waterloo," a young soldier wrote home enthusiastically) into Germany. At dusk of a winter day the van of them came to Sulz, a dreary suburb of Cologne, and rested there for the night. The next day they marched into Cologne and across the Rhine. The German country might well have cried out under the burden it carried in those days. A French Army was moving in the south, and no conquerors were ever more conscious of their conquest than these, no colour ever stood out against German country as this horizon blue stood out. It might have been

chosen long ago for this only. No flat pale winter fields could absorb it, no German woods or orchards could catch and hide it. Not in spring when all the country was white with blossom and the small hills of the Eifel blue against a clear sky, not in summer when the white German houses looked out from scarlet geraniums half-hidden, and the cornfields were yellow again under the sun.

All the colour in the world those days was in German country, which needs no colour, in quiet German towns where there had been enough colour before. In Bonn, a University town with all the feeling of one, there had been the gay colour of the flowers in the town gardens, in window-boxes from which the flowers hung down half hiding the houses, the creepers scarlet and gold in September against the high walls by the river. There had been, too, the colour of the students' caps as they came and went in these quiet streets, or drank beer in the *Bier Garten* under the trees, where the tables are black and old and carved with many names, and one name, Wilhelm, is left a little alone respectfully.

The winter sunlight shone first cold and clear on horizon blue and gold, on gun-carriages, army lorries and guns, on horses not too well groomed, and harness not too well polished, since that is not the French way when they are winning a war. It shone on olive skin, and the brilliant colour of French North African troops, on black men and pale brown, on scarlet fezes and white turbans, and the dazzling cloaks of Moorish cavalry. They were in the narrow streets that could hardly hold them, the noise of motors and horses thrown back from those quiet grey walls. In the town gardens gay with flowers and fountains playing, the sunlight caught the pale blue and gold as a French officer passed. A dusty car full of French staff officers, white moustached, old and fierce, dashed through the narrow streets in such a hurry as though the war was not finished yet. The car raised a little cloud of dust as it passed.

But meanwhile the students who had survived the war went back to their books, and other students who had been too young even for those last children's battalions in what had come to be a children's war, came to join them. They walked in the quiet streets, and in the town gardens where there were gay flower-beds and fountains playing, and all the gardening was done by one-armed and one-legged men (a peaceful occupation that, to heal men hurt in war). They sat on the seats (not those set apart with a little notice "for wounded of the war only") reading their books, their shoulders stooped a little, their pale faces and thin overgrown bodies showing the starvation of their childhood. They walked beside the river which was cold in autumn against the gay scarlet of the creepers. It was their town again. All the rest was an accident which must pass. Ghosts must have walked with them in twos and threes,

such ghosts as we have come to know in the *Kriegsbriefe Gefallener Studenten*, as ghosts walk in Oxford and Cambridge and all the schools and universities of the world. These "young tragic idealists," with the too heavy burden of their introspection, their thought, their theorising, might well have stooped under that burden as another generation stoops under the burden of an overgrown, starved body and mind.

Meanwhile, beyond the town the country lived again as a country must live although wars are lost and won. The fields were tilled by men wearing still their uniforms of field grey. The harvest carts went home at evening past the Calvary that commemorated those who had died for this land. In spring the lovely Rhineland country was white with blossom, the fields pale green with young corn. On either side of the Rhine the vines climbed the small hills to the sky-line. In this country in September French and British armies manœuvred, playing at war. There are farmers in Nassau and in the Rhineland who will remember French and British manœuvres which damaged their land. For we have come back to the things of life in these years. Occasionally there was an accident. A lorry-load of French Colonial troops was driven into a quarry, and the German village turned out to give assistance. Again, a French aeroplane crashed and men in field-grey (shabby now and old) left their work in the fields to rescue their ancient enemy. One wonders about that French airman, if he had time for thought as he crashed, and if he had ever crashed before on German soil during the war.

The first chapter of this history ended about the time that the Americans left Coblenz, and the occupation was reduced to 8,000 British troops in the Cologne area, and something like 70,000 in the French zone. A mere nominal garrison. It signified the end of war conditions.

But there was still the chapter of the French entry into the Ruhr when the British zone was an island amid dangerous seas. Feeling ran strong in those days. Strangers stopped British people in the street. "You are not going to leave us. You are not going to abandon us to the French!" Rumours were wild. It was war time again. Again a French Army was moving. They drifted through Cologne sometimes, confused parties of men who had lost their unit as though there had been a battle and they had been cut off. They asked the way of German policemen and were told it—the way to the war! They were tired and dusty, and the German policeman in the Dom Platz, like a god on his black horse, leaned down to direct them as though he were sorry for them. They crossed the Dom Platz in the winter sunlight dragging their rifles, tired men, the blue of their uniforms grey with dust. The policeman seeing them go might have felt for them as a comrade

perhaps. He had been a soldier too, and it is not soldiers who make wars.

The British Army was inactive in those days, in as strange a position as any army ever found itself. There had been a week when the French waited for us to co-operate, a week when the Germans believed we would intervene to prevent the march into the Ruhr. Then the French Army moved alone. Again military cars full of staff officers and grey with dust dashed through the narrow streets going towards the Ruhr. Once such a car dashed up to the door of British G.H.Q. disturbing memories of war time. We had grown used to peace. But long ago the French grew used to war.

In those days a British subaltern held the peace of Europe in his hands. He was transport officer at Buer where the British zone ended. As far as Buer the Germans ran the trains. There the French took over. With what a jolting and shunting they took over! There was an invisible line which marked the boundary. In a case of dispute both sides referred to the British transport officer. He spoke no French or German, and the peace of Europe was in his hands, and he held it. They had drafted engineers in from France and taken over the railways, a network of lines controlling the transport of Central Europe, a bewilderment of signals and points. Of course there were accidents (although at Buer when all the jolting failed to start a German train for the French, the German railwaymen stretched a point and started it for them). There were dark rumours of terrible accidents, and we never heard the truth. The Germans shrugged their shoulders, "The French way of driving trains"—the French said "Sabotage." Patriotic Germans (and timorous ones) did not travel by French trains, and at night unseen hands posted terrible warnings with descriptions of accidents, train fires, casualties in the French zone, with the comment "*Darum Fahren sie mit den Franzosen.*" The stations were like camps full of French soldiers, and strangely silent and deserted, since only the main line trains were running. The stations without the life which was theirs were like dead things. At one of them the great clock had stopped the day the French took over, as though it marked the hour. All the small trains that took men to work, and women to market, were suspended. A life stood still. Along the Rhine the boats waited beside the quay, their funnels smokeless. Most of those boats bore the name of Hugo Stinnes and belonged to him. His was a famous name just then. The French had imprisoned several of the Ruhr magnates, and that was a mistake on their part, people said. They had strengthened the Ruhr against them, uniting Capital and Labour which had been disunited before. They had made heroes of the Capitalists.

Feeling was strained between the British and the French. Odd French officers (on their way to the Ruhr perhaps) sat alone in the British officers' club, which had once been a German officers' club. All through the occupation the French have walked alone and sat alone. There is something beautiful about that aloofness of theirs. It is as though their bodies walked on German soil against their will, while all their thoughts and minds were in France.

We had come as conquerors and the country absorbed us. We had thought to make Cologne ours and she had made us hers. When the trooping season came with an order to move it was painful. If there had been no order we might have stayed there all our lives. There were men in those years who went home to be demobilised and reappeared in the streets of Cologne a few weeks later in civilian clothes. It may have been the spirits of the Rhine which according to legend steal a man's heart and soul while he sleeps. Or the vengeance of the conquered on the conqueror. All the spirits of the old town must have hidden watching us in those days. Our defences went down, the narrow streets opened and received us; the German country, the nearest thing in the world to English country, caught and held us. We walked in German woods and came to love them, in German fields and on German roads hung with fruit trees. We fraternised with our stumbling German, sitting outside a German cottage watching a child in a white pinafore drive home a flock of pure white geese. We exchanged war reminiscences and discovered the bond of our common experience, we discovered vaguely that these villages of white, black-beamed houses were like English villages. We thought of cherry orchards at home, seeing the blossom white in spring. We discovered that they were good at country as we were.

Another chapter ended when we left Cologne four years ago. The story then was almost told. We had ceased to be important. In Wiesbaden British officers wore mufti after two o'clock and were unnoticeable as civilians. One stared at an odd private soldier in the crowd wondering how he came to be there. People said in Wiesbaden a year ago: "You think the Army of Occupation will leave, when?" Wiesbaden is a gay modern town, a place of big hotels and fountains and gardens where one drinks the waters and listens to the music. It is all white houses, cream in sunlight, half covered in summer with flowers which hang down from every window. It is not a town with a soul to be hurt by the indignity of the occupation. But to take the train north from Wiesbaden to Cologne again was a strange experience. One did it, half afraid. What face would Cologne turn to one who came back, a *revenant* indeed?

We crossed the border from Nassau into the Rhineland. The wide cornfields we had known so well, stretching from skyline to

skyline (we had thought long ago that they were like the cornfields of France) were yellow under the evening sun. Against a September sunset the twin towers of the Cathedral which used to guide us home stood out darkly. It is a strange experience to come back to a foreign town which was once one's home, and find it changed and unfamiliar. All the world was in the streets that September night and Cologne was a gay living city. Not the city we had known, that we had thought to make ours. One knew now that it had hidden from us all those years. Now the old spirits of the town were alive again. There was never in all Europe a town so vividly, so insistently, living. We who had lived here once, had belonged to this town and had left no mark at all, might walk in these streets poor ghosts among ghosts. No one recognised us; there was no familiar face, no sign in these walls which had once been ours. But ghosts met us in the streets, the ghosts of ourselves, like dead men. There is no mark at all of the seven years' occupation of Cologne except a proficiency in English in the shops, and here and there a half-English, half-German child whose father stayed behind when the army moved. And there are the graves of some who died and are buried in the Sudfriedhof among the German graves. Some of these lie side by side with *Lieber Kamerade Musketier* brought home from the war to die of wounds, who rests now in God. They should sleep quietly side by side.

A year ago in Wiesbaden they showed in the bookshops in a position of honour, *Frankreich und Deutschland*, von Aristide Briand, with a foreword by Gustav Stresemann. They were reading and discussing the speeches of this peacemaker while a French army was still on their soil. It was characteristic that when he made his famous disarmament speech at Geneva and they said "There will be war again; he is only a great orator," they did not remove his book from the position of honour in the bookshop windows, and his face still looked out from among the German books.

The French flag still flies triumphantly over the Rhine. They talk at Geneva of the Saar, that debatable land, which is marked white on the map of Europe. Travelling through the Saar in the early morning one stops at little country stations (which peer at one out of grey mist like small anxious faces, overwhelmed by their own importance). There is nothing to remind us of that importance except the figures in horizon blue on the platform. On a September morning an old German out of a fairy tale climbed a ladder to hang a basket of geraniums above the heads of those blue figures. The early morning sunlight coming through the mist caught the flowers making them flash scarlet as they hung. One thought of a flag in this No Man's Land marked white on the map of Europe.

The red, black, and white of the old Germany goes up and down

the Rhine side by side with the flag of the Republic and the French flag flown by tugs puffing and panting against the swift stream under their heavy burden of Saar coal, or bringing supplies to Mainz. But long ago Bonn was given back to the students and their professors, who walk in the narrow streets and by the river and in the town gardens gay with flowers and fountains playing. It is a new race of students, who walk upright and play games strenuously and talk of keeping fit in English fashion, and when they sit with their books in the town gardens, their shoulders are not stooped as those other shoulders stooped. Ghosts must walk with them in twos or threes, the ghosts of another generation, as they walk in all the schools and universities of the world; but they are not aware of the ghosts perhaps. Other ghosts might come back to this town, as they came to Cologne. One might see between the flowers a flash of pale blue and gold catching the sunlight and so quickly hidden. It might only be the fountain with the sun in it. Or the noise of lumbering wagons might disturb one—too much noise for these narrow streets to hold—and one might look up to see scarlet and dark brown against the autumn trees; scarlet fezes, olive skin. And again it would be only the sunlight on the brown and scarlet of autumn trees. The French have passed from Bonn, as we passed from Cologne, leaving no mark at all.

They walk still in the woods about Wiesbaden, always aloof, all their thoughts and minds in France, in the streets, or in the gay parks among the German crowds, a group of them always together, always alone. They are young post-war soldiers who were children during the war. And Monsieur Briand and Herr Stresemann have shaken hands at Geneva, and be sure that the sales of *Frankreich und Deutschland* have gone up. One of these days soon now they will haul down the tricolour at Mainz as they hauled down the Union Jack which floated for seven years over the Dom Platz in Cologne. The last French soldier will leave Germany and a chapter of history will have been written.

PETER DEANE.

CATHOLICISM AND TOLERATION.

TO the average British citizen of to-day few things seem more remote from the realm of practical politics than religious persecution. For him it is a thing of the past almost as much as trial by ordeal. Religious intolerance, indeed, he knows, in the form of censorious opinions passed by men and women with strong religious views upon those who hold different views. But anything like real coercion or molestation on religious grounds—particularly in this happy home of liberty—lies so far behind him in time as to seem to-day frankly and finally off the map. As a rule he has no time to give to religious differences. There are few things he listens to with less patience than an appeal to the sentiment of sectarian antagonism.

Our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens make every effort to avail themselves of this happy state of things and to maintain belief in its continuance. Many of them profess themselves warmly in favour of toleration. They have recently been celebrating the centenary of Catholic "emancipation" in this country. They are loud in their protests against bigotry. One leading Catholic has recently been protesting in the *Times* that the law requiring the British Sovereign to be a communicating member of the Church of England unfairly limits his freedom of conscience. Taking it for granted that Roman Catholics, as a well-recognized religious body, should enjoy all the privileges habitually accorded to all the sects, and are entitled to the special advantages for which their numbers and importance seem to call, they urgently demand additional financial help from public sources for their denominational schools, supporting the demand with appeals to the characteristically British instinct for "fair play," and securing thereby the sympathy of many influential non-Catholics.

In view of all this, it is not irrelevant to re-examine the position of the Roman Church on the question of religious toleration. "Every schoolboy," of course, knows that in the old days the Roman Church persecuted vigorously with rack, fire, and sword. The plain man indeed is content to observe: "Ah, but that was long ago. Protestants did just the same then; both parties have learned better now; and that either body should persecute to-day is frankly inconceivable." There are, however, certain facts which the plain man would do well to bear in mind.

I. *The stubborn resistance which the Church offered to the discontinuance of persecution.* Passing over all that happened prior to 1800, let us survey the Church's record since that date. The Spanish Inquisition, after being abolished by Napoleon, was re-introduced in 1814. In the same year Pope Pius VII restored the

Inquisition in the Papal States, and protested against the establishment of religious liberty in France. Next year the Catholic clergy tried hard to induce the King of the Netherlands not to tolerate Protestantism in that country. In 1818 Pius VII denounced the Bavarian constitution on the ground that it granted liberty to Protestants. In 1832 Gregory XVI stated in an encyclical: "Out of this most foul fountain of Indifferentism flows that absurd and erroneous opinion, or rather raving (*deliramentum*), that liberty of conscience is to be asserted and vindicated for everybody." In the *Catholic Rambler* for June, 1849, there appeared an article openly defending religious persecution, and in September, 1851, one stating that, if the Church were in a position to resume it, she would be governed, not by any principle of civil and religious liberty, but solely by the rules of expediency. In 1851 Pius IX concluded a concordat with Isabella II of Spain, according to which all cults other than Catholicism were to be excluded from the country, and all education was to conform to Catholic doctrine. In 1852 he strongly condemned the freedom of worship granted to non-Catholic immigrants in New Granada. At this period the reading and distribution of the Bible were punishable offences in Tuscany, the Grand Duke having (under Papal pressure) abolished the toleration previously in force. In 1853 the Jesuit organ *Civiltà Cattolica* of Rome deplored the lapse of the punitive laws against heresy and heartily defended the Inquisition. In 1856 Pius IX protested against the freedom of religious opinion and worship in Mexico: in 1862 his concordat with Ecuador stipulated that no religion but Catholicism should be permitted there, that all education should be Catholic, and that all circulation of books should be subject to ecclesiastical censorship. The same year the celebration of the third centenary of a massacre of Protestants at Toulouse was prevented only by the government's prohibition.

In December 1864 came the famous encyclical *Quanta Cura*, in which the Pope roundly condemned the discontinuance of the State-coercion of those who violated the Catholic religion. Like Gregory XVI he called liberty of conscience a "*deliramentum*," and contended for the Church's right to coerce the disobedient with temporal penalties. The encyclical was accompanied by a *Syllabus* of eighty erroneous modern opinions, including all those in conflict with the position taken up in it. Towards the close of his pontificate Fra Andrea d'Altagene was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment for sending the Pope a book suggesting certain Church reforms. In 1875, in the fourth edition of his *Institutiones*, Cardinal Tarquini defended the doctrine that heretics might be punished by the Church. In Belgium the clerical party made a serious attempt in 1870-1878 to carry out the principles of the

Syllabus. In January 1877 the *Dublin Review* published a hearty defence of mediæval Catholic intolerance, and pleaded for its continuance in Catholic countries like Spain. About 1879 a Jesuit priest told a group of Protestants at Oxford that he wished he could stamp out Judaism and Protestantism by means of the civil power, explaining: "I should go for your necks at once." In 1885 Leo XIII blamed all States that granted equal rights to every creed. In 1888 he issued an encyclical on *Liberty*, condemning the view that States ought to tolerate all religions alike, and that it does not belong to the Church to punish, but only to advise; declaring that liberty of worship for individuals is the degradation of liberty and the subordination of the soul to sin; and adding significantly: "although in the extraordinary condition of these times the Church usually acquiesces in certain modern liberties, not because she prefers them in themselves, but because she judges it expedient to permit them, she would in happier times exercise her own liberty." The same year the article on "*Häresie*" in Volume V of Herder's *Kirchenlexikon* maintained that the Church is competent to punish disbelief in Catholic truth and acts meritoriously in doing so. In 1892 a former professor of Maynooth argued that the Church had a right to require the State's assistance in suppressing heresy. In January 1895 a Capuchin friar published in the *Analecta Ecclesiastica* a whole-hearted defence of the mediæval Inquisition, with apostrophic appeals to the "blessed flames of the pyres" and the "illustrious and venerable memory of Thomas Torquemada." Mr. Joseph Hocking was told by a Jesuit priest in Ireland in 1897 that the proceedings of the Spanish Inquisition were right and that the massacres in the Netherlands were according to the mind and spirit of Christ.

Ugly incidents of boycott and mob-violence on the part of Catholics took place in Austria in 1899-1901. In 1901 an attempt was made to enforce the penal code against non-Catholics in Portugal. The same year the Jesuit Professor, Marianus De Luca, published a large work at Rome on Ecclesiastical Law, in which he maintained that the Church has the fullest right to punish at her discretion, even with death, baptized persons who defend heretical views with pertinacity or who, after accepting the Church's faith, abandon it. In 1902 the Jesuit Father Brors' pocket-handbook of apologetics declared that obstinate heretics deserve eternal punishment in hell and therefore also earthly death. In 1905 the resumed persecution of Spanish Protestants was stopped as illegal only in consequence of a widely representative protest. In 1906 the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Malta expressed to the Governor deep displeasure at King Edward VII's establishment of religious liberty in

the island. In 1910 Pope Pius X remonstrated with the Spanish Government for allowing non-Catholic Churches somewhat greater publicity of worship than had previously been allowed to them. The same year the death-penalty for heresy and the Church's right to resume the practice of inflicting it were defended at length by Lépiciér, a Catholic Professor at Rome. In 1912 a Catholic priest, preaching in Notre Dame, affirmed the Church's right to secure from Catholic States the suppression of heretics by penalties which may extend to death. In the volumes of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* published in 1908-1912, writer after writer defends the Church's intolerance and insists on her indefeasible right, as a perfect society, to coerce and punish (e.g., iii. 755a, vii. 260-262, 323a, viii. 36a, xi. 703, xii. 266, xiv. 765f). Says one: "Though the Church exercises that right for the most part by spiritual sanctions, she has never relinquished the right to use other means" (xii. 703). The same *Encyclopedia* repeatedly declares that the real reason why the Church does not persecute to-day is the fact that States and governments no longer profess the Catholic faith and that no State is willing to lend its power to the execution of ecclesiastical penalties (v. 679b, xii. 266b, xiv. 769).

II. *The inconsistent and inadequate explanations of the past given by Catholics to-day with a view to disarming the fears of the modern world.* It is true that all down the centuries there have been loyal Catholics, sometimes men of eminence, who have disapproved of the Church's use of coercion and recall the horrors of mediæval persecution only with disgust and regret. That this is the attitude of the bulk of the Catholic laity in Britain to-day is almost certain, while quite a number of Catholic writers and professors could be quoted to the same effect. Every effort is made by such writers to rid the Church of the inconvenient burden with which she has saddled herself and to allay the fears of the modern world as to the possible recrudescence of persecution. The actual facts, to begin with, are whittled down in every possible way. The responsibility for what happened is partly thrown on the civic authorities or on the State. It is pleaded that the Inquisitors were mostly men of blameless character, and that the numbers of the Church's victims have been gravely exaggerated. But when all reasonable deductions of this kind have been made, we still have to ask, What of the balance?

It is only natural that Catholics should in self-defence point to the various manifestations of the persecuting spirit among Protestants of former days. That such deplorable manifestations have occurred is not to be denied; but their occurrence constitutes no defence of Catholic practice. For

(1) In range and severity they are trifling by comparison with Roman dealings: for instance, the whole number of Catholics martyred in England between 1535 and 1681 (i.e., 146 years) amounts to 253*—fewer than the number of heretics burnt by Queen Mary in three years, and about the number burnt by Torquemada in two!

(2) The slowness with which early Protestants came to embrace toleration was directly due to the fact that for centuries previously the Roman Church had been accustoming humanity to ruthless intolerance. Moreover, Rome's attempt to suppress Protestantism by force gave to much of the severities subsequently exercised by Protestants the character of inevitable reprisals.

(3) So far as political necessity can be appealed to in justification of repressive measures, the excuse can be pleaded with much more reason for Protestants (e.g., Elizabeth, whom the Pope had deposed, and whose subjects he had forbidden to obey her) than it can for Catholics.

(4) Catholic persecution ceased because the State refused to carry out the Church's coercive decrees. There has been no such clash of policy between the State and Protestant leaders; nor could you find Protestant writers of to-day—as you can find Catholic—lamenting State-tolerance as "a dire necessity" (*Cath. Encycl.*, xiv. 769b).

(5) The abandonment of persecution by modern Protestants is—unlike the abandonment of it by Rome—unequivocal.

The attempt is sometimes made to excuse the Inquisitors on the ground that they were simply complying with the spirit and customs of the times in which they lived. The plea is quite in order if its aim is to free the men concerned from personal censure: but it is a dangerous weapon for a Catholic apologist to use, since it deals a fatal blow at the Church's claim to be the moral teacher and leader of mankind. Hence Professor Lépiciér (in the already-mentioned work published in 1910) emphatically repudiates it. No more successful is the argument that persecution is simply a matter of disciplinary procedure, and can therefore be now repudiated by the Church without detriment to her dogmatic infallibility. For persecution is clearly a matter, not of discipline only, but of morals, and the Church claims to be as infallible in morals as in faith.

Sometimes the assurance is given that modern Protestants are not even legally and theoretically subject to the discipline of the Church, but are now classed with Jews and infidels, whom the Church has never claimed to have a right to coerce into orthodoxy. Alternatively, they are to be given credit for "invincible ignorance" and "good faith," acquitted of "pertinacity," classed as "material" (not "formal") heretics, and exempted accordingly from punishment. These theories (however welcome as signs of a new spirit) labour under several difficulties. They contradict the

* This is the Catholic estimate (Whitley in Hastings' *E.R.E.*, ix. 757b)
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fundamental Catholic principle that all persons who have received Christian baptism are the subjects of the Church. They prove the severe proceedings of the Middle Ages (when no allowance was made in practice for "good faith") to have been mistaken, and the Church that approved them to have been mistaken also. They make the Protestant's safety depend on the mere judgment of the Catholic hierarchy as to whether he defends his heresy with or without "pertinacity." And they do not touch the case of the conscientious apostate.

It might seem that we should take comfort in the fact that the great *Codex Juris Canonici* issued by the Pope in 1917 enjoins only "spiritual" penalties for heresy and disobedience, and explicitly repeals all others. The value of this legislation, as an item of Catholic apologetic, is sorely impaired by the careful explanations given by Catholic writers of the tolerance which, even prior to 1917, had long become the Catholic practice. They are at pains to make it clear that the change of procedure rests on no abandonment of principle, but only on considerations of expediency. The Church "adapts her discipline to the times and circumstances in order that it may fulfil its salutary purpose" (*Cath. Encyc.* xi [1911] 703b; cf. vii [1910] 260a). It is simply putting the same fact in other words to say that the only reason why the Church does not persecute to-day is because she cannot. From which, of course, it would follow that, if and when she regains the power, she will persecute again.

No inquirer, however patient, can, in face of these various apologies, arrive at a single, clear and consistent statement of the attitude of Rome to-day to the question of persecution: certainly he cannot conclude with any confidence that Rome is now finally committed to a policy of tolerance. Such a conclusion is not only not suggested by the facts already adduced, but is unhappily barred out by the actions and utterances of the Church's champions in quite recent days.

III. *Indications in present-day Catholicism of the will to persecute.* When Dr. G. G. Coulton observed in 1924, with regard to the abolition of the death-penalty for heretics in the *Codex* of 1917, that the Pope could at any moment reverse the enactment, the *Times Literary Supplement* for July 31st made the comment: "It is equally true, and equally to the point, that the British Legislature could at any time revive the Statute *De Ræretico comburendo*"—a comment clearly appreciated by Canon T. A. Lacey (*Rev. of the Churches*, October, 1924, p. 475). A comparative study, however, of the respective records of the Catholic and Protestant sections of the Church since 1800 would tell somewhat heavily against the pertinence of the analogy so wittily suggested

by the *Times* reviewer: nor could it be rescued from discredit by an appeal to the most recent declarations and proceedings of the Catholic clergy.

For in 1921-2, in the fourth edition of his *Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi*, Cardinal Billot maintained that God had definitely prescribed to the Church the use of force as a remedy against heresy. "Therefore we must say," says he, "that material force is rightly employed to protect religion, to coerce those who disturb it, and, generally speaking, to remove those things which impede our spiritual aim: nay, that force can have no more noble use than this." In 1926 Father Ronald Knox, in his "Introduction" to Mr. A. L. Maycock's book, *The Inquisition*, conceded that most Catholics would admit nowadays that the use of physical torture by any tribunal is wrong, and that "there is no general agreement that a Catholic power is justified in coercing a heretical minority which has already established itself long since; although such persons are technically, if baptized, subject to the authority of the Church." "Nor do I conceive," he says, "that in practice the death penalty could ever be revived." He observes, however, that the mediæval plea for religious persecution "sounds nonsense, of course, to those Protestants (and they are numerous) who think in the back of their minds that the religious ideas they hold are not really certain, only probable opinions. But the faith which is strong enough to make martyrs is strong enough to make persecutors. . . . in the abstract a culpable apostasy which threatens to propagate apostasy is a sin worse than murder." Under certain conditions, therefore, "it is possible that some European country of the future might banish innovators in religion as they were banished from France under Louis XIV. I do not say that this would certainly be done; I do not say that it would be politic. I only say that it seems to me a quite reasonable attitude for a Catholic country to take up. . . . They would certainly prohibit public attacks on religion; conceivably they would deport the agitators from their soil." The following year (1927) Father Knox, in his own book, *The Belief of Catholics*, expressed himself thus: "You cannot bind over the Catholic Church, as the price of your adhesion to her doctrines, to waive all right of invoking the secular arm in defence of her own principles. The circumstances in which such a possibility could be realised are indeed sufficiently remote. . . . Given such circumstances, is it certain that the Catholic Government of the nation would have no right to insist on Catholic education being universal (which is a form of coercion), and even to deport or imprison those who unsettled the minds of its subjects with new doctrines? It is certain that the Church would claim that right for the Catholic Government, even if considerations of prudence

forbade its exercise in fact. . . . And for those reasons a body of Catholic patriots, entrusted with the Government of a Catholic State, will not shrink even from repressive measures in order to perpetuate the secure domination of Catholic principles among their fellow-countrymen" (241f). In a Lenten lecture at Notre Dame in 1927, Monsignor Baudrillart, rector of the Catholic University of Paris, is reported to have declared: "When the Church has spent all her Christian patience, when all efforts of persuasion, all spiritual and material means have failed; when the culprit, having been deprived of his goods and separated from society, persists in his evil ways, pursues his heretical propaganda, and deliberately tries to endanger public order and the peace of Christian consciences, then the Church has no alternative, in order to protect herself and her people, and to force the heretic into accepting the true interpretation of the Church, than to pronounce against him the sentence of death" (*Australian Christian World*, December 7th, 1928, p. 17). The same year a Roman Catholic Canon told a gathering of Free Church ministers in the Midlands that, without prejudice to Christian love, his Church would have to persecute them (if in a position to do so) in order to protect the babes in the faith.

These various and independent declarations suffice to show that the new *Codex Juris Canonici* is, *pace* the reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement*, a very poor sort of guarantee against Catholic persecution in the future. Not only is it liable to modification itself, but even as unmodified it leaves open to the Church a great many ways and means of afflicting her critics. The best illustration of this possibility is the actual course of events during recent years in Italy and Spain. In Italy the work of the Salvation Army, like that of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Catholic countries generally, is always attended with considerable difficulty. In 1926 there was a report in the Press of various disabilities being imposed by Mussolini on Protestant recreational and educational activities in Italy, Romanism being the only religion recognized by the State, the others being simply tolerated. The Spanish Government not being in a position to disregard the demands of the hierarchy, persecution has recommenced in Spain (despite the fact that a clause in the Constitution lays it down that no one is to be molested for his religious opinions). Thus in September, 1925, a Spanish schoolmaster was sentenced at Avila to three and a half years' imprisonment for writing a critical article on the subject of transubstantiation. In 1925 or 1926 a Protestant was fined £6 for distributing evangelical tracts. In 1927 it was reported that a Spanish professor of Canon Law at Madrid had been excluded from the Catholic Church for opposing the clericalism and bureaucracy of the Church in Spain, and for demanding toleration

for Protestants. Later in the same year a Protestant widow was sentenced to two years' imprisonment at Segovia for the (technically blasphemous) contention that the Virgin Mary gave birth to other children besides our Lord. In addition to these particular cases, a large number of oppressive acts on the part of the authorities in Spain have been reported in recent years. Nor is it without significance in this connection that quite recently a film portraying the life of Martin Luther was banned in our own country by a Board of Censors whose chairman is a Roman Catholic.

These then are the practices and these the teachings of the Church whose adherents are always protesting against the "bigotry" of their Protestant critics, and demanding, on the ground of "fairplay," the full benefits of Protestant toleration. Macaulay once stated the persecutor's position thus: "I am in the right, and you are in the wrong. When you are the stronger you ought to tolerate me; for it is your duty to tolerate truth. But when I am the stronger I shall persecute you; for it is my duty to persecute error." The Rev. Alfred Fawkes remarked in 1917 that this dilemma "could be escaped only when the presuppositions on which it is based had ceased to carry conviction. We can afford," he said, "to-day to smile at them; our ancestors could not." Protestant Britain will never persecute Catholics again—not even Catholic persecutors: but it may reasonably wonder how much longer Mr. Fawkes's smile will remain a possibility.

C. J. CADOUX.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE REFORM.

RECENT happenings have directed public attention to the whole system of the prosecution of crime in England. At Reading the other day the English nation witnessed the spectacle of a man against whom no charge had been laid suffering the ordeal of a coroner's inquest, where the most intimate matters of his private life were laid bare to the public gaze and a devouring Press. He left the court free from any charge yet with no verdict of "Not Guilty" or even of "Not Proven" in his favour. A finding of "Murder against some person or persons unknown" has been recorded, and there the matter rests for the present. Anxiety and expense to an accused person seldom concern the law, but even if its aloofness in this respect be disregarded, the rank injustice of the system of prosecution should no longer be tolerated in a country claiming to be civilised. Is it not time that these endless and overlapping proceedings of coroners' inquests, police-court proceedings, and grand juries prior to trial should be consigned to limbo, and the law permit a person to be charged by an authorised prosecutor, and tried without these unnecessary proceedings, which cause needless delays, anxieties, and expense? And this is not the only defect of the English system of criminal prosecution, for the system of private prosecution which still prevails is out of date and unsuited to modern conditions. I do not suppose that any theorist will doubt that every breach of the criminal law ought to be deemed an offence against the State, triable and punishable by the State. In particular, the enforcement of law and order should not be left to private individuals whose desire to prosecute may be hampered or defeated entirely by lack of funds, fear of publicity, or other causes. Yet it is only in the most serious crimes that the duty of pursuing the guilty is assumed by the State, and when it does not do so the guilty person may escape without trial. The conservative instincts of Englishmen flare up when any change of the old order is suggested, and this attitude may have its good points; but to every nation there comes a time when old forms are found to have outlived their day and require to be brought into harmony with modern requirements; and this is the position in England to-day.

Across the border, in Scotland, there exists and has existed for centuries a system of public prosecution which is at once efficient, simple, swift, and just. There private prosecution practically does not exist. Some minor statutory offences may be so prosecuted, usually with the concurrence of the authorities, and indeed the right technically remains in solemn (i.e., non-summary) procedure if the Crown were to refuse to prosecute; but in practice every

crime is regarded as an offence against the State and must be prosecuted by the public prosecutor at the public expense. The most obvious results of such a system are (1) that all personal spite is eliminated from the prosecution; (2) that a prosecution will not be prevented or inadequately presented by lack of funds on the part of the person wronged; (3) that criminals will not be allowed to escape by compounding with the prosecutor; (4) that they will, if possible, be brought to justice regardless of expense; and (5) that an infinity of worry and expense to the private prosecutor is avoided.

One would, naturally, hesitate to recommend the legal system of one country for adoption in another, because that which is the growth of centuries may have ingrained itself in the national life; may, indeed, have proved suited to the natural bent of the people. But that doctrine cannot be pushed too far, otherwise the case for improvement in every branch of life is gone; and if it can be shown that suggested improvements are logical, practical, inexpensive, and effective, and that they cause no violent change in national sentiment, their adoption is worthy of consideration. Let us glance at the main features of the Scottish system, which has found favour in the eyes of many lawyers in England and abroad.

The system of private prosecution prevailed in Scotland some centuries ago, but its unsatisfactory nature became apparent, and in the reign of James VI an Act of Parliament was passed (1587 C. 65) which provided that "the thesaurer and advocate [the King's Advocate, now the Lord Advocate] persew slaughters and utheris crimes althocht the parties be silent or wold utherwayes privily agree." According to Baron Hume, the King's Advocate prosecuted in cases of treason and sedition even before that statute was passed. From that date the number of private prosecutions diminished rapidly, and for a long time they have been practically obsolete. That the right of private prosecution still exists was decided in the year 1908 when the Lord Advocate declined to prosecute in a case of fraud on the ground that, in his opinion, a conviction would not be obtained. He also declined to grant his concurrence to a prosecution by the complainers, who thereupon made application to the High Court for criminal letters against the person who was alleged to have committed the crime. These were granted, and the complainers, thereby entitled to proceed, were successful in obtaining a conviction.

Criminal proceedings in Scotland are either solemn or summary. In solemn proceedings the prosecution is by indictment at the instance of His Majesty's Advocate and the Court sits with a jury. Summary prosecutions are initiated by complaint usually at the instance of a public prosecutor, and the Court sits without

a jury. Summary proceedings may take place before the Sheriff or the justices or in police courts. We shall confine our remarks to solemn procedure in the High Court and the Sheriff Court.

The Lord Advocate, who is the chief law officer of the Crown in Scotland, is the head of the Criminal Department. All indictments run in his name. Under him are the Solicitor-General and four advocate-deputes, all members of the Bar; an extra advocate-depute assists at Glasgow Circuits, and a Sheriff-Court depute prosecutes in important criminal cases tried in the Sheriff Court. Criminal prosecutions are dealt with in the Crown Office in Edinburgh by the Crown Agent, whose position is that of Solicitor to the Crown in criminal matters. His duties are to receive information regarding crime from the procurators-fiscal (of whom more anon) throughout the country, to report the same to Crown counsel, who decide what, if any, proceedings are to be taken in each case. The Crown Agent attends criminal trials in Edinburgh as Crown Solicitor, while at circuit his place is taken by the local procurators-fiscal.

The distinctive feature of the Scottish system of criminal prosecution is the office of procurator-fiscal. His jurisdiction coincides roughly with the county or sheriffdom, but in some of the more populous counties there may be several such officers, each acting in a separate district. Originally the fiscal's duty was to collect the fines and forfeitures falling to the sheriffs, who were the King's representatives in the counties. Later, he became the prosecutor in the Sheriff Court, an office which he still holds, but he is now appointed by the Lord Advocate, under whose directions he acts. The procurator-fiscal is nearly always a fully qualified law-agent, and his appointment is a permanent one. He is, except in some small counties, debarred from private practice. His duties are varied and important, and, as befits his office, he is invariably a man of experience, tact, and sterling honesty.

When a crime or a suspected crime arises, the fiscal receives information from the police or from private individuals, and acts along with the police, where necessary, in prosecuting inquiries. He reports the case to the Crown Office, by whom it is submitted to Crown Counsel for directions. He prepares indictments in all cases heard in the Sheriff Court, subject to revision by Crown Counsel; he acts as prosecutor in the Sheriff Court except in such cases as are conducted by the advocate-depute of these Courts, in which cases the fiscal acts as solicitor for the Crown. It is his duty to investigate all cases of sudden death where a doctor was not present at death; as well as all kinds of crime not being merely minor offences appropriate for the police or J.P. courts. He attends fatal accident inquiries in terms of the statutes, and for-

wards to the Crown Office in Edinburgh a transcript of the evidence and of the verdict for consideration by Crown Counsel, who determine if and what criminal proceedings are necessary. The procurator-fiscal works hand-in-hand with the police, receives the results of their investigations, and calls on them to make further inquiries where necessary.

It will thus be seen that the duties of the procurator-fiscal as well as of the Crown Counsel and the Crown Agent are extremely onerous, and for the successful working of the system it is absolutely necessary that they should be men of tact and experience and, above all, fair-minded men with wide knowledge of the world. Delay in the proceedings is avoided where possible and an effort is made to compass every step within fixed periods. Quarterly returns to the Crown Office are made by the fiscals setting forth the names of accused persons, the charges made, the steps taken, their dates, and reasons for exceeding the time limits where this has happened. These returns are scrutinised in the Crown Office.

Having given this brief account of the officials concerned with the preparation of the charge, let us follow the course of a typical case of serious crime. A magistrate, on information of a crime being given by the police or the fiscal, may grant a warrant to arrest; in certain cases no warrant is necessary. The person arrested is entitled to have intimation sent at once to a law agent informing him that his assistance is required and where the judicial examination is to take place; and the prisoner must be brought before a magistrate for the judicial examination without delay, usually not later than the first lawful day following the arrest. Bail may then be granted. If the crime is a serious one a lower magistrate, e.g., a police magistrate, may remit the accused to a higher, e.g., to the sheriff. The accused is entitled to have a private interview with his law-agent before examination and to have him present during the examination. In presence of the magistrate, in order to secure fairness, the procurator-fiscal puts his questions, which the accused is not bound to answer; no pressure is exerted on the accused. The examination, which must take place before witnesses, is reduced to writing, and forms the "declaration" which may be used in evidence against the accused. The subsequent discovery of important testimony may be a ground for re-examination. When the accused has been examined he may be committed to prison until liberation "in due course of law" or for further examination within a reasonable time. Commitment can take place only upon a signed warrant specifying the crime and upon a signed information; and bail can be applied for either before or after commitment. Meanwhile the procurator-fiscal and the police have been preparing the case for submission to Crown

Counsel, who thereupon give directions as to the future course of proceedings, i.e., an indictment in the High Court, or in the Sheriff Court with a jury, or before the Sheriff summarily, or if they deem the evidence insufficient for a conviction may direct that no further proceedings shall be taken.

Such then is a brief description of the steps taken to bring a person to trial in Scotland. Except for his appearances for commitment, at the first or pleading diet, and at the actual trial, the accused never appears in public court. No police-court proceedings or coroners' inquests or appearances before the Grand Jury add a new terror to life. All preliminaries are carried out swiftly, secretly, and fairly. The public know nothing except the facts of arrest and commitment. The accused's interests are guarded from the first, and the court is jealous to prevent any irregularity in procedure. No dragging out, before the actual trial, of the past history of the accused or his actions at the time of the crime is possible. Popular prejudice is thus avoided and a fair trial is ensured, which seems almost impossible in many English criminal trials. Another important feature of the Scottish system should be noted. Preliminary speeches by counsel are not permitted; the case begins with the evidence, from which, and not from counsel's speeches, the jury gather the facts of the case. This may sometimes be a disadvantage, e.g., in complicated cases of fraud or embezzlement, but in the great majority of cases the fact that the jury approach the case with open minds is an inestimable advantage to the accused. Lastly, after the whole evidence is led, counsel for the Crown addresses the jury, then counsel for the accused, who thus has the last word—another benefit to the accused. The judge's charge and the verdict end the case.

Such, briefly, is the simple, dignified course of the Scottish criminal investigation and trial. Of its fairness and effectiveness no one can entertain a doubt. That it has prevailed substantially in this form from time immemorial and still commands the confidence of the country is the best tribute to its excellence. Surely some of its features can be adopted in English procedure with advantage and thus remove the objections associated with that system of criminal prosecution.

WILLIAM MITCHELL.

CHRISTMAS IN WILDEST WALES.

OUTSIDE the window the rain has for a moment ceased to beat; there is wind rumbling in the hollow of the pass, and across the narrow Gwryd the mists rush along the wet slopes of lower Moel Siabod. There's a blue-black quality in the cloud above which probably means that snow is lying on the high ridges. Otherwise, there is little to be seen—a world of grey mist with the white tusks of foaming torrents down the vale. Surely this is no time to go out to the hill tops. "Indeed it is; come along before the weather breaks again," is the peremptory shout, and I come. In wildest Wales, as elsewhere, the Christmastide Rambler must be a keen opportunist, else nothing will be accomplished. He or she should certainly not start out while the storm rattles and pours, but the first clearing is the right signal for activity. And after a grumblers' mile has been put between us and the inn, there's no turning back until evening is at hand.

On the first wild day of a winter sojourn among the hills, I always need example and precept to screw up my courage; afterwards a venture into mist and rain and wind seems to be a matter of course. After all, one can always pick the most comfortable ridges and passes for the day's work among the mountains. I have gone from Wasdale Head in Cumberland over Pillar Mountain, Kirkfell and Great Gable without being, at any time, able to see a clear hundred yards away—and yet I enjoyed every mile and minute of the experience. The clouds were constantly changing: here the mists went past in gusts like the smoke of a discharged cannon; there they lazily rolled over the rock-ridge and enveloped us like a tidal wave. And all the time they were wet, very wet, and cold.

In wildest Wales, at Christmas and New Year, there are parties of athletic rock-climbers—men and women too—who apparently spend their days (and are threatened with their nights as well) on tenuous ledges, holdless slabs, gloomy cavern-slits, and knife-like ledges; there are others, devotees of a less adventurous mountaineering, who assert that the narrow rock-comb of Crib Goch, rising three thousand above the sea and taken in one glorious expedition over all its towers and pinnacles, is their limit in exposed positions; they scramble in and out of deep and rocky cwms and trace the steepest and roughest of scree passes. To circle Y Wyddfa, the central peak of Snowdon, as some of these people do, observing the 2,750 feet contour, is quite a task to the mountain climber, and on an unsuitable day there may be plenty of excitement from falling stones and rotten holds. In my mind at any rate there is firm conviction that some of these inveterate and advanced scramblers would find less labour and danger on the real rock-climbs. How-

ever, they are content, and ask for neither criticism nor approbation. There are more loose stone and rotten ledge in their haunts than can be found on the ridges of Lliwedd or on the Parson's Nose, which rises up from Cwm Glas to the top of Crib Goch itself.

Outside the hotel there is a moment's pause: the little lakes down at Capel Curig can be seen, just blots in the distance. The old generation of winter visitors to Snowdonia used to trace exactly how much such hostelries owe to the winter climbers. The parties who regularly made a new season of Christmas and New Year, and also an extra one of Easter, brought prosperity to the little inns. This at Pen-y-Gwryd was practically a wayside beerhouse with a room to let to travellers until the outdoor fraternity found it, and found too that Harry Owen as a landlord and friend was capable of taking advantage of the new opportunity. In the next score years, the house was enlarged again and again; slices of the rough corner lot facing three roads were built upon, and in a quiet way prosperity was achieved. Later on there came an eclipse; the place was ill managed and climbers were compelled to go elsewhere. The new house at the crest of the pass took many, and others drifted off to Beddgelert, Capel Curig, and to Ogwen with its wonderful cottage which seemed to accommodate any given number of climbers—and then some more. Somehow Llanberis and Rhyd-ddu have not attracted, possibly because both are dependent on adjacent slate quarries, and quarrymen are not the type of men one leaves the city to meet. In these motoring days, it is not unusual to drive up from Colwyn Bay or Llandudno, to say nothing of Bettws-y-Coed, Carrig-y-Druidion, or Llanrwst, for the enjoyment of climbing. The car is parked somewhere about the summit of Llanberis pass or in some farm or cottage yard nearest to Tryfan and the Glyders, and forgotten until the expedition returns. The machine is then started up, and in an hour the climbers are twenty miles from the rocks. In some ways this is a pity: a good hotel is worth much, but in the evening the climbers listen to the rushing of sea-tides instead of to the deep rumble of night wind on the mountain tops. But, wet or fine, the team makes its journey, and yesterday's clear morning I had a lift in a crowded car up the mile-long incline to the top of our pass.

What experience shall we have to-day? There are rills across the black tar of the road; the mist is far into the pass, and the hillsides are practically invisible. Walking on the Snowdonian paths in winter may be amusing if the stiff slope above the little dark Glaslyn be masked with snow, and the right direction across the expanse can only be guessed. Once we found ourselves groping across the foot of a snow and ice gully which would have given pretty Alpine practice to a properly equipped party. Now I don't

believe in mere hill-walkers carrying a conspicuous coil of rope, but in winter-time the presence of an ice-axe in a party makes for safety and comfort. How often has the hacking of a few steps in the hard surface enabled one to get across to snow soft enough to be descended with ease? Otherwise there would have been a tedious clamber down icicled ledges and rocks with the danger of being trapped and benighted after all.

On a misty winter day I still prefer to take the upper of the two P.-y-G. tracks, and to puzzle out its gappy line of cairns. In Wales there is apparently no authority, voluntary or otherwise, which takes under its protection the mountain paths and their landmarks. The great routes from Llanberis village and Pen-y-Pass and Beddgelert are trodden in summer sufficiently to remain visible, but the others are often lost to sight on a misty day. Naturally, an authority would declare that its concern was with the ordinary tourist, and not with those who wished to find our weird and wonderful (and useless) tracks.

From the tarmac road over the pass, the upper P.-y-G. track is deliberately invisible: it starts round the corner behind a big rock outcrop, and at first there are marsh and wet grass where the path is unseen except by the eyes of faith and practice. In a few minutes, however, the route has climbed away from dead fern and rushes, and the going is over broken stones and slabs, with strides over gushing torrents which have just slipped down from the crags above. Though the mist hangs close, it is obvious that the hillside is streaming. There is always a moment of surprise when the mist soaks definitely through moist clothing, but the surprise is not as miserable as it might be. So long as the walker keeps on the move, a little moisture does not matter, but if a frosty breath comes over the ridge and the progress halts, there is trouble enough. Snowdon is ever a region of mystery and delight. While we have been climbing, peering through the mist for the tiny mark-cairns, the cloud around suddenly thins and drops; to the right every rock-tower of Crib Goch and Crib-y-Ddysgl is visible, but the mist curtain remains drawn across Carnedd Ugain, and instead of the great cone of Y Wyddfa (the summit) there is a wonderful grey shadow rising to a stupendous height. There is a breath of wind, and the mist packs still more closely in the hollow of Llyn Llydaw to our left: indeed, the upper edge of the cloud seems to be about a couple of hundred feet beneath, and llyn and rocks beyond are invisible. There is sunshine in the sky above, but its gold and silver does not bend down to us. Then, in a moment, like the closing of a book, the scene is at an end; the mist flows over rock-tower and sloping slab, and we continue our wary pursuit of cairns and landmarks. Near lonesome Glaslyn the main path

from Capel Curig comes up a sort of rock ladder, and continues upward as a zigzag among scree. I have known this track by night and by day, and in all months of the year, and somehow it has never yet gained my affection or respect. That the neighbourhood, under bad weather conditions, has danger for novices is proved by the tragic roll of accidents and death. When snow masks the scree and rocks, the place is perilous even to fairly experienced men, for some of the ledges have drops up to twenty feet. It is interesting to find that in the old days the copper ore from the Llydaw shafts was carried up this path in sacks by strong men, and then loaded on light sledges to be taken over to Llyn Cwellyn and Caernarvon. The only route through the pass was the bad horse-path mentioned by Pennant or some other pioneer. The miners of Llydaw lived at bothies round the shafts, and in a hard winter there is record that shafts had to be sunk several yards through snow and ice to reach the galleries. In winter Welsh folk of the working type are rarely met on the heights, though the high paths across the moors and ridges between Bethesda (now rightly called Glanogwen), Llanberis, Nantlle, and Ffestiniog used to be occupied by "bargainers" when they returned home after their month of labour among the slates. Now the men go by road or rail, and their wide "miners' paths" look out of place, say, on the pass between Tryfan and the Glyders, up above Llyn Bochllywd. Occasionally I have met men with happy faces and heavy packs on the tracks, and though my Welsh has never been more than sufficient to answer a greeting after dusk or to murmur thanks for some kindness, the quarrymen were always willing to speak out to a sympathiser, well-wisher, and road-user. They were proud lads, and an invitation to rest and eat in one's inn had to be carefully handled. They never wanted a drink, and answered shortly if such was offered.

This deep cove beneath the very citadel of Snowdon is a place of strange echoes: I have come down, dead tired after a long day on the ridges, and heard the thin distant voices of children or pixies or fairies; at one point there is a wind-rumble which is not unlike the echo of waggon wheels. There is a thin rattle of falling water here, and the slipping of a pebble there, and the sounds are magnified as one passes. Hitherto the footing has been over sodden grass or stone; suddenly there is a brighter zone and a transition to snow, thin, but thickening as the walk goes forward, and soon firm enough for safe walking. It is not frozen, but merely firm. The air is drier, brisker, and colder up here, and overhead is another rag of blue sky.

Thus, with rapidly improving conditions and light, the climb continues to the ridge of the mountain, and there, in a few paces, a

completely new world is visible. The cone of Y Wyddfa sheers overhead, almost pure white in tint, and to the westward there is a clear vision, over the Straits and Anglesey, and away to Ireland. There is sunshine all round, and just in the pass of Llanberis and the cove behind us a pack of white cloud—Lliwedd, the Glyders, Tryfan, and other high tops standing up through the fleecy white, while the Carnedd ridges away to the north were clear of mist altogether, though touched with snow in large patches. There was a jingle of voices, a clink of iron nails against ice and stone, and a party dropped rapidly down the summit slope. At first I thought they were boys; of course, they were womenfolk, and some of them not young. The lady climber has conquered the peaks of Wales within my personal recollection. On our first rock-courses an occasional "sweetheart" might be taken, but she was made a great trouble, and rarely could be induced to try again. Now there are whole clubs for women rock-climbers and ridge-walkers, and grandmothers and grandchildren go out on the same rope, tackling first-class routes with all the success of the men. There's no doubt about the welcome a lady climber gets, and nowadays she is given every opportunity to prove her skill, strength, and stamina. The sedulous advice about foot and hand holds, the constant haul on the rope up even the easiest pitch and slab is no longer given as a matter of course. I chuckle to think that the boastful new generation of men dare not treat its womenfolk in the way we did, nor lift them along when progress was slow and the light was failing.

These women had taken "a day off," and, after making an easy rock ascent of the furthest tower of triple-headed Lliwedd, had passed across the Bwlch y Sytheau and over Y Wyddfa, and were now on their way to complete the horseshoe of Snowdon by conquering the bristling Crib Goch ridge on their way to afternoon tea at Pen-y-Pass. Any other day "afternoon tea" would have aroused my attention: indeed, I believe that the late start and early descent spoil the pleasure of climbing in the Homeland. We make a short day of it, and never take the trouble to become fit for really long expeditions. However, I register my vow at once that I, at any rate, will prow! about the high ground, the ice-shackled huts about the summit excepted, till near sunset, particularly as the air seems thin and clear and calm. To cut the story short, the reward was great. The vision, as the sun descended, must have nearly paralleled that seen by Professor John Tyndall from the same place in 1860:

Above and behind us the heavens were of the densest grey; toward the western horizon this was broken by belts of fiery red, which, nearer the sun, brightened to orange and yellow. The mountains of Flintshire were flooded with glory, and later on,

through the gaps in the ranges, the sunlight was poured in coloured beams, which could be tracked through the air to the places on which their radiance fell. The scene would bear comparison with the splendour of the Alps themselves.

And in the clear twilight I came down the long slopes, first of snow, then scree, and finally of the path itself by dark Glaslyn. I didn't wait like the bard who declared that here

We saw the Seven Stars arise
Northward, and with their glow
Smile down on the paler Seven
Within the llyn below.

Forward I pushed through the silence and gathering shadow, reaching the great road-pass as the last glow faded over the ridges, and the stars came out with a real rush to light up the skies over the mysterious mountains.

Really, my story should end there, but why not add a few sentences about the long-enduring rivalries between the climbers, scramblers, and ridge-walkers at the upper and lower hotels? I was welcome at both, and always found the keenest desire of each party to outclimb, outwalk, outsing, and even outdance the other. The programmes by day and by night went with a swing, and happy were the holidays. It was a happy rivalry to me, and I should be sorry if its memory was ever forgotten. However, midwinter and Easter proceedings in Snowdonia have entirely changed, with the rest of our outlook, since the Great War, and the climbers now travel great distances to reach the crags and then go home again.

W. T. PALMER.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

A CURIOUS HISTORICAL PARALLEL.

IT would be odd if Great Britain, having once in a generation filled the rôle of the world's financial dupe, were to fill the like rôle a second time in the same generation. Yet certain circumstances, the combined effect of which seems not to have been generally recognised, make it difficult to escape the conclusion that Great Britain is now doing it again.

The parallel deserves to be looked at. In April, 1917, the United States Government declared war on Germany and at the same time began lending money to the European allies. The facts of the subsequent financial transactions have been variously represented, but at this stage they may be stated with some confidence in their accuracy. Before April, 1917, the British Government was the only Government which had lent money to the European nations who were fighting on the "Allied" side in the war. At that precise moment the British Treasury, having spent or lent the wild, unthinkable sum of £2,000,000,000 on the war, had reached a point where it became a serious risk even for Great Britain to provide any more funds except for her own war expenses. The British Treasury had not borrowed a penny from the United States, and thereafter had no need to borrow a penny from the United States for British expenses. It happened, however, that France, Italy, and the other European allies, in the spring of 1917, decided that they would not spend any more of their own money on the war, if they could get it from any other source. The British Treasury was given to understand that France and Italy could not carry on the war any longer except on borrowed money. The British Treasury, the British public, the British people in general, took the line that the war must be carried on at all costs; and as the loans that were available to France and Italy from the United States did not satisfy the French and Italian needs, the British Government in a peculiar British way took the remarkable step of borrowing from the United States in order to lend to France and Italy. Now Mr. Mellon has indignantly protested against the notion that the United States lent money to France and Italy on a British endorsement of the resultant obligation. Technically, and on the face of the matter, he is clearly right. The figures, however, cannot be argued down. The United States loans to the United Kingdom, funded as at December 15th, 1922 (including interest to that date) amounted to \$4,600,000,000. Taking the exchange at \$4.8 to the pound, that equals £958,330,000. That is the fact on one side of the matter. In the same period the United Kingdom lent an almost exactly like amount to the Allies. Those loans, made since March 31st, 1917,

including accrued and unpaid interest to December 31st, 1922 (excluding the loans to Russia) amounted to £936,255,000. Both sets of figures are facts that cannot be quibbled about. The exact amounts are entered in the books of the British Treasury. It clearly follows that, if it had not been for the supposed necessity for the British Treasury to finance France and Italy, the British Government need not, and would not, have borrowed at all from the United States; it equally follows that the British Treasury did in fact bear the full burden (1) of British war expenses and British loans to the Allies up to April, 1917, and (2) of British war expenses after April, 1917. The £1,000,000,000 borrowed by Great Britain from the United States after April, 1917, was in effect, and demonstrably, passed on to the Allies, for the amount lent to the Allies was in round figures the same.

We therefore witnessed the curious spectacle where on the one hand France and Italy were satisfied that part of their post-1917 loans bore a British endorsement of the obligation, although the funds came from the United States; and on the other hand, the United States were satisfied that they were technically lending the money to Great Britain, and not to France and Italy. In one sense that bilateral satisfaction was an unconscious tribute to the integrity of British financial honour; and the subsequent history of the matter abundantly justified such a tribute. After the war, at the beginning of 1923, the British Government duly funded the resultant debt to the United States; France and Italy duly refused to fund their debts to Great Britain. The Italian funding of the debt to Great Britain did not take place till 1926, the French not till 1929: and in both cases, not the debt, but one-sixth of the debt only, was funded. In effect, therefore, France and Italy both repudiated five-sixths of their bond. Great Britain, if one should describe a crude transaction in crude words, had been duped. The word "swindle" has been used by Mr. Snowden in referring to the financial distribution of war costs. There may be people, there are people, especially on the Continent of Europe, who are sincerely shocked to hear such a word from the lips of a responsible British politician: but no person who is capable of simple arithmetic can quarrel with its substance.

The 1917 transaction was thrown into greater relief by the diplomatic agreement embodied in the peace treaties, whereby France was granted more than half, and Great Britain less than a quarter, of the reparations payable by Germany; an arrangement which was to contribute its part to the second circumstance in which Great Britain again played the rôle of dupe. British sentimentality makes the world unsafe for British heroes to live in. The British people regarded the Great War as something near a sacred cause, a cause

for which they were prepared to sacrifice both their heroes and their national wealth, out of a deep pity for France, Serbia, Belgium. They consented to be duped, and consented willingly, even proudly.

Ten years after the war ended, in 1928, the United States ceased to lend money in any considerable sums to the European countries. Up to that time Germany had paid her reparations (which mostly went to France) out of money borrowed from the United States. When the American source dried up, Germany, not being able to transfer the Dawes sums out of what the economists call her national resources, took to raising the money in London. In 1928 and 1929, therefore, 52 per cent. of the loans raised for that purpose by Germany in London was passed on to Paris. There was created a triangular drain, London-Berlin-Paris, one effect of which was that sterling was in large blocks changed into Marks, and Marks in large blocks changed into francs. The German exchange was not thereby affected, but the French exchange was deeply affected in its relation to sterling. Moreover, France had accumulated enormous sterling balances in London and dollar balances in New York, precisely because the bulk of reparation payments since the war had gone to Paris, and Paris concurrently was not paying the service of her debts either to the United States or to Great Britain. (On October 21st, 1929, M. Herriot stated in the French Chamber that during the five years of the Dawes Plan France had received from Germany more than 25,000,000,000 francs, or £200,000,000). France had become the second richest nation in the world after the United States. During the course of 1929, therefore, we have witnessed the spectacle of the French franc obstinately remaining at a premium over sterling, when the whole world's exchanges, apart from France, were badly disorganised as a result of a world-wide form of financial "indigestion."

Such was the situation in August, 1929. Mr. Snowden, full of righteous indignation against the exploitation of British simplicity by foreign sophistication, made his now famous stand against the further experiment, sanctioned by the "Young" plan, of shunting another £2,000,000 a year from London, for the chief benefit of Paris. He won his point. He was acclaimed even by the City of London as a hero. The City of London, however, and the diplomacy of Whitehall, react on irrelevant motives to feelings of mutual admiration or mistrust. Just as the City of London had been puzzled by the sterling-franc exchange throughout 1929, so Mr. Snowden, his pocket full of £2,000,000, did not see what that £2,000,000 might really be, whether an asset or a liability. After The Hague "victory" the Bank of France virtually declared war on the Bank of England. Owing to her huge liquid resources in sterling (as aforesaid) France was able to change sterling into

francs, and maintain the franc above gold export point just precisely as she pleased. And the Bank of England was powerless. Just as the raising of the British bank rate from $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in February, 1929, did not prevent the export of gold to France, although the French bank rate was only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., so the further raising of the British bank rate from $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in September, 1929, was ineffective in preventing the continued flow of gold from London to Paris, although the French rate remained at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Nor was the raising of the London rate in September wholly unrelated to Mr. Snowden's "victory" at The Hague, less than a month before. The City of London seemed to be puzzled by the supposed anomaly of the French exchange. Was it an anomaly? The Bank of England, in reducing its rate from $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 6 per cent. in October, took the City by surprise, for even the higher rate had not stemmed the flow of gold to Paris. Yet it is possible that the Bank of England argued to itself, as any private schoolboy might argue to himself, that if British rates of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. had been equally ineffective against a French rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., there was no sense in further increasing it, and some sense in reducing it. Mr. Snowden in his turn seems to have been puzzled, and he infuriated French opinion for a second time by expressing the view that the French bank rate was being kept artificially low. Therein Mr. Snowden did himself less than justice, for it seems obvious to anyone who keeps in his mind the facts above recorded about the flow of money from London via Berlin to Paris and the current repudiation by Paris of her obligation to London that the Bank of France can honestly maintain its rediscount rate at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (the lowest in the world) for as long as she may choose. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. France has been attracting gold merrily the whole year without any need to raise her bank rate: and it is precisely because British cash flows unceasingly through Berlin to Paris, and French cash does not flow by any channel to London, that France is able to do the harm she does to British financial interests.

The interesting thing, however, is that British diplomacy and British finance can twice within one generation have made itself the dupe of foreign Governments. The remarkable phenomenon of the 1929 gold drain from London to Paris is at least partly explained by the fact that Great Britain has again allowed herself to be the dupe of France. British opinion seems not to understand or even to suspect what it is that is wrong. There is a pathetic similarity between the sentimentality which made Great Britain proudly do a stupid thing in 1917 and the like cause which has produced the like result in 1929; but there is this disturbing difference between

the two sets of circumstances, that in 1917 France was fighting in the war on the side of Great Britain, whereas in 1929 she is conducting an ill-concealed offensive against the City of London, being financed the while by the City of London itself. Has the history of the world many more curious spectacles to offer?

PARIS AS LENDER.

There seems little doubt that the gold hoarded by France has gone as it were to her head. By the middle of November the gold held by the Bank of France amounted for the first time to over 40,000,000,000 francs. That is the equivalent of more than twice the gold holding of the Bank of England. The rapidity with which gold has accumulated in Paris during the past year is shown by the fact that in June, 1928, the figure was 28,935,000,000 francs, and in June, 1929, it was 36,625,000,000 francs. It was made known in Paris in the first week of November that the French Minister of Finance had approved a plan for the creation in Paris of specialised acceptance and discount houses as a means of transforming Paris into "a great international market." The purely financial and technical interest of such an ambition does not properly fall within the province of these particular pages; but it seems entirely proper to make a passing comment on one of the outstanding features of French finance that will hardly mix with the French ambition of making Paris a world's financial centre. The accumulation of vast quantities of gold in Paris is a first step. The interesting question is whether any French institution will ever be able to perform a truly international function when traditionally it is rooted in an extreme nationalism. It has been clear throughout 1929 that the extraction of gold from London to Paris, made possible by the persistent conversion of sterling assets into francs by French bankers and by private French financiers has been part of a general plan dictated from a central authority whose motive has clearly been nationalist. The statement issued by the French Minister of Finance in the middle of November was nationalist in tone. It is impossible to conceive of a British Chancellor of the Exchequer taking the lead in a matter professionally affecting the City of London. In London the business of credit and banking are wholly independent of political influence, and it is a matter of commonplace opinion that such independence has been one of the chief bases on which has been built the prestige of London as the leading stock and money market of the world.

The interesting question arises whether so intensely nationalist an atmosphere as that of Paris could cultivate so severely international a business as that of an international market, even supposing that Paris could produce the necessary machinery of bill brokers, gold

markets, international stock markets, insurance organisation, and the rest. If France, having hoarded vast quantities of gold at the expense of Great Britain and on the indirect resources provided by Great Britain, were to attempt something large instead of something narrow she might, after all, benefit the world; but if she failed in that attempt, she would do still more harm than she has done so far. The difficulty is that whereas the prominent bankers of most countries in the world show a tendency towards genuine internationalism, the French bankers have been quite remarkably untrue to type by subordinating objective finance to the subjective diplomatic interests of the Quai d'Orsay. M. Horace Finaly, for example, one of the most characteristic of French bankers, has never given any help to any international scheme of reconstruction except in so far as it happened to suit the diplomatic purposes of France. He has aimed at securing for France the raw materials and the natural products of the countries with which France is politically allied. He created three banks for the purpose, the Banque Nationale Française du Commerce Extérieur, the Banque Franco-Polonaise, and the Banque Franco-Espagnole. He made a close liaison with banking interests in Rumania, was a staunch advocate of a Rumanian stabilisation loan, and secured a big French influence in the Banque Ottomane by buying its shares in large quantities. In no other country in Europe has a prominent banker so closely identified himself with the passing expediences of his Government's diplomacy abroad. In no other European country has finance become so subordinate to diplomacy. If the financial ambition of Paris leads to the breaking of that tradition (and it cannot otherwise succeed) then good may result from the greed of gold and the unsportsmanlike damage done to London by Paris in 1929.

THE FIVE-POWER CONFERENCE.

Both the United States and Great Britain spend more than £100 a minute on their navies. On both sides of the Atlantic such expense is normally regarded as a measure of defence against potential danger. Those two nations are the greatest naval powers, and the potential danger to either, therefore, must primarily come from the other: yet the spokesmen of both nations never tire of protesting that a war between the two is a contingency not worth worrying about, because it is too remote even to become practical. It therefore seems reasonable to hope that the Five Power Conference which will meet in London on January 20th will be effective in starting a process of general naval reduction throughout the world. Each of the five nations has already given some indication of the ideas by which it will be guided at the conference.

(i) British Policy.

In last month's CONTEMPORARY REVIEW the main facts were recorded of the Hoover-MacDonald preliminaries up to the time when the joint statement was issued from the White House and from the British Embassy on October 9th. Mr. MacDonald remained in the United States for six more days. On October 11th he made a speech which was broadcast throughout the United States and in which he took the opportunity to appeal for an American understanding of the British attitude to the British Navy. Every British admiral must have purred when he read of it the next day. Mr. MacDonald was addressing the Council on Foreign Relations. He first made the general submission that the problem was to "transfer the mentality of peoples from the mentality of military security to the mentality of political security," and that the first step towards a solution of the problem was to limit construction in armaments, prevent competition in armaments, and thus to prevent that fear of war which tends to produce war. He then explained the peculiar British mentality about the British navy. "In our case," he said, "the navy is the very life of our nation. We have romance surrounding it; we are a people of the sea; we are a small island; Europe is at our doors; for good or for ill the lines of our Empire have been thrown all over the face of the earth; we have to import our food; a month's blockade, effectively carried out, would starve us all . . . in the event of any conflict Britain's navy is Britain itself." On October 15th Mr. MacDonald left New York for Canada, where he visited Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal. He reached London on November 1st.

Some indication of the policy that would be followed at the London Conference by the British Government had been given in the text of the invitation to attend the conference, issued to the four nations which had prepared the way for, and would therefore form the basis of, the conference, Mr. Henderson stated: "(1) The conversations have been one of the results of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War signed at Paris in 1928, which brought about a re-alignment of our national attitudes on the subject of security, in consequence of the provision that war should not be used as an instrument of national policy in the relations of nations one to another. Therefore, the Peace Pact has been regarded as the starting-point of agreement. (2) It has been agreed to adopt the principle of parity in each of the several categories, and that such parity shall be reached by December 31st, 1936. Consultation between His Majesty's Governments in the Dominions has taken place, and it is contemplated that the programme of parity on the British side should be related to the naval forces of all parts of the

Empire. (3) The question of battleship strength was also touched upon during the conversations, and it has been agreed in these conversations that subject to the consent of the other signatory Powers it would be desirable to reconsider the battleship replacement programmes provided for in the Washington Treaty of 1922, with the view to diminishing the amount of replacement construction implied under that Treaty. (4) Since both the Governments of the United States and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom adhere to the attitude that they have publicly adopted in regard to the desirability of securing the total abolition of the submarine, this matter hardly gave rise to discussion during the recent conversations. They recognise, however, that no final settlement on this subject can be reached except in conference with the other naval Powers."

Mr. MacDonald made his report to the House of Commons on November 5th. It was for the most part a quasi-ceremonial occasion, Mr. MacDonald being applauded impartially from all sides of the House as he unfolded the story of his agreement with Mr. Hoover. One passage of his speech summarised the purpose of the British Government. "I went," he said, "with no draft agreements, either in my mind or in my pocket. I went to try by personal contact and by direct address to establish a new relationship between the two peoples, a relationship based upon mutual understanding, not only of common subjects to be pursued, but of natural differences to be respected, but I must leave the result to fructify in policy and action as time goes on. The breeze which blew me across the Atlantic was created by the conversations I had had during the summer with the American Ambassador, who personifies in such a delightful way the downright desire of his Government for peace and goodwill. These conversations had already removed every fear that at an international conference the unbridged differences between the United States and ourselves would doom such a conference to failure. I reviewed these conversations with the President, and studied with him ways and means of filling in the narrow gaps still remaining in a programme of building which should at the same time recognise both parity and strength and variety in the use of tonnage. Both of us recognise, however, that the agreement we were seeking was not merely one between ourselves, but one which would have to be set into a wider co-operation, and that a final settlement would have to depend upon the Five Power Conference, invitations to which we learned during our deliberations had been accepted by all the Powers concerned. These Powers will very probably have a good deal to say from their own point of view upon the naval problems we were discussing. We decided to urge that preliminary or more or less informal conversations between

and with these Powers should be entered upon, so that when the Conference meets the difficulty which lies at any rate on the fringe of our path may have been overcome. The success of that Conference, which will meet here in January, is our next objective, and meanwhile I can say nothing which will put difficulties in its way. Above and beyond the definite subject of a naval agreement was a desire to make it clear to everybody that in our mutual relations the Paris Pact of Peace was a reality, and so in the joint statement issued by us a declaration is made for the first time officially by the representatives of the two nations speaking together. Both of us put our signatures to this, and I quote: 'Both our Governments resolved to accept the Peace Pact not only as a declaration of good intentions, but as a positive obligation to direct national policy in accordance with its pledge.' Further, and I quote again: 'Therefore, and in a new and reinforced sense, the two Governments not only declare that war between them is unthinkable, but that distrusts and suspicions arising from doubts and fears which may have been justified before the Peace Pact must now cease to influence national policy.' We approach old historical problems from a new angle, and in a new atmosphere, on the assumption that war between us is banished, and that conflicts between our naval and military forces cannot take place. These problems have changed their meaning and character, and their solution in ways satisfactory to both countries has become possible. The United States pursues with vigilant jealousy its historic policy of keeping free from Old World entanglements and is, therefore, not in the League of Nations. We are in the League of Nations. We have contracted obligations to the League, and we shall remain loyal to those obligations. On neither side was any attempt made to change these facts."

(ii) American Policy.

On October 10th the United States Government accepted the British invitation to the Five Power Conference, and in its Note made the observation that the conference would "unite the Powers signatory to the Washington Treaty in a discussion which will anticipate the problem raised under Article 21 of that Treaty, as well as broaden its whole scope by the inclusion of other categories of ships." It was made known on October 17th that Mr. Stimson would be at the head of the United States delegation to the conference; and on October 21st the Secretary of State announced that Senator David Reed of Pennsylvania and Senator Joseph Robinson of Arkansas would be included in the delegation. Senator Borah refused an invitation to be the fourth member of the delegation: and three days later it was announced that General Dawes would

fill the vacancy. No further indication was given from any responsible American quarter about American policy than that contained in the joint statement of October 9th. (See CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, November, pp. 654-5.)

(iii) *Japanese Policy.*

The Japanese acceptance of the British invitation was handed to Mr. Henderson by the Japanese Ambassador on October 16th, and published on October 18th. On the 18th the Japanese Foreign Minister issued a public statement to the effect that the preliminary conversations alluded to in the Japanese note did not aim at any "agreement or understanding of any kind to the prejudice of any third party." The Japanese Note contained an unreserved acceptance of the invitation ("the Japanese Government are happy to signify their entire concurrence in the desirability of the proposed Conference"); a plea for preliminary exchanges between Tokio and London on the analogy of the Anglo-American exchanges. ("My Government attach the highest importance to the same procedure being followed by the Japanese and British Governments, in order to ensure agreement between them on various questions that are to be laid before the Conference. The success of the forthcoming Conference no doubt depends in a large measure upon the satisfactory issue of such preliminary discussions, and my Government confidently trust that the informal conversations between the British Government and myself on questions of special moment will be carried on and completed before these questions are presented to the Conference for final adjustment"); and finally a submission that the object of the conference should be, not merely the limitation, but the reduction, of armaments ("with regard to the four points of principle mentioned in your Note as the subject of provisional agreement between the British and American Governments, the Japanese Government hope to be able to submit their observations in the course of the informal conversation which I shall shortly permit myself to hold with the British Government. They would, however, make use of this occasion to assure you of their cordial support to the principle that the Treaty for the Renunciation of War, signed at Paris in 1928, should be taken as the starting-point for all discussions on disarmament. They feel confident that the sense of national security inspired by the provisions of that Treaty in the mutual relations of the contracting Powers will pave the way for the final settlement of the outstanding questions relative to naval disarmament. In conclusion, I am instructed to express the sincere and earnest hope of the Japanese Government that the Conference will succeed in the adoption of plans calculated to promote international peace and goodwill, and to

relieve humanity of the heavy burden of armament, whether existing or contemplated. It is not merely the limitation, but also the reduction of armament, that all nations should seek to attain.")

It was announced in Tokio on October 21st that the Government had appointed Mr. Reijiro Wakatsuki as head of the delegation, with Admiral Takarabe, Minister of Marine, and Mr. Matsudaira, Ambassador in London, as the other chief members. Mr. Wakatsuki was Prime Minister from March, 1926, to April, 1927, is a member of the House of Peers, and a former President of the Kenseikai Party. He was born in 1866, and has held the offices of Vice-Minister of the Treasury (1905), Financial Agent in London (1906), Vice-Minister of Finance (1908), Minister of Finance (1912 and 1914-1915). Admiral Takeshi Takarabe has been Minister of the Navy since July, 1928. He was born in 1867, was Vice-Minister of the Navy in 1913-1914, Commander-in-Chief of the Third Squadron in 1917, commanded Port Arthur Naval Station from 1915 to 1920, the Sasebo Naval Station from 1918 to 1922, and has had a former period as Minister of the Navy (1923-1927). Mr. Tsuneo Matsudaira, Japanese Ambassador in London, was born in 1877, was Secretary of the London Embassy before the war (1903-1911), served in China as Secretary to the Legation, and as Consul-General from 1912 to 1918, was chief of the European and American Bureau of the Foreign Office from 1920 to 1923, Secretary-General to the Japanese Delegation to the Disarmament Conference in Washington (1921-1922), Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs 1923-1924; and Ambassador at Washington from 1924 to 1928.

(iv) *French Policy.*

The position in which the Quai d'Orsay found itself as a result of the British invitation was a little delicate. On the one hand French policy had been insisting on a thesis of land disarmament which reduced all talk of land disarmament to rubbish (the thesis, namely, that trained reserves be not counted in a computation of a country's military effectives.) On the other hand, France had been primarily responsible for the Anglo-French naval *faux pas* of 1928, and had never departed from her policy of postulating an unlimited number of submarines for the purposes of the French navy. One therefore was prepared for a slightly discordant note to be sounded in Paris, although French finesse could be counted on to make the discordance as subtle as possible. The expectation was not belied. The British note of invitation laid down four principles as having been agreed on by Great Britain and by the United States, and as constituting the basis on which the London Conference was to be called. The first principle, which is quoted in full above, laid down that "the Peace Pact [of 1928] has been regarded as the starting-

point of agreement." The French Note accepting the invitation, while cast in the language of cordiality, somewhat labouredly substituted as the starting-point of the impending conference the work that had already been done at Geneva in the matter of disarmament. Now nobody could dispute the correctness of the French regard for what the League had already done towards solving the problem of armaments, but the London Naval Conference must have one starting-point, and not two. The United States and Great Britain decided on the Kellogg Pact as the starting-point, and issued the invitation to France, Italy, and Japan on that basis. France, in accepting the invitation, implied that she expected the occasion to be something different from the one specified. In accepting the invitation the French Government stated: "The French Government is happy to note that the conversations undertaken by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the United States Ambassador in London, following the methods suggested during the deliberations of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, have taken such a favourable turn; it has been equally happy to note that the two Governments have found in the Pact of Paris of August 27th, 1928, a valuable means of coming to an agreement of principle between themselves as to the naval armaments which they consider sufficient for their security. The British Government, after agreement with the Government of the United States, now proposes to extend the conversations to the Powers which it considers chiefly interested in naval disarmament, and the express object of this initiative, as the communication of the Secretary of State makes clear, is to facilitate the task of the Preparatory Commission and that of the future General Conference for the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments. The French Government, which has given many proofs of its desire to see the prompt termination of the preparatory work of that Conference, the meeting of which will make it possible to carry out the obligations contained in Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, cannot but rejoice at such a proposal; it is, therefore, happy to accept the invitation which has been extended to it. The principles which have never ceased to guide French policy, both as regards the general conditions of the problem of limiting armaments and as regards the special conditions of the problem of limiting armaments at sea, have been too often defined, not only at Geneva, but in the course of other negotiations, to need repetition here. Moreover, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in his letter, announces the intention of his Government to undertake with the French Government, as with the other Governments invited to the London Conference, preliminary exchanges of view on the questions which are to be included in the programme of their common deliberations.

The French Government can see nothing but good in the adoption of such a method, which will give it the opportunity of defining its attitude, not only towards the various points mentioned in the letter of His Excellency, Mr. Arthur Henderson, but towards the problems connected with them, and towards the whole of the questions which may be raised in the course of the coming Conference."

On the day following the French acceptance of the invitation, the Quai d'Orsay received from Rome a suggestion that France and Italy should attempt to reach a preliminary agreement, on the analogy of the Anglo-American preliminary agreement, on points specially affecting the two countries. France accepted the proposal, and Mr. MacDonald wisely and promptly took an opportunity to applaud it. Four days later a French Ministerial crisis was produced by the defeat of M. Briand (October 22nd). It was not till November 2nd that the crisis was resolved by M. Tardieu, who succeeded in forming a Government after M. Daladier (President of the Radical Party) and M. Clémentel (Senator, and member of the Radical Party) had failed. M. Tardieu retained M. Briand as Foreign Minister, and M. Chéron as Finance Minister. As a result of an all-night sitting on November 8th-9th, M. Tardieu and M. Briand received the Chamber's support on a vote of confidence, but nothing new emerged about their attitude to the naval problem.

(v) *Italian Policy.*

The Italian Ambassador personally delivered the Italian acceptance of the invitation on October 16th. It was an acceptance without reserve and without any controversial aspect, for its reference to the Preparatory Commission of the League's Disarmament Conference had clearly been concerted with Paris. "This conference," ran a passage of the Italian Note, "to which the Powers who signed the Treaty of Washington are being invited, is to aim at drawing up a text which would facilitate the task of the Preparatory Commission of the League of Nations and later of the General Disarmament Conference. The attitude of the Italian Government on the problem of general disarmament in particular is too well known to the British Government to require statement. It has been clearly expressed on repeated occasions, and lastly in the Note addressed on October 6th, 1928, to the British Embassy in Rome in reply to the communication on the subject of the draft Franco-British naval agreement of last year. Being desirous, as always, of collaborating in any step proposed with the view to eliminate the disadvantages and dangers of excessive armaments, and cherishing the hope that the British initiative may result in real progress towards the solution of the general disarmament problem, the Italian Government gladly accept the invitation of the British

Government to participate in the London Conference." It was on the same day that the Italian Government made its proposal for a Franco-Italian particular agreement.

Whether Signor Mussolini will take any more interest in the London Naval Conference than he has taken in any of the preceding attempts to organise peace has yet to be seen; but it appears that he has not yet grown out of the somewhat immature type of cynicism he often affects whenever schemes are afoot for international peace. On November 3rd he was addressing the Seventh National Congress of the War Wounded. It was the first time he had referred to the subject of international peace and disarmament since he had accepted the London invitation. With that curious lack of appropriateness which is one of his leading characteristics he now addressed an audience of wounded soldiers, not in a spirit of hope that the impending conference might save the world from the atrocities that had been visited upon his hearers, but in this strain: "There is much talk of peace (he said); I venture to say, too much. Do not be deceived by it, for nobody is frankly and effectively disarming." Is it any cause for wonder that the world is plunged by the politicians into intermittent war, when such men as Signor Mussolini become politicians? His lack of idealism, of courage, of intelligence, his abundance of pomp and glory typify the politician at his worst. And yet, still more oddly, his conduct of public business inside Italy, his enterprise in the improvement of public health and of the public services, are admirable. Why is his effect so different in foreign affairs?

THE TECHNIQUE OF PEACE.

Partly no doubt as a result of the MacDonald-Hoover conversations, and of the resultant prospect of the London Naval Conference, three of the world's leading politicians have been training their minds on the constructive aspect of peace. It almost looks as if one could congratulate oneself that something serious is afoot when one reads such statements as those of General Smuts in the second of his Rhodes Memorial Lectures delivered at Oxford on November 9th, of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Guildhall speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet (also on November 9th), and of Mr. Hoover's Armistice Day address delivered in Washington. The striking thing that emerged from each of those pronouncements was that the problem was regarded, less as the problem of preventing war than of organising and consolidating peace. There is a practical difference in the two points of view. During the past ten years political philosophy has attracted a good deal of popular interest in so far as it has dealt with the old problem of maintaining the peace of the world. On looking back it seems natural that

the Covenant of the League of Nations, drawn up in Paris, should have attached some importance to the "sanction" which was to deter an aggressor from breaking the peace. It is the continental tradition that security be backed by military force or something ultimately dependent on military force. To the continental mind the Anglo-Saxon conception of a moral or psychological guarantee of peace has little value. The Quai d'Orsay feels secure when it can see twenty French bombing squadrons against a total of say five bombing squadrons potentially mobilisable by any combination of enemies. The Quai d'Orsay has never attempted to conceal its surprise that anyone should regard the "Kellogg" Pact as anything but a pious aspiration. To American philosophers, however, and to British philosophers there appears to be more force in public opinion than in any juridical instrument. The cross-traffic policeman in London is able to hold up a quarter of a mile of traffic for ten minutes without being murdered, because the English public recognises that the policeman's function is essential no matter how badly it may be performed. In Paris, by contrast, the policeman who tries to regulate the traffic is something of a hero constantly in danger of his life. There is a difference in mentality between continental people and Anglo-Saxon people which explains a certain divergence of diplomatic tactics in the problem of peace or war. The famous Geneva Protocol illumines the contrast. I have heard Dr. Beneš prove conclusively that in substance the Covenant of the League, the Locarno Treaties, the Geneva Protocol were all precisely the same thing, expressed differently. Yet if the average continental statesman were asked to place those four instruments in order of merit as a means of maintaining the peace, he would probably give the order thus: (1) The Geneva Protocol, (2) the Locarno Treaties, (3) the Covenant of the League, (4) the Kellogg Pact. The average English or American politician would probably exactly reverse the order. The difference of view consists in this, that the continental tactic is the negative one of disbelieving in peace and of organising war on the most favourable basis, whereas the Anglo-Saxon view believes that there can be no settled peace until peace is taken for granted. The British rejection of the Geneva Protocol and the distrust created among many British students by the Geneva proposal for financial assistance for an attacked State were examples of the Anglo-Saxon reaction against the continental mentality.

What Mr. Hoover said on November 11th expressed with more than usual deliberation the American distrust of the continental method. "We have covenanted," he said, "with other civilised nations, not only to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, but also we have agreed that we shall settle all controver-

sies by pacific means. But the machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes among nations is as yet inadequate. We are interested in all methods that can be devised to assure the settlement of all controversies between nations. There are to-day two roads to that end. The European nations have, by the Covenant of the League of Nations, agreed that if nations fail to settle their differences peaceably, then force should be applied by other nations to compel them to be reasonable. We have refused to travel this road. We are confident that, at least in the Western Hemisphere, public opinion will suffice to check violence. This is the road we propose to travel. What we urgently need in this direction is a further development of methods for the reference of unsettled controversies to joint inquiry by the parties, assisted by friendly nations, in order that action may be stayed and that the aggressor may be subjected to the searchlight of public opinion."

General Smuts spoke before Mr. Hoover, but he showed how the two roads discerned by Mr. Hoover could be made to converge into one main channel of peace. "The Peace Pact," he said, "gave the necessary opening. For a war outlaw under the Peace Pact would in most cases be identical with an aggressor who flouted a unanimous decision of the League, and was on that account placed under the economic boycott of Article 16; and if the United States could not supply the war outlaw under the Peace Pact, neither could it supply the declared aggressor under the Covenant; any peace breaker would be covered by both schemes. The carrying out of the Peace Pact to its logical conclusions would, therefore, mean that the economic sanction under Article 16 of the Covenant could be applied with the co-operation of the United States; and the working of the Covenant according to its original plan would at last become possible, which it has not been since the United States stood aside from the League. In a very real sense, the Peace Pact thus became the fulfilment of the Covenant. But a supplementary convention would be necessary to remove all doubt by declaring the full and true intention of the Peace Pact. The United States need not be asked to join the League, for which it was mainly and primarily responsible. Its action would always be independent of the decisions of the League under the Covenant, but the effect would be the same, as the Covenant and the Pact would in this respect lead to the same result. The United States need not become entangled in the affairs of the League, but the operation of the Peace Pact would mean a close co-operation by the United States from its free and independent position; and for all practical purposes that would be quite enough."

November 15th, 1929.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

No. 339.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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LORD LANSDOWNE.*

Lord Newton has compressed into a single well-printed volume a record of distinguished public service which might have tempted other pens to an infinity of detail. For half a century the Whig Peer who became a Minister at 23, and who occupied successively four of the highest posts in the Empire, was a pillar of the State, and for five crowded years a maker of history. In this biography, no less than in his classical volumes on Lord Lyons, Lord Newton enriches his pages with personal memories of the men and events he describes. As all the world knows, he is an Independent Conservative who has never feared to express his opinions in the House of Lords and elsewhere, and he makes no effort to conceal them in his latest work. Lord Lansdowne could not have wished for a more sympathetic chronicler of his long and honourable career.

Lansdowne lost his father at an early age, and, like Rosebery, missed the bracing experience of the House of Commons. All doors were open to the clever and hard-working nobleman who had passed through the hands of Jowett; and though he resigned his post in the Gladstone Ministry in 1881, owing to disapproval of the Irish land bill, he was shortly afterwards offered the Governor-Generalship of Canada by the Liberal Premier. His five years in Canada, immediately followed by a similar term as Viceroy of India, were filled with useful but relatively unexciting labours, and

* *The Life of Lord Lansdowne.* By Lord Newton. Macmillan. 25s.
VOL. CXXXVI

his biographer rightly devotes no more than a single chapter to each. The real interest of the volume as a contribution to history begins with his appointment to the War Office in 1895 at the age of 50. Those of us who recall the unmeasured attacks on the Minister of War when the disasters in South Africa revealed the weaknesses of our military organisation will read with interest Lord Newton's vigorous defence of this period of his career. His services as the first real army reformer since Cardwell are described in detail, and it is clear that no War Minister could have guaranteed success for the troops who had the misfortune to be led by the incompetent Buller.

The exchange in 1900 from the War Office to the Foreign Office was infinitely welcome to Lansdowne, who described the next five years as the most interesting of his life. They were also by far the most important; for in this brief period Great Britain abandoned her traditional policy of "splendid isolation" and entered on a new path of Continental and Asiatic commitments. The cause of this momentous departure was, of course, the growing conviction that in a world of ever-increasing armaments it was becoming more and more dangerous to stand alone. Thus, when Japan offered us her hand in 1901, we readily responded; and when Delcassé in 1903 sought our co-operation for the task of securing French predominance in Morocco we again accepted the invitation. The negotiations leading up to the treaties of 1902 and 1905 with Japan and of 1904 with France have been revealed in the volumes entitled *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, edited by Gooch and Temperley, from which Lord Newton freely quotes; and, indeed, he has not very much to add from the private papers at his disposal. It is scarcely necessary to say that he has found no trace of the promise of armed assistance and the offer of an alliance in 1905 which still figure in French and German books, and for the reality of which no evidence is to be found in the archives of the Foreign Office. That Lansdowne performed his difficult task with exceptional skill is incontestable, and few instructed readers will pronounce the eulogies of his biographer to be excessive.

The most novel portion of the volume is that which describes the years in which Lansdowne led the Opposition in the House of Lords from 1905 to 1914, and the exciting story of the Veto crisis has never been told so authoritatively and in such detail. Our judgment of his conduct during this decade of constitutional controversy will naturally depend on our party affiliations. Lord Newton thinks that the rejection of the Budget of 1909 was a tactical error; that the decision of the leaders of the Conservative Party not to oppose the Veto Bill in 1911 was wise; and that the stubborn refusal of the Upper House to reform itself, as repeatedly

urged by Rosebery and by Lord Newton himself, was a costly mistake. In these verdicts he will carry men of all parties with him. Liberal readers cannot, of course, expect much understanding of the exasperation caused at the time by the persistent wrecking of a large part of the work of their party; for while the Unionists held the Liberals responsible for the continual friction, the latter complained that the legislation of a Liberal House of Commons, however great its majority and however recent its mandate, never received fair play at the hands of the hereditary chamber.

On the outbreak of war Lansdowne was taken into the counsels of the Cabinet, and in 1915 he became a Minister in the First Coalition. We now know that on the eve of its fall at the end of 1916 he circulated to his colleagues a memorandum urging the revision of war aims with a view to terminate the struggle before Europe became a heap of ashes. This weighty memorandum, which has been held to be one of the causes of the fall of the Coalition, was virtually identical with the famous letter which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* on November 29th, 1917. The chapter devoted to this memorable pronouncement, which echoed round the world, is one of the most interesting in the book. We now learn that it was only published after Mr. Balfour, at that time Foreign Secretary, had deprecated a peace debate in Parliament, and that the letter was approved by many leading men who refrained from expressing their approval in public. Lord Newton is in full sympathy with his friend and leader in this highly controversial episode; but he regrets that it was published too late. The end of 1916 or the beginning of 1917, he believes, would have offered a more favourable opportunity of a negotiated peace. Lansdowne's political career ended with the return of peace; but we get some pleasant glimpses of a peaceful old age. The biographer rarely lifts the veil which hides the innermost life; yet we see enough to realise that he was as exemplary in his private relations as in the graver affairs of State.

* * *

REUNION.*

Sir James Marchant has rendered a great service to those who are interested in the Reunion of Christendom by producing a volume with this title, in which the existing position is surveyed. Every leading point of view is brought out by representative writers within a small compass and with remarkable clearness of statement.

* (1) *The Reunion of Christendom, a Survey of the Present Position*. Edited by Sir James Marchant, K.B.E., LL.D. Cassell. 7s. 6d. net.
(2) *Methodism in the Modern World*. Edited by J. Scott Lidgett, M.A., D.D., and Bryan H. Reed, B.D. The Epworth Press. 6s. net.

Cardinal Bourne writes from the Roman Catholic point of view, and Archbishop Germanos from that of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Dr. Dibelius and Archbishop Söderblom present the position from the standpoint of the Protestant Churches of the Continent of Europe. English opinion is represented by the Bishop of Winchester, who deals with the question from the Anglican, and by Dr. Garvie and Dr. Scott Lidgett from the Free Church point of view. An account is given of Church Union in Scotland by Dr. Alexander Martin who, prior to the recently consummated union, was Moderator of the United Free Church of Scotland. The respective positions of the Protestant Churches in the United States are described by Dr. William T. Manning, Bishop of New York, and Professor William Adams Brown of the Union Theological Seminary, New York. An account is given of the United Church of Canada by Dr. Albert Moore, Secretary of the General Council of the United Church, and of the Anglican Church in India by Bishop Azariah. The volume closes with "A Vision of the Reunited Church," by Dr. Orchard.

It cannot be said that the positions described or the views expressed by the several writers are calculated to encourage any sanguine expectation of the early achievement of the great result which most of the writers ardently desire. The differences of principle and organisation set forth are too deep and are too tenaciously held for any such consummation to be attainable in the near future. Almost all the writers desire reunion, but most of them are only prepared for it upon their own terms, with concessions that scarcely touch the heart of the difficulties to be overcome. It is well that all these obstacles should be clearly brought to light and that there should be given at the same time encouraging accounts of the unions that have either been brought about, or are impending, between Churches where no substantial differences either of doctrine or of Church Order exist. The general conclusion to be drawn appears to be twofold. In the first place, the ideal of reunion will continue in an increasing measure to shape the thoughts and desires of all the Churches, enlarging the sphere of fellowship and co-operation between them. In the second place, the policy for the moment must be to promote unions between kindred Churches, thus doing away with separations, the causes of which are obsolete, and gathering both material and momentum for dealing eventually with divisions that must, for the time being, remain.

In view of the impending union of the Wesleyan Methodist, Primitive Methodist, and United Methodist Churches of Great Britain, it has been felt desirable to bring together a series of essays by representative leaders of thought in the three Churches

dealing with the Rise and Progress, the Message and Mission of Methodism under the title *Methodism in the Modern World*. Neither sentiment nor practical advantages are sufficient for the reunion of Churches. There must be community of Faith, agreement as to the fundamental principles of order, and a common outlook upon the religious situation at the present time and the task in regard to it that is committed to the Christian Church. The volume entitled *Methodism in the Modern World* is a convincing demonstration that these agreements exist throughout the Methodist denominations, and its appearance should do much to strengthen the mutual confidence without which reunion cannot be successful. The subjects treated are introduced by an article on the Rise and Progress of Methodism, by Dr. William T. A. Barber. Part I, which deals with the Message of Methodism, contains chapters on God and Man, The Person of Our Lord Jesus Christ, The Atonement, The Work of the Holy Spirit, Religious Experience, and The Church. Part II, which deals with the Mission of Methodism, contains articles on Methodist Evangelism, Methodism and Modern Society, Methodism and The World Missionary Task, Methodism and Modern Youth, and Methodism To-day and To-morrow. All these subjects are treated by writers of high standing in the three denominations. They furnish sufficient evidence of both community and continuity of belief throughout the entire Church. The volume is not only of importance to Methodists, but is of interest to all those who seek to know about the origin, the beliefs, and the ideals of a spiritual and evangelical movement which has had such far-reaching influence—religious, moral, and social—upon the English-speaking world.

J. S. L.

* * *

THE POET LAUREATE'S NEW POEM.*

The Poet Laureate's noble poem—for it is impossible to use a lesser term—entitled *The Testament of Beauty*, has many sides, and boldly faces the troubles of thinking men and women who, longing for what is best in life, realise the unabashed presence of what is worst, who, longing for some certainty in the scheme of things, are aware, or think that they are aware, of eternal uncertainties. There are myriads who cry with Fitzgerald's Omar:

Ah love! could thou and I with Fate conspire
To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire!
Would we not shatter it to bits—and then
Re-mould it nearer to the Heart's Desire?

* *The Testament of Beauty: a Poem in Four Books.* By Robert Bridges, Poet Laureate. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Bridges has no such thought. In his eclectic work he brings before the student the wholeness of the Universe, often in the very words of Aristotle and Plato, of Dante, of their schools, of Chaucer, of modern science. And yet there is something of Omar in it all, not Omar the Hedonist, but Omar the Thinker :

Surely not in vain
My substance from the common Earth was ta'en,
That He who subtly wrought me into shape
Should stamp me back to common Earth again.

Mr. Bridges does not think the scheme of things is a sorry scheme, but he makes it clear enough that the moulding of it is in man's hands; that men are not automata, but are workers together with the Maker in fashioning new eternities. The eternal order is there, and men by Reason can formulate the order. But there is something other in Man, Man who has a personality which is not the personality of any other man, than this purely intellectual power. The brain will go to the dust with the rest of the body in so far as it has not contributed to "Being higher than animal life," being knit to conscience to make everlasting life. The something other in man than pure Reason is Beauty and its manifestations :

for every Essence hath its own Idea, and so
cometh thereby to its own full conscient life in man :
for-sure the idea of Beauty is not Reason's idea,
nor hath Reason the idea of Courage or of Mirth,
of Faith or Love or Poetry or of Music's delight.

What then is the dispensation or Testament of Beauty? In good Master Robert Henryson's *Testament of Creyside*, written four and a half centuries ago, we have a testament of earthly beauty, the beauty of the flesh, foul when most beautiful and only beautiful when beauty is swallowed in tragedy. That form of Beauty, form divorced from the eternal moralities, is not the eternal thing, though it may be the eternal tragedy. Yet Beauty is knit close to earthly love and earthly vision :

What is Beauty? saith my sufferings then.—I answer
the lover and poet in my loose alexandrines :
Beauty is the highest of all these occult influences,
the quality of appearances that thru' the sense
wakeneth spiritual emotion in the mind of man :
And Art, as it createth new forms of beauty,
awakeneth new ideas that advance the spirit
in the life of Reason to the wisdom of God.

The first of the four books treats of Man in his relation to Nature, Man a reasonable creature with heights and depths enough, and Nature a creature beyond Man's reasonableness, but having community in that Man too possesses something beyond reason :

This quarrel and dissatisfaction of man with Nature
springeth of a vision which beareth assurance
of the diviner principle implicit in Life :
And mystic Vision may so wholly absorb a man
that he will loathe ev'n pleasure, mortifying the flesh
by disciplin of discomfort so as to strengthen his faith.

The poet traces the evolution of mankind, traces too the evolution of new orders of beauty, bringing the student to Jesus and his gentleness who, in few years, founded a world-empire, an empire not founded in the name of reason, and yet eternal :

He preach'd once to the herd, but now calleth the wise,
and shall in his second Advent, that tarried long,
be glorified by the Greeks that come to the feast.

In the second book, called *Self-hood*, the poet compares the lesser broods of nature, bees and ants, when Nature "withheld from the life the gift of Motherhood" with Man, and concludes that Man, with his "conscient Reason the channel of man's spiritual joy," is happier at his unhappiest than these. And yet Faith and not "revel of knowledge" enables Man to climb the heavenward way. Man in his self-consciousness is capable of deeps of spiritual misery that the hive knows not. The Poet, the maker, presents personality and knows the tragedy of it. But Reason leads on to Beauty, to the sphere where "material appearances engage the soul's depth." So the question arises, what is Beauty? The first answer is given in this book of *Self-hood*. But Reason has not the full control of *Self-hood*. War and Pestilence are the negation of Reason, and yet Reason is infected, and the poet says that in the first jubilant days of armistice his spirit felt a profounder fear "than ever it knew in all the War's darkest dismay." His prophetic soul was justified for a little, and yet what could the peoples do except go mad with the prospects of peace? Ten brief years of peace, mad peace if the phrase may be allowed, has led to the prospects of the cessation of private war.

The third book tells of Breed. It has a bitter note that is not observable in the rest of the work. Was it worth while to attack city companies at their feasts and tell us—

One dinner's cost would ease a whole bye-street of want,
its broken meats outpace Christ's thrifty miracle,
or to attack the Epicure for dining in expensive and delicate fashion
and to depict the day—

When he retireth with stomach Emeritus
to ruminate the best devour'd moments of life?

The only point of these passages is to give an excellent if bitter description of a really good dinner, the assumption being that a

Christian cannot justly enjoy a first-class dinner. That seems absurd. Christ was not above dining with the great, and he certainly took wine. A man can have a good dinner and be still a good Christian, and it has been said that a good judge of port must be a good man, since it requires so many qualities. No doubt Mr. Bridges would admit this, since a moderately good dinner is to him no more censurable than "the fine linen of Ulysses and the brooch that Penelope gave him." It is "the æsthetic of food" to which the Poet Laureate objects, and that is so rare to-day that it is not worth the space given to it. The true argument is that "Breed is to the race as Self-hood is to the individual," and the poet goes on to discuss the problems of sex and the love that the fact of sex calls forth. He commends Shakespeare for giving the Soul the first place in human love, the Body the second place, and the third place Intelligence. Motherhood is for the woman the deepest purpose of love. He thinks (wrongly) that the masculine intellect outreaches the woman's range. The attack on Sappho which follows this passage is unnecessary and quite unfounded, as Dr. Mackail has shown. It is refreshing to pass to the troubadours and the poets of love, who were not "hucksters of song who tuned their pipes for fee," to go on to the doctrine that true marriage is not mere impulse of sex, and to the correlative doctrine that—

how that in man's eternal quest of happiness,
contempt of fleshly pleasur is as near to his spirit
as is the love of it to his animal nature.

So we reach "Mankind's Love of Beauty" and "the Beauty of Truth." Cressida is outlawed—how so beautiful she be.

The last book, "Ethick," gives the conclusion of the whole matter. The Testament of Beauty involves the eternal "Must" and "Ought." The poet shows, in magnificent verse, the fact that the defiance of "Ought" persists, has survived from timeless times to the present day when slums and evil industry prevail. But surely it should have been said that Man is to-day, at any rate, trying to work out the means to answer the imperative "Ought" of life. Mr. Bridges' remedy for all such contempts of doubtful things is education. But if Man reaches the height that education, reason, the love of beauty, can give him, what then? Man is a "spiritual animal," and Prayer is his spiritual means of subsistence which "foldeth the sheep in pastures of eternal life." The Communion of Saints is implicit in prayer, and friendship is also implicit, and especially the friendship with Jesus Christ, who talketh still as on the road to Emmaus. In these things there is eternal loveliness, and men in that range of things beyond the mere funnel of reason become united eternally to God, "One Eternal in the love of Beauty and in the self-hood of Love." Thomas à Kempis thought

these thoughts in his simple way, and it is a privilege to hear the voice of a modern prophet and poet singing again, with all full knowledge of human thought, the theme of the *De Imitatione Christi*.
J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.*

The British Dominions are much in the public mind at present, both in the United Kingdom and in the Empire oversea. India, which has not yet acquired the full status of a Dominion, has apparently been definitely promised that that status is the goal of English statesmen. It is true that many difficulties exist, since India is still for the most part illiterate, and while England is being threatened with revolt by small groups of irreconcilables she is not likely to make haste in reaching the goal. Threats are not likely to impress the authorities whether in India or at home. There is, moreover, the position of the Protected States to be considered. The full status of a Dominion could not exist unless the States join in on terms. These are the main difficulties, but with patience they will be overcome.

Then again General Smuts, in his notable Oxford Rhodes Lectures, sees in a not too distant future another Dominion gradually emerging, the Dominion of Central Africa. It would not, moreover, require a prophet to see some time in the century the emergence of a Dominion of West Africa, a potential Dominion which in some ways recalls the position of India, since the Emirs of Nigeria have a standing not altogether dissimilar to the Princes of India. Professor Berriedale Keith does not in his most recent book deal at all with these embryonic Dominions, but wisely limits his scope to the actual Dominions of full growth, though he makes some references to the status of India.

The aim of the book is "to consider, without undue detail or technicality, the growth of the sovereignty of the Dominions and its present extent, as well as the limitations to which it is subject." To the purist the word "sovereignty" is ill-chosen, since the word has a technical meaning which cannot attach to Dominions that merely exercise, in law at any rate, delegation of sovereignty. It is admitted that in the present state of the Constitution of the Empire a Dominion could not sever its connection with the Empire without the consent of the King in Parliament. The Imperial Parliament would have to consent, and in fact it could hardly consent unless with the consent of the other Dominions given in Imperial Conference. No doubt, in practice, if one of the great Dominions

* *The Sovereignty of the British Dominions.* By Arthur Berriedale Keith. Macmillan. 18s. net.

seriously thought of severing the Imperial link it could do so, but there is, to use a phrase of Robert Browning's, a "decency required" in the forms and ceremonies of the greatest Empire that has ever existed.

But there is no sign, even in South Africa, that severance is contemplated by the great majority of the population. The United Kingdom is as necessary to the Dominions as the Dominions are to it. The central force of the great Commonwealth enables its parts to carry out in peace developments in economics and in constitutional methods which would be sadly delayed if the Commonwealth were broken up. Moreover, the great goal in front of all the Dominions, including the Motherland, is a co-operative union making for world peace. "I am for the Empire," said Mr. Hughes on March 22nd, 1927. "I am for the Empire, because I know of no other way of being for Australia."

There is equality of status, and has been at any rate from 1917, between the United Kingdom and the self-governing Dominions. That was made clear by Lord Balfour's Committee in 1926. But, said that report,

the principle of equality and similarity appropriate to status do not universally extend to function. Here we require something more than immutable dogmas. For example, to deal with questions of diplomacy and questions of defence, we require also flexible machinery—machinery which can from time to time be adapted to the changing circumstances of the world.

The Imperial Conference of 1926 (which appointed the Committee) did not really go further than the Imperial War Conference of 1917, which defined an Imperial Commonwealth, and the Imperial Conference of 1921, which adopted the principles laid down in 1917. The Conference of 1926 left the same impression in the Dominions as in the United Kingdom, the impression felt by General Smuts and Sir Robert Borden that the Conference "had served rather to place in a clear light existing relations than to alter vitally the Constitution of the Empire." Lord Balfour's Committee stated specifically that

nothing would be gained by attempting to lay down a Constitution for the British Empire. Its widely scattered parts have very different characteristics, very different histories, and are at very different stages of evolution; while, considered as a whole, political organisation which now exists or has ever yet been tried.

If that is so, the only thing to do is to let this great strange constitutional plant grow, but it certainly can be helped in its growth by the clearing up, through Imperial legislation, of many comparatively small difficulties that may in time grow into great diffi-

culties—difficulties as to judicial appeals, as to Admiralty jurisdiction, as to many constitutional questions that have arisen. Moreover, admitting, as does Professor Keith that legislation is necessary on some questions, there is (as he clearly sees) something even more necessary. The League of Nations in ten years has created more or less efficient machinery for the purposes of the League. In the same time we should have created, as was recommended by the Imperial War Conference in 1917, a thoroughly efficient and swift means of communication between the Dominions and the United Kingdom. There is nothing in our Commonwealth to equal the Secretariat of the League. The first necessity of our time is to create a functional relationship between all parts of the Empire that will act swiftly and almost automatically in the face of any and every Imperial emergency.

J. E. G. DE M.

OLD DEPTFORD.*

It is well that these tales should be told, for more than half the world is ignorant of how the other half lives, and these stories give an insight into the conditions which were once characteristic of Deptford, but which, thanks to Miss Octavia Hill's efforts, have fortunately ceased to exist. The author of this book has now completed her account of the Settlement in Deptford, but most of it was written in Miss Hill's lifetime. She indeed wrote a preface of appreciation of Miss Ellen Chase's attempt to bring before the public the conditions which existed before Miss Hill had started her Settlement in that district; and after.

As is well known, Miss Octavia Hill bought up slum areas, and this gave her power as a landlord over the tenants, since she was not hampered, as at present, by the Rent Restriction Act. She gathered round her helpers who acted as rent collectors, and she would only take on tenants from whom she required and obtained some reliable reference; this alone was a difficulty, but as time went on, and the slums were cleansed and made habitable, the tenants began to see that it was to their advantage to have Miss Hill as their landlady. The rent had to be paid weekly, and they were made clearly to understand that if it were not forthcoming they would be evicted by order of the Court. Consideration was meted out to those whose inability to pay was caused by illness or other misfortune. It was the collector's work to find out the circumstances which caused the non-payment. If money was squandered on drink, eviction followed, and Miss Chase gives some amusing illustrations of these "puttings out" which almost equal Irish

* *Tenant Friends in Old Deptford.* By Ellen Chase. Williams & Norgate. 7s. 6d. net.

evictions. There are many pathetic stories of real illness, poverty, and death. Little time was left for mourning, life rapidly succeeded to death, and ever the next excitement was the new baby coming to town. Mother-love seldom or never fails in these poor quarters, and often puts to shame the well-to-do. A shawl or a blanket, even when the winds blow and coal is dear and scant, is pawned to pay the rent, or the doctor. The ungrudged help and kindness to a neighbour in distress, notwithstanding a previous "unpleasantness" which gets forgotten in the hour of need, sets an example which the better-off would do well to follow. Miss Chase lights up her story of the tenants with many humorous incidents that make the reader realise that even to-day—the day of better things—Charles Dickens's characters are still among us, not posing for films or ridiculed on the music halls, but living the everyday life of the workers and toilers of our cities.

The drink question is as ever the difficulty. In these poor homes love, the harbinger of cheerfulness, is needed to take its place. Drink is the ruin of self-respect; and when that goes, there is but poor chance of recovery. Only the love which reflects the love of God, as shown by Miss Octavia Hill and her helpers, and good legislation, can remedy this evil all too prevalent in our midst. Even to-day, when statistics show that drunkenness is outwardly on the decline, secret drinking, amongst women especially, is on the increase. Miss Chase's book should be widely read by those who are striving for the mastery in slum areas. Her "Notes on Home Management" are especially useful to anyone embarking on Settlement work. That work is essential, since the problems of poverty can best be understood and solved by those who live side by side with these problems of home life.

S. DE M.

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THE TALE OF BEATRICE THE NUN.*

The fourth volume of "The Dutch Library," *The Tale of Beatrice*,* translated from the Middle Dutch by Dr. P. Geyl, Professor of Dutch History and Institutions in the University of London, makes as delightful reading as its predecessors. Written by an unknown Fleming in, it is thought, the early-part of the fourteenth century, the poem has all the simplicity of the mediæval times from which it sprang, coupled with the outspokenness of the present day. The theme is the story of a nun, the vergeress of a convent famous for its good name, who fled from the convent with the man whom she had loved and who had loved her since "their twelfth year"; then of her life for the next fourteen years

* Martinus Nijhoff, Publisher, The Hague. 3s. 6d.

and her subsequent return to the neighbourhood of the convent with her two children, full of repentance for her past, where she finds that she has never been missed, since the Virgin Mary (to whom she had not ceased to pray each day) had taken her likeness and worked in the convent since her flight, and now in a dream she is told to return to the convent as she left it; she goes and trusts to the Virgin Mary to befriend her children. Eventually she confesses her past life to the good old abbot who visited the convent yearly

... To be informed and to make sure
That no scandal had taken place
Which might the nun's good name deface.

He absolved and pardoned her in the name of God, but said that he would make her confession and the miracle known to the world, though suppressing names, for he said:

And I hope that many sinful hearts
May yet be converted by its appeal
And honour our Lady with burning zeal.

The children, for the sake of the Virgin Mary, he took away from the widow's house where they had been left by the nun, and

He made them don grey habit and hood,
And they grew to be pious men and good.

Perhaps the real charm of the poem lies, not so much in the actual theme, as in its treatment; the author never wastes words, every line is to the point, and he gives vivid descriptions which lose nothing for their brevity; as, for instance, the account of how and where the lovers conversed before their flight:

At the little window that was barred
With iron cross-bars, strong and hard,
Did these two lovers converse hold.
They sighed full many times untold,
Where he sat without and she within,
Their hearts caught fast in Love's strong gin.

Another delight of the poem is the freshness and simplicity of the little nun, Beatrice; she was evidently quite young, having been in the convent for only two years or so before her flight; but even in that length of time the learning of the habits and manners of a nun had not cured her of a childlike frankness in her dealings with God, the Virgin Mary, or with man; as, for example, when she ends a short prayer to God asking for comfort from the wounds of love with the words:

... He knows weakness will make me stray.
Alas, this life I must resign
And here lay down this habit of mine.

Throughout it is a very human poem, with many small allusions to the life of the times in which it was written; and the actual

legend itself is one of the most popular of those in which "The veneration of Mary, characteristic of the religion of the period, gave rise to hundreds of miracle stories in which she appears as the benefactress of mankind." The style of the poem is slightly akin to some of the work of the English poet Gower, who was writing at a little later period than this unknown Flemish poet. *The Tale of Beatrice* has no flavour of translation about it, and Dr. Geyl is to be congratulated on giving us an English edition of so fine a mediæval poem.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

*A Dickens Dictionary** was originally published in 1908 and was a work of real value in which the author, Mr. Alexander J. Philip, strove in a dictionary form to make the figures created by the great novelist so live that the reader is carried to the text. This work, after twenty years of usefulness, has been reissued, and the fact is justified, since Charles Dickens is more and more becoming one of the greatest English classics and has not been obscured by the passing fame of this or that popular writer. Mr. Philip claimed in 1908, and the claim is still more justified to-day, that Dickens is on the same plane and of the same class as Shakespeare. He was, Mr. Philip wrote, an "intentional" genius, a genius who deliberately chose the novel-form of art as the means by which he could amuse and interest not a clique, not literary critics, but the whole people. "And he is not only a great artist but a bold man who will dare to throw down the gauntlet to posterity in the firm faith that no matter how much the dogs may snarl and snap in the arena the work of his genius will endure." The comparison with Shakespeare may be pressed too far, since the Elizabethan had a sense of form and perfect artistry, and in most cases taste, that Dickens lacks in many or most cases. Both men were terrific forces that almost controlled their generation, and that is the main point in common. It is true that it was not only their own generations that they controlled, since human nature is independent of dress and local mannerisms. Shakespeare and Dickens went to the souls of men and women, and revealed their reality. But Shakespeare is the better sculptor. He knew how to depict without the aid of caricature, though he knew also the art of the caricaturist. It would be better to compare Dickens to another man of the same class, the immortal Cervantes, who uses the very manner and methods of Dickens, and uses them in prose. The new edition is separated (wisely) into two parts, the dictionary section which is wholly excellent, and the identification section compiled afresh with wisdom and knowledge by Lieutenant-Colonel W. Laurence Gadd, V.D. These problems of identification of persons and places are very interesting, especially as Mr. Philip thinks that the processes of Dickens's mind were not of a prodigious memory, amalgamating many realities.

* Simpkin, Marshall. 21s. net.

As the years go by the British Army relies more and more upon mechanised forms of transport and attack in war. This is the main feature in the policy and progress of the Army. It is therefore both interesting and important to understand the work of the Royal Tank Corps in the late war. A volume entitled *Fighting Tanks** has just been published giving an account of the Corps in action, 1916-19. It is a book which does not pretend to be technical, but rather aims at giving the layman a true picture of the place taken by the Tanks in the actual fighting. The book is compiled by a number of officers and N.C.O.'s of the Corps who were able to place on record the achievements and disappointments of this mechanised arm which was so suspiciously regarded at first by the other units in the Army. The position of the Tank Corps, before it gained recognition as a necessary and invaluable instrument of attack, was very difficult. It began as an experiment and as such was not welcomed. Moreover, its personnel had, at first, little connection with or knowledge of the ordinary soldier and his tactics. The members of the Corps were generally men taken straight from civil life who were inclined to be intolerant of red tape and eager to prove the ability of their machines. A Corps which had no tradition behind it, and whose work was only in the experimental stage, demanded an exceptionally able commander and an equally keen and efficient personnel. The appointment of Sir Hugh Elles to the command of the Tank Corps was an ideal choice; for by his example and courage, resourcefulness and indomitable determination, he overcame all opposition at home and imbued his own men with the enthusiasm which breeds success. "Elles realised at once that the man behind the gun counts most when he has confidence in his gun as well as himself. He had a real faith in the fighting values of Tanks and he made his whole Corps share it. 'The strongest element in Tank success was the personnel's faith in their weapon' was his summary in 1919." The failure of the Tanks at Passchendaele was never allowed to destroy the morale and confidence of the force. It made the members of the Corps more eager to show that given a suitable opportunity, under proper conditions, the Tank could be a decisive weapon. At Cambrai the Corps demonstrated this effectiveness to such a degree that the criticism levelled by critics, "who would damn in advance anything threatening a radical change in the rules of the war game," was finally silenced. The tremendous achievement of the Corps was fully recognised by Earl Haig when he wrote that the work of the essential units "would have fallen short of the full measure of success . . . had it not been for the very gallant and devoted work of the Tank Corps under the command of Major-General H. J. Elles." Those who read *Fighting Tanks* will understand their value and the heroic work they did in the cause of the Allies.

* The new volume of the Economic and Social History of the World War, published by the Oxford University Press for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is by Dr. N. B. Dearle, and consists of *An Economic Chronicle of the Great War for Great Britain and Ireland, 1914-1919*, with a supplement dealing briefly with

* Seely Service & Co. Ltd. 12s. 6d.

the years 1920, 1921, and 1922.* The work was undertaken at the instance of Sir William Beveridge. The chief economic movements and events of the Great War in Great Britain and Ireland could not be, of course, limited to the period of the actual fighting, though, as Dr. Dearle says, post-war reconstruction and the turn-over from war to peace conditions "must for many purposes be regarded as part of the War." The period actually treated in the full economic chronicle is from August 1st, 1914, to the end of 1919, while the chief economic events of 1920-22 are chronicled more briefly "as showing the chief post-war influences." Many of the events are international, but in the last two years of the chronicle many international events, necessarily recorded elsewhere, are omitted. In so far as possible events are chronicled under actual days, but sometimes this is impossible and a monthly record is given. The volume is a laborious and very valuable piece of work.

* * *

In *The Problem of Time: an Historical and Critical Study*† Professor J. Alexander Gunn, of the University of Melbourne, asserts that the conception of the nature of Time is a matter of metaphysics, though he admits that there are conflicting tendencies presented in the physical and psychological views of Time. The physical view is, of course, an objective view, and it is rather startling to find this view ruled out in favour of speculations that are largely subjective. Professor Gunn, however, says that "the Theory of Relativity does not destroy the unity of time of which Kant spoke. The destruction of a substantial or Absolute view of time only increases our belief in the functional unity of all multiple or local times." Professor Eddington's view of Time in his recent work should be compared with this view. Professor Gunn considers that "Time is a real feature within the Universe. Time does not create Events, but Events create Time. Being is creative of Events and therefore of Time. The Whole itself (and the values associated with it which are true at any time) is not in Time, and we must regard it, in this sense, as timeless." But what is this Whole? The physical universe seems to be symbolic of something which is unknowable except in the subjective sense.

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Miss Clemence Dane has compressed the story of a lifetime into a single minute.‡ The King waits! The Swordsman waits! Anne, the Queen waits, *unafraid*. The Past, the Present, the Future roll before this fearless woman as a panorama, ending with a prophetic vision of her kingly issue—for which all else was sacrificed—ruling the country which gave her birth, and Anne Boleyn's dauntless spirit knew it was worth while. The author looks into the heart of Anne Boleyn, and construes her thought. Fearless to the end she demands a minute's respite, mesmerising her audience, her waiting-women, her enemies, even her executioner, with a coquetry which was ever at her call. He obeys her request, one minute! a thirty years' history, like the vision said to be accorded to a drowning man, conquers time and sets the film for future ages. Miss Dane, in this brochure of

* Oxford University Press. 15s. net.

† George Allen & Unwin. 16s. net.

‡ *The King Waits*. By Clemence Dane. William Heinemann Ltd. 1s.

two and twenty pages, has caught the spirit of that time, and gives us, not only the story of a brave woman, but the sorry tale of a king—almost a fairy tale—who was great in many ways, who wrought much good for his country of which we to-day are reaping the benefit; but who in the unchecked passion of his later life dimmed the glory of his reign for all time.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Professor E. de Selincourt's inaugural lecture "On Poetry,"* delivered before the University of Oxford on March 1st, 1929, is not only a brilliant literary performance, but goes to the very root of the method of poetry and its limitless range from the deepest thoughts of man to the "irresponsible gaiety" of the human spirit. It is not necessarily or even essentially mystic. "What the poet communicates in his poem, is just what the poem says." It is "a living experience transmitted by imagination" and, therefore, "by its very nature can only find voice in terms of beauty." The poet's use of words "is really only an extension of the natural power inherent in language. . . . If, then, the poet's words convey to us a transcendental feeling, over and above their logical significance, it is because the poet had that feeling and consciously expresses it." The essentially poetic quality of a poem is not to be sought "in an alliance with music, nor an alliance with prayer, but in the perfect rightness of its language to convey a passionately felt experience." A poet may be a critic or, at any rate, an interpreter of life, but essentially "vision, not interpretation, that is poetry." Matthew Arnold, the poet, would hardly have denied this.

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Mr. Hugh Walpole has a great reputation as a novelist; so much so that those members of the general public who feel unable to buy early editions of the works of our chief novelists, will welcome gladly the addition of "Fortitude"† to Messrs. Macmillan's "Two Shilling Series." "Fortitude" is a work of power and of real interest; it both attracts and repels at the same time; attracts because of the amazingly real character drawing, and yet repels on account of the continual appearance of the devil of cruelty in one form or another, which is rarely true to life, though Shakespeare's Iago shows that the greatest masters of fiction believed it to be a possible phase of human life. But if novels are a reflection of contemporary life, foreigners and future generations will be surprised at the general unpleasantness of English schools portrayed in various modern novels. "Dawsons," the school in "Fortitude," makes the reader wonder how the modern English gentleman evolved, as obviously his school as depicted in these novels was likely to retard it.

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"Scattered Leaves"‡ is a little volume of poems and songs. The author, Lady A. E. Wood, has arranged her work into four parts, the first of which is entitled "Songs of a Glad Heart." A very

* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 2s. net.

† Macmillan. 2s. net.

‡ *Scattered Leaves*. By Lady A. E. Wood. Elkin Mathews. Price 3s. 6d.

great charm is to be found in these verses, especially in "A Child's Song." The author here shows the true child's mind regarding fairies:

I've never seen the fairies,
But, when the moon is low,
I've heard them chuckling in the shade
Where big white daisies grow.

The second part, a "Medley of Songs," is inclined to be mystical, and the poems are mainly of the past and are rather more serious in subject than in Part I. "The Beggar's Song" gives the reader a very good idea of the hardships in the East:

And every field near Bethlehem
Shines like the mantle of a king . . .
But in the dust the beggars lie
With wounds that bleed and sores that run . . .
And there is none to heed their cry.

"Songs of Farewell" are beautiful, and full of mystic thoughts. "Songs of Sleep," unfortunately, are very short. The last poem but one, "The Dream" ("Pale Ghosts that waver where the lilies blow"), makes the reader think of Keats' famous ballad "La Belle Dame sans Merci." However, "The Dream" has neither the subject matter nor the power of Keats.

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Mr. T. B. Lewis in his book on the "Meditations of a Cotton Spinner" says that "the truthful account of the adventures of a human soul" and a record of "emotions vividly and strongly felt," will have value. Various of these carefully-wrought poems are of personal value in this way. The majority of his poems go farther afield, and embrace a large variety of subjects such as "Queen Victoria's Jubilee," "His Great Grandfather's Clock," "A Real League of Nations," "Christmas," "Stocktaking," "The Old Weaver." All of these subjects and others are described with true sincerity and much thought. Those dealing with the industrial north—"The Old Weaver"—show interesting reminiscences. The book, which opens with a sketch by Sir Charles Holmes of a factory scene with a grey poetry of its own, closes with some excellent translations from the Greek Anthology which deserve very careful consideration.

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"Walter Rathenau, His Life and Work,"† by Count Harry Kessler, is a carefully revised English version of a book which was reviewed in these pages on its publication in 1928. No student of modern Germany should neglect this very striking presentation of one of the most original and many-sided figures of our time. Count Kessler writes with the full knowledge and warm sympathy of a friend; but he never loses his critical balance in dealing with a singularly complicated personality, who was at once a man of business, an inventor, an artist, a scholar, and a statesman. His cowardly murderers, blinded by their insane hatred of the Jews, blotted out in time of desperate need.

* Martin Hopkinson. 6s. net.
† Gerald Howe. 16s.

The charm of Canon Raven's new book "Bird Haunts and Bird Behaviour" lies in the author's true love of birds and the school-boy enthusiasm with which much of the book is written. Moreover, it contains many interesting observations, though these are sometimes hard to find amongst a mass of rather dull personal reminiscence. The most delightful chapters are the "Dutch Sketches" and the description of a breeding colony of choughs in Ireland, while the most detailed account is of dippers building their nest. For those interested in plumage, there is an appendix on the plumage changes in shovellers from first-hand observation. The chapter on duck and other birds found at Leadenhall Market is interesting. To give a few examples: long-tailed duck, pintails, merganser, stone curlew, and a rough-legged buzzard were discovered by the author amongst a mass of commoner species. His hunting in London markets has given him a readiness at identifying duck in the field difficult to obtain from the study of even excellent paintings of a species in only one or two attitudes. "The Ways of the Cormorant," both in England and in Holland where they nest in trees, contains interesting observations. Chief among these is that the new-born cormorant, when hungry, crawls from underneath the brooding mother and scrambles towards her head, straining its head and neck towards her beak, whining until she bends down to feed him on regurgitated food. The author states that a parent bird, returning to a nest of well-grown young from a fishing expedition, does not immediately feed them, but waits for five minutes while the food is being prepared, and that in the case of very young birds this period of pre-digestion is considerably longer. The young, then, are reared on a carefully graded diet. Canon Raven's photographs are excellent and numerous. That of the "Fulmar swinging round in Flight" shows the bird giving a vigorous thrust with its wide-spread foot which is used as a rudder. The book will be enjoyed by bird lovers not only for the observations it contains, but also for the spirit in which it is written.

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A further addition to the "Canny Stories" is the little book entitled "Jokes Cracked by Lord Aberdeen,"† illustrated by Mr. D. C. Eyles. There are many good stories here gathered together and some very old ones in modern garments. But nearly all good jokes are old. Here again one misses the familiar personal touch of Lord Aberdeen, but as the Foreword says, "all the kindly geniality of the North comes out in his rich repertoire of stories." Not unnaturally his Aberdeen stories are the best, though English people still wonder why Scotsmen invent stories against Aberdeen. It is thought that Glasgow is jealous. Here is a good story that Sir Harry Lauder ought to annex: "I have seen better days, sir," said a tramp to an Aberdonian, who replied, "So have I—but I havena time to discuss the weather the noo." Lord Aberdeen does not discuss the rumour that Aberdonians have decided in future to be born in London to save the railway fare, but he tells two stories of pride in "Aiberdeen" which makes it possible that the grey university town will be renamed London.

* Martin Hopkinson Ltd. 10s. 6d.
† Valentine & Sons. 1s. 6d. net.

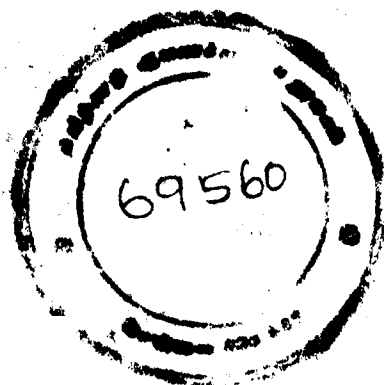
"The Return of William Shakespeare" by Mr. Hugh Kingsmill, is a clever but presumptuous book marred by somewhat coarse and obscure dialogue and by a superficial smartness that fails to remove the obscurity. In a tiresome way the reader reaches the core of the book, the fact that an absurd person had discovered, with the help of Professor Einstein and some undescribed processes, the secret of the "reintegration of life," and decides to reintegrate William Shakespeare, of whom the unique qualities did not appeal to the re-creator. The idea (which is not new) is capable of literary treatment and fine irony. A revised edition might give both. The year 1607 was chosen for the resuscitation of the Bard because he "was at the top of his form about that time." The return of Shakespeare afforded copy for a mystified Press. The use by Shakespeare of the wireless to broadcast his best pieces and other contrasts has undoubtedly entertained Mr. Kingsmill and no doubt will please others as a piece of rather obvious fooling. When William Shakespeare re-died it was a matter for congratulation. The book at its best is a study in contrasts between our age and that of Shakespeare. This task is better left to historians.

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In "Strange Stories,"† by Mr. Algernon Blackwood, the author gives his undoubted gifts as a short-story writer to many weird and fascinating problems. The story of "the man whom the trees loved," the opening story, is an exquisite and yet terrible picture of the affinity that man can set up with nature. There are some twenty-six problem stories, and these will find many readers, since the art of the writer is subtly mingled with his weird and vivid imagination. The art of Poe is an art that is worth perpetuating.

* Duckworth. 7s. 6d. net.

† William Heinemann Ltd. 7s. 6d. net.



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